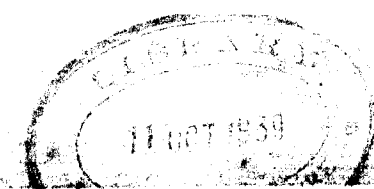


JL
UIM M77IN
N39.
127016.

9

Editor : K. Iswara Dutt



October

193

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS

BRITAIN AND THE CRISIS

By I. D.

INDIA AND THE WAR

By DR. K. R. SRINIVASA IYENGAR

LIFE

By NICHOLAS ROERICH

The
T. C.
Miscellany

(For full contents see Page V)

ENTIRELY INDIAN ENTERPRISE AND INDUSTRY

We manufacture Laboratory Gas and Water fittings, Pressure sterilizers, Distilled water plants, Air and steam ovens, Balances and weights, Slide Resistances and various kinds of apparatus and instruments.

It not only pays you to entrust us with the equipment of your Laboratory, but you will be assisting the prosperity of Indian Trade and Industry.

THE ANDHRA SCIENTIFIC Co., LTD.

Head Office & Works : -MASULIPATAM

Branches—

16 Linga Chetty Street, George Town, MADRAS
Main Road, VIZAGAPATAM

“ A VALUABLE SYMPOSIUM ”

—News Chronicle, London.

Indian Constitutional Reform

Edited by

K. ISWARA DUTT

[A Reprint of important articles from *The Twentieth Century*. Indispensable to students of Indian Political and Constitutional Problems]

Contributors include :

The Marquess of Lothian, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru,

Col. Sir Kailas N. Haksar and “Kerala-Putra”

Price Re. 1 each (excluding postage). Foreign 1s. 6d.

To Subscribers of the “ Twentieth Century ”

Annas Twelve only (excluding postage). Foreign 1s. not.
Apply to the Manager

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

INDIAN PERIODICALS LTD.

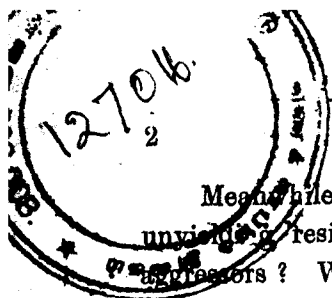
113, LUKERGANJ, ALLAHABAD.

The Twentieth Century

BRITAIN AND THE CRISIS

By I. D.

Europe is once again in flames—and a world conflagration is imminent. At this fateful hour, breathes there a man with soul so dead, who does not invoke the blessings of Providence on those that are passing through the fiery ordeal with a stern resolve to overwhelm the forces of destruction and rescue mankind from the gravest of menaces yet on record? It is a melancholy reflection that since the war to end war was fought, humanity has been denied peace for even quarter of a century: it is a disturbing thought that it was given to a single man to shatter the entire fabric of civilisation with a single blow, and convert earth into a veritable hell. There is little doubt that the present holocaust in all its naked horror is HITLER's gift to Satan. Having broken to the heart the promises made to the ear, and the pledges committed to the paper, with a fatal facility and few regrets, this arch-offender has unsheathed his sword in pursuit of the mad dreams of the *Mein Kampf*, and let loose all forces of evil on land, on sea, and in air. The fierce onslaught he launched on the Poles in ruthless disregard of humanity and honour, is but an unmistakable warning to the world that, if left unchecked, he will leave in his trail, fields littered with corpses and soaked in blood, cities ruined, nations bleeding, and civilisation itself decaying. And to-day it is against the system that this maniac stands for—a system that subordinates the spirit of man to the hideous requirements of totalitarian ideologies—that Britain and France have waged a relentless war. Whatever happens, Hitlerism must be destroyed, and wiped out at any cost from the fair face of earth which stands disfigured by the unutterably shameful brutalities of blood-fiends.



Meanwhile, whose heart is not moved by the stubborn and unyielding resistance of the Poles to the mad fury of the aggressors? While their lot is lacerating, their part has illumined the page of history. They are beaten, but not broken. They have lost their soil, but not their soul. They will embrace death, rather than admit defeat. And their ultimate destiny must be considered safe so long as their cause is upheld by civilised humanity.

No combination of powers, no conspiracy on their part, will dislodge Britain and France—all honour to them!—from the position they have taken up. The *Pact* between Germany and Russia made no difference to their resolve. The *fact* that Germany and Russia are now actually dividing the spoils will make no difference either. To-day the world is confronted with a strange spectacle. While HITLER proposed, STALIN disposed. Are they working together with mental reservations or moving cheek by jowl in perfect understanding? Nobody knows with any degree of certainty. Speculation is rife. But, whether it is a matter of rival creeds contending for mastery, or of concerted action of carnivorous forces at work, and whatever be the repercussions of the Russian move on world affairs, it is certain beyond any shadow of doubt, that Britain and France will neither separate, nor stand aside, till the welkin will ring with the doom of Hitlerism.

The foes of democracy and the enemies of civilisation must reckon with the character of Britain and the traditions of France, and too, with world opinion. The Englishman is slow to move, but when once he moves, he will not budge an inch or falter in his steps. Given a flag, he will follow it to the ends of the earth. Given a cause, he will fight to his last breath. "The Englishman", according to MR. GALSWORTHY, "makes constant small blunders, but few, almost no, great mistakes. He is a slow starter, but there is no stronger finisher." Let not the apparent contradictions in English character mislead any. Here is a revealing portrait of the English drawn by PROF. W. MACNEILE DIXON:

They are not easily impressed, neither unduly cast down by calamity, nor exultant in triumph. They find it difficult to entertain the idea of final defeat. "What should we do," a young midshipman was asked during the late War, "if the British Navy were sunk?" After reflection he replied, "I suppose we should have to carry on in rowing boats." The idea of surrender had not occurred to him.... They are at their best in adversity, at a pinch, in a crisis.

The last War proclaimed this truth trumpet-tongued, when, in the supreme faith "that braggarts must, surely bite the dust" and "Victory crowns the just," they fought the strongest military power in the world and brought it down on its knees. Of the splendour of their stoic spirit and the measure of their sacrifice, SIR PHILIP GIBBS, in a vivid, impressionist sketch, records that

the heroes of mythology were but paltry figures compared to those who in the Great War went forward to the roaring devils of modern gunfire, dwelt amidst high explosives, more dreadful than Dragons, breathed in the fumes of poison gas more foul than the breath of Medusa, watched and slept above mine-craters upheaved by the hell-fire of Pluto, and defied thunderbolts more certain in death-dealing blows than those of Jove.

In the crisis confronting Britain to-day—a far graver one than the last—her purpose is not less determined, her spirit not less resolute. She is fighting for a cause, for a principle, for an ideal. She is fighting—with France that produced a Napoleon, on her side—more than for the salvage of Poland; she is fighting for 'the soul of civilisation'. She deserves to win, and she will.

And at this critical juncture, India too has spoken her word. She has spoken it through her saint and seer, MAHATMA GANDHI; through her bard, DR. RABINDRANATH TAGORE; through her statesman, SIR TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU; through her philosopher, SIR S. RADHAKRISHNAN. In full-throated resonance she has revealed her concern for Poland and her contempt for Germany. She is with Britain and France in their crusade against the Nazi nightmare and the Kremlin calendar of crimes; she is for the triumph of democracy;

she is for the rights of man and righteousness among nations; she is, above all, for her own freedom and a new world order in which her own contribution will be worthy of her hoary past and priceless heritage. Finding Peace in tattered rags, India prays and longs for her return in angelic robes.

Who doubts but God at last will set
The right above the wrong?

In assessing the present merits, the past misdeeds of England and the good deeds of Germany are irrelevant. Rightly or wrongly, and irrespective of what the other Powers have done before under similar circumstances, I have come to the conclusion that Herr Hitler is responsible for the war.....

My sympathy for England and France is not a result of momentary emotion or, in cruder language, of hysteria. It is derived from the never-dying fountain of non-violence, which my breast has nursed for fifty years.

MAHATMA GANDHI.

INDIA AND THE WAR

By K. R. SRINIVASA IYENGAR

Once again within the memory of most of us another world war has been precipitated by the unbridled egotism of one man. In 1914, Kaiser Wilhelm II, by giving what amounted to a blank cheque to Austria-Hungary, made a peaceful solution of the Servian crisis impossible; and he was, therefore, chief among the culprits who thoughtlessly inaugurated an era of universal carnage. The ex-Kaiser is an older, sadder and wiser man now. From the papers we learn that from his exiled seat in Doorn he sent a warning to Herr Hitler to desist from taking the fatal step, lest Germany should face a disaster far worse than in 1918. But the Fuehrer, drunk with power, did not even care to read the message.

Let there be no mistake about it. The issues on which the present war is being fought are crystal clear; who the prime and sole aggressor in this conflict is, is very clear too, clearer even than twenty-five years ago. Mr. Neville Chamberlain has so ordered the affairs of England that posterity will have little difficulty in apportioning praise and blame among the warring nations of Europe. It is with this priceless asset that England and France have entered the fray.

Mr. Chamberlain is a stern business-man; he knew his mind ever since he became Prime Minister of Great Britain; and he had a clear-cut policy to which, with might and main, he adhered. His now famous policy of "appeasement" was not very popular even with his own party; and yet it was a policy. His predecessors, MacDonald and Baldwin, had allowed England to drift; they had neither ensured peace by effectively consolidating the Geneva front, nor had they assiduously armed England, ready for every eventuality. Mr. Chamberlain with eyes open accepted the heritage.

When Mr. Chamberlain became Prime Minister, he was already an old man nearing the proverbial three score years and ten. But he had a dogged pertinacity and he had ample courage. Neither derision nor applause, neither defeat nor fatigue, made him swerve from his chosen path. Few of his critics, however, quite realized that Mr. Chamberlain's policy was in a sense double-edged. "Appeasement" by all means, he thought; but he knew well enough that with Hitlerism walking abroad he could not be too careful. He would arm the Empire, but he would also be willing to listen to the legitimate grievances of the Fascist countries. He had to drop Eden with his almost hypnotic hold on the common people; he had to turn away from Churchill's Cassandra-like prognostications; he had to bear obloquy and ridicule, and face the fusillade of questions in the Commons; and, after Munich, he had to part company with Duff Cooper. And yet Mr. Chamberlain never seemed to waver.

Munich, in the opinion of some, was a first-class disaster; it was just the unsavoury spectacle of Britain staging a retreat. In the opinion of others, Munich was a symbol; Mr. Chamberlain's flights, armed but with his umbrella, must have captured the imagination of the whole world. As Sir Arthur Salter has remarked in his latest book, it was a symbol of the civilian confronting the military dictators and praying for peace. Mr. Chamberlain thought that he had brought back peace with honour; in any case, he had gained for his country, and for the Empire itself, a breathing space to organize their safety and security on a satisfactory basis.

What followed Munich is now stale history. Dr. Bones left the country of which he had been one of the principal architects. Czecho-Slovakia was dismembered. Herr Hitler forgot his promises and declarations of some months ago, and he compelled Dr. Hacha to sign the death warrant of Bohemia. Mussolini presently occupied Albania. Mr. Chamberlain's policy of "appeasement" was perceptibly in ruins.

What, then, did Mr. Chamberlain gain by pursuing his policy of appeasement? Firstly, he made it clear that he did not look upon the Versailles Treaty as sacrosanct; it could be revised, and some of its injustices could be remedied. But equally he made it clear that unilateral action is fraught with serious consequences—that, in fact, that way lies disaster. Secondly, he convinced the world that he was ready to discuss with the Dictators all disputatious questions with an open mind. He for one would not divide the world into ideological groups carrying on a war of attrition. Thirdly, he gave the civilized world ample opportunities of observing Nazi ideals in action, of noting, too, the widening chasm between the professions and practices of the Nazi rulers.

In short, Mr. Chamberlain quietly allowed the Nazi bosses to indict themselves, and set themselves irretrievably against world opinion. And, now, however painful and bitter may be his disappointment that he has been unable to avert war, Mr. Chamberlain may feel satisfied that at any rate he has quite unmistakably put the Nazis in the wrong. It is indeed ocular proof of his wise statesmanship, his practical idealism, and his sterling patriotism.

< In the past few years Britain has been ridiculed from various quarters—that she has grown weak; that she is willing to swallow insults if sugar-coated with apologies, that she is even decadent. The foreign policy of the National Government had been weak and vacillating for a number of years. Japan in Manchuria, Italy in Abyssinia, Hitler in the Saar—these ominous signals were unheeded. But surely it is futile and silly to hold Mr. Chamberlain responsible for the sins of his predecessors.

Any one who has carefully read British history knows—or ought to know—that her greatest Foreign Ministers were not bumptious fire-eaters like Palmerston but steady, undemonstrative patriots like Castlereagh and Salisbury. Britain, of course, could not, would not, intervene unless she knows that her intervention can produce the desired useful effect. Dr. Esme

Wingfield-Stratford, in his *History of British Civilization*, again and again draws the reader's attention to this basic principle of British foreign policy. An American writer recently remarked that the inhabitants of Britain have a streak of mysticism in their composition which alone makes them cling passionately to liberty, and even fight for the liberty of others; but for Britain, in fact, Europe would long ago have come under the heel of a tyrant like Napoleon. Her intervention has proved decisive in the past; and it is this consciousness, and also the responsibilities of maintaining in tact the resources and security of a world-wide Empire, that made Britain bide her time, and intervene only when the world would approve her action, and the intervention itself would meet with pronounced success.

In the common saying, then, Britain and the world itself gave Herr Hitler a long rope to hang himself with. An awed and scandalized world watched the "rake's progress" through Austria, Sudetanland, Bohemia, Moravia, and Memel. Jewish pogroms, blood baths, Reichstag fires, confiscations, "protective custodies", concentration camps,—these played their death-dance in the regenerated Fatherland. Quiet people naturally wondered whether Man has really ceased to be a denizen of the jungle. Authors and savants—among them several Nobel laureates—wandered abroad exciting, and subsisting on, the pity of other countries; and still, humped in silence, the world looked on, helplessly asking, "What next?"

It required little political sagacity to conclude that something must be rotten in Hitler's Germany if he could not allow an Einstein, a Freud, an Ernst Toller, a Max Born, a Thomas Mann, and a Lion Feuchtwanger to remain in their own Fatherland. The land of Goethe and Heine, of Leibnitz and Kant and Hegel, to become thus the sworn enemy of Science and Literature! No, there is no doubt about it at all; we have had proofs all along that Hitler's Germany was something abnormal and crooked, and that it had definitely put the clock of human progress back.

But yet people hoped against hope that at the last moment Hitler would listen to the voice of moderation,—or see at least the by no means indistinct writing on the wall. Even Britain, even Poland, recognized that Germany had some sort of a case in Danzig; they were prepared to negotiate with Hitler to explore avenues towards a settlement of all outstanding questions. But no! Hitler would put an end "to the lunacy of the Poles"; and he gave the signal for carnage with calculated insolence and brutality. Poland was bound to resist, and the Western Democracies were equally bound to run to Poland's rescue. In result, thanks to Hitler, Europe (and perhaps the world itself) is fast becoming a mutual suicide club. We are now only witnessing the initial horrors of the War that is gradually enveloping us. Its course nobody can foresee—though there cannot be any doubt that Britain will, as always, win the last battle, and with it the war itself.

On the morrow of the declaration of hostilities, Mr. Chamberlain broadcast to the German nation (in German) a remarkable message. The simple iteration in the message was deadly. Hitler made this promise, "and he broke it"; he made that other, and he broke it; and this third, and broke it also; this fourth, and broke that as well; this next, and it too; and, hence, nobody in Britain is able to trust the words of the German Fuehrer. The indictment is unanswerable.

Can one man give a whole nation his own daemonic character? It seems a difficult thing to achieve, but Herr Hitler with the thoroughness of a dangerous lunatic under the grip of one dangerous idea has almost "translated" the Germany of Stresemann and Bruening to a Robot of incalculable violence, blindly lusting for blood. Shocked by Hitler's latest act of brigandage, world opinion has branded Germany a gangster nation, a robber of small nations.

One may fret and fume that one individual, however high placed, should by one stroke of his pen have dislocated the ordinary business of the world, and made the immediate future

of humanity a dim and almost hopeless thing; but that is the fact none the less. Lord Acton wisely remarked that power corrupts, and absolute power corrupts absolutely. Nobody, perhaps, in the world has hitherto enjoyed such power as has been Hitler's during the last two or three years. And using this dreaded power, even by merely threatening to use this power, Hitler with his dire companions has been riding the narrow world of Europe verily like the proverbial Colossus. Hitler's recent successes have in some unthinking quarters generated belief in the methods of Hitlerism; Hitlerism, indeed, is a dangerous madness that has shown signs of even spreading abroad. That is why it is necessary to demonstrate that Hitlerism does not pay. As Mr. Churchill has remarked, never again should it be possible for one man to wield such monstrous powers, to keep the world ever hovering over the abyss of imminent destruction. And unless the present Nazi regime is destroyed the world cannot breathe free again.

Britain and France have intervened on behalf of Poland because (over and above purely humanitarian motives) with Poland German rapacity would not stop, just as it did not stop with Austria, or with Bohemia, or with Moravia. The British Empire is unitedly waging this war against Hitler's Germany because the various components know that Hitlerism is a damnably ill wind that can blow nobody any good whatsoever. Even neutral countries—many of them have already mobilized all their forces—will sooner or later realize that if they do not actively side with Hitler (and they are certainly not like to do so), he will compel them to fight against him.

The sinking of *Athenia*; the ruthlessness of the submarine warfare; the recent decision to bomb open towns and villages, trains and harbours, and what not; the killing of Dr. Schuschnigg....these and other linaments of German war strategy have horrified the whole world. Mr. Chamberlain has nobly stated that whatever the provocation, the Allies will not wage ruthless warfare against innocent women and children. Let

it be Hitler's speciality, incidentally justifying Mr. Greenwood's remark that Herr Hitler is the "enemy of mankind."

In India, fortunately, there is at present little of the uncertainty that one might have expected. Practically in identical terms the Indian press condemned Nazi aggression in Poland; the Anglo-Indian press, the pro-Congress and anti-Congress Press, all chimed in chorus. In the past, Hitler has outrageously attacked Indians, even the most eminent among them; when Mahatma Gandhi wrote in his *Harijan* expressing his sympathy for the Jews exiled from Germany, the propaganda machine of Dr. Goebbels was exercised to malign Gandhiji and his countrymen. It is therefore useless for Hitler and his propagandist tools to try to make India believe that she has anything to gain by Britain's discomfiture. On the contrary! The bank balance of the brain power of Goebbels's organization was recently exhibited when an Indian student's fairly harmless speech was broadcast from a German station in a grossly distorted manner. Hitler will have no luck in India, that is certain; from one end of the country to the other there has been an unqualified condemnation of Hitler's career of blood. Even seemingly anti-British elements in India have vehemently expressed their sympathy for Poland, and by necessary implication, sympathy and admiration for those who have nobly run to Poland's rescue.

Nobody pretends—as *The Times of India* recently pointed out—that the relations between India and Britain could not be bettered, nor that there have not been mistakes in the past. But the time for the settlement of our differences is not now—and indeed it is not to be achieved by wishing Britain ill in the present conflict. Indians have not certainly forgotten the passage in the Hitler-Chamberlain correspondence, in which the Fuehrer undertook, in return for a free hand in Poland, to safeguard with the might of his arms Britain's far-flung Empire. Owing to a strange concatenation of circumstances, India is a part of the British Empire, and she has therefore to share its perils and responsibilities. In these days of aeroplanes and wireless, it

is impossible for any country to be oblivious of what is going on elsewhere. We had taken sides in many of the recent conflicts by passing resolutions and expressing our sympathies; we had pungently criticized the British Government for not having gone to the rescue of Czecho-Slovakia; how then can we fail to appreciate the stand taken by Britain and France against wanton Nazi aggression in Poland?

India's redemption will come, sooner than we expect perhaps; but it may never come if Hitlerism triumphs. We may have to begin at the beginning again. The differences between Britain and India will be adjusted in due course; but there is no reason that our differences should be aired before Hitler and that they should be allowed to weaken the stand against Hitlerism. That Federation under the Act of 1935 is not now going to be introduced at the Centre is itself good news; and Britain is bound to "appease" Indian resentments before long. Be that as it may, for the time being India should be, as it in fact is, one with the Empire in pursuing the war to a successful conclusion.

It is meritorious that eminent Indian leaders, the Indian Princes, the leaders of various parties in India, have all expressed their determination to associate with Britain in fighting and destroying Hitlerism. There will be no Mesopotamian front this time, and Turkey itself is with the Allies; hence Muslim opinion in India is not likely to be divided in its allegiance. Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru, too, have clearly indicated that they will not weaken the Democratic Front against the Nazi menace. Even the statement issued by the Working Committee of the A. I. C. C. reiterates their sympathy for Poland and gratitude to the western democracies for having gone to her rescue. Assurances relating to Britain's future policy towards India are awaited, and they will no doubt come. Meanwhile, the country, as far as one may judge, is solidly behind the Allies in their campaign against Hitlerism.

That prices have alarmingly gone up, that there is the distant possibility of even our own towns being subjected to

Air Raids, that as the war drags on we are likely to feel the pinch more and more with the rest of the world—these are no doubt sources of deep and painful anxiety to one and all of us. But the die is cast irrevocably; and the sufferings of the Polish people to-day and of others who have suffered similarly in recent years should steel our hearts to face the future with resignation and courage. If the war is won by the Allies (as it must be), Czecho-Slovakia may be born again; and a new world-order may be established along the lines of democracy and social justice. That is our fervent hope—and may be we shall realize it. More than at any other time in India's chequered history, it is now necessary that no conflicting counsels should be given to the country, that the people should not be confused or led astray to secure trivial party advantages. India too should speak, as Britain and France and Poland have done, with one voice, unflinchingly and unambiguously; and it can be only in one way—in the way our leaders from Gandhiji and Tagore to the Aga Khan and Sikandar Hyat Khan have already done.

LIFE

By NICHOLAS ROERICH.

(ED. : From the book *'Life'*, in preparation)

Joy—Joy is still to be met with. If the world is niggardly in the matter of joy and has plunged into a maelstrom of hatred, the more should we look to those true joys which elated us in the past. I remember Mark Twain's beautiful story—"The Prince and the Pauper" which I read during my school years. It was wonderful to see how Mark Twain's name came to be popular in Russia and how much joy and inspiration it brought with it. He knew how to arouse the soul and his stories expressed the eternal truths in the simplest possible way. There are many of our generation who will remember his name with warmth and affection. I also remember how Zola in one of his novels took up the defence of Manet and the book to me seemed a gateway opening up fresh horizons in art. After these came Shakespeare, Gogol, Tolstoy, Walter Scott, Goethe, Hoffman, Edgar Allen Poe. One cannot always recollect how such books fell into one's hands, all we know is that they influenced our whole life and that they must have been predestined since we still remember them with joy.

Elena Ivanovna often remembers a book called "The History of a Bit of Bread" and although she cannot recall the name of the author, yet the tale still impresses her. The 'Prince and the Pauper' was also one of her favourites. Later these early guides acquire a monumental value and we desire to express our heartfelt gratitude to them.

There is so much that gets obliterated in life that it is interesting to recall the choice of our early years. Just as history shows a clear outline, so there are definite landmarks in every life. If you look back, as if from a hill, you will see

the marks on the wayside stones, and, as it has so often been said, it is only in the course of time that our childhood becomes clear. There are many who would contest this perhaps, but whatever be the truth, it is natural for us to turn to these early land works and influences, for it is to them that we owe our early joy and gratitude.

Cormon—In the academy which Fernand Cormon directed in Paris many excellent things were taught us. Some considered him to be a dry formal type of teacher and too academic. I must say that I never found this to be so myself. Speaking of his own work Cormon said—"If I had to begin again I would be a sculptor."

One has only to study his "Kain" in the Luxembourg Gallery to see the truth of this remark. He was not a colorist and yet he showed himself a very able teacher in the use of color. Looking at my own sketches he once remarked, "We are too refined, we shall learn from you". When I told him that I preferred to work alone and did not care much for studio work, he answered sympathetically: "Yes, one can only become an artist if one be left alone, nearly all schools are useless. If you can afford it, rent a studio and work alone, I shall always be ready to supervise your work."

This does not seem to show that he was of the dry and academic type. It recalls Sargent's saying after meeting with certain members of the Royal Academy—"They were far more human than I had expected."

His pupils were aware that there were two Cormons. The first would enter the Academy and begin to correct the drawings without further discussion; the second would invite certain students to his house and on holidays one could find animated groups gathered around quite another Cormon. On these occasions he reminded me of Anatole France for his talk overflowed with clever and brilliant remarks. He knew how to praise and, at the same time, give valuable advice. All sorts of work was

brought to him, from studies and rough sketches to finished works. He liked my 'Idols', 'March of Vladimir to Korsun', 'Portages', 'Ravens' and the sketches made for "The Elders Gather". One might have expected that he would have been shocked with the color scheme of "Idols" but he only exclaimed "farouche" and showing it to the other students remarked, "This might well be for the future." For me his praise: "You have style" was inspiring for ever.

Many Examples—Anatole France writes :

Some fifteen years ago the Military Board gave the candidates, in a volunteer examination, an unsigned quotation as dictation. This was cited in several publications and made fun of and cultivated readers turned it to ridicule. 'Where' they enquired 'did these military fellows pick up such a ridiculous phrase' ? As a matter of fact the passage had been taken from a well-known book. It was Michelet, and Michelet at his best.

The wag who laughed loudest was a great admirer of Michelet, but the passage itself which is an admirable piece of writing is nothing without the name. This is always the way. A great name, however, always excites extravagant praise. Victor Cousin discovered sublime passages in Pascal which afterwards turned out to be copyist errors. He went into ecstasies for instance over such a phrase as 'raccourcis d'abime' which was due to a printer's error. It is difficult to believe that Mr. Victor Cousin would have admired the same phrase if it had been written by one of his contemporaries. The rhapsodies of a certain Urain Lucas were favourably received by the Academy of Science under the august names of Pascal and Descartes. So long as Ossian was thought to be an ancient bard he was the equal of Homer, but once it became known that the work was due to Macpherson it was neglected.

There are many examples of such unfairness. We have known a Rembrandt and a Corot to be excluded from an exhibition. In 1904 I proposed arranging an anonymous exhibition so as to give an opportunity to concentrate on real values and quality. The idea however seemed terrible, since many who were unknown might be exalted and those who had been honoured might lose their crowns. Anatole France must have known what a conventional thing opinion is. Antiquar Smirnov used to say: "What of the signature ? A signature is a matter of thirty copecks."

And so things come and go. To one it may seem advantageous to belittle, to another it will appear useful to praise. But for all that, "Beauty will save the world."

The Supernatural—The harmless potato was once known as the devil's apple, and was a source of riots, war, and banishment. Vaccination was once known as "The sign of Anti-Christ". Many physicians have departed this life in martyrdom and still we have murders, riots, and exile.

Disinfection against plagues and cholera was often regarded as the devil's handiwork and also brought about murders, riots and exile. And not only the potato and vaccination but Edison's phonograph was also called charlatanism. One might go on adding to this debauchery of ignorance. Any genuine progress or invention is likely to be called the seal of Anti-Christ, the devil's artifice or charlatanism.

Enlightenment has always been the crying need. Even to-day, not only in Tibet, but in certain parts of America, the earth is thought to be as flat as a plate.

When you begin to explain its sphericity and cite the case of navigation, you will be answered: "You can circumnavigate from east to west, but from north to south this is impossible."

On the one hand we have flight into the strathosphere and plans to send rockets to the moon, and on the other, the belief that the world is flat and poised like a plate on the horns of a bull. When the bull grows tired and tosses the world from one horn to the other, then we get an earthquake. All this is quite clear and evident.

And so with the transmission of thought at a distance. Bekhtere who worked on this problem, was called a mad man, and even to-day, when scores of university professors are engaged, in successful experiments, in thought transmission, there are still many who persist in considering it a matter of dark superstition. They are not hampered by the question as to what

sort of spiritism, since the interchange takes place between living persons. Though Prof. Rhine at the Duke University has succeeded in convincing an elite, by his remarkable experiments in thought transference, there are, none the less, a mass of ignorant people who would like to cast a doubt about his work. Whole volumes have been written on the martyrdom of scholars and artists.

People will have to realize some day that the supernatural is inexistent, and that there is only the known and the, as yet, unknown. The brilliant discoveries of recent years ought to lead humanity towards reason.

A Narrow Escape—In the early spring of 1907 I left with Elena Ivanovna for Finland to find a place in which to spend summer. We started off on a cold day wearing fur coats but in Viborg it became warmer, although people were still going about in sleighs. We engaged the services of a Finn who had a small roan horse and who was somewhat morose, and started off with him to an address somewhere outside of the town. After passing Viborg castle we descended to a sort of snow-covered plain where there were thawed patches and went swiftly forward. To our astonishment the patches rapidly increased in size and water began to make its appearance. After going on for some time we realized that we were crossing a large lake on loose ice. The distant shores appeared as a narrow strip of land and we found ourselves surrounded on all sides by open water. The only way out that remained to us was the way we had come. Our driver was panic-stricken and beat his horse who now sensed the danger and ran with all its strength. At times it broke through the ice and was up to its knees but the driver succeeded in dragging it up with the reins. We called to him to turn back but he only cracked his whip in reply saying that it was impossible to leave the ribbon-like road. Water now began to enter the sleigh and things to look rather grave. Elena Ivanovna kept on repeating: "What a stupid way to perish!" The situation

was more or less hopeless, and once the ribbon of thin ice gave in we should all be precipitated into the depths of the lake. The horse now galloped furiously and there was no use to use the whip. The shore began to approach and we could see people running along and waving in despair. We soon realized that this was because of our situation but the horse continued to put on top speed. When we drove in on the sloping granite shore, we saw that the ice was breaking up into sections. The little horse had run in a miraculous way with the sledge plunging through the water and now the people gathered round and led him in. They found fault with the driver saying that he knew perfectly well that the lake had been closed to traffic for at least three days, and one of the coast guards took his name, while all were astonished at our narrow escape and at our calmness. We had relied on the speed of this little Finnish horse and he had seen us through. Among the many dangers we have gone through, this of Finland was not the least.

Collectorship—We were often asked why we collected pictures, especially those of the Netherlands' school. Yet who has never dreamed of Van Eyck, Memling, Van der Weyden, Van Roymerswael, David, Massys? And then, there is always an element of chance in collecting. Some things come easier than others, and one direction proves easier than another.

I myself have got much pleasure from the works of Bles, the Bruegels, Patinir, Lucas van Leyden, and Cranach. After these I became fascinated by the decorative qualities and construction in the work of Savery, Bril, Momper, Elsheimer, Lambard, Avercamp, Goltzins, Van der Velde the elder and Coninck. After which I naturally took to Rubens, Van Goyen, Van Ostade, Van der Neer, Lievens, Neefs, Teniers, Ruysdael.....and no one was surprised that these great masters should enter my collection. But the primitives with their vibrant colour and wealth of composition fascinated me

more than all. Elena Ivanovna was so taken by the primitives that the most attractive masterpieces of the seventeenth century failed to draw her attention.

The discovery of such pictures was itself a memorable period of my life. Many curious things took place. A Rubens was once discovered in an old book binding. On another occasion we discovered a Van Orley which had been worked over with an unintelligible design, on the top of which was the image of a hideous old man.

E. I. liked to clean the pictures herself and nothing delighted her more than to discover neath the coating of paint a head by some authentic master. In this way she came across Savery's "Noah's Ark" on which had been painted some dark composition.

We failed to restore a Lucas van Leyden on which a landscape had been painted.

Another version of this picture appears in the Louvre.

A Peter Bruegel was discovered by chance. At a sale, I had been asked to buy something. There were many modern pictures which had no interest for us and the saleswoman was disappointed. At last I remarked, high up over a mirror, a small dark red picture between two windows. The seller said it was not worth getting down and that it did not matter if I bought nothing at all. I insisted, and she said: "Well, if I go to the trouble of getting it down, you will have to buy it and place twenty-five rupees on the table in guarantee". When we took it home this little copper plate was so dark that we could not make out the subject. Later when we began to clean it and clear away the coatings of grime, a winter scene by Bruegel appeared. In the same way we discovered the 'Guitarist' of Van Dyck. A considerable price had been fixed but E. I. without waiting for us to come to terms began cleaning it. You can imagine our consternation when the owner came for a settlement. Fortunately nothing was lost,

and a Bloemaert which had been painted over with angels came to light.

We had many adventures of this type. The old Netherlanders gave us much joy, and so did the Primitives, which are so near to the modern school.

Work in Common—While an exhibition of my paintings was being held at the Kansas City Museum, a certain Mrs. Holmes had the charming idea of presenting my picture 'Lord of the Night' to the museum, in the name of the children. The plan was adopted and the children responded, since children always like to be given the more serious work of adults.

Appeals were made through the papers, children's parades held, and, on the whole, the scheme proved successful.

It is always a great joy to me to see youth participating in such movements, especially when, as in this instance, they were not forced to do so.

On the contrary, once the idea had been given, children of all ages responded to it spontaneously. There are quite a number of such co-operative movements going on in the world, and the more the better, for we cannot sufficiently attract youth to the idea of working towards a common construction. And, in the last resort, for whom is everything being built? For future generations, for youth itself. If youth be taught to co-operate all over the world, this will make a link with the future. Much has been said about the difference and the misunderstandings which separate the members of different generations.

Senility, however, does not depend upon the generation one belongs to, since there are aged people who are young in spirit, and youngsters who are often quite senile.

The question is not one of age but of thinking processes. The more a person is attracted to work in common, from his

early years, the more will he be accustomed to think of the common welfare and retain a spirit of youth.

To-day there are widespread movements in which whole populations show a tendency to collaborate in the direction of public work, and people should not only be admitted to such tasks but should be made to feel that they are collaborators. This sense of collaboration and responsibility will tend to engender a healthy strain of thought, and enable people to discover and rejoice in all that is beautiful.

Encourage co-operation.

Asia—The East is quite a relative conception and not a matter of geography. If you go South from Paris until you reach Algiers, you will find yourself in the East. But should you go eastward from Algiers until you reach Greece or Rumania, then you will find yourself back again in the West. Moreover, the boundaries of Asia are indefinite. This was noted long ago and brought into use such terms as Australasia and Eurasia. No one could say why Astrakhan, the Caucasus or the Crimea should not be considered Asia. The limit of the Ural mountains—the conventional border line between Asia and Europe—only leads to confusion. Once upon a time ignorant and foolish people considered it below their dignity to be called Asiatics, but later through the efforts of a few enlightened people such absurd prejudices were dropped. A clear-sighted poet once said: 'Certainly we are Asiatics'—and why not? Is not Siberia, the Russian treasure-house, itself a part of Asia?

From my very earliest years I was drawn to the heart of Asia. The names of Przhevalski, and Potanin had long attracted me. The Mongol epos and the treasures of India had always dazzled my imagination. From the earliest times the Slav has always listened attentively to the fables of the East. Relations with the Orient were much closer than Western historians have related. Without speaking of the Oriental character of Byzance, of the treasure of the Russian

East, one can note how the pictorial arts of Europe have retained Asiatic influences. The Heart of Asia is the heart of the world, because all teachings and all wisdom come from there. Are not the North American Indians of Asiatic origin?

Our family was always destined to be connected with Asia. Friends were constantly arriving, who had served in Asia or had information about it. We had professors of the Eastern faculty and from Siberia professors from Tomsk. All these had much to say of the Heart of Asia and they advised me to lose no time in leaving for the vast expanses of the Orient. From my earliest years recollections of Asia are connected with all the spiritual influences that have affected my life.

India—From early childhood I seem to have had a connection with India. The name of our estate 'Iswara' was recognized by Tagore as a Sanskrit word. In the reign of Catherine II there lived in our neighbourhood an Indian Rajah and until quite recently there were traces of a Mogul Park. We had an old picture in the house of a great snow-covered mountain. Afterwards I learnt from Bryan-Hodson's book that this was the celebrated Kinchenjunga.

An uncle of Elena Ivanovna went to India, about the middle of the last century and subsequently appeared at a court ball in St. Petersburg, in a beautiful Rajput costume. He again returned to India and nothing more was heard of him. As far back as 1905 many pictures and sketches of mine were devoted to India. "Devasari", "Lakshmi", "The Way to India", "The Boundary of the Kingdom", "Krishna", "Sons of India"; all these as well as "Desert Cities" were painted long before I went to India.

From 1923 we have been in India and since that time, our knowledge of the country, our love for it, and our many friends have continued to grow. In 1920 Rabindranath Tagore visited us in London and called us to India. After this there

appeared in Calcutta a long article in "The Modern Review" on my art, which was an introduction to India. Elena Ivanovna had for long known and loved the books of Ramakrishna and Vivekananda.

In the same year we made a tour of the principal places of interest in India, beginning with Elephanta, Agra, Fatehpur-Sikri, Benares, Sarnath. We visited the ashrams of Ramakrishna, Adyar, Madura, Ceylon, and everywhere we met with a cordial welcome. Connections were established, not only with the family of Tagore, but with many representatives of philosophic thought—Swami Ramdas, Sri Vasvani, Swami Omkar, Swami Jagadiswarananda, Sri Swami Sadanand Sarasvati. Subsequently, we made friends with Jagadis Bose; corresponded with Anagarika Dhammapala, Ramananda Chatterji, K. Iswara Dutt, Suniti Kumar Chatterji and C. V. Raman. We established cordial relations with the artists Asit Kumar Haldar, Abanindranath and Gogendranath Tagore, Bireswar Sen, Mukul Dey Raval, and with the critics Gangoly, Mehta, Basu, Tandan, Bhattacharya, Chaturvedi, Cunchitapatham, Tampy, Siriwardhana.

The Bose Institute, the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Maha Bodhi, Nagari Pracharini Sabha, the Indian Society of Oriental Arts elected me honorary or life member.

At the instigation of Rai Krishnadasa a separate hall was arranged for my work in the Bharata Kala Bhawan and through the initiative of Rai Bahadur Braj Mohan Vyas, the Municipal Museum in Allahabad also devoted a separate hall. Through the collaboration of Dr. J. H. Cousins, the Travancore Government acquired a whole group of my pictures for their State Gallery, Sri Chitralayam. So did Hyderabad. Other Indian States proposed to hold exhibitions.

From different quarters in India we have received touching messages from many local organizations such as the Congress of the Mahasabha, the Delhi Students Federation, Boy Scout, Maha Bodhi, Stri Dharma, The School of Peace...

Prefaces for books by Fatulla Khan, Teija Singh, Mohanlal Kashyap, Bhanu Singh, Gupta and others were given.

I shall not forget the "Builder of Modern Karachi", Jamshed Nusservanji.

India received our Institute with kind hospitality....A hearty greeting to India.

Naggar—We came from Darjeeling and reached Kulu Valley—the ancient Kuluta. The banks of the Beas river are associated with the Rishi Vyasa, who compiled the Mahabharata and with Alexander the Great whose army passed close to here.

Through here went also Buddha and Padma-Sambhava and here lived Arjuna and other Pandavas. Not far distant is Manali—derived from Manu. Then there are the hot springs of Bashishta and the valley of Manikarn-Parbhathi with its silver ore. On the other side of the Rotang Pass there is already Tibetan scenery.

Here we found abundance of all we needed....Ancient Kuluta!

It was at Christmas in 1928 that we came to Naggar. We had not crossed the Beas river when we saw a house high up on the hill. "That is where we shall live," we exclaimed, but were told that the house, which was on the Rajah of Mandi's estate, was not to be had, and that our wishes were out of question. If a thing is destined however, it has to be done, and so despite the many obstacles we had our way.

To the north of us—Manali, Arjunguffa, Jagatsukh, Basishta, and beyond the snowy Rotang. Here is the ancient road to Tibet, to Kailas, Ladakh, Khotan, the Gobi and Altai. To the east—the Chanderkhani Pass and beyond Malana, Spiti, Tibet. To the west—Bara Bhangal and beyond the mountains of Kashmir, Pir Panzal and the Pamirs. To the south the road to Simla, Mandi and Lake Ravalsar and beyond the torrid plains of India.

Naggar is a very ancient place. There are several very old temples and according to Chinese travellers at one time there were Buddhist viharas, of which no trace remains. There is a tradition that during the iconoclastic rule of Langdarma in Tibet the sacred books were hidden here. Nar Singh, protector of the valley, sometimes appears as an old man clad in white, and Guga-Chohan, an ancient Rajput Rajah, is revered as another guardian of the valley.

The valley contains three hundred and sixty gods. We have a stipulation in writing between the god Jamlu, the British Government and ourselves, as to the use of the water. Trumpets sound and the drums thunder when the gods visit each other on festive occasions. In the forest is a temple where the anchorite Pahari Baba dwelled.

Pines, deodars and oaks still clothe the slopes, although many woods have been felled. From the ancient road at the foot of the hill one can hear the caravan bells. There is magic in the sound of the caravan bell—Whence? Whither? What news?

GOVERNMENTS AND CONTROL OF PRICES

By P. S. NARAYAN PRASAD

I.—PROBLEMS OF PRICE CONTROL

Immediately after the declaration of war, the prices of most things of foreign as of well as of indigenous origin were put up at fancy heights. We say "put up" deliberately, because the prices would not have risen due to normal circumstances at all. There are at present, none of the conditions to justify, in this country, such rise in prices as seems to have actually taken place. Our resources of production in labour and capital have not been diverted to the manufacture of war material nor has any contraction of supplies taken place owing to large exports to belligerent countries. In these circumstances, the rise in prices is purely speculative in character, and, in all likelihood, it may not last—at any rate—at the present high levels. But one cannot be too complacent in these matters, and, in any case, it is good that both Provincial and Central Governments in this country have started to plan even from now on for a suitable system of price control particularly in the matter of food stuffs and other necessities of life. It may be useful to remember that the postponement of this problem to a very late stage, as was done during the last war, may greatly reduce its effectiveness as well as utility.

It is no doubt true that the Central Government have made it clear that speculators who might indulge in cornering will do so at their own risk, but this declaration of intention must be followed up by appropriate action in every direction to make speculation unprofitable. The governments can draw on the experience of the last war, and can rely on the office of the Economic Adviser working in collaboration with the provinces for a scheme of nation-wide price control.

Of course, the work of price control bristles with difficulties of a kind that will make any thing like a perfect control almost impossible, but a great deal can certainly be done to minimise the evils of an unchecked exploitation that is possible in an emergency of this nature. In order to bring about a proper appreciation of the problems and possibilities of work in this direction, I propose to deal with the price-control problem in this article.

The problems that have to be faced in the control of prices are indeed numerous. But in the case of most articles of indigenous agricultural production, they are comparatively simple and resolve themselves into the problem of fixing up a maximum price. But in this case there is the difficulty of defining an article because in regard to each there are usually several varieties and a uniform price for all varieties would be an inconvenience and an injustice and may not be workable. But at the same time, in the case of many of our products like jute, cotton, oilseeds, coal, wheat, etc., there are well recognised grades and the fixation of maximum prices on the basis of these grades is not an insuperable task. But there are undoubtedly several others which are not so easy to tackle and other methods become necessary in their case.

Then again, it is true that the costs of cultivation of the same article in different localities may vary considerably, and as far as possible, due weight must be given in the fixation of maximum prices to these facts; and in general, the attempt should be made to secure not so much a fixed maximum price as to permit a reasonable profit on the outlay. But this problem again involves information on costs of cultivation, etc., which is not usually of a reliable character so that in the last analysis some measure of rough justice in the fixation of prices alone can be hoped for. The fixing of different maxima for different localities is, however, not altogether impracticable with the assistance of local control boards.

In the case of certain other articles again, the supply varies from season to season in such wise as to make for large varia-

tions in prices, and for such articles it would be necessary to arrange for a seasonal maximum-price-schedule based on the seasonal average prices for the previous two or three years making due allowance for changed circumstances, if necessary. Such articles are those like butter, ghee, potatoes, etc. But once the principle of fixing maximum prices is taken up, this variation will not offer any very great difficulties.

But a more difficult part of this price-control work will have to be faced in the case of manufactured goods which will have to pass through two or more different producers before finally reaching the consumer. Here it might appear at first sight that, if the retail prices are controlled, the rest of the prices all along the line will automatically get adjusted. But this has not been borne out by the experience of the European Governments during the last war, and they were compelled to resort to price control at each stage of manufacture right up to the retail stage. And such control is not too easy either. What amount of extra price should be fixed at each stage of manufacture is a matter of great difficulty, as costs of manufacture are not easily calculated and they also vary from producer to producer. But here again it is not absolute justice that can be aimed at; but some rough arbitrament is not impracticable. Here the method usually adopted was to fix the percentage addition to price from the raw material stage through different stages up to the retail end. In some cases where such fixation offers insuperable difficulties, the only available alternative would be to leave the producer to charge whatever he could and to drain off his profits through an excess profits duty.

Articles imported from abroad offer difficulties of another kind. In their case, there can be no control over the producer's costs nor over the total supply. For these reasons, prices would tend to be regulated entirely by the laws of the market, but here too a certain amount of control is not impossible. It will be possible to take control of the stocks at the whole-

sale import stage and to fix a reasonable difference of profit to be charged at the various stages up to the retail market.

In regard to raw materials and their exports, technique of a different kind becomes necessary. While it may be desirable to permit producers in this case to charge what the market can bear so far as exports are concerned, the internal market and the internal price level should be made immune from this influence. This will necessitate a strict regulation of the export market and the apportionment of the quantities permissible for export and the control of the exchange market. Such strict control on foreign exchanges will also incidentally help in the proper distribution of this exchange in obtaining the most necessary imports and the exclusion or the curtailment of the necessary ones.

Thus the fixing of prices, their adjustment to fair levels through taxation of excess profits, the formation of local control boards, the control over the foreign exchange and its rationing for obtaining only necessary imports, are the various methods that should be adopted in regulating the greed of the profit-hunter.

II. LINES OF CONCRETE ACTION

Since this orgy of profiteering manifested itself in this country several governments have followed one another in issuing *communiqués* and informing by drum-beat that the profiteers will be dealt with severely. But this can only be the beginning, and not surely the end of price-control. Sporadic profiteering would not be put an end to by these means, because profiteering is inevitable under the existing system of exchange, except through an all-round regulation of all aspects of exchange, the wholesale and retail trade, the exports and imports, and not least of all, the general consumer himself. The retail dealer has, no doubt, been the focus of the community's wrath; but it must be realized that the speculator on top who corners the stock, the wholesaler who would like to ration out the doles to the retailer, and the

panicky customer who would buy large stocks for the future, are all, more or less, contributory to this instability in prices. And all of them again are products of a system which refuses to function without regulation in emergencies of this kind without inflicting grave injuries on one section or the other.

Another matter that seems to have been overlooked so far is that in a matter like this, the organisation for an effective price-control should be on an India-wide basis. This does not mean that there are no distinct spheres of action between Central and Provincial governments. But if the policies of each other are planned with a view to make each supplement the other, not only is experience exchanged, but the avoidance of several mistakes and planning for the most effective results will be possible.

Similarly, price-control need not necessarily mean the attempt to keep the whole range of prices down in a uniform way. Rise in the price of certain types of products should, indeed, be welcome. Firstly, it must be kept in mind that the Indian producer in general, and the agriculturist in particular, has not completely pulled himself out from the depression. A profit inflation of a small magnitude should not, therefore, be denied to him. It is, in fact, necessary, as it is likely, with suitable regulations in wages, if needed, to bring about an expansion in general employment. Secondly, in several industries, particularly the smaller ones, foreign competition has become a menacing factor, and, if with a small stimulus in prices they are likely to stand erect, they should be entitled to have this protection. Thirdly, the governments on the whole, and the Planning Committees in particular, might keep an eye on the various possibilities for pushing through newer schemes of large and small scale industries into existence using the cover of price inflation, particularly in the imported list, for the country's economic upliftment.

With these principles in mind, control should make a beginning with the control of speculation. At the ultimate end of this whole evil, lurks the invisible speculator sitting

tight on his cornered stocks waiting eagerly for the intensified demand from the rack and ruin of war. And for this, the first parts of the machine that need to be controlled are the stock and produce exchanges. If exports and imports of specified goods are prohibited, except under a licence, a great temptation to speculation will be removed. There is no reason why this should not be done as a temporary expedient, but one with great potentialities for warding off the mischief. Such regulation of trade under the present conditions seems to be the best first step in checking the evil of speculation, and, if the war is not going to be long-drawn out, possibly also the last.

With this may be further combined the policy of export quotas and the acquisition of this exchange for rationing out necessary imports. This will be very useful in making the internal market immune, in a very large degree, to the influence of the external market. This will prevent the prices from rising above a certain limit, and the export quotas may be fixed with reference to the internal price levels as well as to be consistent with the requirement of the country's normal consumption. And such planning, may be of a drastic nature, will largely obviate the necessity of controlling the internal trade.

As a supplement to these measures, may be added, if necessary, the expedient of raising the rate of exchange. Such rise will contribute in two ways to the controlling conditions of trade. It will have the effect of checking the exports, in at least a moderate degree, even granting that war needs will be too strong to be eradicated too much; and secondly, and in this case more surely, it will restrain imports except in the most necessary cases. Incidentally, this might also reduce the Government's possible worries consequent on the rise in the price of silver and the possible disorganization of our currency arrangements.

But with all these measures the stability of the internal market may not be achieved completely, particularly, if the war is likely to last for a long time. Anticipating this, it

may be useful to keep in readiness plans and programmes for control under instructions from a Board constituted by the Central and Provincial governments with representatives from the states, industries, commerce, transport, etc., preferably under the chairmanship of the Economic Adviser. A number of other Boards for provincial and local requirements also can be set up to deal with the matter on the lines of action laid down by the Central Board.

If all the above things are done, the necessity for the control of the internal market may be very much reduced. Export licences will prevent depletion of supply; import rationing will help in the maintenance of necessary articles of demand; and raising the exchange rate and the consequent deflation of currency (or to be more accurate, the avoidance of an inflation of currency that might otherwise be necessary) will tend to keep down prices. But still this will not *complete* the necessary control. It is still possible that, although the general price level may remain the same, relative prices might still alter and cause inconvenience. In all the aspects of control mentioned above, there is nothing to prevent the prices of *some* commodities rising, or rising above limits consistent with the requirements of the community's welfare. It is adjustments of this character that will necessarily fall within the purview of the work of the Control Boards. Here the collection of facts in regard to past prices, costs of cultivation, the preparation of price schedules and their enforcement becomes necessary. Particularly is it necessary in the case of food stuffs and other necessities of life. In the last resort, the Boards may provide the necessary machinery for the prohibition of private dealings in food-grains, etc., and the commandeering of stocks above the owners' necessities of consumption on the one hand, and for the rationing of their sales on a *per capita* basis of needs for the families on the other. But this perhaps will only be an extreme necessity.

But in spite of all these, it is still possible that some measure of exploitation may remain unchecked. In the case of articles

which have to pass through several stages of manufacture, the control of prices at the various stages may be very difficult in practice. So also in the case of certain types of imported articles the supply of which may be limited in relation to demand, a big surcharge on prices is difficult to prevent. In order to combat this difficulty, an excess-profits duty may be taken in hand. During the last war in several countries, belligerent as well as neutral, the excess of war profits over the peace profits were heavily taxed, the tax being graduated steeply and rising in certain cases up to 70-80 %, with a view to eliminating economic injustice. Such a tax will no doubt involve difficult questions of principle as well as practice, but as a war measure and as an expedient of providing some justice rather than none, it pleads recognition. It may be advanced that it will tax enterprise and ingenuity, particularly undesirable in the present circumstances of our industrial life; but it can be balanced by a no less valid argument that these excess profits are the best sources for taxing on the principle of ability to pay. In practice also, it is not too easy to work out this tax; but again as a temporary measure, its imposition and administration may be worked out in co-operation by the Central and Provincial governments, in which case the information and knowledge of the two will provide more rigorous methods of checking the returns of profits submitted by the tax-payers.

Such, in brief, are the lines of action along which real relief will have to be sought. Drum-beats and communiques may curb the timid. But modern business is enterprising enough and has the uncanny knack of getting the spoils from the unwary consumer, unless it is bridled on all sides and not treated merely to moral instruction and righteous indignation.

THE SECRET OF THE POET'S HEART

(A SHAW INTERPRETATION)

By PRADYUMNA C. JOSHI

How old are you, Eugene ?

As old as the world now. This morning I was eighteen.....In a hundred years, we shall be the same age. But I have a better secret than that in my heart. Let me go now. The night grows impatient.

Our perception of the eternal conflict between the poet and the philosopher, which grips our attention in *Candida*, is overpowered by the philosophical splendour and realism of Mr. Bernard Shaw—the stark realism that is ever gnawing at the heels of idealistic impulses. Mr. Shaw is deservedly famous for his great problem plays, but almost all his critics have lost sight of the biggest problem he has ever dealt with—the problem of imaginative insight. This obscurity in the real appreciation of the Shavian message has been reflected in the variety of interpretations of the ‘poet’s secret’ which remains unintelligible to the other dramatis personae as well as the reader.

It was brought to the fore once again with the revival of *Candida* in the London theatres, and Mr. Desmond MacCarthy explained it as Marchbank’s discovery of his hatred for conjugal domesticity which obviously is the motive force in the lives of Morell and Candida. Mr. Henderson had explained it earlier as the breaking up of the adolescence of the poet. It is true that “his love soars far above the unideal place of Burgess—is it bourgeois?—respectability.” But the Shavian discovery need not be so commonplace as the realization that “service, not happiness, is life’s higher aim” as “he passes from youth to manhood.” To feel that her womanhood gives him a grip on actuality “whereas he was only moving in the roseate clouds of fairyland” does not bring us any nearer the fundamental problem. Mr. Duffin probably goes the deepest

when he finds that the secret is "that but for pity she would have chosen him, or more probably, that his loss of *Candida* is an escape to larger loves and diviner dreams." A happy idealistic love knows no barrier of age—it is obviously a marriage of true minds which heed no physical impediments. Even this extension of the sphere of love does not leave us satisfied.

These explanations lack an inevitability, something which touches our soul and compels us to recognize that it could not be otherwise. To get to a proper understanding of this play, as of Mr. Shaw, we must realise that for all his Erewhonian dialectics, he is a great artist. He clearly demonstrates it whenever he leaves off his placid eloquence and resorts to the artistic taciturnity which stirs the very depths of our being. In practice, for example, the Shavian garments of Morell have a ring of artificiality. He is easily distinguished by his platform eloquence in "I will help you to believe that God has given us a world that nothing but our own folly keeps from being a paradise." Morell is supposed to find words for divine truths, but Marchbanks is a dreamy bard having Shelley's earnestness and just criticism. His mental activity is infectious. He is hyper-sensitive to the atmosphere around him. He has an eye for the beauty of the matronly youth and motherhood of *Candida*, is sensitive to the innate similarity between her and the Virgin in Titian's painting, and above all, is endeavouring to fathom the secret of love. Reverend Morell fills him with horror. Can he inspire love in others? He interrogates Prossy too:

Tell me, is it really and truly possible for a woman to love him?
Well!!

No, answer me. I want to know. I must know. I can't understand it. I can see nothing in him but words, pious resolutions, what people call goodness. You can't love that.

Those who love and long to mingle it with the love of others are shy and cannot express their longings. The feelings of a poet surcharged with an electric power struggle to find expression but the tones escape not the barrier of his bones

while too great volubility indicates a penury of emotions. It is this enigma which he wants to unravel but which the Pastor cannot even divine. It reaches the climax in Act III of the play. The pivot of action is the same as in Ibsen's *Lady from the Sea*. There the lovers come thick upon the scene and the atmosphere is permeated with a nostalgia for the past. Shaw has nothing to do with the nostalgia. But what Ibsen explains and elaborates is very ably transmuted into a speaking silence. Even in the apparent exercise of the free-will in Ellida's choice, there is some constraint in the atmosphere which makes one feel the presence of an over-powering Destiny rollicking and frolicking with us even in the gravest moments of our life. But in *Candida*, it is the human cry which bursts from the two lovers, each calling attention to the hunger for love that has to be weighed and considered. Marchbanks here realizes the under-current of human nature—the ideal human nature for which he stands—even in Morell. The poet peeps into the philosopher. The idealist probes the realist. Intellect may dupe emotions, but a scratch at the surface reveals the tissues forming the basic materials of Life.

This revelation also leads him to the realization of the better secret of which he was not consciously aware. Ibsen insisted on the spiritual kinship of Ellida with the sea. Shaw obviously lays stress on the spiritual affinity between the amused maternal indulgence and serenity of *Candida* and Titian's Virgin. Marchbanks was dimly conscious of the resemblance—almost an instinctive divination. He now realizes the beauty of womanhood—lovely in its inscrutability, ever fresh, ever feminine, eternally young, essentially like the Virgin on the mantelpiece, strongest of them all. He realises the poetry of life:

Heaven's light for ever shines, Earth's shadows fly;
Life like the dome of many-coloured glass
Stains the white radiance of Eternity.

He now understands the unchanging womanhood. She speaks of the difference that years will bring. But Marchbanks knows

for the first time the secret of womanhood—not romantic and yet very so, loving yet living, ageless, deathless.* Once this ever fresh, ever strong, ever beautiful womanhood is understood, he feels the call of poetry. Imagination stands secure on a true understanding of basic realities and Marchbanks can now safely walk out in the night which grows impatient.

This leads me on to one other point. Mr. Shaw is at his best when poetry displaces arguments. The success of the once greatly undervalued *Candida* is sufficient to establish the superiority of imaginative creation. Mr. Shaw himself seems to be realizing its necessity for the immortality of an artistic creation which mere skimming at the surface cannot give. Human mind is invariably attracted by the literary skill which produces the Keatsian quality of sheer intoxication or a Shelleyan dizziness. *The Simpleton of the Unexpected Isles* seems to bring the realist Mr. Shaw nearer the mystic poet with his creation of Vashti and Maya. While *Candida* always reminds us of the painting on the background, the *Simpleton* is reeking with the smell of the flowers, with the living, loving, statues and the poetic phantoms moving to and fro on the stage. It has its problems. It has its brilliance of wit and array of arguments. It has its flings on our topical interests—on our stupid dogmas. But we forget them when we get “acclimatised” to the atmosphere. Given the suspension of disbelief, we are past the recall in the elfinland of imaginative intoxication. There is a religious response to life which is the *elan vital* of literary creation for all times.

* I am obliged to Dr. U. C. Nag of the Benares Hindu University for the suggestion.—P.C.J.

THE HOLKAR STATE

Indore is the largest State in Central India and the seventh largest among the self-governing States of India, with an area of 9,902 square miles and a population (according to the Census of 1931) of 1,325,089. It is composed in nearly equal portions, of a plateau and a hilly tract, the latter lying partly on, and partly south of, the great Vindhyan scarp. The plateau region, Malwa, produces excellent crops of almost every kind, notably cotton; the hilly tract is less fertile. The climate is temperate in Malwa, and hotter south of the Vindhyan scarp, the rainfall averaging 30 inches on the plateau and 40 inches in the hilly tract.

The seat of the capital is Indore, which is also the headquarters of the Central India Agency. It is an important commercial centre and is the largest trade emporium in Central India. The city is 374 miles from Bombay and 401 miles from Agra. There are 28 towns in the State with a total population of 292,562 and 3,659 villages with 1,032,527 inhabitants. The population of Indore City is roughly 150,000.

The Ruler	Born on the 6th September, 1908, His Highness the Maharaja Holkar of Indore received his early education in Indore and later at Chem and Charterhouse till 1923. In 1926 His Highness went to Christ Church, Oxford, and, on coming back, travelled widely all over Europe before undergoing thorough administrative training in all departments of Government and before assuming full power, in May, 1930. In 1924 His Highness married the daughter of the Chief of Kagal, a Mahratta Princess closely related to the House of Kolhapur. Her sudden and untimely death in Switzerland in July, 1937 plunged the whole State into gloom. Her Highness left behind a daughter, Princess Ushadevi, who was born in Paris on
-----------	--

20th October, 1933. In September, 1938, His Highness married Miss Marguerite Lawler.

The inauguration of His Highness's rule was marked by several reforms, particularly in the realm of rural uplift and a fight against social superstition. From the first His Highness has realized that his princely duty lies among the people committed to his charge. In his speech at the Investiture Darbar in May, 1930, His Highness declared that it would be his constant effort to increase the prosperity of his subjects, to develop the resources of the State, and to maintain just and harmonious relations among all classes. His Highness further declared that it would be his constant endeavour to study the welfare of all classes of his subjects and to make their best interests the first object of his care. The identity of the interests of the Ruler and the ruled is nowhere better illustrated than in Indore.

Agricultural Development

Agriculture is the most important industry of the State and more than 75 per cent. of the people are directly supported by it. His Highness's Government have devoted special care and attention to agricultural development. In the case of cotton a special establishment has been provided for the improvement of seed, and last year some 350 maunds of M. 9 cotton seed were distributed under what is known as the Malwi Cotton Multiplication Scheme. As many as eight Cotton Markets have been established in the State which are working satisfactorily. The research work on cotton at the Institute of Plant Industry at Indore has also been invaluable in the agricultural development of the State.

The principal food crops grown are jawar, wheat, bajra, maize, gram and rice; while the industrial crops comprise cotton, tilli (gingelly), rameli, linseed, tobacco and poppy.

The physical features and the river system of the State are not favourable to the construction of canal irrigation works, and the only resources of irrigation are wells and tanks.

Taccavi loans at very low rates of interest are granted to cultivators for sinking wells and for other agricultural purposes.

The chief breeds of cattle found in the State are the Malwi, the Nimari and Gondi. Malwa has been the centre of cattle-breeding for many centuries; the practice of inter-breeding and inattention to selecting bulls has resulted in a great deterioration of the local breeds of cattle. The State Cattle-Breeding Farm at Simrole is proving a most successful institution and the premium bull system whereby this Farm supplies stud bulls is being extended in many directions. A well-organized Veterinary Department has been doing useful work in the rural areas.

The increase in the number of people that live entirely by agriculture, the decay of subsidiary occupations, the unscientific method of cultivation and the absence of reasonable credit facilities have all combined to make the lot of the cultivator a hard one. With a view largely to providing cheap credit to the cultivator, the Government have been actively assisting the co-operative movement since 1915.

Land Tenure

The most striking feature of the agricultural administration of the State is the Land Revenue and Tenancy Act of 1931, inaugurated with the present rule, which clarifies and safeguards the position of the tenant in vital respects. It places statutory limitation on the transfer of land to non-agriculturists, secures permanency and clearness of tenure by means of a special document held by each tenant. The appointment of Patels, the lowest link in the machinery for collection of revenue, is personally made by the ruler after very careful consideration in each case and they have been given the status of Inamdars. The Money Lenders' and Business Loans Acts and other legislation to protect the agriculturist against unfairness in these respects are carefully enforced.

With a view to setting up an efficient organization for intensifying the works of Rural Uplift, His Highness has

sanctioned recently the appointment of a Central Rural Uplift Board with other Districts and rural boards under it. The activities of these Boards are to include adult literacy, village sanitation, improved means of agriculture marketing facilities, compulsory acquisition of fallow land where necessary, subsidiary source of income by the proper utilization of leisure hours, formation of Better Living Societies and the development of village Panchayats and Co-operative Societies.

To achieve substantial results in the shortest time possible, His Highness has sanctioned funds for recruitment and training of the inspectorial and other staff. His Highness has also recently sanctioned a scheme by which enough staple grain is to be left for the cultivator and his family before revenue is collected from him and has sanctioned five lakhs of rupees for the purpose. A Debt Conciliation Act, with the object of lightening the burden of the cultivator, has also been placed on the Statute Book. Towards Rural Uplift His Highness has made an annual contribution of a lakh of rupees from his Privy Purse.

Local Self-Government

The development of local self-government in the rural areas is going on apace and is based on a liberal and progressive policy. The Government's first concern has been to make village government real and, with this end in view, the Village Panchayat system was introduced a few years ago. The obligatory duties of the Panchayat are the construction and maintenance of public ways and drains, maintenance and disinfection of wells, ponds, tanks, &c., maintenance of burial grounds, prevention of contagious diseases and infection and the supervision of village public servants. Their optional duties are the lighting of public ways and places, planting trees, grant of relief to the poor, improvement of agriculture and industries, maintenance of libraries, and construction of ponds for animals. There are now 167 Panchayats in the State and the rural populace appreciate their advantages and importance.

Mineral Wealth

The State forests cover one-fourth of the area of the State and lie in three different ranges of hills, namely, the Satpuras, the Vindhya, and the outskirts of the Aravali hills. The major produce comprises timber, charcoal, bamboos and grass, while the minor produce consists of honey, wax and lac, and barks, flowers, fruits, and gums. Teak and bamboo are in abundance in the valleys and low-lying slopes of the Satpura hills. The second rotation of the five-year scheme of boundary demarcation, introduced in 1931-32, is being worked steadily by the Department, which is keenly alive to the commercial possibilities of the numerous herbs, shrubs and trees grown in the State forests. With the limitless supplies of Gundras, Sukli, Barru and other grasses, the possibilities of manufacturing cardboard in the State on a commercial basis are tremendous and are being explored. In view of large quantities of wood waste being available, the possibilities of a tar industry are also indicated and are being explored. Among the new industries recently started is the Katha industry.

Indore is not very rich in minerals, but surveys made so far have revealed some possibilities. There is iron ore of good quality in the Southern district of the State. Rich forms of hematite on the banks of the Nerbudda have been located and tests of samples have revealed more than 70 per cent. iron. The extent of the ore is believed to be vast, but it has not so far been exploited owing largely to the absence of coal in the neighbourhood. The existence of barytes has been established and a thorough investigation of its extent is being undertaken. Manganese and copper have also been traced, but their value has not yet been established.

Industrial Expansion

The State gave a lead so long ago as 1866 by the starting of a cotton spinning and weaving mill in Indore, and it was after 44 years that private enterprise became active in what is now the leading industry of the State. As many as 198,764 spindles and

5,760 looms of the seven cotton spinning and weaving mills consume the bulk of the cotton crop of the State. Permission has been granted recently to a new spinning and weaving mill in the heart of Nimad, one of the biggest cotton-growing centres of the State.

Apart from statutory machinery for the settlement of trade disputes and facilitating conciliation between labour and capital already working, closer watch is maintained on the working of the industry by reform in the existing Factory Act and through the medium of a Labour Officer in Government employ specially to be chosen and used for promoting better relations between the employers and employees.

In view of the Maharaja's desire to provide suitable housing for the considerable labour population of Indore, an extensive scheme involving an expenditure of over Rs. 22 lakhs for the housing of 10,000 mill-hands has been prepared and is under consideration of Government. In order to give an impetus to this scheme and as a practical proof of his concern for the poor labouring classes, His Highness the Maharaja recently sanctioned an annual contribution of a lakh of rupees from his Privy Purse. His Highness also sanctioned the laying out of parks and playgrounds for the use of the labour population.

In 1930, the Bhandari Metal and Industrial Works was established. It is the only one of its kind not only within the Holkar State but also in Central India and Rajputana. It is fully equipped with a machine shop, fitting shop, foundry, and rod rolling shop producing bars of all sizes and designs. It is run by electric power and manufactures parts of mill machinery and large and small castings of several kinds. It also manufactures and supplies engineering stores and requisites for the municipal, public works and engineering departments. Among other manufactures are brass, copper and aluminium utensils of all sizes and designs.

A thymol factory, which worked as a State concern during the War, has been restarted and so also a glass factory for the

manufacture of electric bulbs. Proposals for a big sugar factory capable of dealing with more than the total requirements of the whole State are before the Government, and it is expected that not only will cheaper sugar be available to the people of the State, but much impetus will also be given to cane cultivation and substantial advantages, direct and indirect, will result to Government and the proposed enterprise.

Owing to the inland situation of the State
Trade and Commerce all the trade is carried by means of land transport, the main trade routes in the State being the Bombay-Agra Road, the Mhow-Neemuch Road, the Indore-Harda Road and the Indore-Kukshi Road. In addition to these main roads, a considerable amount of internal trade is carried over many small local roads.

The bulk of the trade is centred in Indore City, which is the largest and most important distributing centre in Central India. On an average the value of exports from the State, inclusive of the produce of the ginning and pressing factories and textile mills, is about three crores of rupees and of imports about 2½ crores. The articles exported are principally cotton, cloth, grain, oilseeds, opium, spices, hides and skins, timber, ajwan and tobacco. The principal articles of import are rice, piece-goods, yarn, salt, sugar, molasses, spices, tobacco, precious and other metals, kerosene oil, machinery, coal, cotton and food-grains. The rapid expansion of trade in the State, and specially in Indore City, during recent years is largely due to the enormous credit facilities now enjoyed by traders and business men at the hands of the local bankers. The Bank of Indore is a very helpful and important stabilizing factor in Indore's commerce.

Another important factor which has helped the development of trade in the State is the setting apart in the heart of the city of a big area, known as Siyaganj, imports into which are allowed free of customs. The Central Cloth Market of Indore has been able to develop export trade, which approximates

to Rs. 20 lakhs annually, with the help of free imports of cloth for distribution outside.

Financial Position

As a result of the wisely ordered system of finance, the progressive character of His Highness's administration has been fully maintained. Revenue receipts had for some years fallen, due to world-wide depression, but they are going up again. As the result of careful planning and economic spending, more funds are being provided for the development of nation-building activities, and the State has made vast strides in the spheres of education, medical relief, sanitation, co-operation, agriculture and industry.

Taking education alone, the State has maintained its remarkable lead. The total sum spent last year was over Rs. 8½ lakhs, of which nearly Rs. 4 lakhs were spent on Middle and Primary schools. The educational system of the State comprises the three main branches—Primary, Secondary, and Higher education. The medium of instruction in the Primary schools is vernacular throughout the State; importance is attached to the vernacular as the medium in the Secondary schools also. Primary education is free throughout the State and is compulsory in the Indore municipal area. A low scale of fees is charged in the Secondary schools. There are also institutions for the training of teachers and special institutions like the Ayurvedic department of the Sanskrit College and the School of Art. The education of backward communities has been systematically encouraged by the grant of concession in the form of special scholarships for the students belonging to such communities. Liberal provision has been made for the physical training of the boys in modern methods of physical culture, games, etc., to create in them a sense of sportmanship and *camaraderie*. The total number of educational institutions in the State, including the Holkar College, the Indore Christian College, the State and the aided schools, were 538 last year.

A Board of Enquiry on the question of the unemployment in Indore has expressed the view that an industrial bias with

a view to training a boy for some profession or other, immediately after the school-leaving age, should be imparted sufficiently early at school and made very prominent at the Secondary stage and that the educational institutions of the State, including a first class College and six High Schools, must increasingly conform to higher and more exacting standards. Some headway has been made towards organizing a Hindi University, in which the medium of instruction will be Hindi. Indore has schools for teaching the ordinary handicrafts, painting and music.

Indore has two large hospitals, one run by the State on modern lines and the other by the Central India Agency aided by several States with a Medical School attached to it. Intensive work to improve medical relief in the rural areas is being done. A scheme involving an expenditure of Rs. 25 lakhs for consolidating medical work in Indore and providing a big modern hospital is under consideration of Government.

A notable feature of the progress of medical relief in the State has been the spontaneous and enthusiastic co-operation of the more well-to-do among the people who have made donations for the construction and equipment of hospitals. There are several private hospitals and maternity homes and Indore boasts of two large nursing homes.

Public Utility Services

Power for domestic and industrial purposes in Indore City is supplied by the Indore Electric Supply, which is a State concern run on commercial lines. The capacity of the Power Station has been doubled during the last four years—from 1,225 K. W. to 2,550 K. W., the distribution system has been extended from 55 to 85 miles, the rates for industrial power have been reduced, and radical improvements have been made in the service of consumers.

On the analogy of control over electric supply having been found to be very beneficial to Government and the general public, the Commerce and Industries Department of the

Government have put up a scheme for the development of commercial transport under State control, as in some other leading States. Apart from the need for more revenue for purposes of development and in particular for relief to the agriculturists, it is being increasingly felt that the best results in services of public utility are obtainable by active and direct Government control. The scheme is calculated to yield a substantial return on a not very considerable investment, to cheapen rural travel by motor buses and provide superior amenities of travel to the general public.

The Government have recently constructed a model aerodrome with an extensive landing ground at a total cost of over three lakhs of rupees. Indore is now on the Tata air route between Delhi and Bombay.

The biggest engineering work completed since the accession of the present Ruler is a dam constructed at a cost of over Rs. 26½ lakhs across the river Gambhir to provide filtered water for the growing needs of the industrial capital of the State, the whole scheme having cost Rs. 82 lakhs. The most striking feature of this work is the syphon spillway system. Linked up with this scheme is a drainage scheme for the whole city. From the opinion of the experts recently obtained, it has been found that the water that is being supplied from the new Water Works after filtration, etc., is of the purest quality.

It is not easy for Governments to do much in the social sphere. The Holkars, however, have pursued this as a matter of determined policy since the famous days of Maharani Ahalyabai. The present Ruler's Proclamation of last year removing all disabilities under which Harijans and depressed classes have been labouring in the State is an instance in point. Harijans are beginning to find access to Government service and temples have been thrown open to them. Active assistance is being given by Government in the matter of housing the depressed classes. The Indore Proclamation for

their uplift is probably the most advanced reform in this domain. The Central Harijan Uplift Committee, on which two Ministers and the Director of Education, have been appointed to give practical shape to the Ruler's earnestness in the matter, have already organized five District Boards and twenty-five Pargana Committees. It is remarkable that even the most perverse opposition in such social works, based in most cases on deep prejudices, is not able to retard this work. This is due to a strong and very old tradition of the Ruling Family in taking the initiative in work of social amelioration. One helpful factor has been that in spite of differences of castes and religions, Indore has been free from the communal canker. It is against such background that social legislation under the Child Marriage Prevention Act, prohibiting marriage between youths below 18 and girls below 14, the Hindu Widow Remarriage Act, legalizing the marriage of Hindu widows in castes in which remarriage is not permissible and recognizing children born of such marriages as legitimate, the Prohibition of Marriages between Old Men and Minor Girls' Act, and the Indore Marriage Expenses Controlling Act, function well. Civil marriages are permitted under the Indore Civil Marriage Act of 1916 and such marriages are not infrequent. The Divorce Act provides for the divorce of such civil marriages on grounds of lunacy, idiocy, adultery, existence of a prior valid marriage, etc.

The Ruler acts on the advice of a Cabinet of Ministers carefully chosen and assisted by a strong and independent High Court. The Holkars of Indore have, however, believed in the value of personal touch with their people, and the present Maharaja represents the old tradition in this respect also. He is always personally accessible to the poorest and lowest of his subjects and this constant touch with the people, independent of the administrative machinery, is largely responsible for the confidence and affection between the Ruler and his people which

enables the Government to run in States like Indore peacefully and progressively. The Maharaja has sanctioned recently the organization of a local Civil Service which embodies some of the best features of modern Civil Service, a high level of minimum qualifications, complete security of tenure and attractive prospects. A Legislative Council, in which are represented all interests and shades of opinion of the State, can initiate legislation in practically all important spheres. To give increased powers and wider representation to his subjects, His Highness recently appointed a Reforms Committee whose report is now before the Government.

INDIAN INDIA

COCHIN

EMERGENCY LEGISLATION IN COCHIN

His Highness the Maharaja of Cochin has, in exercise of his prerogative, promulgated two Proclamations under his sign manual, one providing for the imposition of restrictions on the entry of foreigners into the Cochin State, and their departure from Cochin.

Another Proclamation provides for the treatment of enemy merchantships and their cargoes in the Cochin State. This Proclamation is to be called the Detention of Shipping Proclamation. No enemy ship shall, after the commencement of this Proclamation, be allowed to depart from any Port in the Cochin State. All neutral cargo other than contraband of war on board any enemy merchantship shall be released.

PRECAUTIONS IN COCHIN

The Cochin Government have issued the following Press

Note for the information of the public :—

Any hostility against the Port of Cochin will probably take the form of (1) air attack (bombing and machine-gunning) either direct from the sea or from the backwaters north or south ; (2) long range bombardment from the sea ; and (3) small landing parties operating in the harbour from shallow draught motor boats or from commandeered local boats.

If any hostile action of this kind takes place by day, an alarm signal will be given by hooters and sirens at the instance of the Port War Signal Station, and will be repeated by the Tug, "Cochin", Tata's Works and ships in the harbour. On hearing the signal, the streets will be cleared and the people will go into houses or stay in them.

If any hostile action takes place at night, the Fortress

Headquarters will phone to all power houses in British Cochin and Cochin State, including the Willingdon Island, and these will immediately cut off current. Rockets will also be fired from the Administrative Office. On seeing these rockets, all sirens and hooters

will be sounded. The action to be taken by people on hearing such a signal will be to douse remaining lights and to remain indoors. There will be arrangements for supplementary lighting being immediately available in hospitals.

GWALIOR

AGRICULTURE IN GWALIOR.

A report of the activities of the Department of Agriculture of the Gwalior State for the year 1937-38 has been published and it gives very valuable knowledge regarding the general condition of the ryot, production of various crops, character of seasons and their general effect on crops, and the various crop experiments conducted at the Central Farm, Gwalior.

The poverty of agriculturists was aggravated owing to adverse weather conditions together with low and unsteady prices of agricultural produce.

The regular monsoon in the year under report broke out in

the third week of June (1937) which was earlier by a week than that of the previous year. In Malwa rains began from the 14th June.

His Highness was pleased to appoint a Committee of experts to explore ways and means to ameliorate the economic conditions of the rural population and raise their status in all walks of life. This Committee visited several important places in the State and collected information affecting rural development by taking evidence of officials and people actually working in the fields. Several crop experiments were conducted at the Central Farm, Gwalior, to improve the variety of crops.

In about 3,838 plots measuring 12,075 bighas in Gwalior and Malwa divisions the Department demonstrated to the cultivators proper method of agriculture and improved variety of seeds.

The Aoda Development scheme since it was launched completed two agricultural years. The main idea underlying the scheme is to popularize the use of canal water and induce the cultivators to grow intensive money crops and thus to improve their economic condition. It was also intended that all the works of improvement should be done by the cultivators themselves with the

least possible official intervention. For the purpose of effecting improvement in the villages 'Kastkar Hitkari' Sabhas have been organized with leading and progressive zamindars and cultivators as their members.

With the competition of 1R distributory from the main canal, seven more villages have been added, making up the total of 14. The area under intensive crops like wheat, sugarcane, and other crops has increased to the extent of 2,629 bighas during the year which is more than double the area of what there was last year.

HYDERABAD

THE "FAITHFUL ALLY'S" APPEAL

His Excellency the Viceroy informed me through the Hon. the Resident, that Great Britain regretted that in spite of the utmost endeavours used by her to arrive at an understanding with Germany, and thus to avert the danger of war, she had been compelled reluctantly in the end to enter upon

war seeing that the aim of Herr Hitler, the German Dictator, was to destroy the peace and security of the world without just cause, and to sacrifice on the altar of his ambition and greed the lives and property of innumerable innocent persons. For this reason, there was no other course left to Great Britain but to resist such ruthless proceedings on the

part of Herr Hitler, so that the world might once again breathe freely in an atmosphere of peace and security.

In view, therefore, of these facts, I informed the Viceroy that just as my ancestors had come to the assistance of the British Government during crises in the past, and just as I myself had tried to be of service in every way I could during the previous war of 1914, I was prepared, in exactly the same way, to do so again; and that I considered this to be my duty in order that the true meaning and significance of the designation of "Faithful Ally" given to my House by the British Government might remain established before the eyes of the world.

Apart from this, I appeal to all the people of India, and more especially the Muslims, to sink their differences, great or small, if any; for this is not the time to give them prominence; and having laid them aside, to do everything in their power to be of assistance to the British Government as they had been during the last war and had thereby given

proof of their loyalty; so that the great danger threatening the British Empire which has arisen in Europe, and whose dire effects may possibly be felt even in India, may be effectively met. For I have no hesitation at all in saying that the benign shadow of the British Government under which India has lived for a long time past, is an unrivalled blessing to this country which no one can deny; and more especially is the existence of the Indian States bound up with that Government.

To sum up, we should reflect deeply as to how we can best meet this danger in order that we may, after the attainment of complete victory, live once more in comfort and security. God willing, the righteous cause which the British Government has espoused will surely triumph; for it is a well-known truism that God helps those whose intentions are righteous.

Briefly, this is the time when it behoves us to ask for God's protection against the calamities that threaten us from Heaven, and to take what measures we can to defend ourselves from them, instead

of being careless and neglectful; for, be it remembered, that if we were to be oblivious, in however small a degree, of the duties devolving on us at this time, the consequences to

us of such neglect might be grave. God forbid that this should happen!

(From H. E. H. the Nizam's Manifesto.)

INDORE

"ON THE SIDE OF HUMAN FREEDOM"

The *Holkar Government Gazette* (Extraordinary) publishes the following appeal issued by the Prime Minister of Indore:—

I am commanded by His Highness the Maharaja Holkar to appeal to all his beloved subjects to respond to the clarion call of His Majesty the King-Emperor in his broadcast message to the Empire to "stand firm and united in this hour of trial" and to be ready for whatever service or sacrifice may be required of one and all in Britain's fight against German aggression. His Excellency the Viceroy has also issued a stirring appeal to the Princes and people of India for "whole-hearted sympathy and support of all in this great country,

whether in British India or in the Indian States, without distinction of class, of creed, of race, or of political unity". On the eve of the declaration of war His Highness the Maharaja realized the gravity of the situation and in keeping with the traditions of his House, placed all the resources of his State and the services of his Army at the disposal of the King-Emperor. He is confident that the Holkar State Forces will distinguish themselves in the service of King and Country as they did in the last Great War. His Highness is equally confident that all his subjects will respond readily to the appeals of His Majesty the King-Emperor and His Excellency the Viceroy and make their contribution "on the side of human freedom as against the rule of force".

His Highness has now placed five lakhs of rupees at the disposal of His Excellency the Viceroy as a contribution from the State to be used in any manner the Viceroy thinks best towards the prosecution of the war.

I make a special appeal to merchants and traders not to

take advantage of the situation created by the war and enhance the prices of foodstuffs and other articles which are in daily use by the masses. There is absolutely no justification for an increase in prices at the present time and any attempt at profiteering will be dealt with severely.

MYSORE

"THE FIRST IN INDIA"

Mysore's reputation as one of the oldest silk centres of the world is a well recognized fact. Sericultural effort, specially on the part of the Government in recent years, has never been stagnant. The efficient reeling of silk was never thought of as an end in itself. The manufacture of finished goods with silk has now steadily progressed from pit looms to power looms and onward to the weaving of intricate patterns of specialised goods. In respect of the last, Mysore made a momentous step forward by the manufacture for the first time in India of georgette, satin, crepe-de-chine, laced saris, etc. by the

Government Weaving Factory in Mysore established in the year 1931. Now refined women in India don the shimmering Mysore fabrics just to prove that to be in the vanguard of fashion it is not essential to buy foreign goods. The first step taken by Mysore in the establishment of the factory has led others in India to take courage in the founding of new factories. Thus Mysore has set yet another example for India to follow. Mysore ties and kerchiefs are now obtained even in some London and Paris shops as visitors from India have more than once vouchsafed. Thus the products of this factory have established

an inter-continental name for excellence and quality.

Primarily, the Silk Weaving Factory at Mysore was started by the Government in order to show and establish the utility of Mysore silk in the manufacture of high grade silk fabrics. The Factory is a Demonstration Unit under the guidance of a Textile Expert who has had his training in Europe. The establishment of this factory has resulted in creating a market for the indigenous Mysore Silk and also in improving its quality by improving upon the indigenous method of reeling. This has benefited both the reelers and weavers of the State, the former in getting better value for his silk and the latter in getting better raw material. The factory has also been responsible in demonstrating to the public the value of maintaining the

quality. Besides, it serves as a model concern in all respects such as sanitation, equipment, labour, etc., for those who desire to start factories of this type.

As stated before, the Factory is manufacturing several kinds of high class fabrics out of pure Mysore silk like Georgette, Crepe-de-chine, Georgette and crepe saris with or without borders, interlaced fabrics, suitings, etc. Different kinds of ties and kerchiefs are also being manufactured. All these fabrics are available in a great variety of lovely shades, and are easily washable besides being durable. Another characteristic is that they appear quite new when washed and ironed. These fabrics have won universal appreciation because the factory exclusively manufactures pure unadulterated silk fabrics with high class gold lace.

KASHMIR

ADMINISTRATIVE PROGRESS

The Praja Sabha held as usual two sessions during the

year (1938). During the Jammu Session, 2 money bills were placed before the House for consideration. Six official

bills, five of which had emerged from the Select Committees, and one non-official bill were passed by the House. After the Jammu session, the term of office of the first Praja Sabha expired and new elections were held. The first session of the second Praja Sabha opened at Srinagar on the 7th September, 1938, and concluded on the 5th October, 1938. During the session, 12 official bills were referred to Select Committees. In both the sessions, a number of resolutions were passed, and over 1,500 questions were answered by the Government.

A Panchayat and Rural Development Department was created, with the object of investigating the social and economic conditions of the rural population and to propose ways and means for the amelioration of these conditions where necessary. Among the works started were the making of village lanes and roads, the repairing of bridges and existing wells, the sinking of wells, the construction of water reservoirs, the cleaning, fencing and covering of springs, and the provision of bathing places

and latrines. The villagers contributed in cash and free labour to the carrying out of these schemes, and the students of the colleges at Jammu and Srinagar participated in propaganda and constructive work.

The number of co-operative societies was 3,489, their membership 86,497 and their working capital Rs. 97.23 lakhs.

The Agriculture Department distributed about 1,700 maunds of improved seed and carried out comparative varietal tests and experiments and held agricultural shows and demonstrations. The Horticulture Department distributed over 1.38 lakhs of fruit plants during the year. Lakhs of plants in Government and private orchards were sprayed.

Twenty-seven dispensaries were maintained by the Civil Veterinary Department. The work of cattle improvement made steady progress. A five-year plan for improvement of cattle breeding is in operation. Propaganda work was done by the Department in hundreds of villages, and there was greater demand than ever for

supply of stallions for the improvement of live-stock. The expenditure on the maintenance of the Agriculture and Horticulture, Civil Veterinary, Co-operative and Panchayat and Rural Uplift Departments rose to over Rs. 3½ lakhs.

The number of educational institutions for boys rose from 1,228 to 1,278 during the year, and the attendance from 80,024 to 84,274. The percentage of boys at school to the male population of the school-going age was 32.3. Out of 270 students sent up for the Degree Examination from the two colleges, 161 came out successful, and out of 471 sent up for the Intermediate Examination, 265 passed. Of 1,220 scholars sent up for the Matriculation Examination from Government and aided schools, 976 passed. The number of students reading in the two colleges was 1,913, which included girl students. The number of girls' schools rose from 204 of the previous year to 215 and the attendance from 14,452 to 15,426. The number of technical schools maintained by

Government was 8, and the number of students on the rolls of these schools was 358 against 348 of the previous year. The total expenditure on education was about Rs. 18,25,000.

An outstanding feature of the year was the appointment of a Committee with the Director of Education (a member of the Wardha Committee on Educational Re-organization) as Chairman, and Dr. Zakir Husain (the Chairman of the Wardha Committee) as one of its members, to examine the suitability and adequacy of the present system of Primary and Secondary Education and to make recommendations for bringing it into closer touch with the needs of the people. The Committee submitted its *interim* report, and a start was made in accordance with this report. Preliminary work in connection with the establishment of the Adult Education Office and the Teachers' Training School at Srinagar was completed during the year.

(From the Administration Report.)

TRAVANCORE

ACADEMY OF MUSIC

Inaugurating the Trivandrum Academy of Music on September 10, 1939, Sachivalthama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan of Travancore, paid a handsome tribute to the late Maharaja Swathi Thirunal and expressed the hope that the institution would be worthy of that great monarch and the royal traditions which had illuminated the history of the State, and the ideals and aspirations of His Highness the Maharaja and Her Highness Maharani Sethu Parvathi Bai, to whose initiative this institution owed its existence.

Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar said that, some years ago, the Sri Mulam Assembly had recognized the importance of preserving the works of Swathi Thirunal and advocated that his works should be taught in the girls' schools in the State. Mr. T. Lakshmanan Pillai, a great exponent of South Indian Music, had done good work in popularizing the works of that great ruler.

Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar pointed out that the present

system of Harikathas owed its origin to Mahratta Meruswami, and to the generous patronage extended to him by Swathi Thirunal.

Continuing, Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar said that the royal line of Travancore had been marked by the emergence of monarchs, who had distinguished themselves in one field or another. At one time, it was a royal patron whose munificence, according to tradition, was useful to both combatant forces at Kurukshetra. Later on, there was an Alwar among them. There were great Bhakthas, great patrons of art, great savants of learning; and one of them was Swathi Thirunal himself.

The Dewan asked the authorities to see that the compositions of Swathi Thirunal served as a medium of instruction and uplift amongst the people, and for that purpose the Government had come to the conclusion that a certain number of teachers of music should be brought together in that Academy.

Twentieth Century Miscellany

"NAZI NUGGETS"

The following extracts are taken from a book just published called "Nazi Nuggets," edited by Clara Leiser (Gollancz 3s. 6d.) They are verbatim from speeches and articles by Nazi leaders, and the sources are quoted.

HISTORY'S greatest physician is our Fuhrer.—"Julius Streicher, August 10, 1937."

CONCENTRATION camps are no disgrace. On the contrary they are an ornament to Kultur. Here neglected individuals are educated to real life with the firmest kindness.

GERMANY is enjoying unheard of prosperity under the Third Reich. Not a hair of a Jew's head has been touched. Uncle Morritz, who expressed a contrary opinion has just been buried.—(German fable about a Jew who wrote thus to relative abroad.)

I TRUST that no mother will ever have cause to weep in consequence of any action of mine.—"Adolf Hitler Nuremburg, September 3 1938."

HITLER is lonely. So is God. Hitler is like God.—"Dr. Frank, Reich Minister for Justice."

HITLER is a new, a greater, and a more powerful Jesus Christ.—"Alois Spaniel. Nazi leader in the Saar."

ADOLF is the real holy Ghost.—"Church Minister Kerl".

NO European nation has done more for peace than Germany. No nation has made greater sacrifice.—"Hitler Nuremburg September 12, 1938."

WAR is the simple affirmation of life. Suppress war and it would be like trying to suppress the operations of nature.

These are also terrible. Every living thing is terrible.—
"Ibid."

WE know where we began but only God knows where we will one day end.—"Dr. Goebels, Im. Spiegel von Freund and Fiend."

—*News Chronicle.*

THE GERMAN-SOVIET PACT

The Russian Bolshevik has always been represented by the world's cartoonists as a bearded figure carrying a smoking bomb. But no revolutionary Bolshevik ever hurled a bomb that exploded with more shattering effect than that which was detonated in Berlin and Moscow on Monday night. In what must surely be the biggest single piece of perfidy in history, Soviet Russia has betrayed all its principles encouraged the aggressors and double-crossed those who were trying to be her friends in Western Europe. No amount of ideological perfume will avail to remove the smell that will for ever hang about the name of Bolshevik.

—From the *Economist*.

HITLER'S OWN PROPHECY!

It is most doubtful whether if our blockade be strictly enforced (as it will be) Germany would be able to prolong the war after the few months during which her own limited stocks of oil and other material would be able to supply the incredible demand of mechanised warfare.

The pessimists when faced by these arguments, fall back upon a final contention. "Yes," they murmur sadly, "but even supposing you are right; even supposing that the political advantage will not be durable and may in the end prove disadvantageous; even supposing that the strategic advantage is not overwhelming; even supposing that the output of the Baku oil and the difficulties of transport may only give to Germany a fraction of what she needs; even supposing that the U. S. S. R. refuse to export food to Germany to an extent which might affect the standard of living of their own people; even supposing all this to be correct, the fact remains that Russia may wish to create

a military deadlock between the two groups of combatants.

I do not for one moment believe that Stalin would agree to send, or Germany agree to reserve, a Russian expeditionary force. Each side is afraid of deriving political infection from the other. The presence of Russian troops on German soil, as the presence of German troops on Russian soil, would not be acceptable to either Government. The German people possess a hereditary suspicion of the Russians and have for the last six years been indoctrinated with a special suspicion of the Bolshevik army.

Joseph Stalin, whose main preoccupation is with the maintenance of his own ascendancy, would be most unwilling to despatch an army upon adventures outside his own frontiers. Nor is it likely that Russia could ever supply Germany in any very large quantity with the war material that she might need.

Even if we assume, therefore (and it is a grim assumption), that the Russo-German Pact is something more than a mere treaty of non-aggres-

sion and implies some form of co-operation in the event of war, then there is no reason to conclude that Germany will derive from this association such an increase in power as will enable her to resist a war of long duration. At considerable cost to his own legend, Herr Hitler has brought off a diplomatic victory which he hoped would induce Great Britain and France to abandon their support of Poland. By joining Red Russia he believed that he could win a fifth White War, and add Poland to the Rhineland, Austria; Spain and Czechoslovakia.

He must now realise that this hope is not likely to be fulfilled. He is left with the shreds and tatters of his own propaganda lying around him. He may feel that this unfortunate result was worth the risk. But in his ears must echo the words of his own prophecy: "A Russo-German alliance will mean a second world war and the end of Germany."

— DICTATORS' INCOME

As German Chancellor, Hitler is entitled to the

equivalent of about £40,000 a year, but when he assumed power he voluntarily refused this payment, and stated that he would be content with the royalties from his book.

The finance of the German dictator is wrapt in mystery, but it is believed that the bulk of the fortune which Herr Hitler undoubtedly possesses has come from the royalties of that astonishing best-seller, "Mein Kampf," now believed to total over £1,000,000.

No other dictator in history has ever been able to draw his income from such a remarkable source. Where others have used their power to take money as they thought fit, Herr Hitler has combined politics and business in pushing his book.

By such ingenious devices profit and propaganda go hand in hand, and while the Chancellor does not cost his subjects a penny directly, indirectly they and people in other parts of the world pay him a sum variously estimated at between £150,000 and £200,000 a year. The Fuehrer has the further advantage, of course, that

everything he needs or uses in the ordinary way is paid for by the State.

Mussolini's official salary is about £1,500 a year. But like Herr Hitler, he makes many times this sum through the power of the Press. The Duce owns "Popolo d'Italia," and since it is known to be Mussolini's paper, everyone reads it. Like Herr Hitler, he has all his expenses paid by the State, and therefore need spend little of his own.

No one knows for certain what has happened to the sums which Mussolini has earned since he came to power, but many surmise that like monarchs in the past he has shrewdly invested them in different capitals so that if the worst ever happens he will not again have to live on thirty shillings a month.

Poorest paid of all the dictators is Stalin, whose salary is difficult to state exactly because of the vagaries of Russian currency. It has been given at £89 a year, but it is probably nearer £500.

In any case, he has nothing to spend it upon, unless he

buys personally the tobacco with which he fills his faithful pipe, for, as in the case of the other dictators, his tastes are simple and the State pays for everything. His publications, unlike those of Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini, do not bring him any personal royalties although they have sold by the million.

Another poorly paid ruler is Dr. Salazar, Prime Minister and virtual dictator of Portugal. He is paid only about £500 a year and lives extremely simply. He has only one servant and, until recently, was content with one room. Now he has two! Dr. Salazar's speciality is finance, but he has never made a private fortune out of investments.

China pays her dictator better. General Chiang Kai-shek's official salary is about £50 a month, a trifle compared with the vast sums paid to the old Emperors, but sufficient for a ruler whose most expensive hobby is flying on business. General Kai-shek probably spends many times this sum in the service of his country. The "loss" is made up by the vast personal fortune of his

wife, a member of the wealthy Soong family. The Soong family's investments must have been affected by the ino-Japanese war, but it is still probably one of the biggest east of Suez and has been used for the furtherance of the cause for which they have been fighting.

—J. M. MICHAELSON, in the *Brisbane Telegraph*, Australia.

GERMANY PLANS A MICROBE WAR

In preparing for the use of germs in a coming war, we must first concentrate our attention on three principal questions. The first is, what kind of germs produce the strongest and most irresistible effect. The second is, the best way of spreading microbes. And the third is, what conditions are most favourable for spreading disease and bringing about epidemics.

As to the first question, we should not be too particular. It is, of course, rather tempting to speculate on the hope of spreading epidemics of yellow fever, spotted typhus, or small-pox. In order to achieve this it will only be necessary to

scatter great swarms of flies or lice contaminated with the virus of yellow fever, spotted typhus, or small-pox, and to keep a large stock of freshly infected vermin always prepared. But, best of all, from every point of view, is the infection of the enemy country by bubonic plague. The plague bacillus is comparatively easy to produce in large quantities; it retains its contagious effectiveness even in moist and cold surroundings; and it never fails to produce infection.

As far as the question how best to spread the microbes is concerned, it must, of course, be assumed that all efforts to infect the enemy will be concentrated against the civil population, and not against the soldiers at the front. Epidemics at the front might easily infect our own soldiers, and there are other reasons which make attack upon the civilian population more advisable. Aero-planes will prove the best weapons in microbe-warfare because they permit of several ways of spreading germs—namely, by squirting them from specially built apparatus or by

raining down bombs or glass containers filled with microbes.

As for the third question, we might study what effect the seasons have on the efficiency of certain epidemics and how the temperature and moisture of the air influence the effectiveness of microbes. During the summer epidemics of the digestive organs, like dysentery, cholera and others, have the best chance, while in the winter-time infections of the respiratory organs are to be preferred. In addition, the nature of the soil, and social conditions also, must be taken into consideration when choosing the kind of epidemics to be spread from the air.

—Condensed from *Deutsche Wehr* (official organ of the German General Staff), Berlin.

AIR RAIDS

If we examine the figures coldly, we find that much less damage was done by air raids in the Spanish War than might have been supposed: the number of people killed in Barcelona by bombing in over 250 air raids was no more than 4,357, which is almost identical

with the number of deaths caused by street accidents (mainly car accidents) in the city during the same period of time (thirty months). So it may be said that the probability of being injured by a lorry, motor-cycle, or motor-car when walking round the streets of Barcelona or Madrid in time of war was almost as great as the chance of being injured by a bomb.

The Spanish people very quickly adjusted themselves to air raids, and although only 10 per cent. of the population of Barcelona could be protected by shelters, these were by no means crowded during the day-time raids. The average inhabitant, being convinced of the small risk of death from a direct hit by a bomb falling on him, preferred to remain in his office or flat rather than to walk along the street to get to a shelter. The only precaution adopted was to keep away from windows and glass, which might be easily broken by the "blast" following the explosion of a bomb in the neighbourhood.

When air fighting was going on, even those who had bumped

their heads rushing into a shelter in the beginning of the raid soon bumped them again as they ran out to see what was happening, curiosity proving stronger than fear. Conditions were, of course, different at night: then, all that people wanted was quietness and rest, and in order to get both they travelled out of the city or slept in the underground stations or in shelters, since otherwise the loud noise of anti-aircraft guns and of bombs was not unlikely to awaken them two or three times in the same night.

Very much worse in psychological effects than the air raids was the slow but continually increasing hunger, observed especially among the civil population of the big cities (Madrid and Barcelona.) In Madrid at the end of 1938 there were 35,000 cases of pellagra. The symptoms were on the skin, rather than mental, and responded well to nicotinic acid, which was sent from the United States and administered by mouth and hypodermically. It is significant of the conditions prevailing that

in Madrid, with its population at that time of 800,000 the official allowance of food provided only 1,200 calories daily for each person.

People who would stand their ground in the food queues during an air raid became desperate and hopeless when they failed to get the promised amount of bread or other basic nourishment. Hence a special attitude of mind was aroused, not by the physical effects of the guns and bombs, but by the insidious mental effects of starvation. Thus the cry, "I don't care what happens, but I must and will eat," was a warning sign of what some months later came to pass—namely, the sudden and total collapse of Republican resistance. In the war butter was quite as important as guns.

By DR. EMILIO MIRA—
Condensed from the *British Medical Journal*, (London).

HOW CHINA STANDS

Before the war the general view was that China, being short of war materials, was doomed in the event of a conflict. Our resistance has denounced this non-sensical

belief. China is not Abyssinia. True, the strength of our defences lies in our Man-power, not in our armaments. But weapons are made by Man's hands, and, in the end, it is always Man, not the material, that wins the struggle.

Japan's war is imperialistic and retrograde. Ours is revolutionary and progressive. Japan is a comparatively small country; financially and militarily, a long-lasting campaign will prove too great a burden for her to bear. On the other hand, China is not Belgium or Czecho-Slovakia; no matter how much of our territory is occupied by the enemy, our hinterland will always be big enough.

Japan holds our principal towns and traffic routes. We hold the country. Can the country beat the town? In England or France, Italy or the United States, it cannot. In a big semi-colony it can. In China the towns are too small to dominate the country, which still continues to be the basis of our wealth.

We Chinese are not the only ones to suffer from Japan's

imperialism. It equally affects the mass of the Japanese soldiers and the oppressed peoples of Korea and Formosa. Nothing should be left undone to secure the co-operation of these comrades in distress. No effort should be spared to turn the million Japanese soldiers on Chinese soil into our friends. Propaganda should be carried out on the largest possible scale, and we should not forget that our own people, too, must learn to distinguish between the Japanese imperialistic aggressor clique and the great Japanese nation as such.

China is not an isolated factor. The Sino-Japanese War is part of the World War, and China's destiny is linked together with the destiny of the civilized world.

We have received a certain amount of help from abroad. But while in the democratic States the people give us their sympathy, the governments seek refuge in neutrality. And as for Socialist Russia, the complicated international situation makes it impossible for her to grant us her unlimited support.

Therefore, at present, let us rely on our own strength, which we must never cease to develop. Let us not build our hopes entirely on the possibility of outside assistance, although we know it must come in the end. For the farther the enemy penetrates into China's interior, the more hostile grows the attitude towards Japan on the part of Britain and France, the Soviet Union and the United States. And the chance of China being assisted in her struggle for freedom increases with the growing determination of the civilized world to form a united front against Fascist ambitions.

By MAC TZE-TUNG—Condensed from the Author's pamphlet, *Kang Chang Hsin Chieh Tuan* (The New Stage of Our Resistance), Chungking.

HE FORETOLD HISTORY

A few weeks ago the "Centuries" of Michel de Nostradamus were brought once again into public notice by a well-known columnist's comments. These astrological prophecies, said the columnist, had a curiously

apt application to the present-day news.

Furthermore, he pointed out that this great early sixteenth-century, Jewish-French astrologer (1503-1566) had "predicted the French-Prussian war of 1870, given the date of the Armistice, and named General Franco."

As to Nostradamus's actual naming of key-people of the future, he gave the names of Rousseau, Conde, and Narbon, with others, clearly enough; though often he indulged in anagrams and other obscurities. In another prediction about Oliver Cromwell he refers to him as Lonolle (Old Noll). Esleu Cap is taken to mean Capet (Louis XVI) and Mont Gaulfier can be no other than the aeronaut Montgolfier (who in the eighteenth century demonstrated the practicability of balloon flights). But those who are able to outstare others into the distant future must be excused for minor vagueness of detail in their reports. From cover to cover of the astrologer's "Centuries" I find no reference to General Franco by name, unless it be this :

Out of Castel Franco shall come the Assembly.

Another verse might be taken as having special meaning for the Czechoslovakian crisis :

Many helps shall come on all sides
Of people far off, that would fain resist.

They shall be upon a sudden all very hasty

But for the present they shall not be able to assist.

Admittedly, such situations have arisen often before. The relative positions of planets repeat themselves as does history. But where many indications are taken together, it does indeed appear that Nostradamus had some special messages for us of the present decades. For instance, how apposite these lines seem to present-day German followers of Ludendorff's credo :

In Germany shall divers Sects arise,
Coming very near the happy Paganism.

Or this to Hitler and his anti-Semitic regime :

Of Trojan blood shall be born a German heart

Who shall attain to so high a power
That he shall drive away the strange Arabian Nation,

Being set a crooked stick in his hand.

What could more clearly express Hitler's pogrom policy? What stick more crooked than the Swastika?

As to Mussolini, these verses seem very applicable :

Out of the Royal Mount shall be born in a Cottage

One that shall tyrannise over Duke and Earl

He shall raise an Army in the land of Milan

He shall exhaust Favenna and Florence of their gold.

While, regarding immediate and possible happenings in the Mediterranean, the following reads almost like headlines from any daily paper :

There shall come from Barcelona from sea so great a fleet

That Marseille shall quake for fear,
The islands shall be seized, the help by sea cut off and,

France by a neglect shall be assaulted on five sides.

Tunis, Algiers shall be moved...

Most interesting of all are Nostradamus's prediction of

what must surely be aerial warfare and bombing of open towns. Again and again one counters such phrases as :

The device of flying fire
Shall trouble so much the captain of the Besieged.

He will cast lightnings, oh, how many in such order,

Little and far, often shall go deep in Spain.

Fire shall fall from the skies on the King's Palace.

The voice of the unwonted bird having been heard.

Nostradamus says again :

Erins, Antibes, and the Towns about Nices

Shall be destroyed by sea and land

The grasshoppers shall have the land, the sea and wind.

They shall be taken, killed, thrust up, plundered without Law of War.

—By DENIS CLARK,

Condensed from the *Occult Review*, London.

THE PROPHETIC MUSE

From the old Germanic
chaos hath there risen

A happier order of estab-
lish'd things ?

And is the Italian Mind from
papal prison

Set free to soar upon its
native wings ?

Or look to Spain, and let her
Despot tell

If there thy high-raised hopes
are answer'd well !

SOUTHEY.

The Twentieth Century Library

BRITISH ADMINISTRATION IN INDIA

By K. R. R. SASTRY

Some Influences that made the British Administrative system in India. M. Ruthnaswami, pp. 660, Price Rs. 10 or 21 Sh. net. Luzac and Company, 46, Great Russel St., London.

Prof. M. Ruthnaswami, now the Chairman of the Madras Public Service Commission, is a serious student of political science and administration. Every inch a scholar, his works have always been characterized by thoroughness of study and scrupulous regard for sources of information.

The work under review is the expanded and finished product of the lectures delivered under the Sir William Meyer Endowment at the University of Madras (1937). What would otherwise be a "dull and drab narrative of the events and facts of British administration in India" has been enriched by copious quotations from

the dispatches, minutes and letters of the rulers of India.

The administration of the East India Company was governed by its "commercial origins and character." This theme is fully developed and the reactions on the enrolments of the Company's servants are found strikingly illustrated. An instructive manner of treatment in the book is the chronological examination of every salient influence which made the British administrative system in India. The examination of the Board of Revenue that had the "longest history and the most distinguished record of work" contains much valuable information. How the Indian Secretariat is descended from the office of the factory writers is sketched with a wealth of detail.

Commerce drove the East India Company into Empire

and the instrument by which that empire was forged was the Company's army. How the army began to swallow a lion's share of Indian finance is well sketched. In turn, the railway system of India owed some of the peculiarities of its development to the army. The camps of the Indian army have created bazaars and cantonments. But the authorities must take lessons from history regarding the "*divorce between the citizen and the soldier*". (Italics mine) This can never be a source of strength to any state. Prof. Ruthnaswami well points out that the "Indian army was much more popular and national before the Sepoy Mutiny than it has been after". The policy of British rule after the Mutiny has favoured the recruitment of the "army from one particular corner and a few communities in the north."

Land revenue as maker of administration is sketched with a wealth of information. The primary object of the East India Company was from the first the acquisition of a large revenue. The Zamindari and Ryotwari systems are described

and how land revenue carved out whole ranges of administration as the district administration and the division of the provinces of India into districts is traced in its historical setting.

The hold of the north-west frontier has had its grip on the administration. Geography, history, and politics have made this the frontier that has influenced the course of Indian Government. Frontier administration had to lay emphasis on certain governmental activities. The composition of the Indian army has been considerably modified by the influence of the frontier. The "Punjabization of the Government of India" since 1865 is another result.

How the State is made by administrative needs is sketched in a masterly manner. The description of the Resident—commercial in origin—is superb. The modern police, history of the C. I. D., the Foreign and Political Departments, the Finance Department, the Registration Department, Public Works Department, Posts and Telegraphs, Medical and Health Departments, the Forests,

Census and Statistics, the Archaeological Department—how these branches of administration have evolved is described with minimum details. How the Indian Secretariat has been satirized is not forgotten by the learned author. The daily round of files, with the familiar and now historic red-tape round them, the solemn procession of teak-wood boxes, the voluminous noting from clerk to member as in Madras or from under-Secretary to member as in the Central Secretariat, the whole process partaking of the nature of some Mithraic ritual have been noted by Viceroys and men of the Press. But to have taught the large masses of the population of India the art of peaceful obedience was no mean achievement.

It is correct to state that "the circumstances and conditions of India that taught the English rulers of India their political ideas". The author illustrates this by examining the Company's relations with the Carnatic and Oude. The origin of the modern para-

mountcy of Britain *vis-a-vis* Indian states is described very correctly when the author makes a brilliant statement that "it was not theories of political or international law that determined the view taken and enunciated by the great rulers of India but the facts and reactions of Indian circumstances."

The world has a right to expect still greater achievements from the British administration in India, since its improvement "must be assured now when it has no longer to depend upon power slowly and painfully got up within itself but given to it from outside by a people desirous of progress and freedom".

One leaves behind this great book with a genuine feeling of gratitude to the author. The book is a mine of information for all students of British administration in India. The Indian politician who is impatient at the progress of the country should study this book for getting an insight into the origins of different branches of the efficient British administration in India.

WHITHER MANKIND ?

By "PRIM"

[An article based on "*The Fate of Homo Sapiens*" By H. G. Wells.]

In his provocative book, recently published, Mr. H. G. Wells has given us the result of his study of the reality of the human situation to-day. His investigations, now stretching over a period of more than fifty years, have enabled him to come to certain conclusions in regard to the relation of the human species to the world about it—and on these conclusions he has attempted to visualise the world of tomorrow—a world of depressing elements that hardly encourage us in the idea of the "coming city of mankind". This pessimism, born naturally of his reaction to the events that have shaken the world for the last twenty-five years—events that have once again let slip the dogs of war—is not, however, a categorical denial of the Utopia, as several of his critics seem to think, but, if properly understood in the light of what is happening to the world to-day,

a timely warning for a correct and more rational evaluation of human values, so that humanity may yet be able to meet the challenge of extinction threatened by its not comprehending the real nature of its troubles, and thereby realize its fond dream of the millennium.

I

In order to comprehend the real nature of our troubles we have first to recognize that science and invention have completely altered human nature. Ours is a very complicated age and the problems that confront us to-day are more knotty and puzzling than those that confronted our forefathers in the Elizabethan period. The world then was simple, people lived simply and science was restricted to "curious laboratory experiments", and, in certain quarters, was even regarded as an extravagant dream. The conception of good life, though inspired by love, was incomplete since it was not guided by know-

ledge, and fear, more than now, was the basis of all religious dogmas that believed in mystery and menace as the governing factors in life and death. The people then did not believe in the change in human nature, or, at any rate, could not foresee such a change. They believed that Time was a "perpetual recurrence of determined seasons" and the world composed, as it were, of only "spring and autumn, birth and dying".

But the process of evolution was going apace and gradually as the world was being unfolded before him, man began to see that mighty creatures, enormous reptiles and huge mammals had flourished before him, waned and then passed away, that he himself had passed through various stages of development, from the primitive hunting stage to the more socialisation of human life of the present day. This invasion of biology was a necessary part of the history of mankind since it opened man's eyes to the fact that he was no exception to the general conditions that determined the destinies of other living species

which were thrust out of existence.

How is man to prevent this natural extinction of his kind must be answered in the light of the real nature of everyday social life. For the last twenty-five thousand years man has been undergoing such a continuously accelerating process of change as to make it necessary for him to adapt himself to the "novel problems with which his enterprise and inventions have been continually confronting him".

These novel problems have had their birth in the fullness of life that surrounds us. More and more the economic complexities and political expediences are drawing men into closer unison with one another—groups that have divergent faiths but a common aim of ameliorating mankind in accordance with their convictions. The self-sufficiency of man is now as dreamy as the golden age when men followed their respective callings in peace and plenty. Now they have to seek their ambitions in the ends of their fellowmen and satisfy their needs in those of others.

We are now living in a world of inter-dependence that has, in its turn, necessitated inventions of time-saving contrivances and easy and quicker means of transport. New conditions in social order have changed our conception of culture and morals. Domestic inhibitions are now giving place to the wider idea of international goodwill, and woman, hitherto confined to the four walls of her room as a passive receptacle of creation, is, with increasing economic necessity and for various other reasons, readily realizing the need for birth-control.

Thus it is that, though the poet, in his flights of imagination, may be puzzled by the vast silence of the universe, the modern man is worried by the smallness of the world that restricts his expansion and threatens his extinction; by the noise—now latent, now potent—of the aerial bomb of his own creation that may blow up the whole world; by the “soulless” machines that are continually humming to his despair by spreading discontent among mankind. Distance is abolished,

but while man has conquered Nature in Time and Space, he has created fresher problems of life releasing new forces that, by restricting his perspective, by limiting his education and knowledge, through a carefully planned system of censorship, government-controlled radio and newspapers financed, supervised and conducted by vested interests or political groups with definite proclivities, have resulted in a curious medley of ill-digested, one-sided and sometimes even misinformed knowledge responsible for incomplete systems of thinking about reality and answerable for so much fundamental confusion in human thought.

II

This, in short, is the clue of the human situation to-day. Science and inventions, as we have seen, have completely altered human life and have, in their wake, set man with a jig-saw puzzle. Far back in the 'nineties, man's intelligence could only understand the past—but the modern youth bases his conception of a newer and happier world on what is

happening to him to-day. The progressive literature that has its votaries among the educated young men deals no more with the vague fantasies of their forefathers, immersed in the joys and glories of the past, and seeking justification for any established order in it only, but with the stark realities, the unlovely actualities, of the present era. These realities are the forces released, in the main, by bored and unemployed young men for whom any system of thought that promises a better condition of life and living is a plausible formula of relief. All the disruptive tendencies in the modern world may be traced to the discontent of the youth frustrated in his hopes and ambitions. The Nazi movement, for example, owes its origin to a great surplus of young men in Germany “without any reasonable hope of life than in any other country”. This supplied Hitler with a necessary opportunity of creating

a unanimous, belligerent Germany, a blood-thirsty nation, entirely tough and ruthless, resolved to use any weapons and any methods, however monstrous and destructive, in its march to world dominion.

But it will be erroneous to suppose—and this is important for a correct understanding of the human situation—that a Nazi is born tough, only his religion is inspired by a hysterical desire to be tough. This criminal tendency towards ruthlessness and monstrosity is an essential attribute of any male human being who has nothing better to occupy himself with or who has no hope of life. According to this view, the Chinese bandits are the Chinese equivalent of the “unemployed” who, as Mr. J. D. M. Pringle says, “levy an unsystematic dole”.

This, then, is a very serious matter. If war does not exterminate the surplus population, or if no other means is found to reduce that surplus, then the surplus of young men will continue to be a source of revolutions and disturbances of all kinds. In the nineteenth century there were lands open to immigration, which was the cause of comparative social stability at that time, but there are no more new lands where these young men can be sent as emigrants and settlers. And so Mr. Wells

pointedly puts it that history will have to consider how, age after age, humanity has met the problem of *What to do with our Sons*.

The answer to this question is not easy. We are living in the midst of varied interests and each interest has its peculiar code of rules and its adherents. To take but one example, the most popular political system which attracts men to-day is democracy that embodies the two essential principles of freedom and liberty. It is clear, therefore, that under a democratic rule the man, to quote Mr. Anthony Eden, was not made for the State, the State was made for the man. This means non-interference "in the life of the common individual except for the common convenience and with common consent". This is the essential spirit of a rational democracy and is thus in direct antithesis to Nazism, Fascism and communism which are, in short, a one-man tyranny, owing their origins in some political crisis. Furthermore, democracy is, as it ought to be, essentially socialistic in

character, which is the only effective response to totalitarianism.

The socialism thus envisaged in a democratic system must be distinguished from the collectivism under dictatorships. The difference is one between the scientifically-planned and directed socialism "in the light of an alert and implemented public opinion....by enlightened consent" and the forced collectivism "in the face of bargaining wealth and the uneasy claims of their supporters."

And similarly in an enlightened, scientifically-administered free world, there is no room for preferential and exclusive dealings. From this emerges the unfortunate problem of the Jews, which devolves upon the idea of the Chosen People and "it is difficult not to regard that idea as a conspiracy against the rest of the world." It is true, as Mr. Lewis Browne observes, that in the U. S. S. R., where they enjoy equal opportunities for education and employment, the Jews are rapidly becoming communists and are thereby ceasing to be Jews—but in Russia the

Hebrew has vanished as also the Promise and Jehovah! But there are still thirteen million Jews who cling to the idea of national separatism which in a world of physical unification is becoming more and more intolerable. Of course, as Mr. Wells concedes,

every sort of man is disposed to get together with his own sort of people and prefer them to strangers.

But, he adds,

the indictment against the Jewish community is that their religion of a Chosen People takes this universal human vice, justifies and stimulates it to the form of a persistent organised attitude of self-exclusion from the common fellowship of the world.

This and other problems of equal magnitude must be tackled by man in his great effort to reconstruct human mentality if he is to save his species from the threatened extinction.

III

This reconstruction is not a new phase of the twentieth century. In every age we could find instances when men, tired and disillusioned by an outworn creed, sought, out of the embers of a dying system, to create a better condition of life and living. The Great

War of 1914—18 was regarded as a war that would make the world safe for democracy—and it created, in its wake, the League of Nations as a stupendous monument of folly. It might be that the intentions with which the League was established were pious, but there was something fundamentally wrong in the very conception of it. As Mr. Bernard Shaw wittily sums up in *Geneva*:

Fushing all the nations into Geneva is like throwing all the fishes into the same pond: they just begin eating one another. We need something higher than nationalism: a genuine political and social catholicism. How are you to get that from these patriots, with their national anthems and flags and dreams of war and conquest rubbed into them from childhood? The organization of nations is the organization of world war. If two men want to fight, how do you prevent them? By keeping them apart, not by bringing them together. When the nations kept apart war was an occasional and exceptional thing: now the League hangs over Europe like a perpetual war-cloud.

To this correct analysis we may add what the *New Statesman and Nation*, in its issue of February 13, 1932, wrote in regard to the League:

It (the League) does not suggest that big guns and battleships should

be scrapped—only that they should be borrowed by the League, if and when the League thinks fit.

And so, continued the paper,

every country is prone to make the League in its own image, to exploit it—or cold shoulder it—in its particular interests.

The result is that we have not progressed at all towards peace. In fact, at the moment of writing, we are once again in the midst of another war—and who can say that there will be no war after this? For war once started is a continuous process and as Mr. Wells points out,

the settlement after the next world war will be only a prelude to further conflict. Informal warfare will succeed the formal struggle. What else can happen? Victors and vanquished will go to pieces and rearrange themselves.

It is, therefore, imperative that our first step should be to eliminate the tradition and idea of war altogether, and unto this end we must not only effect general and total disarmament but, as Sir Evelyn Wrench appeals, we should imbibe the consciousness of "world patriotism" to which we must voluntarily subscribe as members one of another. The urgency of this appeal lies

in the fact that war, with its bombing of civilian population, villages and buildings of arts and treasures, can no longer be looked upon as a mere political crisis within a certain locality; the consequences of it are now far-reaching and the Nemesis even more ruthless in her retribution. For, writes Mr. Wells,

the way in which science and invention have brought us all into intimate contact and put high explosives into our hands, war has become a process of destruction that spares neither age nor sex, it is no longer a selective elimination of the surplus young men, it is a colossal wastage of material resources, a rapid disintegration of the social organisation, robbed of all the glories and gallantries that once adorned it. In the past it was a corrective and almost tonic process. Now it has become a rapid wasting disease, a galloping consumption of the human species.

To check this growing evil of wanton slaughter considerable effort will be needed. That effort is not a simple process but an inter-action of a triangular struggle that is going on in every one of us. There is first the desire to cling to old faiths and values, but soon, as there is doubt or disillusionment or disappointment, a passion for

revolt; and, finally, a keenness for personal glorification by stealing a march over those who confided in us for the execution of a certain scheme. It is difficult to demarcate where one struggle ends and the other begins; they generally overlap one another—and in this confusion we miss the fundamental and pursue, at best, a shadow. Russia, for instance, has embarked upon an experiment designed to upset all recognised systems of thought. In their enthusiasm, the Russians

filled in the gap in their doctrines with that sprawling muscular divinity with the hammer and sickle, who is in truth hardly more real than those symbolic Hindu gods with countless arms and extra parts who puzzle the realistic Western mind. Believe in Him, said they.

And further,

they (the Russian leaders) set themselves with considerable energy and success to liquidate the illiteracy of the common people, but unfortunately they did not go with the harder task of educating themselves.

That is the truth about the Russian experiment and the result is that Russia is losing her imaginative appeal:

Her inability to deal with her internal difficulties without a series of

trials and executions....have done much to rob her of her once almost magical fascination for the undergraduate intelligence. That intelligence is now shocked and puzzled.

Why? Because

it grows up, so far as bodily and wilful energy goes, twenty years before its mind has ripened enough for it to think and act alone. The young want to do vigorous and effective things by eighteen, while their mental unripeness obliges them to seek authority for the things they want to do. They cannot wait. They will respond to nearly anything that lets their energy loose, as a kitten will pursue a cork on a string.

This is the tragedy of youth which, in truth, has resulted in so much fundamental confusion in human thought. Thus it is that the existing mental organization is insufficient for the great task of reconstruction. And yet there exist already, as Mr. Wells, while formulating his idea of a World Brain, informs,

scattered about the world, all the knowledge and imaginative material required to turn...the whole world into one incessantly progressive and happily interested world community. All that is needed is to assemble that scattered knowledge and these constructive ideas in an effective form. The world cannot go a hydra-headed confusion on sovereignties; it has to concentrate its direction in a World Brain.

For unless we direct our energies towards the creation of a World Brain, our human heritage will be a decadent world, as it is now, but,

more and more...for the tough, for the secretive, the treacherous and ruthless. Cities will be dangerous labyrinths and countryside an exposure of attack History will have shrivelled down to the Creator myth again, but the popular imagination will be titillated and appalled by a dim and dying tradition of a former age of sinful knowledge of lawless indulgence, of unconsecrated loves of a terrible disrespect for customs and taboos and sacrifices and priests, that brought great misfortune upon mankind. A new "World before the Flood" it will be.

But we can still retrieve the position if we grasp in time the idea of a World Brain. For the realization of this idea it is not enough if we pursue merely the methods of peace; we also need, in the words of Sir Arthur Salter, the sterner virtues—fortitude, daemonic energy, the will to act—and to act together.

That is the crux of the matter—to act together without any distinction of class or creed, in harmony and com-

radeship for the common good. Then we shall have no problem of the Jews nor the prejudices against the coloured man, no "vague aspirations to an obviously fictitious nationalism, no mental barriers and divisions preventing our understanding of the modern collective idea. Unto this end we shall need one common culture (of the English-speaking peoples* perhaps) that will bring about a perfect understanding between different nations and thus lead us on to Mr. Wells's own idea of a federation of all mankind—the common objective of us all.

*In a note Mr. Wells says:

"I want to point out...that for the next few decades at any rate, the burden and responsibility for human mental progress or human mental failure will rest principally upon the series of communities using the English tongue as a mother tongue or as a cultural language. It is becoming the *lingua franca* of the so-called democracies".

"It (the English language) can bring all the thought and learning of the world within their (people's) understanding, as no other language can do."

The Twentieth Century

THE DECLARATION—BEFORE AND AFTER

By "SCRUTATOR"

Two men have won. One of them is Mr. Jinnah and the other is Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose. Mr. Jinnah has fought the Congress with communal weapons. Mr. Bose has fought it with its own weapons. Others who were discontented with the Congress have neither had the pluck of these two men nor their perseverance.

When Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru won the elections of 1937 for the Congress, the Muslim League was a pale shadow of itself. It was sickly and anaemic. And if the Congress after its victory at the last elections had remained steady on its legs, and moved forward with surer steps, it would have simply out-distanced the League. This was not to be, however. Pandit Jawaharlal was intoxicated with the wine of his own eloquence. He spared no opportunity to attack Mr. Jinnah. He heaped insult upon insult on his devoted head, and then as if a malicious fate was hiding itself round the corner, he discovered it and began to call it by the name of Muslim mass contact. The meaning of it was that the Congress did not care to conciliate, or settle differences with, the Muslim Leaguers. The Congress would directly approach the Muslim masses who suffered from the same economic evils as the Hindus. It had simply to tell the toiling Muslim masses what the matter was with them, and they would make common cause with the new protector of the masses, namely, the Congress. In its last resort, the idea was inspired by a Marxian study of human history.

While other Muslim leaders were wondering as to what the meaning of it all was, Mr. Jinnah was more quick-witted and

more clear-sighted than they. He interpreted it as a challenge to Muslim leadership, as an attempt to bring the Muslim masses within the zone of the influence of the Congress. Accordingly, he raised the banner of revolt against the Congress—and Pandit Jawaharlal. Nothing could rally the Muslims more rapidly or effectively round the banner of the League than an appeal to their religion, to their historic traditions, to their “sense of helplessness as a minority” whose lot has been cast in the midst of “a tyrannical majority”. Mr. Jinnah knew at that time that the Muslim youth and many Muslim leaders including their divines were under the spell of the new slogan of independence. Dominion Status was with them also an outworn creed. What was necessary to do was to make a show of fight with British Imperialism. He was not lacking in adroitness or readiness to adopt new slogans and to make the average young Muslim Leaguer feel that he was just as forward, as patriotic, and as hostile to British Imperialism, as the average Hindu Congressman. He adopted all these tactics, and with a fine sense of discrimination between the offensive and the defensive, he took the offensive when the occasion demanded it and similarly he was on the defensive when it was necessary for him to do so.

The world is governed more by words and slogans and symbols than by substance. Mr. Jinnah recognised that if the Congress considered it a piece of good political propaganda to have its own flag-hoisting ceremony, there was no reason why the League should not have similar ceremonies. So the battle began first as a battle of flags. If the Congress underlined the civil liberties, there was no reason why the Muslim League should not underline the same. The Muslims had clearly the right to demand their civil liberties. That this competition between two kinds of civil liberties—the Congress and the League—was bound to lead to clashes between the Hindus and the Muslims, was inevitable. Clashes followed. And some riots took place. And although the Mahatma had at an early date in the history of the Congress governments come out with the

statement that the day the Congress governments sought the assistance of the police or of the army, that very day they should cease to exist. Yet the fact remains that in the course of certain riots and conflicts, *lathi* charges took place and firing was also resorted to—all this when the Congress governments whose creed is non-violence were in power. The Congress governments noted the Mahatma's injunction but followed the method of all governments. They were in charge of law and order and they must maintain it whether the challenge came from the Muslims or from the Hindus or from the communists or from any other variety of people. The inevitable consequence of all these happenings was that the Muslims developed a new psychology, and the development of this new psychology gave them a new strength. Mr. Jinnah took full advantage of this. It was not until the middle of 1938 that the Congress felt that the situation was getting rather serious. Then the very man whose name was spurned by Congressmen as a communalist, as a narrow-minded bigot, was asked to see the Mahatma. He would not see him. The Mahatma, however, went and saw him. Then the President, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose saw him and carried on correspondence. It led to nothing. The relations continued as bitter as ever. Mr. Jinnah was blamed all over the country by Congress papers and Congress leaders as a vain person, not big enough to recognise the greatness of the Mahatma, and not patriotic enough to make peace with the Congress. This sort of criticism—and worse—did not affect him at all.

The Pirpur Report came and dealt with an incident in an obscure town called Tanda where a communal riot took place and there were similar other occurrences. Very few people have read it. Nevertheless, the fact remains that the Muslims swear by it as a record of the atrocities committed by the Hindu Congress Government on the Muslims. Whether in fact the atrocities have been committed by Hindu governments or not, is not the question. The question is whether the

Muslims say that such atrocities have been committed. So the situation went on drifting from bad to worse. And people in certain provinces, for example, the U. P. and Bihar, began to feel that a month was auspicious if it did not witness a communal riot or some kind of communal trouble. Each grievance of the Muslims, real or fancied, only tended to strengthen the Muslim League and Mr. Jinnah.

II

Then the war broke out. The Mahatma was at once summoned by the Viceroy, and he offered his unconditional help and made some very touching statements in the press. "I am not thinking," said the Mahatma at the outbreak of the war, "of India's deliverance. It will come. But what will it be worth if England and France failed?" He was visibly affected, it is said, before the Viceroy over the thought that Westminster Abbey might be bombed. This attitude of the Mahatma evoked a passionate enthusiasm and admiration for him in England and the U. S. A.

Meanwhile, two things happened. Pandit Jawaharlal flew back from China and gave an interview to the press at Rangoon which led people to assume that he might still play the part of a statesman. The second thing which happened was the interview of Mr. Jinnah with the Viceroy. No one knows for certain, and can know for certain, what passed between the two. But one can guess what must have passed. It is impossible to believe that Mr. Jinnah did not realise at that time that on a supreme occasion of this character the Congress would not claim to represent the whole of India, including the Muslims. It is also impossible to believe that Mr. Jinnah did not realise before going to the Viceroy what the nature of the demands of the Congress would be. Mr. Jinnah must have claimed, and as events show he did claim, recognition of the separate entity of the Muslim League as the only body which could speak for the Muslims. He had already said in the course of a speech that India was not fit for democracy.

It is not difficult to imagine that the Viceroy must have reminded him of it, and it is not also difficult to imagine what Mr. Jinnah's reply to him must have been. If by democracy was meant the sort of governments that were functioning in the Congress-governed provinces, he did not want their reproduction at the Centre. He wanted the Muslim interests to be absolutely protected—protected in the constitution and protected in its working. But protected by whom? Of course, Mr. Jinnah must have said, "protected by the British". If the British were unwilling to carry out this unpleasant task, he and the League were ready to have it out with the Hindus.

Then came the resolution or the manifesto issued by the Congress at the meeting at Wardha. First, Mahatma Gandhi told us that he stood all by himself at the Committee. Next he took us into his confidence and told us that its author was Pandit Jawaharlal. Again he told us that Pandit Jawaharlal was an artist and that he knew Englishmen much better than his own countrymen, so English was he in his mental make-up. The manifesto was acclaimed, as it was bound to be in Congress papers and Congress circles. It also received the blessing of the Leftist circles and the Leftist newspapers in England. This resolution or manifesto must have put Mr. Jinnah on his guard, and made him more determined than ever before.

Two things then happened. Mr. Subhas Bose then favoured the country with his views and a succession of interviewers were called to the Viceregal Lodge including Mr. Bose himself and his successor Dr. Rajendra Prasad. When Dr. Rajendra Prasad went to Delhi, he wrote a letter to Mr. Jinnah suggesting that the charges levelled against the Congress by the Muslim League might be referred, with his agreement, to arbitrament of an independent third person, namely, Sir Maurice Gwyer, the Chief Justice of India. Mr. Jinnah firmly said 'no' and told him, as we all know now, that he had already put the entire case in the hands of the Viceroy.

Now as to Mr. Subhas Bose. In an evil moment the High Command decided to turn out Mr. Bose from the Presidentship of the Congress, and then banned him from holding any office in any committee. Even if there had not been a previous history of bad relations between him and certain Congress leaders including Pandit Jawaharlal, this last action of the High Command or the Working Committee or the A.-I. C. C., was bound to produce far-reaching consequences on the domestic politics of the Congress. He founded the Forward Bloc, went from place to place, received ovations, and created an intense amount of feeling against the Right-wing. He whipped the High Command, the Working Committee, and the A.-I. C. C. He made no secret of his attitude. Instead of giving the British unconditional help which he ridiculed, the British he said should be given six months' ultimatum, and if there was no response then the struggle must begin. His influence in the country was belittled and some newspapers were very chary in mentioning anything about the ovations he received here, there and everywhere. By the time the Congress Committee met at Wardha, he had sufficiently worked up a feeling in the country against the Right-wing. They were anxious to retrieve the lost ground. Consistently with their position they could not say that they agree with Mr. Bose. The manifesto or resolution was then drawn up, and in one sense one may agree with the Mahatma that it was a piece of art. Without giving an ultimatum, it did give an ultimatum to the British. It appealed to the British profession that the war was being fought, not as an imperialist war, but as a war for the defence of democracy, and it wanted its proof and its application in India. In short, it wanted a declaration of policy. When this manifesto was published, high hopes were raised in India, and to the raising of these hopes, certain newspapers in England and Anglo-Indian papers in India also contributed their mite. Certain Left-wingers in Parliament and Labour men also spoke supporting the Congress. Then followed a sudden change in the

attitude of the British press. The *Manchester Guardian* became more cautious, the *News-Chronicle* more restrained. Only Mr. Ewer of the *Daily Herald* stuck to his guns. The *London Times* then came out with an article which made people begin to think seriously as to whether the hopes which had been raised were going to be realised or dashed to the ground. Meanwhile, let us not forget that Mr. Subhas Bose in India was sufficiently alert, and he lost no opportunity of ridiculing the Right-wing and their High Command, and telling them roundly that they were fools if they thought that they would get anything like what they wanted.

III

Then came the Declaration of the Viceroy which appeared on October 17, and immediately it evoked an outburst of criticism in Congress papers and from Congress leaders. At the meeting held at Wardha on October 22, the Congress Working Committee decided to call out their Ministers and told their rank and file to wait for further orders as to the course of conduct they should follow later on. Two questions may now be considered. The first arises as to the character and the implications of the Viceregal declaration, and the second as to the wisdom or effectiveness of the Congress decision.

The Viceregal declaration which has been issued with the consent of His Majesty's Government, suffers from two things, namely, prolixity and prosaic character. It would not have affected the prestige of the Viceroy or the British Government if it had not vied with the Wardha manifesto in its length. Perhaps if words are counted, it contains more than 2,500 words which the Wardha manifesto was said to have contained. It is a mercy that the resolution of the Working Committee is not as long. The declaration also suffers from another defect. It does not show an understanding of the Indian mind as to official declarations. No useful purpose is served by referring

to the earlier proclamations or declarations. It is most unfortunate that at the time of the passage of the India Bill to the House of Commons, the Preamble was relegated to the tenth schedule of the Act even though Sir Samuel Hoare was pressed to give it the place of all preambles. Sir Samuel Hoare then said that constitutional pandits were of the opinion that modern Acts did not have preambles. Strictly speaking, this is not very accurate. The Canada Act has a preamble, and so also have the Australia and South Africa Acts. It was utter lack of imagination on the part of Sir Samuel Hoare which is responsible for the relegation of the Preamble to the very last schedule of the Act. But assuming that the Preamble had not been so relegated and been the very first thing in the Act, a repetition of that Preamble or its interpretation by Lord Irwin in 1929 would not have satisfied the Congress at this juncture.

It was open to the Viceroy to say to the Congress and to all others that a settlement of the Indian question with Great Britain, on the basis of a new constitution to be framed by a Constituent Assembly summoned on adult franchise, was out of the question, and that Great Britain would never agree to it. Excepting among Congressmen, there are very few Indians who accept that as a practical method. It is a mercy that no such Constituent Assembly has so far been called. A Constituent Assembly of this character, carefully stage-managed no doubt as it will be by the dominant party, can only have one result, and that is disaster. It is all very well to speak of self-determination. But nowhere in the world has self-determination been tried in the case of 350-400 millions of men, one-third of whom do not belong to British India, and whose problems are not identical in very respect with those of British India. Further, taking things as they are, can anyone in his senses believe that 80-90 millions of Muslims and a very large number of the Depressed Classes would readily agree to the Congress view of things? Again, let us not forget that the two years and a half of Congress Government in certain

provinces have disillusioned many people. Classes and interests are up in arms against the Congress. In urban areas, its prestige is not what it used to be. In rural areas, in Bihar and certain other parts of the country, there are rival bodies challenging the authority of the Congress. Under these circumstances, to insist upon a Constituent Assembly is to court disaster.

The Viceroy could have been, and should have been, more explicit on the question of Dominion Status. He could have asked Congressmen point-blank whether they wanted Dominion Status. He could have told them that if they wanted it, they must come to some agreed solution with the minority and the Indian States. The burden should have been cast on Indian shoulders. In the material part of his declaration the Viceroy says that "when the time comes to resume consideration of a plan for the future Federal Government of India, and of a plan destined to give effect to the assurances given in Parliament by the late Secretary of State, it will be necessary to reconsider in the light of the then circumstances to what extent the details of the plan embodied in the Act of 1935 remain appropriate". The Viceroy forgot that the denunciation of the Act of 1935 had become a passion with the Congress and the League and other bodies. He might have avoided this reference. The essential question for the Viceroy to consider was whether India would be given Dominion Status after the war or before its termination. If the position of His Majesty's Government was that India would attain that status after the war, then the position of the British would be ever so much stronger. It may, however, be urged that that is the necessary implication. Perhaps it is. Perhaps it is not. Much will depend upon what party will be in power at that time. If Labour and the Leftists are in power at that time and sufficiently strong in Parliament, there might not be much difficulty. At the same time a word of caution is necessary. Labour in power is not the same thing as Labour in Opposition. We have had experience of it. In 1930 when Labour was in

power, it was so thoroughly afraid of the Conservative opposition that it would not permit Ramsay MacDonald to use the word "Dominion Status" in his speech. That India is bound to achieve that Status, whether the British like it or not, seems to be fairly certain. A perpetual state of ferment cannot be kept in India, and the pressure of circumstances would be too great for any Government in England to resist. It is also certain that Dominion Status which is not a static idea will not be the same as Dominion Status in the case of Canada or Australia. There are the minorities who will fight every inch of the ground for the protection of their rights, and there are the Indian States which, having had some taste during the last twelve months of the activities of the Congress within their territories, will also fight for their reservation. These difficulties will have to be faced—and met. They cannot, however, prevent India from achieving that Status.

The sting of the Viceroy's declaration lies in the fact that he has not recognised the Congress as an all-inclusive body entitled to speak for all and sundry, and has said that at the end of the war His Majesty's Government "will be very willing to enter into consultation with the representatives of several communities, parties and interests in India, and the Indian Princes, with a view to securing their aid and co-operation in framing such modifications as may seem desirable". This is gall and wormwood to the Congress. But this is precisely the thing which has pleased Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League. That is the reason why Mahatma Gandhi himself has said that Great Britain has once again followed the principle of "divide and rule". The very fact that the Viceroy has summoned representatives of so many communities and interests, and has referred so emphatically to the existing differences in India, has inflamed the Congress mind.

IV

Can the Congress or anybody deny the fact of these differences, regrettable as they are? What has the Congress done to remove these differences? If, instead of riding the

high horse before talking to the Viceroy, the Mahatma and his cabinet had put their pride in their pockets and approached the leaders of different communities and parties, and appealed to them to come to some understanding in this hour of India's peril, the Congress would have put Mr. Jinnah and all others in a difficult position. They would have either agreed to discuss matters among themselves, or declined. If a solution had been arrived at, neither the Viceroy nor the British Government would have dared to say 'no' to their demand. If no solution were arrived at, even then the Congress would have occupied a much stronger position morally. On the contrary, it was said by a distinguished leader of the Congress that the whole idea of an All-Parties' conference was fantastic.

The minorities have got every right to demand the protection of their legitimate interests; so have the Indian States; but they have no right to effectively block the progress of India. If Mr. Jinnah or the Muslim League or the propagandists of the Pakistan movement propose to divide India into two halves, Hindu and Muslim, that can never be. But the Pakistan propaganda was not put forward seriously; probably it was put forward to sabotage the Act of 1935, and there it has apparently succeeded. Even now the lost ground may be retrieved. Instead of going into the wilderness, if the Congress were to spend the next few months in mobilising opinion in favour of a peace pact in the country, it could still save the situation. The difficulties in its way, it may be considered, will be enormous. But it will command the help and assistance of all those who aim at the freedom of India—a freedom which will enable it to evolve its future peacefully and harmoniously without communal or class struggles. Unfortunately, however, the number of declarations and resolutions passed by the Congress last year is so very large, and the slogans which it has raised are so confusing, that not much hope can be entertained of an early settlement. In short, while the Viceroy's declaration is open to the criticism that it is not an inspiring document, one cannot help feeling that

the Congress is a victim of its pride and a slave to some slogans borrowed from the West which have no relation to the realities of the situation in India and which have only tended to alienate many of its supporters.

We now know that the Congress is going into the wilderness. Its Ministers have been ordered to resign. But the Mahatma has given an interview saying that the door is not closed yet. Perhaps that statement is made in view of the forthcoming debate in Parliament. Perhaps it may lead to further interviews between the Viceroy and the Mahatma. If the situation can be saved, well and good. Otherwise, we must be prepared to face another campaign of civil disobedience. And the Mahatma's fate in civil resistance is a part of his being. It is no use arguing with him on the subject. So far as the younger people among Congressmen are concerned, they are exuberantly energetic, and many of them are probably spoiling for a fight. There are, however, some differences between the situation now existing and the situation in 1930-32. For one thing, let it not be forgotten that this is war time. Civil disobedience may be good anti-British propaganda in Germany or America. Germany does not matter. It is bound to beat the British with any stick. So far as America is concerned, the fear is entertained in certain quarters that if civil disobedience takes place and repression rages, America may refuse to help Great Britain and say that it is no better than a totalitarian state. The effect of the reactions in America cannot be altogether ignored. But probably it may be easily exaggerated. In any case, there is no evidence to believe that America will directly or indirectly exercise its pressure on Great Britain to allow the Congress to call a Constituent Assembly on adult franchise, or ask the British to agree to a severance of their connection with India. The second material difference in the situation is that the Congress starts civil disobedience, the Muslims may start a counter-movement. The Khaksars are already on the war path. Other unexpected sources of trouble may arise from similar

quarters. And once again, at the end of the struggle we may find we have made no progress. Probably the first impulse of Mahatma Gandhi was right which compelled him to say that unconditional support should be given. If this policy of his had been carried out, the case of India for complete self-government would have been unanswerable and could not have been ignored. But this was not to be.

The Muslim League has declared its partial satisfaction with the Viceroy's declaration and authorised its President to ask for the clarification of certain issues. It has expressed satisfaction that it was entitled as the only body that could speak on behalf of the Muslims and that the claim of the Congress to speak on behalf of the Muslims has not been acknowledged. What the reaction of all that has happened or is going to happen, will be on the future of the Hindus, it is not very difficult to foresee. The average Britisher is bound to say to himself: 'here are the Muslims who have stood by us in our hour of need, and here are the Hindus who very nearly wrecked our connection with India'. Of course, the British attitude will not matter at all. If Great Britain loses the war, and as the result thereof India also, we may then have a period of chaos, or we may have to deal with some other foreign power. If, on the other hand, Great Britain wins the war, which is very likely, it will not find it difficult then to deal with the Congress. And do not let it be forgotten that with Turkey on its side, and the Mohammadan bloc of States like Egypt, Iraq, and possibly Afghanistan, on its side, we may again witness the spectacle of a minority in India being the dominant factor in the country.

V

Since the above paragraphs were in type, some events of note have happened. There has been a debate in Parliament, and Sir Samuel Hoare has spoken. Mahatma Gandhi considers that his speech is conciliatory, but both he and Pandit Jawaharlal say that the situation remains unchanged. One of the Congress

Ministries—Madras—has resigned. It may be taken for granted that within the next few days the ritual and ceremony of resignation will have been gone through in the midst of acclamation on the part of the devoted worshippers in the Congress shrine. Prophecy in politics is dangerous, but the forecast may be hazarded that in the long run Congress Ministers will not find themselves in the wilderness but continue to occupy the comfortable chairs in the various Secretariats. Sir Samuel Hoare has very adroitly suggested a way out. Settle your differences, says he, and everything will be all right. Meet the Viceroy and discuss things over with him. The gates of the Viceroy's house are always open, and probably within the next few days, leaders—both Hindu and Muslim,—will be wending their way to it. They may catch a vision of the Promised Land each according to his sight and Congressmen may proclaim that the ritual of resignation had not after all been in vain. And Mr. Jinnah may on his part give assurance to his "much tyrannised" following that he had been able to protect them against the dangers of undiluted democracy. Meanwhile, it must be noted that the Congress has taken good care to announce and proclaim that no hasty step shall be taken, which in plain prose means that there shall be no civil disobedience. You cannot expect the Congress to say that there will be no civil disobedience because of this reason or that, because the violent element in it may do something silly or dangerous at any rate, or because its prestige and hold is not the same now as it was two years ago, or because Muslims may offer resignation. Whatever be the reasons, this moderation on the part of the Congress must be welcomed, though unfriendly critics may connect it with a lurking desire to continue in office. Mr. Jinnah may be successfully handled, and probably he will be. The only fly in the ointment is Mr. Subhas Bose, and he will continue to sting.

FORECAST

By "WATCHER"

This war is only a sapling as yet. We know the seed from which it has sprouted. We can, therefore, assume that it will bring forth bitter fruit. But we cannot visualise the dimensions which the girth of the upas-tree may attain—nor how far it will throw out its suckers!

The political map of Europe is already changed. More changes seem to be impending. Whether these changes will continue until the next war or would be undone at the conclusion of the present, he would be a bold prophet who would presume to foretell.

The so-called balance of Power had been upset before the war came. Since the advent of war—unexpected, unforeseen, undreamt of—combinations have come into being. Different ideologies and, therefore, unidentical interests have made common cause. As a result it is not Democracy that is threatened: it is the subsisting world-order—such as it is—that is in the melting pot.

Freedom of conscience, freedom of thought and speech—Liberty, Fraternity, Equality, the opportunities of acquiring wealth and of its utilisation for social service, according to the donor's inclination and choice, all these recognised rights of a civilised existence are under a threat of extinction.

The thought is irresistible—when every ambition symbolised by a Stalin, a Hitler and a Mussolini has been attained, when, further, the urge behind that ambition—whatever egoistic or, as is claimed, altruistic—has triumphed and there is only one Dictator in the Eastern Hemisphere, instead of three, as the result of the inevitable clash between the three idealists, will 9/10ths of humanity continue, till Doomsday, to be subject

to the behests of the one man who would have worked his way upto that position of world dictatorship? And how long will such a one live? And will there be a succession of dominating personalities whose appeal to vast masses of subjugated humanity be what Hitler's is to the Nazis, Mussolini's to Fascists and Stalin's to Bolsheviks? The common objection to hereditary despotic governments is that there is no guarantee of a succession of benevolent despots.

Of course there is no parallel in history to the implication of the hypothesis posited—but taking the Empires of the past—vast in their periods, but limited as compared with present-day ambitions, what does history reveal? And, further, even in present times, haven't Stalin, Hitler and Mussolini put out of the way many that, though probably inspired by ideals similar to their own, differed as to the methods pursued for the attainment of those ideals and justified their action in the name of national purging?

The world's thinkers—those who have taken stock of modern tendencies—social, economic and political and even those who view mundane affairs from the spiritual plane, have recently often declared that a new order is emerging—but no one has yet said what the attributes and characteristics of the new order are going to be? Whether Might is to supplant Right: whether the notion of Right—as evolved by civilisation and fundamentally utilitarian—or as preached by the Prophets and broadly humanitarian—, will survive the impact of the Old and the New Order.

It is possible to answer, in terms of ideals entertained, that the New Order will bring equality of opportunity for all and right will be this equality; and, therefore, freedom of thought and action will be the greater in a world in which all that Mother Earth can yield up or knowledge can confer, will be the common heritage of all mankind and to point out that so-called human nature is merely the joint product of tradition and environment. Let those to whom such a dead level of

humanity appeals, or those who have no faith in Karma, in Heredity, in varying actual endowments, subscribe to this creed.

To come down to Earth—what is India's future in the threatening world—cataclysm?

Indian leaders clamour for the emancipation of their countrymen from the foreign yoke. Do they? And if they do, is it because they want this freedom to order the country's affairs in its united best interest?

First of all—are they all united in a common objective?

Next, are all the communities of India ready to merge into a Nation?

Is it not rather the position that these leaders want the existing Arbitral Authority to award to their respective following what they consider to be their dues? That the claims put forward are discordant and mutually exclusive and, in certain cases, anti-national, does not seem to bother our leaders! If that authority were to abdicate, will not the claimants try to dominate each other rather than arrive at an amicable settlement? And what of the opportunity presented by internecine strife, amongst defenceless people, to vaulting ambition and armed aggression from without?

For present purposes let us assume the likeliest eventuality, namely, that the basic Indo-British association will survive this war and examine the possible transformation which that association might undergo.

Irrespective of the merits or demerits of the Act of 1935, it is obvious that, after the war—assuming it would end, as anticipated by Britain, in 1942—that Act, as it is, cannot provide the future Constitution of the Government of India. If nothing else is altered—as a result of the war—at least its provisions in respect of Defence must be altered.

As Provincial Autonomy had been recommended even by the conservative Simon Commission and was installed as

much for that reason as because of its inevitability, in the altered circumstances of India no one would argue that that step alone can represent a considerable advance upon the Diarchy of 1919. The substantial innovation—the principal feature of the Act of 1935—that which stamps that Act as a prelude to a revolutionary change in the history of the Indo-British connection and is so claimed to be by its framers is the bringing of the States and British India together in a Federal Legislature.

It is to the provisions relating to this Legislature, its composition, the methods of filling the allotted seats therein and its competency that various political parties and schools of thought have directed their criticism. That criticism embraces the reserve powers of the Governor-General and the Governors, their special responsibilities, the matters which lie within their exclusive powers and discretion. After the war, unless—as the result of an *ad interim* declaration of policy by Parliament—a new constitution on entirely new lines is drafted—which is unlikely—when the federal scheme, for the time being postponed but not yet abandoned, is revived—the criticism levelled at it will be more ironical, trenchant and mordacious, if not fiercer and more hostile. It may be anticipated that in the meanwhile British India, with its man-power at least three times larger than that of the personally-ruled States and its disposable resources incomparably larger than those of all the personal Rulers put together, would have been persuaded to help Britain with one accord during this war of unknown duration. By that reason, British India will claim to be entitled to a greater measure of trust than is evinced by the Act of 1935 and will ask for a far larger devolution of power on it than that Act effects.

British India may still favour the federal form of government at the Centre—the Congress, at any rate, has never opposed Federation qua federation—and yet ask that the federating units should be only the Provinces of British India

—ignoring the impracticability of an effective Centre in such a scheme of government.

What would be the position of the States in face of these demands and to what extent would the British Government be able to resist the demand for a larger measure of power, in the name of their solemn pledges to the States as enshrined in the Treaties with them?

British India would point out that these Treaties were respected by the British Government—at least from 1860 onwards—only to the extent that respect for them did not arrest the moral and material progress of the India they directly ruled. Indeed, British India may be willing to give an equally binding undertaking to respect the rights of the States, subject to the self-same paramount consideration which qualified the British adherence to the States' Treaties. On the other hand, if it happened to be in a carping mood, it might impugn the professed regard for Treaties as sheer hypocrisy, saying that the war of 1914 was no more fought because Germany disregarded the Treaty of 1870, than was the war of 1939 fought for the sake of the pledge which had been given to Poland, just before that war was declared.

At all events, British India is likely to agree to the survival, as separate entities in the future polity of India, of States that comprise populations of some million souls each and have sufficient revenues to create and maintain a machinery of government which can provide for all the needs of their subjects at a standard uniform with that prevalent over the rest of the country. Whether British India would agree to allow differences to remain in basic laws, in the system of taxation and in principles of public finance and financial administration, it is less easy to assume than the continued existence of the populous and prosperous States, as autonomous administrative units.

In short, the policy which brought forth mushroom growths in the territories of quondam States, namely, 'support the weak against the strong' and 'break the continuity' of this power or

that confederacy—an extension of the Roman *divide et impera*—is likely to receive short shrift in the future of India.

Many a slogan favoured by the States' people will be drowned in the surge of national freedom, for one, the advocacy of the employment of indigenous talent in public offices.

The appeal of the Princes to their Treaties will doubtless fall on responsive British ears but the British Government will have a very good reply. It was implicit in our pledge to respect your Treaties that we shall do so while we retained the measure of paramount power which we enjoyed at the date of the Treaties: now that the force of circumstances has stripped us of that power, it is upto you, as the natural leaders of the people, to stem the tide which threatens to submerge you. You must, in our common interest, canalise the flood which has broken loose. As Indians, you should make such terms with your kinsmen as would guarantee your survival and still make for the peace and prosperity of India. So far as we are concerned, true to our history and our age-long tradition, we gave to India the best we knew; the proof is that to-day Indians claim to be, and in fact are, our equals in the British Commonwealth.

Now, what have been the unalterable traditions and beliefs of the Princes?

In the forefront of their consciousness has been the idea that their ancestors created their States, carving them out with their swords; therefore, the lands which they rule over and all that those lands yield are their personal property; and, therefore, the masses who people their lands are their subjects. This status involves subjection to the Ruler's individual will—the more so as the Ruler is—*ex-hypothesi*—benevolent and looks upon his subjects as his children.

These beliefs were still workable till the end of this eighteenth century—but the dawn of the nineteenth inaugurated an era of change—imperceptible, but continuous. The slow change persisted: much was gradually altered—but the deep-seated

convictions of the Princes remained. In part they were fortified by the terms of their Treaties with the East India Company from 1817 onwards: and they were fostered by the British policy after 1860—the shock of the Mutiny bringing home to the British Government the advisability of attaching the Ruling Princes to their cause in India by a broad tolerance of their methods of rule. The sum of this policy continued to shine brighter and brighter and it attained meridian when the Orders of the Star of India and the Indian Empire were instituted by the combined genius of Lytton and Disraeli who both well understood the psychology of the Orient.

There is no public monument in the construction of which—nor any public organisation—not to mention the insignificant though fertile field of sport—in the consummation of which the Indian Princes have not vied with each other in giving munificent donations. The motive was always personal and the reward adequate—in the shape of distinctions, honours, decorations. The result of the tradition created was that, apart from the intelligent anticipation in each case of the British Government, even public expectation looked out for the announcement—"His Highness so and so has generously donated the sum of so many lakhs towards such and such an object"—be it a memorial, a statue, a particular fund or even a cup or a shield.

The monies thus lavishly spent were the gift of Their Highnesses—the people who had put that money into the coffers of the States by the sweat of their brow never coming into the picture.

During the last war India—the people of India, through their representatives, gave to Britain a hundred crores of rupees, apart from the aid rendered in men and material; it was not the Viceroy of India; not even he with his Executive Council, who made this gift.

It follows that, as after the late war, so after this, in so far as the States are concerned, it will be the Rulers whose gifts will be acknowledged : in the rest of India it will be the people whose effort will be rewarded.

There cannot be any addition to the territories of the Rulers—so their reward will be profuse thanks and additions to the rows of their decorations which will satisfy them : in the rest of India, the reward will be the acceptance of the demand of the people for more power and the reward will or will not satisfy them according as it comes upto the people's expectations. And it may be anticipated that these expectations will embrace the removal of all barriers to the unification of the country which is essential for augmenting India's power and prestige in the comity of nations. No camouflage such as make-believe constitutional rule or the setting up of bogus legislative bodies will avail as deep-blue blinds to shut out the penetrating rays of the mounting sun of the people's legitimate emancipation. Everything fundamentally parochial will have to yield place—(not even the politics of the village pump are determined by the autocrat of the diocese)—to the compelling force of a country-wide demand. More than that, the dearth of local talent in the majority of the States—including some of the biggest—will render impossible the exclusive entrustment to the children of the soil of the task of government. That task will have to be allotted to Public Service Commissions whose members will select the best persons available anywhere specially for more important vacant situations. This would not mean a break from the past because for ever so long the administration of the States—so far as the formulation and direction of policy and the control of the executive is concerned, has been in the hands of persons drawn from British India. And yet all these anticipations or assumptions do not suffice to help visualise the position that would emerge—or define the character which the governments of the States will take on,

And—an interesting question—will the Political Department survive the change—retaining all its compulsive power as well as all its unique privileges and perquisites ?

An what of British India ?

The Congress wants "Independence"—so does the Muslim League. Both ask the boon of Britain—with this difference that the League expects Britain to secure to the Muslims, by the exercise of its power, what they conceive to be their due share in the Services and in the Central and Provincial Legislatures—the justification being that they cannot trust the 'majority community' to safeguard their distinctive culture : the Congress treating all such adjustments and all guarantees to be matters entirely for the popular Indian will.

The Congress wants Britain to abdicate; the Muslim League too affects to desire that Britain shall divest itself of power—but really wants Britain to remain, if only to act an arbitrator of the Hindu-Muslim disputes.

Both parties feel in their heart of hearts the need of Britain's presence in India to defend the country—but they would have Britain fill this role as a servant of India—not as its master—at best as an altruist. It is possible to suggest "partner" in preference to my word—but that would be a euphemism.

Whatever advantages—and unquestionably there were and are many for an industrial country par excellence—Britain may have derived from its position in India—or, to adopt the popular phraseology, however Britain may have or may be exploiting India—we must not forget history. A trading corporation was formed in England in the last year of the sixteenth century when Moghul Rule in India was at the zenith of its power. Agents of this corporation came to this country and begged for opportunities of trade and later solicited concessions for the establishment of factories. They stayed and became the Paramount Power. Who put them in that position ? And have not the Rulers of India and the

people of India during the last eighty years constantly appealed to this Paramount Power to intervene in their internecine disputes and settle them? Did not British India rejoice at Lord Reading's dictum that the Paramountcy of the British Government is independent of its Treaties and still more when Sir Harcourt Butler delivered himself of his cryptic utterance—"Paramountcy must remain paramount"?

Has the outlook of our people changed? Are we more united to-day in 1939 than we were two hundred years ago when in 1739 Nadir Shah invaded India?

The teeming millions of India—350 in 1931, likely to be 400 and more in 1941—are they in any sense like the English, the French, the Germans, or even like the Americans? No, we are Hindus—a misnomer—with myriad endogamous sub-castes—Muslims divided into Shias and Sunnis—Twice-borns and Pariahs—Sanatanists and Harijans—Parsis—Christians. Our name is legion. Then, we are Sikhs and Marathas and Pathans and Garhwalis, Dogras and Kankubjas: we are Bengalis and Punjabis, Madrasis and Maharashtrians and we desire to create Provinces by linguistic and ethnical grouping. We created the Orissa and Sind provinces. We now want an Andhra province and yet we are the people who only in 1905 fulminated against the partition of Bengal. We are still as split up as ever. The sense of nationality has not dawned as yet.

The desire for emancipation from the foreign yoke—the demand for independence—whatever there is of common country-wide feeling is the direct consequence of the links forged by Britain—English as a medium of the exchange of ideas, through the Press and on the public platform, and the civic and political institutions, municipalities, corporations, Legislative Councils—none too bright examples of our genius for unitedly pursuing common objectives.

We are great at aping, for putting the cart before the horse. Our women have got the vote, we have women mem-

bers of legislatures, women honorary magistrates. We shall soon have women policemen (a delightful contradiction in terms). We shall have a Hindu Divorce Law, Inheritance Law, etc., as we have the Civil Marriage Act, and yet social reform in the broad will lag behind: caste—despite Mr. Panikkar's preaching—will live another half a century: inter-marriage will be a continuing taboo: interdining, a heresy for the vast majority of our people.

This is the social and economic outlook of the 400-million-people-to-be in whose name our leaders want independence of British control and the opportunity to frame a constitution for the governance of this immense country by the aid of a Constituent Assembly. We seem to desire before we deserve!

It is realised that the crying needs of the country are:—

The lightening of the peasantry's burden; the general uplift of the masses, the creation of key and heavy industries to make the country self-reliant—even Prohibition. But these measures involve either heavy expenditure or the reduction of sources of revenue. And the increased finance required for development, coupled with the drop in revenue occasioned by the eradication of a social evil cannot be made up merely by the reduction of Army expenditure and the general salary bill.

In pursuance of the programme before the country, we shall have to tax ourselves more. Death duties have been mentioned. It might come to capital levy! And who can foretell what will emerge from this war? Even for the exclusive defence of India—as distinguished from the common defence of India and the Empire—Army expenditure may have to be increased in these days of mechanical warfare.

In an independent India—with the protecting arm of Britain withdrawn—assuming that the projected, one-sidedly favoured division of the country into Hindu and Muslim India is achieved before Britain divests herself of her responsibility, the Pakistanists will probably be more exposed to invasion in the first stride of aggression than their distrusted countrymen!

No, India—unless it is desirous of exchanging the white yoke for, say, the yellow yoke—cannot afford, in the present-day world of insatiable thirst for raw products, territorial aggrandisement and colonisation: in short, while the creed of ‘beggar thy neighbour’ holds sway, India cannot afford to call upon Britain to give up the direction of her affairs. She can insist upon a genuine partnership; she can demand that her legitimate interests shall not be overridden by racial partisanship which enables the cream of industrial profit or profit resulting from financial jugglery through exchange, coinage and currency to go to other than her nationals: but she would be unwise to take the stand that she must be left to her own devices and resources. She must first become one country in mind and heart and so to become she must federate and have at the Centre a government which will secure and ensure her uniform development.

THE NEW ARMAGEDDON

By B. N. VARMA

The boast of heraldry, the pomp of power,
And all that beauty, all that wealth e'er gave,
Await alike th' inevitable hour:—
The paths of glory lead but to the grave.

—GRAY

I

After Twenty-one
Years.

The world heaved a sigh of relief on Nov. 11, 1918 when after four years of blood-bath the Armistice brought the Great War to an end. It was “the war to end war”, to make “the world safe for democracy”, to create “a new heaven and a new earth”. And when the end of it came, it was hailed by millions as the beginning of a new age. A servant of humanity, a dreamer of dreams, suggested the creation of an international machinery to settle disputes among nations by pacific means and the League of Nations was brought into being. The victors met at Paris to conclude peace treaties and to redraw the map of the world. But hardly before the ink on these treaties was dry we heard the mutterings of a new storm. An insensate race for armaments started, and now after twenty-one years we are witnessing another trial of strength between the great powers of Europe. The League of Nations, which was expected to exercise a sobering influence and to keep the intransigent countries within reasonable bounds, proved to be an effete body which did nothing beyond passing a few platonic resolutions when the painful dramas were enacted in Manchuria and Abyssinia, and it has now virtually ceased to exist.

1919 Peace Con-
ference,

The Paris Peace Conference held in 1919 drew up treaties to herald the dawn of an era of order and security but at the same

time it sowed the seeds of future strife and the procession of events during the last two decades seen in its proper historical perspective clearly shows that all that has happened culminating in the present-day holocaust is the direct result of the injustices perpetrated at the conference table and the vindictive spirit exhibited by the victors. It is a reaction against the inferiority complex of the post-Versailles years. The country which had to suffer most as a result of the Versailles settlement was Germany. She had to relinquish part of Prussia which was ceded to Poland and her eastern territory was cut off from the mainland. This was Pomerania popularly known as the "Corridor." The port of Danzig, predominantly German and the natural seaport of a great hinterland, was severed from Germany and though erected into a free city under the supervision of the League was virtually under Polish control and together with Gdynia became Poland's "window on the world". The Saar mines became French property and the colonial possessions were wiped out. Germany remained in a state of semi-starvation even after the Armistice and the blockade continued till April 1919. In addition to the cession of territories Germany was called upon to pay huge war indemnities, she was disarmed, the strength of her army was fixed. Thus stood Germany in 1919—shorn of her territories, militarily disarmed, economically poor, humiliated and crestfallen. The division of the territorial spoils led to the appearance of a number of new States on the map of Europe—Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania—and the reappearance of Poland after one hundred and twenty-three years. The boundaries were drawn up in a punitive spirit in entire disregard of economic consequences and ethnical combinations. Germany felt bitter and nursed a feeling of revenge. The French had for a generation been talking of "La revanche"—revenge for the unjust seizure of Alsace-Lorraine. The obnoxious Versailles settlement "left a whole crop of Alsace-Lorraines all over the world. It ended nothing, began nothing and settled nothing".

Hitler comes into
Power

And when Hitler came into power and became the Chancellor of Germany in 1933 he vowed to unsettle the Versailles settlement and to regain for Germany her independence and prestige of the pre-War days. The army which was restricted to 100,000 was raised to thrice that number, conscription was reintroduced, weapons forbidden under the treaty—tanks, heavy guns and military aircraft—were openly adopted, a new fleet was put under construction, the international commissions of control to regulate navigation on the German rivers were abolished. Within three years Hitler "had torn up all the pages of the Treaty of Versailles that imposed restrictions on the people of the Germany marked out on the map of 1919 and it was anticipated that at the first favourable opportunity he would strike out at the territorial restrictions imposed in the same document". The expected did happen. The German army marched into the Rhineland from which both troops and fortifications were debarred and occupied it. The annexation of Austria and Czechoslovakia followed. Now came the turn of Danzig and the Corridor. The aggressive designs of the German dictator caused alarm among the European Powers. He was marching from strength to strength, riding rough shod over his weak and defenceless neighbours in utter disregard of all canons of international law and morality and treating pacts and treaties as mere scraps of paper. Poland was threatened and at the point of the bayonet asked to surrender Danzig and the Corridor. Poland refused to be intimidated. Britain and France promised to stand by her, for a brake had to be put on Hitler's triumphal march. Poland was willing to have all points of dispute settled by negotiations. Mussolini counselled caution and dissuaded his brother dictator from precipitating a crisis; the American President suggested pause and parley; Britain and France gave repeated warnings. But Hitler heeded not and took the plunge. The war began.

II

Before the actual operations started a most astonishing thing happened. Russia and Germany, believed by the whole world to be the bitterest enemies of each other, entered into a non-aggression pact. This Hitler did to wean Russia away from the peace front in the hope that Britain and France deprived of her support would leave Poland in the lurch at the mercy of Germany and Hitler would be able to repeat his tactics in Austria and Czechoslovakia and pocket Danzig and the Corridor without firing a shot. His calculations, however, went awry. He had now a different Chamberlain and Daladier to deal with than a year before. Britain and France had reached an irrevocable decision and there was no going back upon their pledges. Germany attacked Poland. Poland's conquest was not a very difficult job for Germany. No direct and decisive aid could be given by the western powers. And despite a heroic and stubborn resistance Poland fell. The fall was hastened by another unexpected Russian *coup d'état* which not only immensely complicated the situation, but showed what a trap Stalin had laid for Hitler in the Kremlin deal. When Germany had well nigh completed the task of conquest and Poland lay bleeding and prostrate Russia administered a stab in the back on the pretext of protecting the white Russians and Ukrainians in Poland and went off with the lion's share in the booty, leaving Hitler, who had foolishly imagined that the "Moscow card was his ace", stupefied and flabbergasted at the stupendous error that he had committed in making overtures to the Russian bear. The Nazi-Soviet handshake was not a handshake of warm friends and allies. The silent Stalin, who unlike the Duce and the Fuehrer, is not a dealer in bluff and bluster, has played his own game. And that game is the Sovietisation of as large a part of Europe as possible. He has been patiently waiting for an opportunity and now he thinks the time has come to fish in the troubled waters. Russia

Conquest of Poland

is neither the friend of Nazi Germany nor of the democratic Britain and republican France. She wants to destroy both. If it could be so manoeuvred that these powers could fight among themselves and suffer loss of men and materials, well and good. The Russo-German transaction apparently weakened the peace front. Hitler grew more confident of in the first place there being no conflict at all, and, in the event of a clash, victory. Hence his attitude towards Poland became more and more uncompromising. Fight became inevitable. Poland was conquered with the help of German troops. Russia stepped in for a share in the spoils. Germany, pressed on the western front, had to rest content with what little she got. With more than half of Poland in her pocket, Russia has extended her territories. She is now trying to widen the sphere of her influence in the Baltic as well as in the Balkans. The Baltic States are already (more or less) under Soviet hegemony. The German advance in central and south-eastern Europe has been definitely checked. Hitler is now engaged in a deadly tussle with the powerful western democracies and is bound to be worsted in the end. Russia is in no open hostility with Germany, and under the guise of neutrality she will help Germany but only to enable her to prolong the fight and exhaust herself in a long-drawn out struggle. The longer the war lasts, the greater will be the opportunity of Russia to extend the frontiers of her Bolshevist ideology. There will, in all probability, be internal revolt against Hitlerian regime, the peasants and workers will rise, the tyrant will be overthrown and that will provide a splendid opportunity for the Sovietisation of Germany. That is what Stalin is looking forward to, and that is what all his activities are meant to aim at.

III

Having been badly beaten in the game of diplomacy by the Russian stalwart, Hitler now started the peace offensive. But as ill luck would have it, here too he misfired. The Western Allies

On the Western Front

were not to be taken in by such peace feelers. They had decided to liquidate Hitlerism and till then no peace proposals could be entertained. In Mr. Churchill's words, "it was for Herr Hitler to say when the war would begin but it was not for him to say when it would end". So the war continues, now on the western front, and Germany is engaged in a titanic struggle. Hitler's anxiety for peace was due to the inability of Germany to wage a long war with success. For, war now is not merely a matter of soldiers and guns; it is the economic strength of countries that will ultimately decide the issue. And Germany is economically bankrupt. The breakdown of her industrial system within four to eight months owing to lack of raw materials and soaring costs has been forecast by a German economist. She is practically isolated from the countries which used to supply her import needs. She has not the means of purchasing war supplies from any country. Her reserves of bullion and foreign currency are ominously low. Her merchant ships have been practically cleared off the high seas. The defeat of Germany is certain. The submarine menace is fast approaching its end, a large number of U-boats having been destroyed. The Anglo-French combination ensures overwhelming naval superiority and maritime blockade will cripple Germany's resources. Her own navy has been practically bottled up in the Baltic. The steady flow of trade to and from British shores has remained, and is likely to remain, unbroken. Besides there is discontent in Germany itself. There have been large-scale acts of sabotage in German firms. People are smarting under the Gestapo scorpion-whips, and little wonder if they take advantage of the present chaotic conditions and raise the banner of revolt. The Anglo-Franco-Turkish Pact is another slap on the face of Hitler and has slammed the door on his ambitions in south-east Europe.

The odds are heavily against the bogey man of Europe, nay, of the world. As failure dogs his foot-steps, he grows more and more frightful. Those whom the gods wish to destroy they must

drive mad. He now intends using poison gas in contravention of the 1925 Geneva protocol. He will use all engines of destruction he can lay his hands upon. "After me the deluge" seems to be his guiding motto. He is seized of power-lust and is not only heading for his fall but leading his country to ruination. If it were merely the problem of solution of the Danzig and Corridor disputes it could be done by peaceful negotiations. Britain and France repeatedly expressed their readiness to examine Germany's claim for *lebensraum*. As Mahatma Gandhi said, "Hitler should have allowed his claims to be submitted to an impartial tribunal for examination." To this Britain, France and Poland would have agreed. But "he contemptuously rejected the way of peace or persuasion and chose that of the sword". Most reluctantly, but very necessarily, the Western Democracies had to take up the challenge, for, as the British Premier observed; "It is not alone the freedom of small nations that is at stake, there is also in jeopardy the peaceful existence of Great Britain, the Dominions, India and the rest of the British Empire and France and, indeed, of all peace-loving countries". *Hitlerism must go*—is now their one objective, and till that is achieved there is no ending of the war. Hitlerism will go, if not to-day, tomorrow, but only (oh, the pity of it!) after blazing a trail of misery in Germany and leaving her in the same wretched condition in which she found herself twenty years ago, and from which it will take years and years to rehabilitate her position.

Whether the present war will be "a crisis to end crises", whether it will "lay the foundation of a better international system which will mean that war is not to be the inevitable lot of every succeeding generation", whether might will no longer be right and right shall always be might, it is difficult for even the most incorrigible optimist to say with any amount of certainty. For the disappearance of Hitlerism will not mean the end of all troubles. The communist menace with its high

priest, Stalin, is there. That Russia is a *pucca* imperialist nation, like any other, has been revealed beyond a shadow of doubt by her activities during the last two months. On the merest pretext she marched her armies in Poland and took possession of the greater part of it and is now proceeding with the task of Sovietisation. The electors in Lwow (south east Poland) are being urged to vote for a communist regime and the exclusion of any Fascist tendency. The Baltic States have been coerced into permitting the construction of naval bases so that Russia may successfully challenge the superiority of the British and French navies. Her effort is to make the Baltic a Russian lake, even as Mussolini is trying to make the Mediterranean an Italian lake. She has her designs on the Balkans and the Near East and has concentrated large troops in south-east Poland and on the Slovak frontier. India and China are not to escape her attention. Those to whom the Moscow ideologies are meat and drink and who are looking forward to Russia coming to their rescue and liberating them from the clutches of Imperialism or Fascism are only nursing in their breasts false hopes. Nothing but sad disillusionment is in store for them. Mussolini is only biding his time. Dai Nippon is no less ambitious. The votaries of Koda (the Japanese political ideal) believe that "the great ideal of the Japanese nation should be spread and expanded all over the world and every impediment to it brushed aside—even by the sword." These are the dangers the democratic countries have to guard against. But just now the Nazi peril stalks the world and has to be got rid of. First things first.

FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT

By DHARAM BIR VOHRA

The roles which Fortune allots to human beings are often quaint. Can there be anything more surprising than that one blessed with all that a person even of his status can expect, and a born aristocrat, titulated with all the earthly temptations to enjoy life, should take up the cause of the neglected poor in thorough contempt of the traditions of his own class? Yet, this is the picture which Roosevelt's life presents to us. Descended on both sides from wealthy Dutch stock, and owning a large estate on the banks of the river Hudson, he seemed destined for the quiet and comfortable life of a country gentleman. His youth and early manhood, indeed, were spent after the fashion which tradition had laid out for him. But regular and unhurried as the current of his life was till then, it was soon to be thrown into violent eddies and whirlpools and to become almost a roaring torrent. Feelings and passions which till then had remained dormant were to flare up in all their intensity and transform his life to the very roots.

The most dominant among the forces which governed the development of Roosevelt in his younger days, were his joy of life and his relish of a fight. There was precious little that troubled his serene mind. Blessed with a vigorous health and an active nature, he was always on the look-out for means to enjoy himself. And his father had, with commendable paternal understanding, shown him a good many ways of spending his time profitably; he had often taken him around the huge family estate to see how the farmers lived and to study the ways of innumerable creatures that inhabited its wild places; he had taken special delight also in relating to young Franklin the romance of the river Hudson—the part it had played in the history of

America and the great sailors who had ridden its stormy breast—making every detail realistic by voyaging with the boy to historic spots on its banks. Thus did Roosevelt conceive that passion for the sea which has not left him even to this day. On one occasion, this passion combined with his love of a fight, led him to attempt an escapade from school (which he was not constrained to join before he was fourteen) during the early days of the Spanish-American War. Seeing the opportunity for realizing his long-cherished dream of a sea-faring life and desiring also to strike a blow for his country, with his youthful zeal, he conspired with a companion to abandon the school for the deck, but the plan had been carried only partially when measles upset their entire calculations. Roosevelt was not to see his dreams fulfilled so soon; and for ten more years he continued the customary life of the aristocrat. In 1900, the year when he joined Harvard, his septuagenarian father died, and he was left to the tender care of his mother. Three years later, at the age of twenty-one, he married a cousin of his, called Eleanor Roosevelt, and joined the Columbia Law School, still undecided as to his future.

During these years, however, another member of the Roosevelt family, related to Franklin as an uncle, was making his phenomenal ascent to the Presidential throne. This was Theodore Roosevelt, a man who, though displaying a character almost the very opposite of Franklin's, must inevitably have produced a deep impression on his young nephew's mind. Further, the fact that the two were set in opposition to each other by their traditional political allegiances, Franklin being Democrat and Theodore Republican, invested Theodore's career with a peculiar significance about Franklin. His fighting spirit sharpened by a realization of the tacit challenge inherent in the situation, Franklin no doubt decided inwardly that an effort must be made in the political field.

And before long an opportunity presented itself to him. The Democrats in New York state were a rather ineffectual party, only one of them having been elected to the provincial

Senate during the last fifty years. In the 1910 elections too, they had no apparent chance of success, but Roosevelt accepted his nomination by them as senatorial candidate. He was a born fighter, and the coming contest would at any rate provide him with a good deal of excitement. So, full of the eagerness of youth, he plunged into the campaign with all his heart. Having been brought up on a farm and having mixed uncommonly with men of all classes, he was able to reach the very heart of the electorate. Touring the State personally, he made direct social contacts with his voters and impressed them so well with his personality that despite the Democratic tradition, he won an outright victory, and at the age of 29 was installed Senator for New York.

The favourite of Fortune continued to achieve further successes. At the 1913 elections for the Presidency, he figured as one of the most enthusiastic of Wilson's supporters. His talks with this politician had revealed to him how in at least one preoccupation, the relief of poverty, they were in perfect accord. For Wilson the question had a supremely pressing importance and though the intensity of feeling in regard to it was not quite the same in Franklin's case, he, too, was deeply interested in it. This identity of interest impelled Franklin to throw himself heartily on the side of Wilson, and it was not a little owing to his efforts in the election campaign that Wilson became the holder of the highest office in the country. As a reward for his support, Franklin was offered in turn the posts of Collector of Customs for New York Port, Assistant Secretary to the Treasury, and Assistant Secretary to the Navy. The former two he rejected straightway, but was only too glad to accept the last. For had he not during all his youth dreamed of becoming a sea-man? And had not, further, the *other* Roosevelt, towards whom he felt both envy and jealousy, held this very post in his earlier days? Thus it was that the War saw Franklin Roosevelt in one of the responsible positions of Government. Executive office in the Navy, apart from satisfying Franklin's passion for a sea-faring

life, took him a long step forward in his political training. During the War, his business took him to various parts of Europe, where he was enabled to have direct experience of political intrigues and political personalities. Such experience was particularly suited to him because his practical nature distrusted all abstract knowledge. He had, from his early days, acquired his knowledge almost exclusively from actual, concrete objects and was so much averse to theoretical learning that he left the Columbia Law School without attempting to take his graduate's degree. It was through rivers and seas, through land and human beings that he sought to equip himself mentally. His father had taken him on trips to Europe and allowed him to see things for himself. Now those first impressions of life in the Old World were extended and made precise by his official trips—to form a nucleus for his foreign policy later on. Thus while the War period satisfied the coming President's two most fundamental impulses—joy for life and relish of battle—it also greatly improved his knowledge of men and affairs.

On his homeward journey from Europe, Roosevelt learnt from Wilson of the proposed League of Nations. The idea was so well adapted to Roosevelt's cosmopolitan outlook that he was so fascinated by it that he undertook to popularize it on his return to the States. At the new elections, Wilson being too ill and unpopular, Cox was nominated to replace him and Roosevelt himself, unexpectedly enough, was nominated Vice-Presidential candidate. But to a war-disillusioned and distrustful public, Roosevelt's advocacy of the League was so annoying that both he and Cox were defeated. Roosevelt thereupon retired into private life and accepted the directorship of an Insurance Company. But a short time later, while on a pleasure cruise, he was struck down with infantile paralysis of the lower half of his body. Fortune had, to all appearances, deserted her erstwhile favourite.

The paralysis was a veritable revolution in Roosevelt's life. He had hitherto known no physical discomfort and had

constantly revelled in the free and easy use of all the powers of his virile body. Indeed, it was upon the solid foundation of his bodily resources that his zest for life rested. So completely had he accepted the joys and pleasures which Fortune gave him that even his political activities so far had been indulged in a spirit of playfulness. Whether he won an election or lost it, whether he was in or out of office, one thing he never omitted to do, and that was to enjoy himself hugely. The uncertainties and vagaries of politics caused him no anxiety whatever but merely intensified his relish of life. Neither his own political conviction nor the urge of Theodore Roosevelt's example was so insistent as to take his public career seriously. But the paralysis changed all this. It was Roosevelt's first experience of misery—an experience, moreover, of such grim severity that it revealed to him an entirely new aspect of life. It pressed upon him the realization that the world of enjoyment and pleasure was not the only world—that there was another world, a remotely nether world—in which the poor and the suffering lived. Of course, Roosevelt had always had a soft corner in his heart for the poor, and in his college days he had openly attacked the arrogance of the wealthier group of students; still further back, during the Boer War, when boys of his own social class had expressed their sympathy for the prosperous and civilized English, he had with furious energy devoted himself to the collection of funds for the poor savage Boers. In fact, ever since his early youth, his sympathetic nature had instinctively turned towards the lowly and the needy. But it was his sickness now which brought before him the problem of the poor in all its lurid intensity. Henceforward, he became, consciously and deliberately, a champion of the poor.

Besides giving him a cause to work for, his illness gave him the necessary determination for its successful pursuance. So far, Roosevelt had had no occasion to exercise his will and the latter was, therefore, not much in evidence. But once he was struck down by disease, all the energies of his being came forth.

to combat the enemy and the fighter in him appeared in all the array of battle. Roosevelt made little headway against the disease but his will-power had fabricated itself during the hours and months of excruciating trial. Eventually, when his discovery of Georgia warm springs had effected a partial cure, he emerged a different man altogether; his youthful and supple features had passed into a powerful, determined maturity; his entire aspect became, not sombre, but purposeful, bespeaking a man not only of action but of decision.

After having thus reformed the features and the character of Roosevelt, Fortune again took charge of his public activities. In the first place, she sent him a sincere and devoted friend, in the person of Louis Howe. This man, a journalist, who had already served under Roosevelt during the latter's Navy days, gave up a lucrative business position when he came to know of Roosevelt's illness and took upon himself the duty of tending his erstwhile master to health and fitness. It is to Howe's sympathy and tact, besides the tender care of his own wife, that Roosevelt owes his successful emergence from the initial shock of his terrible illness. It was Howe again who by his tireless labours, helped to reinstall Roosevelt in public life. For, in 1928, Fortune threw another gift in the path of her favourite, her instrument this time being Alfred Smith, Governor of New York. Roosevelt, a sincere admirer of Smith, had in the past given him vigorous support in his election campaigns and had in 1924 helped in his being nominated candidate for the Presidency. Smith was now once more aiming at the Presidency (having been defeated in 1924) and as a reward for Roosevelt's past support invited him to stand as gubernatorial candidate for New York. Roosevelt agreed, and the year 1929 saw him duly installed Governor of New York State.

Both in his election addresses and in his speeches as Governor, the dominant note was economic; he condemned the avidity of the rich and stressed the fact that no one had a right to exploit what evidently belonged to the community.

He was particularly insistent in his denunciation of the private management of water-power, and expressed the desirability of its being taken over by Government. In fact, he was already feeling his way to a system of planned economy in which the elementary commodities at least, were protected from the iniquitous control of industrialists. The interests of the poor had become for him the basis of all policy—as they are, even more definitely and more effectively, to-day.

But in America, even Governors have no great power to enforce their will. So Roosevelt had to be content with nothing better than a repeated enunciation of his ideals; it was only rarely that he could achieve anything concrete. However, his opportunity soon arrived. By 1932, after 4 years of Governorship—and such unorthodox governorship, at that—he had become a full-fledged national figure, and was nominated by his party as Presidential candidate. As of old, his fighting spirit came to the fore, and he plunged into the campaign with the zest of youth. Once more, he set himself to travel all over the country, meet his voters in person, and tell them about his plans for them. Nature had now made it impossible for him to make dramatic, informal appearances among the peasants whom he loved, but the force of his personality and the straightforward sincerity of his utterances were potent enough to bring him a brilliant victory. The hand of Fortune, however, was obvious not so much in the victory itself as in the occasion of it. For America, along with the rest of the world, was in the travail of the slump. It was this particular situation which enabled Roosevelt, in his inaugural address, to ask for special powers, and which prompted the country to grant him these powers. Had Roosevelt been obliged to function after the traditional fashion, he would certainly have not found it possible to accomplish much. But equipped with the powers of an autocrat, he proceeded at once to put his long-cherished ideas into practice. Within a month of his inauguration, the banks, the railways, agriculture and trade were in his hands. Then, despite the warnings of the orthodox economists,

he devalued the dollar—a step, which, purely from practical considerations, he had conceived to be essential for national welfare.

Next he ventured upon the perilous task of subduing the industrialists. Hitherto, every means had failed to wring the slightest concessions from these over-mighty men; but Roosevelt called a conference of the representatives of six leading industries, and by nothing more drastic than friendly persuasion, got them to sign a Code of Fair Competition for Trade and Industry, by which the security of the small businessmen and the factory-workers was vastly strengthened, thus affecting a real revolution in American industry. Having acquired a measure of control over the workings of industry, he proceeded to levy heavy taxes on its fabulously rich exponents, using the money thus collected for unemployment relief and fosterage of agriculture. By such means did the born aristocrat direct all his policy to the uplift of the poor.

Roosevelt's powers, as we have noticed, are autocratic; but he never uses them autocratically. Ever since he attained authority, he has taken every opportunity to act with constitutional propriety. The fact is, that with the balanced nature he possesses, it ill suits him to adopt the dictatorial role. Both by instinct and by choice he is a thorough democrat—and America need never fear that he will blossom forth into a Hitler or a Stalin. He has no animus towards anyone, not even towards the business magnates whom he taxes so prodigiously. Of racial prejudice also he is innocent; having Negro servants at home and a Jew member in his Cabinet. Abroad, his policy is based on plain honesty and he suffers from none of the perversities of mind which make the dictators such a terror to all who have to deal with them. America's Roosevelt, in fact, is, and will remain, on the one hand, a genial gentleman, and, on the other, a determined friend of the poor.

ANDRÉ MAUROIS

By S. H. LIMAYE

Among the modern French authors of merit André Maurois holds a foremost place. André Maurois, though he belongs to the Bourgeoisie of the 19th century by his education and occupation, holds a first rank among the five or six French authors of repute who are known to the public after the catastrophe of 1914-18.

André Maurois is the pseudonym of Emile Herzog, born at Elbeuf in 1885. This pseudonym was adopted because the author at the time of the publication of his first book "*Les Silences du colonel Bramble*" was an officer in the army and the permission of his superiors was necessary to publish his work under his real name. His family is of Alsacien origin. In 1872 at the time of the annexation of Alsace to Germany the ancestors of A. Maurois who were traders at Bischwiller emigrated to France with all their workmen, came and settled at Elbeuf where they established a weaving factory which soon became a most important one in this part of the country. So this young man is the son of a factory owner who has been taught to respect the fundamental principles of the Bourgeoisie from his childhood. We often find in his works the echo of puritanism. From his childhood, he lived a city-life, therefore we scarcely find in his works, "*La nature champêtre*." He may be appropriately called as "*L'homme de jardin*". He is the most independent and ardent writer of the present-day France and his "*désir d'être just'e*" renders him a great critic admired by all. Kipling, Lyautey and Alain had great influence over him. From his school days, Alain Chartier, his Professor of Philosophy, saw in him '*un artisan*.' At school he won many prizes, and if it is true that nothing ruins a man like success, it is truer still that nothing stimulates and encourages a man

more than his first success. He believed that the profession of a teacher suited him most. But his father marked him out for the ownership of a factory. Till the declaration of war M. André Maurois was looking after his factory.

His first book "Les Silences du Colonel Bramble" had a great success. After the armistice in 1919, he published a novel "Ni Ange ni Bête" which had a little success. But his next book "Les Discours du Docteur O'Grady," had a great success. Again he had to look after his factory. At this time the public was tyrannical inasmuch as it favoured the popular author only if he continued to write the same kind of works. To overcome this difficulty A. Maurois had to impose upon himself a silence. He devoted these years of self-imposed silence to patient studies. He published his next great work "Ariel" or the Life of Shelley, in 1923. After the brilliant success of this work, he decided to leave Elbeuf and settle in Paris, where he contracted new literary friendships with Gide, Valéry, Mauriac, Paul Morand, etc. In Paris he worked as regularly as in his factory at Elbeuf, because he knew well that in literature as in other arts, fame is acquired by gift as well as hard work (d'un don et de travail). He worked daily for ten to twelve hours and all this not for any desire for glory but merely for the sake of pleasure. Soon it was found that he was a born orator. In 1928 he was invited by the University of Cambridge to deliver six lectures on Aspects of Biography. In 1931 he was at the University of Princeton. Those who followed these lectures appreciated the depth of his knowledge and the charm of his personality. It is rarely that a French writer has real influence abroad. Now, that of André Maurois is indisputable. The authority of Maurois in France and his immense reputation are great. He is a link between nations. He succeeds in all that he undertakes. Thus the pupil of Chartier who wished to be a man of action, who by vocation could have been a teacher, who by necessity had been a trader, of whom the war had made a writer, has, thanks to his good luck, lived all these different dreams in turn.

Of all his works, the following are undoubtedly worthy of an honourable mention: Les silences du Colonel Bramble, Disraéli, Bernard Quesney, Climats, Le cercle de famille, Le peseur d'âmes, Voltaire Edouard VII et son temps, etc. During the great war he served in the English army for three and a half years in an English, Scottish and Irish atmosphere. He sketched excellent humorous portraits of the officers whom he met in the army. War, folly, medicine, arts and other questions are humorously discussed in this volume. In his book 'Le côté de Chelsea, we see what a great influence Marcel Proust exercised on Maurois. His next work Rouen reveals to us his education and character. We see in it the origin of his "Conservatisme Populaire". He wrote for children his book "Le pays des 36000 volontés." This is a book about a country where it never rains and where all is play in the garden the whole day. André Maurois has written many biographies, the foremost being Ariel or the life of Shelley. This book is an outburst of romanticism in him. It was a self-revelation. The public was tired of novels. It longed for something between adventurous and psychological novels. People found in this work of A. Maurois traits of a romantic work and the depth of a psychological analysis. It had the form of a biography at once serious, light, easy to read and substantial. After this he wrote two fine romantic biographies of Byron and Disraéli. His success in this direction lies in the fact that he identifies himself completely with the hero whose life he undertakes to describe. He collects all the material-documents, letters, etc., very carefully, then draws a true and impartial portrait of him. With him this is a labour of love. He wrote a few pages on Maréchal Lyautey. This book is more than a biography. It is a sort of an essay on happiness. As a critic he has written a few essays which reveal him as a constructive critic. His study of the English language and literature is vast. His favourite authors are Dickens, Ruskin and Kipling. He wrote many novels. His first novel "Ni Ange ni Bête" depicts the struggle of the early days of his

life in his factory. His next novel "Bernard Quenanay" is both sentimental and social. His novel "Climats" is his first novel which bears his personal mark. His other works "L'Anglaise", "Cercle de Famille", etc., are also a pleasant reading. His latest works "L'Instinct du Bonheur" and "Edouard VII et son temps" reveal in him a novelist and historian of the first rank. The second book is a sort of social history of the time of Edward the Seventh. He pictures in a graphic manner the state of things then prevailing in European politics. The style is lucid and the exposition clear. The book is very important at the present juncture. The old encirclement cry is again heard now, and the whole world dreads to-day the German hegemony as it did in 1914. A. Maurois with all the documents which he could gather tries to prove that Edward VII was a peacemaker. Throughout this great work we find an optimistic tone, disdain for scepticism and confidence in life which are the special traits of Maurois.

To sum up, A. Maurois has plans "explicatifs and constructifs." He preaches in his works optimistic relativism and condemns all nihilist scepticism. In politics he draws up his theory of popular conservatism. He is a great patriot and declares that every young man should sacrifice his individual liberty, if need be, at the altar of the State. However, he discusses the problem of collective happiness. His style is clear, lucid and sometimes sharp; his language pure, simple and classical. Influence of Proust, Gide, Valéry is visible everywhere in his works. There is a constant correlation between his works and life. Recently he has been honoured by the French Academy which elected him as one of its few and chosen members. A unique honour indeed! He is one of the most admired and widely read of the modern French authors both at home and abroad. Presently he has returned to France after an extensive tour in America, and the world is eagerly awaiting his book on America—an extract from which has been already published in "Les Nouvelles Littéraires."

HAND SPINNING AND WEAVING INDUSTRY IN INDIA

By SHITLA PRASAD SAKSENA

The first week in October, known more popularly as the Gandhi Jayanti week, has assumed the character of a festival for general national rejoicing. This is the birth-week of Mahatma Gandhi, the political and spiritual leader of new India. During this week the most prominent activity is the sale of Khadi (hand spun and hand woven cloth) which reminds us of the past glory when the Indian cotton industry had earned a name. During the last century and a half India's position in the textile market has been reversed. Instead of the Royal families in England and France putting on Indian muslin, Indians—rich and poor—depend for their clothing on Lancashire and Japan. The destruction of this industry not only affected India's international trade in cotton piece-goods but crippled a very stable source of employment for numerous village folk. But the Indian handloom industry did not suffer only because of foreign competition. A formidable rival grew up even within the country in the shape of textile mills run on the basis of mass production, specialisation of functions and intensive use of power and machinery. The superficial short-lived advantages of the mill industry dazzled the eyes of our industrialists. Even the nationalist Indians supported them in the early stages under the garb of Swadeshi. Mahatma Gandhi, for the first time in India, sounded a note of alarm against the mill-made cloth, foreign as well as Indian, and advocated the revival of Khadi industry in the countryside. Since then the Charkha and khaddar cloth have been closely associated with the national struggle. To-day, khadi is the symbol of Indian independence. The charkha occupies a central place on the Indian tri-colour flag made of khaddar cloth. Again, it is an

emblem of our economic awakening and shows the faith that our industries—nay, our entire economic and social order—should be built on the bed-rock of Indian village prosperity, which in effect is real Indian prosperity.

We have to examine briefly this ideology in the light of economic principles and material facts. Whether this emphasis on khaddar is a mere political stunt, a vote-catching device, a piece of holy sentimentalism, a Utopian dream or a sound economic proposition dictated by the needs and the circumstances of the country, is to be determined by a careful weighing of arguments for and against the proposition.

Discussion on such matters should be more realistic than theoretical. If a mere paper discussion is not the objective, then two facts deserve to be kept in view: (1) the vast population of India about 80% of which depends on agriculture directly or indirectly and (2) the permanent partial unemployment of our agriculturists for about half the year spread over small periods at short intervals which are absolutely uncertain in their occurrence. From the second point it follows that the question of the migration to cities for those engaged in agriculture and partially unemployed, is not possible.

It is admitted on all hands that Indian agriculture is far too overcrowded and a good percentage of the present population now depending on agriculture can be safely spared for other vocations. On the basis of the proportions given in the Census report (1931), there would now be about 32 million people deriving a living from agriculture and allied occupations. The average per capita income of our agriculturists to-day would not be more than forty rupees per annum and it needs no words to prove the insufficiency of this small income for the needs of the people. Extreme poverty is therefore the logical consequence. For various reasons, such as fragmentation of holdings, poverty and illiteracy, scientific agriculture cannot be immediately introduced. Even assuming that agriculture can be suddenly revolutionised, an appreciable

rise in per capita income cannot be envisaged so long as the present dependence on agriculture cannot be reduced. The present per capita crop area in India is near about 0.75 acre which is quite insufficient to provide even poor comforts to the people of the land. The case for supplementing agriculture by other manufacturing industries is thus clearly made out. One such industry is the cotton textile industry. It is carried on both as a village industry and as an organised mill industry. The Indian National Congress stands for the village industry, popularly known as the Khadi industry.

The first thing to be examined is the capacity of both organisations for giving employment to our agriculturists. In 1937, the total approximate number of labourers employed in the production of khadi cloth was as follows :

Occupation	Employed by Spinners' Association.	Employed by certified centres.
Spinners	1,49,352	28,144
Weavers	12,598	2,199
Carders	20,000	3,000
Washermen, dyers, and others ..	1,000	200
Total	1,83,950	33,543
Grand Total		2,17,493

This number has considerably gone up during the last 18 months. As against this, the cotton textile mill industry gave employment to 417276 workers. The capacity for employment can be judged more clearly in relation to production and capital investment. In 1937, the total khadi production was 7.25 million yards, the corresponding mill production being 3571 million yards. The average number of labourers employed per million yards of cloth produced and per million rupees invested in the two organisations, shows the following results :

	Khadi cloth.	Mill cloth.
Total production in million yds. ..	7,250	3,571
Total capital invested in Rs. ...	5 million	281 million
	(paid up capital and reserve)	
No. of labourers employed daily ..	2,17,493	4,17,276
Labourers per million yards of cloth produced ..	30,000	117
Labourers per million rupees of capital invested ..	43,490	1,495

These staggering figures need not surprise us. The keystone of modern factory organisation is mass production through an intensive use of machinery. The introduction of machinery rests but on one principle, namely, the economy of human labour. There is thus an inverse ratio between the use of machinery and employment of labour. If one rises, the other necessarily falls. Where labour force is scarce machinery is a blessing but in a country like India, where labour is super-abundant and unemployment is chronic, machinery in place of labour is a curse and a crime. It means a denial of the livelihood to the labour, howsoever small it might have been. It is said that the displaced labour can seek employment in the manufacture of machinery. For India there are no such opportunities for the present. But even in those countries where machinery is manufactured, the new industry has not been able, and will not be able, to absorb the entire displaced labour population. Thus factory production instead of providing additional employment actually creates more unemployment in the country unless there is scope to carry on extensive export trade. The advantage claimed by factory production is said to be a lowering of the cost of the goods which is likely to widen consumption. Admitting that factory production is cheaper than handloom production, the problem before the workers would be to choose between 'employment and a little costly goods' and 'unemployment and cheaper goods'. Any worker would prefer the first alternative because in the second case the worker has no means to purchase goods

however cheap they may be. The position would have been tolerable if the wages of the displaced workers were added to the earnings of the restricted few workers. What actually happens is a contraction in the wage bill. In khadi production the wage bill constitutes 70 % of the total cost of production while in a modern cotton factory it comes up to only 20 %.

The assertion of cheaper prices has now to be examined. The difference in the cost of production of khadi cloth and mill cloth is not very marked, though there is a difference of two and a half times in the labour costs. In one case in Madras it was shown that the cost of production in mills was even higher than the cost of production in handloom industry. The following extracts from the report of the Special Tariff Board on Cotton Textile industry (1932) is very relevant ;

It (handloom cloth) costs six annas and one pie a yard to make and it sells for seven annas a yard but the mills produce a similar article at five annas a yard. In the case of shirtings (counts 30S to 40S) it appears that the Madras handloom can produce cloth at a slightly lower price than the mills.

Referring to quality the Report says :

It is claimed that the quality of hand made article as evidenced by the number of threads per inch is superior to that of mill product. People who can afford to buy these superior goods wish them to be of special design and it is easier and more economical for the handloom weaver to cater for individual tastes than for a mill which must aim at mass production.

One has now to consider how the vast difference in the labour costs and the slight difference or even parity in the total cost of production of cloth in mills and on handlooms can be reconciled. This is explained, in spite of all external and internal economies of mass production, by the huge initial capital cost in the form of machines, their renewals, repairs and depreciation, high management costs and profits. In other words, rent, interest and profits make for this difference. It is to be further noted that the money thus denied to textile labour does not go to enrich other classes of labour in the

country or even the cotton millowners, but a greater part of this amount swells the profits of the iron and steel magnates of Europe. It thus becomes a source of drain of wealth to foreign countries. On the other hand, paying higher prices of Khadi is equivalent to withdrawing purchasing power (to the extent of the additional prices) from the consumers of cloth and rent, interest, profits (which are unearned increments) and taxes, and transferring all that to the half-starved workers and peasants in the rural areas. The increase in the expenditure on cloth incurred by the well-to-do sections and the urban communities owing to the higher price of khadi would be a net addition to the purchasing power of the villages, as also the saving of the amount paid as interest and profits, included in the price of mill cloth. As far as the substitution of mill cloth by khadi in the case of villagers themselves is concerned, there would be some increase in the clothing bill, but this would be more than counterbalanced by the additional wages provided for them through khadi. In fact, in their case, the change will very largely operate as a reversion to self-sufficiency in the matter of cloth. In the case of workers employed in the production of khadi it is shown that in 1937, 1,77,496 spinners employed by the All India Spinners' Association set apart Rs. 2,07,119 for the purchase of khadi. They actually purchased 2,73,841 sq. yards of khadi. The following table shows the consumption of khadi by the workers engaged in its production in 1937.

	Total No. of workers	Wearing khadi exclusively.	% to total	Wearing % to partly. total	
Spinners	177,496	26,362	15	79,743	45
Weavers	13,598	6,049	44	7,549	56

Why the progress of the mill industry after 75 years of existence and with ample protection has been so stunted in comparison to khadi industry which has enjoyed no official protection and which is but 20 years old, is explained by the fact that mill production contracts the purchasing power of

the masses while khadi not only expands it but diffuses it very widely and equitably. The distribution of income in khadi is more just and humane. Concentration of wealth in a few hands and mal-distribution is never heard of. This is true more particularly in the case of khadi production organised by the Spinners' Association, for it is the only industrial organisation in the country which has adopted the principle of paying a minimum living wage of annas eight per diem even to the spinners, others receiving more than this. The ideal in this case is service and not profiteering.

In addition to these economic advantages, khadi provides work at the door of the worker's cottage and thus avoids the shame and the horrors of industrial slum life. In khadi production the entire family participates in the work with sincere co-operation in leisure hours while retaining the primary industry of agriculture. The happy home life and healthy village atmosphere thus remains undisturbed. Workers earn without being subjected to the stern discipline of a jobber in a factory house.

It is these social and economic merits which should prompt the Indians to take to khadi alone for their clothing requirements.

BOOKS

By (NAWABZADA) FARHAT SAID KHAN

More sweet than odours caught by him who sails,
Near spicy shores of Araby the blest,
A thousand times more exquisitely sweet,
The freight of holy feeling which we meet,
In thoughtful moments, wafted by the gales,
From fields where good men walk, or bowers wherein they rest.

—WORDSWORTH

There is a tendency among most of us to denounce indiscriminately everything that the twentieth century has given us. There is no need to enter into the merits or demerits of their criticism, but it may be emphasised that all the disadvantages (if there be any) put together, dwindle into insignificance beside the one colossal advantage we have of easy access to books.

To-day, books are within the reach of everyone. About two centuries ago, only a few well-to-do persons could afford the luxury of buying books, for they were too expensive and cumbersome. In those far-off days a single Shakespeare's play cost more than what his complete works do to-day. Facilities in air, land and sea transport make it possible for us to read a Shaw play in India, within a week of its publication in England. Circulating libraries and book clubs, unknown a century ago, have sprung up like mushroom in every country, with the result that every one can obtain the best book at a negligible cost.

There is, however, a snag. To-day, we are simply overwhelmed by a spate of books. We do not know what to choose and what to reject. Books are available on every conceivable subject. There are books on literature, on science, on philosophy, on sociology, on religion, and there are books which, in

Lamb's words, are not books at all. Every bookstall teems with sumptuously bound volumes carrying intriguing titles that dazzle the eyes of the prospective reader. When he opens the book after purchasing it, he often finds it, to his great chagrin, to be the vilest trash. "The multitude of useless books", says Voltaire, "is so immense that the life of a man would not suffice to make a catalogue of them." Hence his recipe that books should be treated like men. "Choose the most reasonable, examine them, and never give up your judgment to evidence".

The problem of wise selection is at once solved if we make it a point to purchase only those books that endure. This preconditions the rejection of much of our contemporary literature. Of course, the works of modern literary luminaries, such as Bernard Shaw, H. G. Wells, Arnold Bennett, G. K. Chesterton, etc., can be bought without any misgiving, because we know that we will get our money's worth. Bernard Shaw perhaps excels even Shakespeare in his dramatic technique. In this connection I should also like to hail Bertrand Russell, Harvey Robinson, and Julian Huxley—all exponents of modern thought. We may not always agree with their views, but a perusal of their works will certainly help us in getting rid of some false notions and fond prejudices about men and things that have become ingrained in our very nature.

When we take up a new-fangled book, about whose author we know nothing, we feel a lack of confidence and security. "It is like a new dish which may nauseate our palate." It is, therefore, always safer to turn to a well-known author who is like a tried friend. I, for my part, shudder to think of reading new books. "Books", says Sir William Temple, "like proverbs, receive their chief value from the stamp and esteem of ages through which they have passed."

We are wont to arrogate to ourselves all literary perfection and elegance, and to think that the former ages were but steeped in barbarism. An assiduous study of the classics will convince us "of the existence of genius and learning before our time, and

cure us of an overweening conceit of ourselves and of a contemptuous opinion of the world at large" (Hazlitt). When I read an old classic I have a peculiar feeling which I cannot adequately express in words. I feel as if I have been transported, as on a magic carpet, to a region whose halcyon calm is strangely contrasted with the strife and storms of this world, where men do not fly at each other's throats, where the sabre-rattling of Hitler and Mussolini at other nations, and all the excruciating agonies of life are unknown. We meet men so strangely different from us in their manners, customs and habits, as a Red-Indian is from a Chinese. We shake hands with Sir Roger de Coverley, smile good-humouredly at the eccentricities of Mr. Micawber and pity the jilted Malvolio. Speaking of old books, Aikin says, "In these we have the choicest thoughts of the ablest men in their best dress".

Books [says Jeremy Collier] are a guide in youth, and an entertainment for age. They support us under solitude and keep us from being a burthen to ourselves. They help us to forget the crossness of men and things; compose our cares and our passions; and lay our disappointments asleep. When we are weary of the living we may turn to the dead, who have nothing of peevishness, pride or design in their conversation.

The power of the good book is the power of the personality which it enshrines. You are introduced to the choicest company. You have Plato and Socrates, Cicero and Virgil, Shakespeare and Milton, all standing at your door, ready to entertain you, instruct you and guide you.

There is a rage for new books now-a-days. People seem to think that books are "like women, the worse for being old". This craze is more pronounced in the fair sex. It may be attributed to the inveterate habit of criticism in women. They sit in judgment on a book and decry or extol it at their whim. The "worse half" of humanity has no alternative but to follow the footsteps of the better half. No man dare face a coterie of blue-stockings at a dinner party without skipping over the first few pages of the newest novel, at the pain of being looked upon as a blatant ignoramus.

At the risk of being dubbed as a pseudo-intellectual, I dare say that the so-called popular literature vitiates our taste and cripples our mental faculties. The purpose of a book is not only entertainment, but also enlightenment, and edification. And "popular literature" does neither of these. We must cultivate the habit of purposeful reading. Discipline is a great asset in every sphere of life—even in the matter of reading. We must discipline our reading, and read only such books as serve a useful purpose.

When I say "discipline your reading", I do not for one moment deny the charm of desultory reading. By continuous application to one subject one is likely to be bored, especially if it be highbrow: a little change, therefore, for some lighter form of literature is always welcome. There are some books which, as Lord Avebury says, "we must read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest"; as regards others, it is advisable to go through them quickly, dwelling on the best and most important passages. It is better, as some one has said, to read everything of something and something of everything.

Everyone who can afford it should have a library of his own. "A library," says Lord Avebury, "is a true fairyland, a very palace of delight, a haven of repose from the storms and troubles of this world". Here we have the most eminent poets, essayists, novelists, orators, statesmen, scientists, philosophers, and leaders of thought, assembled to delight or instruct us, and make us forget the worries and carking cares of life. Was it not Carlyle that said that a good library is a true University?

There are moments when I am subject to strange impulses and desires. People like to call them caprices, whims, eccentricities, but I do not feel ashamed in making a confession. I am not very social and prefer the solitude of my room to anything else. My father* and brothers often upbraid me for indifference, carelessness, and negligence. I do not refute their

*Nawab of Chhattari

indictment but plead guilty to the charge. I often feel like tearing myself away from the asphyxiating atmosphere of our too rigidly conventional society to some lonely island where I may devote all my time to the study of those books which I dearly love.

I am addicted to studying late into the night. The pleasure, to use a Johnsonian expression, of these "nocturnal lucubrations", can only be felt by one who has become used to them.

When the dim presence of the awful night clasps in its
Jewelled arms the slumbering earth,
Alone I sit beside the lowly light,
That like a dream-fire flickers on my hearth,
With some joy teeming volume in my hand,
A peopled planet, opulent and grand.

And frankly, I wish for nothing better.

"I can't understand all this fuss about Hitler wanting to build a road across the Corridor. He'd better ask the Dutch to allow him to build a road through Holland!"

"You mean, for an attack on England?"

"No. Just a direct route from Berchtesgaden to Doorn"

"In future all agreements with Germany will be engraved on marble."

"Why that?"

"At least they won't be able to say that it was just a scrap of paper."

From Szpilki (Pinpricks), Warsaw.

INDIAN INDIA

HYDERABAD

THE BUDGET

Allotment of Rs. 164.37 lakhs for capital expenditure, including Rs. 59.33 lakhs earmarked for the construction of Mudkhed—Adilabad Railway line and the conversion of the meter-gauge into a broad-gauge from Manmad to Purna, additional Rs. 7.5 lakhs to education grant on account of free primary education and a provision of Rs. 8 lakhs for gold prospecting works are the chief features of the Hyderabad Budget for 1349 fasli (1939-40).

The budget estimates for the year anticipate a surplus of Rs. 1.25 lakhs, receipts and expenditure being estimated at Rs. 887.44 lakhs and Rs. 886.19 lakhs respectively.

The following is from the Budget note :

"When the contracts for the triennium 1347 to '49 fasli were made, the budget aimed at keeping normal surplus at about Rs. 3769 lakhs. The surplus for 1348 fasli is put at Rs. 33.28

lakhs, but the revised estimates show that it will go down to Rs. 23.10 lakhs. Owing to unfavourable circumstances wherein the coming year will start and the scarcity of conditions prevailing in some districts, it is not expected that the year 1349 will close with any large surplus. The normal for triennium's receipt is Rs. 896.67 lakhs. The estimate for 1348 fasli is put at Rs. 887.44 lakhs (exclusive of transfers from the reserves).

"Land revenue collections are estimated not to exceed Rs. 295 lakhs against normal collections of Rs. 325 lakhs.

"In fixing the figure at Rs. 295 lakhs for the coming year, the remissions and suspensions for 1349 fasli to the extent of Rs. 30 lakhs have been taken into account. Customs revenue will probably give Rs. 10 lakhs less than the estimate for 1348 fasli. The excise revenue will go down by Rs. 5 lakhs and the excise duty on

matches by Rs. 1 lakh. The interest will be less by Rs. .89 lakh on account of redemption of certain rupee investments. On the other hand, railway earnings promise to yield Rs. 13 lakhs more and sugar, excise and mines are expected to bring in Rs. 5 lakhs and Rs. .75 lakh more, respectively.

"Against the ordinary recurring expenditure of Rs. 869.15 lakhs in 1348 fasli, Rs. 883.83 lakhs are provided for the coming year. Besides increased provision for debt redemption and sinking fund Rs. 7.5 lakhs are added under education grants for the extension of free primary education. Other items are: establishment and office of H. E. H. the Nizam's Agent in Berar. Rs. 1.14 lakhs, excise compensation, Rs. .65 lakh, and city police, Rs. .44 lakh. Rs. 4.29 lakhs is provided for normal expansion of departmental activities. To meet emergent demands that have arisen during the year, a further sum of Rs. 19.78 lakhs has been made available. Gold prospecting work continues and in order to consolidate the tests that have been carried so far, another Rs. 8 lakhs has been

given. Rs. 4.89 lakhs has been allotted to meet the growing needs of aviation and Rs. 3.35 lakhs for the Hyderabad drainage scheme.

"Estimates of capital expenditure amount to Rs. 164.37 lakhs. Rs. 76.83 lakhs is allotted for the railway, of which Rs. 59.33 lakhs has been earmarked for the Mudkhed-Adlabad line and the conversion from meter-gauge into broad-gauge of the line from Manmad to Purna. Rs. 1.75 lakhs is provided for road mechanical and air transport services. Under irrigation Rs. 8.26 lakhs is provided for completion of the Nizamsagar project, Rs. 17 lakhs for buildings to be financed from loan funds and Rs. 9.28 lakhs for capital works on electricity, printing and telephone departments and commutations of pensions and mansab."

The Finance Member concludes his note with reference to the necessity in view of the outbreak of war for the State to husband its resources with the utmost care. He further emphasises the need for cordial relations between various com-

munities inhabiting the State. "The fact should not be lost sight of," he adds, "that mere provision of large amounts for accelerating the moral and material progress of the people is not enough unless the traditional amity and concord between the various communities is maintained."

INDORE

SYMPATHY FOR HARIJANS

In common with almost all the industrial cities of India, Indore is confronted with the difficult problem of housing its labour and Harijan population. The Holkar Government is keenly alive to the gravity of the problem and recently on the auspicious birthday of the Indore Maharaja, a scheme costing Rs. 59,000 providing sanitary housing for 83 families of sweepers was announced. The Holkar Government is contemplating the adoption of yet another scheme of providing sanitary housing with all the modern amenities of life

including good roads, electric light, clean and pure water, etc., for the Harijan locality of the Indore mill area. This announcement was made by Rai Bahadur Col. Dinanath, the Prime Minister of Indore, addressing a mammoth gathering of 5,000 Harijans assembled to present him Itra Pan. The Prime Minister who was taken round the locality by Mr. Rajbhoj, the well-known Harijan leader, expressed deep concern and sympathy and assured that all the genuine grievances of the working class, if brought to the notice of the Government, will be readily redressed.

KASHMIR

HIS HIGHNESS'S MESSAGE

The following message from His Highness was read out in the Praja Sabha at its recent meeting :

I have considered this, the first of your meetings after the promulgation of the new Jammu and Kashmir Constitution Act, a suitable and fitting

occasion for my sending you this message of trust and encouragement.

In carrying out the task which Providence has, for the time being, entrusted to me of guiding the destinies of this State and its peoples, I have always endeavoured to secure that the Government of the State shall be carried on, on recognized and well-tried principles. As Ruler, I recognize no other duty than that of ministering to the happiness of my people irrespective of race or creed. I have no higher ambition than to help in establishing for them those conditions and providing for them those amenities of life which will not only ensure a peaceful and ordered existence, but will make for their maximum self-development as cultured citizens of the State and useful members of humanity in general. The Constitution which, in pursuance of my Proclamation of 11th February last I have recently promulgated, has been inspired by these ideals, the satisfactory realization of which, I have no hesitation in saying, would be impossible without intimate

understanding and active co-operation between those who wield power and those, or the representatives of those, for whose welfare that power should be exercised. The opportunities for such understanding and co-operation, which are best offered by constructive criticism, have been greatly enlarged in the new Constitution, and it is my earnest wish that you should make use of them with the unselfishness, discretion, regard for the public welfare and sense of responsibility which should always characterize discussion in a representative Legislature. I do not wish, on this occasion, to refer in detail to the other salient features of the new Constitution, but I am sure you will have noted with gratification the important steps forward that I have sanctioned in the direction of perfecting the machinery for the independent and impartial administration of justice which is the foundation of civil liberty and good government.

I cannot, on this occasion, omit to refer to the war into which we have been forced

despite all the strenuous efforts made by Great Britain and her Allies to avoid it. In entering this war, our conscience is clear, the issue is simple. It is whether international differences shall be settled by the principles and methods which are everywhere recognized to be applicable as between civilized men, or by what His Excellency the Viceroy, the other day, very properly termed "the law of the jungle". There can be only one answer to this question; and if we have to fight a war in defence of the higher principle, it is in every sense a Dharma Yudh, a righteous war. Towards the prosecution of this war, as you are aware, I have already placed my personal services and the resources of the State at the disposal of His Majesty the King-Emperor. My offer of Units of the State Army for

active service has been accepted and there can be no doubt that when these Units go into action they will add another brilliant chapter to the record of conspicuous gallantry, reliability and efficiency which they established for themselves in the last Great War. If the War develops and is prolonged, there will be heavy demands on the man-power and resources of the State, and we shall cheerfully meet them. I have little to add to the separate appeal I have already issued and broadcast in the connection and I feel sure that I can count upon every one of you to support that appeal whole-heartedly and enthusiastically and actively to help in making our contribution to the victory of the just cause worthy of this State and its time-honoured high tradition.

MYSORE

THE MARCONAHALLI RESERVOIR

No rains—no fodder for cattle—famine!

That is the evolution of the tragedy of Indian existence.

Mysore does not entirely depend on rainfall, however,—nearly half a lakh of acres are watered by the Irwin Canal and other irrigation works, such as Vani Vilas Sagar, Anjanapur Reservoir, Bhadra

Right Bank Channel and the 23,459 tanks—one tank to a square mile—make lakhs of acres of land almost self-dependent. In a word, 1,605 miles of river-fed channels and these tanks irrigate an area of over ten and a half lakhs of acres, or one-sixth of the total area on which crops were raised last year.

In one of his speeches, the Dewan described the irrigation projects as “essentially protective works intended to save our people from the evils of drought and famine and to secure for the country the ordinary amenities of a civilised existence. Of our works, a large part merely aims at helping in the production of food for man and beast.”

Major Sankey, the first Chief Engineer in the State wrote so far back as 1886 that “to such an extent has the principle of storage of water in major and minor tanks been followed that it would now require some ingenuity to discover a site within the State suitable for a new tank”. The Imperial Gazetteer of India speaking of Tank Irrigation in Native

States says “among individual States, the first place may be given to Mysore”.

To this will be added another 10,000 acres by the Marconahalli Reservoir that is rapidly nearing completion—with a total catchment area of 1,585 square miles at the site, 700 feet below the confluence of the Veeravaishnavi and the Shimsha a storage of 7,572 units, and a maximum discharge of 60,000 cusecs. This surplus will be disposed of by the five sluices 10' x 20' with their sills at R. L. 35.00, two siphons or 8' diameter and an open weir of 800 feet long on the right flank, 260 feet of which is being built as a siphon spillway.

The Reservoir is being formed by constructing a masonry dam in the river portion, 456 feet long, and earthen bunds 2,948 feet on the right flank, 2,396 feet on the left flank.

On account of the rugged nature of the country on the right bank, only one channel is proposed to be excavated on the left. The length of the main channel is 18½ miles and the four branch channels will

cover 14½ miles. The distributary for the third and the fourth branches is taken in a deep cut into the Amrithur valley, where 2,000 acres are proposed to be irrigated.

The submergeable area under this Reservoir is 3,094 acres. Six villages come under water. The acquisition of lands in the submergeable area is under rapid progress. One village has already been evacuated and lands have been provided for them in another area. Government have sanctioned the surrender of 500 acres of Madhure Kawai in Kunigal Taluk to provide lands for those whose properties get submerged. Village sites are being formed and the construction of a well at the site is taken up.

The work was started in March 1937. The outlay till the end of July 1939, is about Rs. 18 lakhs. With a yearly grant of Rs. 5 lakhs, the works—to cost Rs. 22 lakhs—were proposed to be completed in a period of five years. But in view of the rapid progress on account of rush of local labour, it will be possible to complete the work within three years. This work has been a boon in

this period as the area was suffering from failure of rains in three successive years.

Filtered water is being supplied to all the labourers and the colonists. Anti-malarial measures are adopted by way of Paris-greening the stagnant pools and Aëbrin mass treatment. The health of the colony is thus kept up. More than that—education is available to the children of the labourer in a specially opened primary school. A dispensary with a maternity ward affords medical relief. A Mahila Samaj, the Karnataka Sangha, a Club and a Reading Room and a Co-operative Society cater to the social amenities of the labourers.

The works provided employment to local people on a large scale. A large share of the total outlay has been spent amongst the local people only. It is not merely paying the labourers and getting work. What Lady Anne Hope called “the Mysore tradition” persists on the banks of the Marconahalli Works. Avenue and fruit plants—nearly 2,000 of them—have been planted so far in the approach road and they

are being maintained well. Demonstration plots for raising several kinds of crops have been formed on the private lands of the raiyats with their co-operation. A scheme to plant several kinds of fruit plants is being worked out. Thus, side by side with the healthful and joyous life of the labourers, is the living lesson of beneficent beautification that is in progress all round—again another Mysore tradition.

PATIALA

REPRESENTATION IN SERVICES

The following communicate regarding the representation of various communities in services in the Patiala State has been issued :

The percentage of population of the State according to Census of 1931 is as follows :—

Hindus	Sikhs	Mohammedans
32.2	38.9	22.3

In the year 1995 Bikrami, i.e., last year, the percentage of posts held by each community was as follows :—

Hin.	Sikhs	Mus.
30.7	30.5	38.8

(1) Gazetted	45.9	42.5	11.4
(2) Ministerial	52.51	26.0	21.48

In the year 1996, i.e., current year, the figures are :—

Hin. Sikhs Mus.

(1) Gazetted	35.1	51.9	13.0
(2) Ministerial	47.8	28.4	23.8

In the Menial Staff the representation community-wise is as follows :—

Hindus	Sikhs	Muslims
30.7	30.5	38.8

It may also be added that the Patiala State Army is largely composed of Sikhs.

Twentieth Century Miscellany

THE RECKONING

In the world war there were more than 8,500,000 men killed and almost 37,500,000 casualties. The material losses were approximately £80,000,000,000.

With £80,000,000,000 we could have built a £500 house, filled with £200 worth of furniture and surrounded by five acres of ground at £20 per acre, for every family in the United States, Canada, Australia, England, Wales, Ireland, Scotland, France, Belgium, Germany and Russia.

There would have been enough money left over to give every city of 20,000 population or more in all the above countries a library worth £1,000,000 and a university costing £2,000,000.

There would still have been enough left to buy all France and Belgium, that is, all their farms, houses, factories, churches, railways and highways, everything, in short, that they contained in 1914.

—Parade.

HITLER'S CHOICE

Hitler paid a heavy price for the chance of a speedy victory over Poland. His treaty with Russia alienated any practical sympathy that Spain might have shown it helped to keep Italy neutral, and with the mortal offence that it gave Japan disappeared his only chance of defeating us at sea. Nor is this the whole price. It converts Nazism into a hollow shell without doctrinal or ideal content of any kind. Hitler may pay bitterly for that later. But this price had to be paid before the heads of the Germany Army would consent to war. They were determined never again to fight through a war on two fronts. Whether, if Russia had been on the side of Poland, she could have saved her from the reverses she has suffered in this first fortnight is very doubtful. Russian mobilisation is slow. What frightened the German Command was the prospect of having to deal with the Russia in the East after Poland had

been defeated, and simultaneously with the Western allies. It was a choice between peace and consistency in politics, and the war that betrayed the cause with which Hitler had identified himself, and to which he owed his allies. He chose war. —SCRUTATOR in the *Sunday Times*

A GIGANTIC ENIGMA

There is one gigantic enigma. It affects profoundly all other calculations respecting the duration of the war and the future of the world. We mean the doubt about the coming action of Moscow.... If a Nazi-Soviet compact of this kind were implemented, indeed, the further consequences would be no less sinister for the independence of the Baltic States and Hungary, and for the existence of Rumania in its present shape. Nothing would be left of Poland but a small and wretched remnant called free by derision. The German Press not only exults in this prospect with unmeasured jubilation, but counts on Russian supplies to thwart the British blockade for time indefinite.

We decline at present to comment as though the worst

had occurred. While the signs look sinister they may be less so than they seem. One thing is certain. Russian policy works exclusively for its own interests. It would prefer the exhaustion of all the belligerents to aggrandise its own position.

But the last thing Moscow desires is German triumph which would lead in the long run to Russia's own overthrow and dismemberment—according to the original doctrine of "Mein Kampf," where it is also stated that no rival Power can be allowed in the neighbourhood of the future Nazi Empire. We shall soon know the nearer event. If Russia should join with Hitlerism in the destruction of Poland, it will make no difference to the honour or the resolve of Britain and France. There would be mighty compensations in the elemental revolt of human feeling and in the play of national forces.

—J. L. GARVIN,
in the *Observer*.

NO CHANCE FOR A MICROBE WAR

While the possibilities of infecting an enemy army with

bacteria are great, they are considerably reduced by vaccination. It is very difficult to infect troops with bacilli and bacteria thoroughly, and it is nearly impossible and certainly useless to spread cultures of bacilli from an aeroplane. In order to cover the ground with thick clouds of germs—the only means of mass infection—the aeroplanes would have to fly very low, at about 300 feet, which would be extremely risky for them in face of anti-aircraft defence. Liberated from greater heights, the germs would be too thinly disseminated, and their effect would be more than doubtful. Widespread infection of water is also very difficult.

Any army can be vaccinated with serum against typhus, cholera, and paratyphoid fever. Large epidemics can be prevented by suitable protective measures. The extent and value of epidemics spread by means of animals can only be guessed at today. Thus, for instance, there is a danger that rats infected with plague bacilli would return to spread the disease in the very areas from which they had been sent. According to our most recent

experiences the poisoning of food by bacteria is hardly practicable. A microbe war thus appears to be a purely theoretical problem.

—RAMON RODRIGUEZ,
(Revista Espanola de Medicina i Cirurgia).

GERMANY AFTER HITLER

It is impossible to predict whether the downfall of the Hitler regime will be caused by a world war or by an internal crisis resulting from economic and financial breakdown. Whatever happens, competent political circles in Europe are coming to believe that the downfall of Hitler's system will take place some time in 1940. Clearly then, if this is the case, one has to ask oneself: what will become of Germany after Hitler?

The German propaganda department is fully aware of the importance attached to this question, and, accordingly, Dr. Goebbels has spread, particularly in bourgeois and capitalist circles abroad, ominous informations to the effect that with Hitler's fall only Bolshevism can follow. Compared

with this danger the menace of Hitler is presented as the lesser of two evils, although, on the other hand, responsible economic and, above all, Christian circles point out that the regimes of Stalin and Hitler are almost identical.

Spiritual Germany has fought shy of Hitler in the same way as it fought shy of Marxism. It has experienced and overcome both creeds, in theory and practice. It has learned to distinguish the true from the false, the eternal from the incidental. Spiritual Germany hopes for a conservative revolution and has adopted the following motto: "We were Teutons, we are Germans, and we will become Europeans."

In this opinion Germany's task is to be a positive element in the new Europe, nationally conscious, but not selfishly nationalist, and co-operating on an equal basis with the other European nations. What is desired is respect for the individual nation, for Christianity, and for Western Europe an civilization, together with the recognition of what is believed to be

the necessary existence of a leading *elite* class.

What, then, will come about after Hitler? A Germany of national liberty, social rights, and European collaboration. Its foundation will be the same as in all other States: workers and peasants, civilians and officials, officers and academicians. The same combination that was attempted by Schleicher but undermined by Hitler, will be reintroduced in an improved form.

After Hitler there will come into existence a Germany commanded by the best talents in the army, among the workers, peasants, civilians, and, above all, the youth. It will be a Germany which has vanquished both Fascism and Bolshevism, and will become and remain a responsible part of a new Europe.

—DR. OTTO STRASSER

(Condensed from Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfartstidning, Sweden.)

THE BRITISH NAVY

On the wide oceans great efforts will be made to bring to action the German raiders,

consisting of the *Deutschlands*, the 8-inch-gun cruisers and perhaps the two *Scharnhorsts*. Until this has been done, no convoy of importance can sail without the escort of a battleship or battle cruiser, a most hampering and disquieting thought, for the escort in turn must be adequately protected against submarines and the number of destroyers available for ocean passages is definitely limited.

The cry for more destroyers and escort craft will be loud and frequent. The intrusion of the air into naval strategy is not wholly against us. Aerial patrols from shore bases and from our great and increasing fleet of aircraft carriers, as well as by aircraft operating from cruisers, will make it far more difficult for raiders to remain in hiding, and that they will be brought to action eventually is certain.

It is not generally known that the explosive power of a shell is to-day far greater than it was in the last war, and consequently actions between warships will probably be swifter in reaching their conclusion. On the other hand,

modern ships are built to withstand a number of torpedo hits, a fact which deprives the submarine of a little of its deadliness. But whether in practice a warship, with a couple of holes in her, made by torpedoes, will be able to continue to operate upon the high seas remains doubtful. It is probable that she will have to turn tail and limp into the nearest port.

But wars are decided, in the end, by the inherent strength of the Powers that fight them. It seems improbable that England, with her immense productive resources, could be easily beaten, even did she find herself inferior in respect of a particular weapon.

—VICE-ADMIRAL C. V. USBORNE

(Condensed from *The Nineteenth Century*, London).

IS THE SIEGFRIED LINE ANY GOOD?

Hitler has demanded from Generals Brauchitsch and Keitel a report on the officers who have particularly distinguished themselves in the construction of the Siegfried Line. But despite the decorations that have been distributed

many German generals have no confidence in the fortifications.

The Fuehrer has therefore given a technician of the General Staff the job of explaining the difference between the Maginot and the Siegfried Lines. He is an artillery officer connected with the ordnance and strategical departments. His name must remain secret, but this is the essence of the declaration which he has made to a large number of German generals and staff officers :

"The Maginot and the Siegfried Lines cannot be compared from the technical and strategic viewpoints, as they originated from diametrically opposed ideas. French policy visualizes a war not of conquest, but of national defence, while one can say openly in the present company that German policy looks towards conquest.

"French military leaders, impressed by the great efficiency of the German and Austrian artillery during the Great War, asked for fortifications which, as far as was humanly possible, should resist bombs and shells of the largest calibres and at

the same time be protected against tanks and infantry by the heaviest French guns behind them. They might even be forced to undergo artillery fire from their own guns. That is why the first line of the French fortifications was made at least as powerful as the second.

"Furthermore, the French Government and the military started with the view that the present frontiers are definite ones, and therefore brought the network of fortifications forward to the farthest line and up to the highest standard. We Germans, on the other hand, by no means consider the western frontier as definite, and followed a different scheme, both politically and economically, in constructing the Siegfried Line. The expenses of the Reich were in consequence limited to what was strictly necessary, and the Siegfried Line was built as an 'instrument of aggression,' as shown by the first sketches of 1928.

"The German General Staff has given more importance to the assembling and strengthening of attacking forces than

to defence against French attacks. Besides the pincers round Holland and the combined German-Italian push through Switzerland, its strategical problem consists in putting the first line artillery out of action and then isolating the second line by artillery and air force while tanks and infantry begin their attack.

"The outposts of the Siegfried Line had therefore to be constructed as 'nests for light arms' and 'harbours for tanks', together with assembly posts for shock troops. The heaviest long-range artillery must be stationed behind, to be used against the French fortifications. Where the Rhine is the frontier, the possibility of crossing it into Alsace had to be considered. France did not envisage making this crossing herself, but if she should do so a massed use of air-craft would prevent it. A dense barrier of anti-aircraft guns had to be placed in subterranean positions."

Goering is of the opinion that the Maginot Line has no strong modern anti-aircraft defence to prevent the isolation of certain outposts, and

that where it exists it would not be sufficiently protected against German heavy artillery. When the Maginot Line was constructed the most recent improvements in war technique were unknown.

So Germany is optimistic enough to believe that the Reichswehr, protected by the air force, could "jump the Maginot Line."

—By COLONEL GUILLAUME
(Condensed from *Choe*, Paris.)

BOMBS FOR THE MIND

There they sit at their radios, these ultra-smart German burghers, and listen to news from foreign stations broadcast in German. Not only are they not ashamed—they actually exhibit a certain stubborn pride. Above all, they are proud to have "got" a foreign station so clearly on their receiving set; then they swell with pride at the thought of being able to retail news from abroad to their friends and acquaintances.

It is all so interesting—this news that they hear and, of course, not a word of it appears in the German press! "Much of it is sure to consist of lies,"

the burgher says to himself, "but there must be some fire where there is so much smoke." That comment marks him as a fit germ-carrier—the kind so dearly loved by the intellectual poisoners from abroad.

It is time that the German people develop their defences against this suicidal attitude. They ought to know these two relevant facts :

1. German-language news broadcasts from foreign stations are deliberately calculated to weaken the moral force of the German nation. The very fact that such news services have been created betrays the firm purpose of applying this weapon of intellectual poison against Germany without scruples.

2. The news that is broadcast is, in form and content, adapted to the German mentality. Full account is taken of the German predilection : "Where there is so much smoke there must be some fire! . . ."

Foreign news services operate in general as follows : first news is broadcast which is found also in the German press.

This gradually builds up the authority of the foreign station. These poisonous transmitters also broadcast news taken in part from German publications. They are blue-pencilled and distorted, but reference is always made to the German source. Thus advantage is taken of the fact that but a few German listeners will have the time or the inclination to verify the dispatches.

It is about the time that the German people gathered their strength and branded such brazen poison plots as useless ! The German is clean by nature; he does not care to touch filth and dirt. Should it not be just as much against his nature to descend time and again into this mental latrine with his ears and with his spirit ? Whoever spreads such news attacks his own people ! He bears the mark of the traitor on his brow.

There is no doubt that in any future war propaganda will be an important weapon.

—MAJOR D. MARTIN
(Condensed from *Siren*, Berlin).

The Twentieth Century Library

THE MAHATMA

By I. D.

Let us offer him now the roses of our gratitude.

—VISCOUNT SAMUEL.

It is in the generous spirit of Viscount Samuel's dictum that tributes have been paid to Mahatma Gandhi on the occasion of his seventieth birthday (Oct. 2, 1939) from all parts of India and from across the seas. For the summoning of this mighty constellation of contributors and this sweet offering of their floral tributes, our thanks are due to Sir S. Radhakrishnan. At his instance, men of letters and of affairs, a few women, professors and prelates, politicians and priests, scholars and statesmen, have by their conjoint effort drawn a fascinating picture of Gandhi which presents the different facets of the man from different angles. Each has reacted to him in his own way but, "almost every page" of this book*, as Sir S. Radhakrishnan says in his preface,

"is knit together by a central and never-forgotten theme, the challenge and message of Gandhi to the contemporary world." Sir S. Radhakrishnan's own learned introduction to the collection of essays and reflections on Gandhi's life and work, has a special value. That the Mahatma comes in for the highest praise, surprises nobody. (An attempt will be made in the following paragraphs to sum up Gandhi and what he stands for, in the very terms employed by the contributors.)

"He is one of the most powerful personal forces in the British Empire to-day", (Sir Mirza M. Ismail) : he is "among the greatest men on the public stage of the world to-day" (General Smuts). Again : "He is one of the great spiritual

*Mahatma Gandhi (Essays and Reflections on his life and work) Edited by S. Radhakrishnan. George Allen and Unwin, 7s. 6d.

leaders of the world" (Hon. John H. Hofmeyer); "a moral genius" (C. M. Joad); "the prophet of a liberated life" (Radhakrishnan).

Others view him as a symbol: "the Mahatma is perhaps the most symbolic man of our day, for he is not so much a man of action or a man of thought as a man of life" (Salvador de Madariaga). "Gandhi is the most visible, most spectacular, most single-minded and most pure-hearted symbol of the counter-pole to modern aggressive expansionism" (Count Hermann Keyserling). "He is the living symbol of the partnership of two powerful ideas, too often divorced or even regarded as contradictory—the idea of public duty and the idea of human brotherhood" (Sir Alfred Zimmern).

More. "He is the man who to-day stands at the summit of his life and service to humanity" (Gerald Heard). "He is the type of the civilised and humanised man" (Carl Heath): "the opener of a new epoch" (Stephen Hobhouse). And our thanks are due to him "for bringing our epoch to perfection through his figure

and through his life" (Arnold Zweig).

Ernest Barker speaks of him as "Bridge and Reconciler", and Richard B. Gregg as a "Social Scientist and Social Inventor". Gilbert Murray describes him as "a ruler obeyed by millions". "Where is there a more prophetic soul than this man's?" asks the famous poet of Japan, Yone Noguchi. "The name of Gandhi even in his life-time has passed beyond the meaning of an individual to the meaning of a way of life," says Mrs. Pearl Buck, the Nobel prize-winner. "His humanity is one of the profoundest things that history has seen", asserts Mr. Edward Thompson.

Sir S. Radhakrishnan thinks that

in the acid test of experience he remains, not a politician or a reformer, not a philosopher or a moralist, but someone composed of them all, an essentially religious person endowed with the highest and most human qualities and made more lovable by the consciousness of his own limitations and by an unfailing sense of humour.

To his colleague and commentator Dr. Pattabhi, Gandhi is "an avatar".

He has evolved a new synthesis in his own life and has combined in himself the four *varnas* and the four *ashrams* of Hindu society. He fulfils the role of a *Brahman* and is the law-giver, he is a *Kshatriya* and is the Chief Constable of India. As a *Vaisya* he mobilises the wealth of the country, and as *Sudra* he has produced food and raiment.

And "Gandhi is the full man—the *Purna purusha* of the *Upanishads*, the *Sthitaprajna* of the *Bhagavadgita*".

What are the qualities that go to make up this rare man? Among others, emphasis is laid on "his pure simplicity, his direct and keen appreciation of his own fundamentals, his absolutely unassuming fearlessness" (G. S. Arundale), "his lofty single purpose and utter devotion (Richard B. Gregg) "his soul force" (J. H. Holmes) and "the deep spiritual force by which he is moved" (Lord Halifax).

"A Gandhi does not arise once in a life time", says R. A. Alfred Hoerne. But where does his greatness lie? According to the Bishop of Dornakal, "the greatness of Gandhi is due to the greatness of his own ideals", while according to Richard B. Gregg,

"he is great because of his choice of problems, because of his methods of solution, because of the persistence and thoroughness of his search, and because of the profundity of his knowledge of the human heart". He is great because "he has changed the course of events and influenced thought in more than one continent" (Lionel Curtis) and "decided the future of a great part of the human race" (John MacMurray). He is great because of his "life-long practice of the belief that suffering can be used creatively for the redemption of others" (John S. Holland). And "it is in the possession of the virtue of detachment from self that lies the source of Gandhi's authority" (C. E. M. Joad). Our own Tagore writes in compelling terms when he says that "the influence which emanated from his personality was ineffable, like music, like beauty".

He has been variously placed but always in the company of the immortals. He is "the St. Paul of our own days" (Romain Rolland). There is "also something more in him which

comes near to St. Francis of Assisi" (C. F. Andrews). He is "like St. Bruno, St. Bernard" (Rolland), "like Thoreau" (Carl Heath), "like Tolstoy" (Stephen Hobhouse). More emphatic still is Holmes, one of Gandhi's earliest admirers. He says:

Gandhi is great among all the great of ages past. He is great with Alfred, Wallace, Washington, Kosciusko, Lafayette, as a nationalist leader. He is great with Clarkson, Wilberforce, Garrison, Lincoln, as an emancipator of the enslaved. He ranks with St. Francis, Thoreau, Tolstoy, as a teacher of what the Christian scriptures call "non-resistance," and better the "love that never faileth". He holds his place with Lao-tse, Buddha, Zoroaster, Jesus, as one of the supreme religious prophets of all time.

Referring to 'this book of praises from friends, known and unknown', the Mahatma says that "I pray to God to give me the capacity to live upto the contributors' picture

of me, whatever it may be". These are touching words which reveal the nobility of his soul. Contemporary estimates have no touch of finality. The verdict of history is seldom heard in one's own life-time. While that is so, there is no denying that here is a man so unusual and rare, who has accomplished difficult things and attempted more difficult ones. He has put India on the map and pitted himself against the brute force that so much sways the world. He is the happiest warrior alive. He is a man of the ages whose message has a universal appeal and whose work has an eternal value. Posterity (as much as the present generation) will be interested in his life and teachings, and will turn to this book among a few others, for the light shed on one of the epic figures of life's drama.

THE FUTURE OF THE STATES

Indian States and Responsible Government. By K. R. R. Sastry. Published by the author, University, Allahabad. Price Rs. 5 inland, 7sh. 6d. foreign.

Mr. K. R. R. Sastry of the Allahabad University is already familiar to the reading public of India as the writer of a number of useful articles on constitutional problems and the author of "International Law". In this new book, Mr. Sastry examines the constitutional position of the Indian States with particular reference to their treaties, engagements and sanads, in the light of Earl Winter-ton's now famous declaration that while His Majesty's Government have no intention of exercising any pressure on the rulers of the States to initiate constitutional changes, the Paramount Power will not obstruct any such proposals for constitutional advance. Mr. Sastry re-states the legal position succinctly and considers the following adjustments necessary for facilitating the process.

"The final residuary power" will have to be preserved in the Ruler. Such a result can be legally achieved provided the following powers are reserved to the Ruler in the constitution:

1. Matters relating to the person and family of the Ruler.
2. Prerogative powers of the Ruler *e. g.*, right of pardon, right of summoning, proroguing, and dissolving the legislatures, right of veto to legislation.
3. The States' relations with the Paramount Power including all its admitted obligations to the Paramount Power.
4. The States' relations with other Indian States.

Mr. Sastry also effectively combats the theories expounded by Sir W. Holdsworth that "the Crown cannot cede its rights and duties as Paramount Power to any other State" and that "a change in the form of Government of British India which gave to British India full responsible Government in effect brings into existence a new and autonomous State". Mr. Sastry, for one, has no illusions that "Dominion Status, when granted to India, will create, not a new stage but only an autonomous State" and that "legal cobwebs apart, the Indian States owe their

subordinate co-operation, not to the Crown in his personal or individual aspect but to 'His Majesty, the Emperor of India', in his political aspect."

Mr. Sastry concludes his book with an eloquent plea for Responsible Government in the States which alone succeeds in "restricting paramountcy to its proper field of action" and ensures the fundamental rights to the subjects. His faith in Federation as the only solution of the Indian problem is unshaken. He believes that the future of the States is definitely bound up with the evolution of a federal India, and warns them

against "medieval folly" which will but lead to their extinction.

In this book there is alike close argument and sound advice. Students of Indian constitutional reform, no less than the Rulers and Ministers of States, should be thankful to Mr. Sastry for his concise and constructive study of one of our most pressing problems.

The book is well printed, but we cannot help feeling that as a publisher, Mr. Sastry has denied us the justice he has done as an author. A sum of Rs. 5 for a book of 142 pages smacks of a war-time measure.

Clerihew No. 1

The moustache of Adolf Hitler
Could hardly be littler
Was the thought that kept recurring
To Field-Marshal Goering.

E. C. Bentley in "Baseless Biography."

Clerihew No. 2

Karl Marx and Herr Himmler
Are very dissimilar.
But I'd like to see Harpo
Run the Gestapo.

Radio Times, London.

The Twentieth Century

CONGRESS *VERSUS* MUSLIM LEAGUE

The incompatibility of a Parliamentary Unitary Cabinet
System of Government with safeguards and special
electorates for Minorities

By DR. C. R. REDDY

["It has remained for a Hindu, Dr. C. R. Reddy, to give the most lucid explanation of the Muslim standpoint on the issue of constitutional reform yet afforded. Dr. C. R. Reddy brings to his task a deep understanding of Indian politics. For years he was a leading member of the Congress Party in this Presidency. He led the Party in the local Legislature during a most important phase of constitutional development in this Presidency and, though now retired from active participation in politics, he has shown in occasional public utterances that he has not lost touch with current issues. That he has shed nothing of his courage and independence is revealed by the lectures he is giving in Madras this week. The second, delivered yesterday, was notable for its searching examination of the working of the present constitution with special reference to the position of Muslims and other minorities. Dr. Reddy's conclusion is that the safeguards contained in the Government of India Act are inoperable if the present unitary parliamentary cabinet system is retained."

It is in these striking words that the *Mail* commended the series of lectures delivered at Madras by Dr. C. R. Reddy in the middle of November. These lectures which deserve the widest publicity in all parts of the country are now presented to the readers of the *T. C.*, specially recast in the form of an article.

Dr. Reddy, Vice-chancellor of the Andhra University, is one of India's most brilliant sons. An eminent educationist—according to Sir C. V. Raman, the greatest since Sir Asutosh Mukherji, an astute politician endowed with the highest parliamentary gifts, a formidable scholar and critic, a finished speaker and resourceful debater, a charming conversationalist and keen wit, Dr. C. R. Reddy—one of Mr. Gokhale's earliest discoveries—is above all, an original thinker.—Ed. *T. C.*]

The Congress Working Committee's resolution* regarding the war, really demanded a new world order from the Allies or a promise to initiate one. It wanted them to liberate all their

* The one passed at Wardha

subject peoples. And as a small introduction to this world renovation, it wanted independence-cum-democracy immediately for India. In a word, it was a super-national manifesto with a national introduction.

INDEPENDENCE CLAIM

We have been told by Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru that, regarding independence, there was no disagreement between Mr. Jinnah and the Congress. But if they were agreed, it was surprising that no statement to that effect should have been made to the Government. In the first place, Mr. Jinnah did not want parliamentary democracy for India. In the second place, he did not want a federation in which there would ever be a permanent Hindu majority at the Centre. Regarding the procedure to be adopted, he would have the communal problem settled first before any other issue was taken. How then could they claim that there was some point of ultimate unity between the Congress and the Muslim League though both used the term independence? And if there was such unity, could it remain politically operative immediately?

Some have questioned the good faith of the British Government and said that, by interjecting the communal issue, the British are at their old game of "divide and rule." Is this a justifiable accusation? The Government are not able to make any pronouncements regarding the constitution of India unless the Muslim League and the Congress come to terms. Mr. Jinnah does not agree with the Congress view that if independence is declared by the British the communal and other issues would be settled.

FEDERATION

Is this independence for the whole country or only for British Indian provinces? If it is independence for the country as a whole, does it not involve the idea of a federation? Here, again, Mr. Jinnah said that he would not have a federation of the type of which they had had experience. How is it possible then to declare anything on the subject

of independence? Has independence nothing to do with democracy? We must consider whether we can have a statement of independence without any reference to the nature and dimensions of the provinces and the Indian States, or to the type of government that would be installed under such independence.

Even the idea of some declaration of independence for British Indian provinces has become for a time impossible. And if we take the States also into consideration, we will see that it is not easy for any Government which takes a long view to make any hasty declaration.

Tempers, moods and ideas change quickly. During the Rajkot affair Mahatma Gandhi declared that, because the Congress had accepted office, it must be treated as being in alliance with the Government. Again, after the war broke out, he appealed to Europeans in India to range themselves alongside of the Congress.

All this shows that, till very recently, the Congress leaders had no reason to doubt the good faith of the Government. But one of the results of the break-down of the Delhi conversations has been reversion to the old attitude of questioning the good faith of the British Government.

COMMUNAL SITUATION

Has the communal situation—to use the term in respect of Hindus and Muslims—become worse or better, since the Congress accepted office? There can only be one answer to that question. *Let us consider the number of communal riots that have taken place during the last 2½ years and compare it with the number for the previous five years. That is an objective test.*

Then again, we have to consider the fact that the Muslim League has practically refused to deal with the Congress unless the latter concedes that the League is the sole representative of the Muslims. The Congress claim to represent the whole country and to be the only deliverer of the political, economic and cultural goods is not accepted by the Muslim League.

Secondly, the Muslim League enunciates the principle of separate existence for the Muslim community and wants communal representation.

Because it had denounced all coalitions as impure, as wrong in principle and inadmissible by a *satyagrahi*, the Congress went in for a purely party cabinet. Under the Constitution the Governors had to see that the interests of the minorities were properly safeguarded. Would the interest of the Muslims be safeguarded by a Congress Muslim being appointed to the Cabinet, or should Muslims be allowed to choose their own man by their own majority vote? The Muslims wanted their own representative on the Cabinet, but that was denied by the Congress. Furthermore, the Congress, by its agitation, got assurances that the Governors would not use their special powers.

I have always pleaded for Cabinets of national concentration in India until the Indo-British problem is solved, but the Congress has taken a different attitude altogether.

MUSLIMS AND SAFEGUARDS

The Congress now says that it would give the Muslims any amount of safeguards in a new Constitution, but Mr. Jinnah turned round and asked what was the good of safeguards as, in parliamentary democracy, they had already reduced the safeguards. Are safeguards necessarily operable in parliamentary democracy? Obviously, they are not, unless the people have that spirit of accommodation which distinguishes the British race.

The cabinet is supposed to possess the confidence of the Governor. How could the Governor exercise safeguards against men in whom he had full confidence? Analysing the theory of safeguards, we will find that if the safeguards are to be operated that must be done by some power outside the cabinet because they are against the cabinet. That power could not be the judiciary because it has to decide on political issues. Therefore, the only person to be trusted is the Governor, the

Governor-General or the Secretary of State. But if the Governor exercises his powers, Congressmen turn round and say, "You are trying to divide and rule"! Under such conditions where is parliamentary democracy? Thus we see that Mr. Jinnah's proposition is not so absurd as some orthodox people declare.

If the Congress, when its nominees were returned in an overwhelming majority at the last elections, had provided a really national platform and had Cabinets of national concentration allowing Muslims, Scheduled Classes, etc., to choose their own men, then 90 out of the 100 problems now facing them would have been solved.

From recent indications it is clear that the Congress would gladly reconstitute Ministries and take some members of the Muslim League if only Mr. Jinnah agreed. But Mr. Jinnah seems farther away from the Congress and it is to be seen what turn events will take.

The questions of hoisting the Congress flag and the singing of Vande Mataram show that the Congress has proceeded on a certain philosophy which has rendered toleration of opposite views difficult, if not impossible.

Regarding Hindi in schools, Mr. Mahadev Desai once stated that it should be left to the option of students to attend the class or not, if it was to be in accord with non-violence. But in Madras the study was compulsory, with or without examination value. This was indeed a contribution to educational theory.

Again, what has become of the civil liberties unions during the past 2½ years?

"HUMAN LEVEL"

All this shows that the Congress which started with high professions and high promises has now come down to the excellently human level. The angels have dropped their wings, though I for one never believed that those wings were composed of anything but lace.

The Congress originally objected to coalition cabinets as wrong in principle and refused to give a place for the Muslim League; but subsequently, in Assam, it changed its views. Having once made a departure from their original principle, the Congress should have reconstituted its cabinets before the situation reached the present acute condition where accommodation has an ugly aspect of surrender whereas earlier it would have been generosity.

I believe that no party in India has been under the leadership of such noble and great persons as the Congress, but under certain principle or philosophy that it followed, the Congress called the Muslim League and other such organizations by one sweeping term, "communal organizations." The idea of Congress-men that they were the only party and the only people who could deliver the goods, led to the consequence that the Congress should do its best to dissolve those communal organizations while allowing them to exist for cultural and economic purposes!

How could we ask the Muslim community, with its historic traditions, to dissolve in an arithmetical mass in the name of democracy? Are numbers more sacred and more effective than race, religion and history?

NATIONAL CONCENTRATION

The Congress is now in a reflective mood and that is why I am now engaged in the stock-taking of political situations in the hope that my Congress friends may reflect and change, for some years at any rate, to the principle of national concentration in government, so that by the day-to-day contact with others they might overcome the present differences and try to inaugurate a happier era in India.

On account of their history and territorial contacts the Muslims claim themselves to be treated as a nation with a separate culture. Mr. Jinnah wants Muslims to be treated as a nation, and not as a minority. The idea of unitary

nationalism and the attitude of the Congress towards communal organizations has to be re-examined.

First and foremost, the integrity of the country should be safeguarded. In this connection, they should see whether it is sound to go about saying that the present frontiers of India are permanent. People are talking glibly, about conditional cooperation; but I wonder whether such people really thought about the consequence of any British disaster in the present war. Let them consider the internal situation in the country. After all, the British have preserved the frontiers of India.

II

The particular philosophy of life and politics that the Congress pursues requires that it should be the one and only spokesman of the country, the one party that should negotiate with the Government and the one organisation that could deliver the goods.

The first consequence of this idea is that Congressmen are compelled by their conduct to render nugatory the consequences of special electorates and safeguards for the minorities, the object being to strengthen nationalism by smashing what are regarded as institutions and measures conceived, embodying separatist rights and tendencies. But the smashing up has produced just the opposite of the effect intended.

Special electorates, to be significant, must have the right to have their own representatives for the minorities in the cabinet. And safeguards require a cheerful acquiescence in the right of the Governors to exercise their special powers in furtherance of the guardianship imposed on them by the constitution. But the Congress would not admit Muslims to the cabinet unless they signed the Congress pledge, no matter on what ticket they were elected, nor would it permit, as far as one could understand, the Governors to exercise their special powers. The result is the wreckage witnessed recently at Delhi.

THE MINORITIES

The problem of minorities has to-day reached the dimensions of a tragedy, which if not speedily resolved, will engulf the prospects of India. Minorities are of many kinds. Take the Parsis, for instance. They are a minority, but they do not desire political influence beyond what they can get by means of their merit and moral influence. Next, we have the scheduled castes. They are not a compact body, are poor and helpless, and all are agreed in saying that they are a minority. Then there are the Anglo-Indians and others, including the Sikhs and the Muslims. The Sikhs are a factor to be reckoned with. By their history, their power, union and strength, they will not be relegated to the background. The Muslims' position is different again. To-day they are no longer a minority, no longer even a community. They are a nation !

If you will not allow the British to lay down the status you should occupy and the conditions in which you should work out your political salvation, why should not the Muslim claim his right of self-determination without in any way being ordered about by the Hindus ?

The Muslims' position to-day is this : 'We must be treated as a nation on account of our history, traditions, unity of language and the whole bent and the aims of Islam both inside and outside India, and by reason of the fact that we enjoy territorial compactness in the North-west, added to the other fact that in four provinces we are now in a majority, and we would have been in a majority in two more provinces if the Congress had not gone out of its way to create coalitions in violation of its past principles. Whether we are going to be a state or not, is a matter to be determined later. Meanwhile, we have the right to be treated as a nation and not as a mere community to which the Hindus will give protection and safeguards'.

A nation has a right to govern itself under any form of government. It may prefer a democratic form, but even the

smallest nation is under no moral obligation to be governed by another, simply because the latter is blessed by a more numerous population. Secondly, a nation even though small, when it federates with another nation, always does so on a footing of equality. Federation between sovereign states can only be on a footing of equality, and Mr. Jinnah has stressed the principle of equality in his latest utterances.

Another thing that follows from this theory of a nation is that what are called residuary powers will vest in the provinces and not in the centre. Muslims have been consistently asking that the residuary powers should vest in the provinces and that the centre should be rather weak. I can understand their view, though as an Indian nationalist it may not be possible for me to view such prospect without serious concern. If sovereign rights are vested in the provinces, ultimately it may be made to carry with it the right to secede. Though the question of secession has not been specifically raised, it is there in the contention that the provinces shall be sovereign states and the centre shall be a federation with only delegated powers, a sort of weak conglomeration. As a corollary to this position, Mr. Jinnah says that the communal issue should be settled before we take up the constitutional question. The Congress rejoins that the constitutional question shall be settled before we take up the communal question and that, at all events, a declaration of independence should come before we proceed to frame a constitution.

The Congress is willing to give assurances to the minorities that they will do everything to act in agreement with the minorities, that no constitution will ever be accepted if it is not agreeable to the minorities. But Mr. Jinnah, like a business man, says, 'Take cash first and we shall consider the credit portion later.'

THE PAKISTAN PROPOSAL

A dangerous proposal is held in reserve. It is this : 'why should we not, where we are in a majority in the provinces,

vote ourselves as a separate state—*Pakistan*—and go out of the Indian system altogether?’ I do not think that the *Pakistan* proposal has reached the dimensions of a serious demand; but there is no doubt that some such thing as that is somewhere in the background. Probably it has reached a more advanced stage now than before because from recent press messages we know that Mahatma Gandhi is referring to the vivisection of India and Mr. Bhulabhai Desai is talking of the inviolable unity of the country. Why should big leaders talk of the country being indivisible if there is no idea of division in the country?

We have to examine the reactions to this. The reaction of the extreme Hindu Mahasabha is simple and straight and contemplates a civil war. They say: “In view of the intransigent attitude of the Muslims we should not go on harping on independence and *Swaraj*. We must join with the British Government, who are anxious to preserve the present frontiers of the country, because the frontiers were created by them, and let the Muslims do their worst. As a corollary to this, let us develop the physique of the Hindu race, which seems to be below par and also their capacity for unity which seems to be on a par with their physique”. But I do not think that the Hindu Mahasabha has any big hold on the country, for us to take its reaction seriously.

What of the reaction of the Congress? The Congress is a strong body, though it is not so strong to-day as before. The Congress is assuring the minorities of goodwill. But unfortunately the assurances of the Congress to-day cannot carry the weight they did two and a half years ago. I do not blame it. Mutation is the law of human nature, more especially in politics, and success in elections changes policies. It has been so everywhere. You can judge how far the Congress attitude has changed towards many things, including the Criminal Law Amendment Act and the separation of the executive from the judiciary. Mere assurance by a party, however good and well-intentioned it may be, cannot be

accepted in politics which is business, and not religion which rests entirely on faith.

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

The Congress proposes a Constituent Assembly with the widest franchise. What is the good of offering Mr. Jinnah exactly the thing he does not want? Translate ‘the widest possible franchise.’ It will mean that the arithmetical numerical superiority of the Hindus will be greater than it is in the present electorate. Has the nature of this Constituent Assembly been ever defined? Will it meet as one body elected on universal franchise and decide by, say, a two-thirds majority? If so, the whole principle that the Muslims are a nation goes by the board. If Muslims can come into the Constituent Assembly on that basis they can easily come into the present Federation. Or will the Constituent Assembly meet in separate estates and orders, Muslims in one chamber, the Scheduled Castes in another, etc.? Or will it meet under the principle of voluntary federation adumbrated by Mahatma Gandhi?

If the Constituent Assembly is no improvement on the present situation, why not negotiate with the Muslim League and see whither matters are tending? I am glad that Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru will be in conference very soon and hope that the conference will result in some solution of the present problem.

I do not mind whether it is consistent with democracy or not, provided it is consistent with the integrity of India as it is to-day. That integrity is much more important to me than any other thing, which may be secured more leisurely. Once the integrity is jeopardised, we cannot restore it without undergoing trials and tribulations, and these may be without success.

The Congress is now daily asserting its readiness to give any amount of safeguards to anybody that wants them. Has any safeguarding been done in these two and a half years? To my knowledge, I know of no safeguarding act by the constitutional guardians of these minorities. The reply is sometimes given on

behalf of the Governors : ' we have no doubt safeguarded them on many occasions, but it is a matter of confidence between the Ministers and ourselves and we cannot give publicity to these acts of ours. It is a Masonic secret.'

Then I ask this question. If you say, on the principle of cabinet confidence, you cannot reveal in which cases you have overruled your ministers, then how are the minorities to feel confident that you have been safeguarding them ?

It seems to me that the whole provision of safeguards has been rendered nugatory by a wrong mode of working the constitution and that Mr. Jinnah is right when he says that unitary parliamentary government and these particular provisions cannot go together.

If the safeguards are to be real, some drastic mitigation of the cabinet system will have to be introduced.

Finally, I challenge the Governors to publish a list of the safeguarding acts they have perpetrated within the last two and a half years. It is no use telling me that it has been done secretly. Constitutionalism is not secret. The point is that if the safeguards are to be real, we cannot operate the constitution as it has been operated till now. To that extent Mr. Jinnah's contention is perfectly correct.

NON-PARTY CABINETS

There are other solutions to the problem. One is Mr. S. Srinivasa Ayyangar's brilliant idea of composite non-party cabinets. Of course, the difficulty here for the Congress is that it goes against the fundamental principle of the Congress that it is the one and the only party. I was one of the advocates of joint electorates with reservation of seats. But now I do not mind telling you that, unless something very unforeseen happens, there is absolutely no future for the idea of joint electorates in our country.

Muslims turn round and say : ' With even special electorates made nugatory, do you expect joint electorates to function better as regards our rights and interests ?'

It is one of the unfortunate consequences of the present position—I do hope I am a false prophet in this matter—that joint electorates will not be agreeable to all. In the present atmosphere they will probably generate more friction than separate electorates. I am also afraid that the Harijans may want the present Poona Pact to be revised.

Status, self-respect, honour and racial pride, all these are involved in the question of the position of the minorities. I am one of those who pleaded that Congress should be in office. Even to-day I want the Congress to be in office, but with its views drastically and radically changed. I do not want to see a big organisation break up. It is more easy to change ideas than to rebuild an organisation which has been broken up. In the interests of the country, I am for a change of heart, this time from the apostles of the philosophy of the heart itself.

III

I am pleased to find that Mr. Rajagopalachariar has a very high appreciation of the British Parliamentary system. But that system, to prove a success, which it undoubtedly has been in England, rests on the British manners of chivalry and charity in criticism. I do, therefore, hope that those who admire the British Parliamentary system would cultivate the British manners and modes of criticism. Some of us, specially Congressmen, have been employing towards the Muslim League and its leader, Mr. Jinnah, language which is not going to be helpful to a solution of the problem before us. I trust that in these days, words will be carefully weighed and anything savouring of personal animus, bitterness, discourtesy, rudeness and crudeness of manners carefully avoided.

PROSPECTS OF SETTLEMENT

I am glad to hear that Mr. Rajagopalachariar expects the present deadlock to be resolved in about three months. I am sure he is speaking with inside knowledge of what is taking place. When I read the first part of his speech* in which he talked about

* Delivered at Madras recently.

"armies" and the "march" and asked us to be prepared for eventualities and not be caught napping, I shuddered, being a weak man. But towards the end I found it was only a three months' holiday march that was contemplated and not a manoeuvre preliminary to an attack. I am a lover of peace and order, and I am glad that the country is not likely to be exposed to the ordeal of serious disorders.

In the present atmosphere, as Mahatma Gandhi has pointed out, peace is essential from the point of view of internal conditions, and also from the point of view of securing a satisfactory solution of the Indo-British as well as the communal problem.

I was at one time afraid that moderate counsel might fail and that the ideas of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose and Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru would prevail. Mr. Rajagopalachariar's speech leads me to think or hope that the moderate guidance of the Rightists will be available to see us through our present difficulties.

But obviously such a settlement implies not only agreement with the British Government, but also, as Mr. Rajagopalachariar has pointed out, agreement with the Muslim League. He has said more than once that if there had been complete agreement between the League and the Congress, we could have had what we wanted from the British Government. So, arguing on the premises he has himself supplied, I come to the conclusion that he has hopes that within three months a settlement between the Muslim League and the Congress will be effected. I wish godspeed to any such course.

What I am perturbed about is another statement, which seems to make this accommodation with the League difficult, if not impossible. Mr. Jinnah has approved of the Viceroy's declaration.

There are no justifiable grounds to suspect the *bona fides* of the British Government on this occasion, at all events, and that if only Mr. Jinnah and Mahatma Gandhi had come to an

agreed settlement at Delhi, things would have taken a different course.

Mr. Rajagopalachariar seems to think that there is justification for suspecting the good faith of the British Government. If this means disagreement with Mr. Jinnah on the nature of the origin of the present troubles, do you expect a man of Mr. Jinnah's chivalry and of his straight dealing to be pleased or to feel obliged, to endorse that suspicion? When he has approved and we continue to question the good faith underlying the Viceroy's statement, are we not perpetuating the difference that has arisen?

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

I was glad to note from Mr. Rajagopalachariar's speech that the lineaments of the Constituent Assembly of which we have heard so much and regarding which we knew so little in detail are now beginning to emerge. It has been stated that no solution which is not acceptable to the minorities will be enforced by the majority. I have no doubt that the statement will have some amount of reassuring effect.

The implication of the statement is that the representatives of the minorities, excepting Muslims, will be elected on the basis of joint electorates; and the Muslims alone may send their representatives through their own separate electorates. If the idea underlying the concession of separate electorates to Muslims is to enable them to send men in whom they have full confidence without interference by outside bodies, is it not reasonable to hold that similar procedure is not only desirable but necessary in the case of other big racial minorities? If the Muslim may speak with his own voice from his own electorate, why not give the same privilege to the Sikh?

If an agreement between the Congress, the Muslims and the Sikhs may be regarded as sufficient and fair for all minorities, at any rate as doing substantial justice and inflicting no serious harm, why not come to an agreement between the Congress and the Muslim League, here and now? Both are organised bodies,

and why try this experiment, this speculation, of a Constituent Assembly?

There is another difference between Mr. Rajagopalachariar and Mr. Jinnah. The very person who is looking forward to a solution within three months is opening out grounds of difference or is persisting in those already existing. I do not mean to say that modifications cannot be made in the views of either.

PARTY GOVERNMENT

Mr. Jinnah says he does not want the British type of parliamentary unitary cabinet system. Mr. Rajagopalachariar says the British system, including the party government, is the best. What is taboo to one is regarded as best by the other. Yet I hope they will come to an agreement.

In Britain there is a unitary legislature and not a composite one as in India. There are no special electorates for Catholics, Protestants, or for those who wear spectacles and for those who do not. Is it not reasonable to imagine that a composite legislature should, at least in some stages of its development, have a composite cabinet as its natural and inevitable corollary, if the constitution is to work in the manner in which it has been designed to work and fulfil its purpose properly?

Again, in England at every crisis they form cabinets of national concentration.

India has been, as Congress orators have been telling us every day for the last four or five years, in a crisis. In that case, why should we not show the same spirit of broadminded, largehearted accommodation and try to concentrate all political power and influence in the country and confront the British? We wanted a united front, yet when the opportunity came to have governments of national unity and concentration, we missed it.

No party in England assumes to itself the monopoly of all wisdom of this world and the next. Everybody is willing to grant that the other man, however erroneous he may be, can be tolerated at the least for the moment. It is these things that lend sweetness and grace to British political life.

THE SAFEGUARDS

Coming to the main theme, Mr. Jinnah is of opinion that the unitary parliamentary cabinet type of government is impossible and unworkable in India, if you want to give reality to two provisions of the Government of India Act—safeguards and separate electorates. If the unitary system is to be a reality, the two provisions will vanish into thin air; and if these provisions are to be a reality, the unitary system will have to be changed out of recognition.

If the safeguards are to be employed against the ministers, they will resign and create a deadlock. Governors, being what they are, will easily forsake their guardianship rather than face the consequences of a deadlock, which is too much of a responsibility and power for a single individual even with the help of advisers. Who is to exercise the safeguards? If it is the Governor, what becomes of the full confidence between the Governor and the Ministers? In other words, safeguards in a unitary system are inoperable and inoperative.

The whole philosophy of separate electorates is that the minority has no confidence in the majority and, therefore, wants its own spokesmen in the legislature. But in the legislature, so long as you are in a minority, the majority can carry through all legislative and administrative measures. Weightage sometime ago had some attraction. But I do not think, in the light of recent experience, weightage will figure largely in future, unless it is so great as to turn the scales in a division. That means negation of democracy.

I think it was expected that there would not be party cabinets. As a matter of fact, the criticism that some of us levelled against the constitution was that it would not enable party cabinets to be formed. The whole idea was that the Muslims, and possibly the Scheduled Classes, would be given each a seat in the cabinet to be filled by a person commanding the confidence of the members representing special electorates.

How can special electorates function as the real guardians of the special interests if either by law, custom or convention of the constitution, they are not given seats in the cabinet ?

The Congress wanted a united cabinet to drive home the reconstruction policies associated with the name of Mahatma Gandhi. If you feel that you have a mission to fulfil and enforce, naturally, you want to have an instrument which responds to you absolutely and is not susceptible to any other idea. In other words, it is a totalitarian feeling, from the point of politics as well as from the point of moral and social reform. That explains why the Congress was prepared to take even Muslims returned on the League tickets provided they signed the Congress pledge. The consequences of this attitude of the Congress have been most tragic.

COMPOSITE CABINETS

I believe that, if there is sufficient spirit of accommodation both in the Muslim League and the Congress, a way out of the present tangle can be found by means of composite cabinets.

No doubt in that case it will not be possible for any one party to carry out schemes through without discussion, question or even demur. You will have government by discussion, and for that reason the parliamentary system will be more real.

The system of Government in Switzerland affords the nearest parallel to what I have suggested. In Switzerland, the executive is practically a non-party body. There are three different racial groups, the Germans, the French and the Italians, in the country. But by means of a certain convention, they have representatives of all three in the executive. The executive does not interfere actively with the legislature, but is willing to act as a board of directors. To lay down policy is the function of the legislature. The same men are elected again and again to the council. Not to hurt the self-respect of any one race and to avoid any unseemly competition, I believe they have, again, the convention of making the choice rotational.

We all grant Mr. Rajagopalachari's proposition that the British system is the best. But the British system is best in England, while it is worked by the British. When Mr. Jinnah denounces the unitary cabinet type for India, why should we throw up our hands in horror and exclaim, 'What an absurdity!' Mr. Rajagopalachariar himself, while speaking at a function in honour of the new Mayor of Madras, justified the communal rotation, thereby making an admission that an undiluted unitary cabinet system is unworkable.

COMMUNAL ORGANISATIONS

The most important pronouncement which proves that Congress leaders are alive to the dimensions of the minorities problem is contained in a statement of Mahatma Gandhi in the *Harijan*, wherein he lays down propositions which make rule by the majority possible in India without detriment to the minorities. One refers to where the majority is weak and divided and is afraid of the minorities. If the strength of the minorities makes for an essential factor in the working of democracy, does it not amount to an admission that communal organisations have a right to exist in full power ?

If to-day the Congress has taken the Muslim League as a serious factor to be reckoned with, it is because its efforts to smash it as a political body, first by the mass contact campaign and then by setting up Muslim candidates on the Congress ticket, have been frustrated and the Congress has come to recognise the Muslim League as a power which can neither be mastered nor dissolved.

If we want as a balancing and rectifying feature in Indian democracy, the power of the minority to make its voice felt on the majority (that is Mahatma Gandhi's admission), then the so-called communal organisations have a right to exist in the fullest possible strength and have a right to be recognised by the Congress as bodies to be consulted in grave crises. When that is the case, why say that the Muslims alone shall

have separate electorates and the rest can come in by joint electorates to the Constituent Assembly ?

If in some of these ways our great national organisation will reconsider the basic principles alike of politics and the general philosophy of life and constitutionalism on which it has been acting, it will conduce to the peace of the country.

IV

As regards the constitutional problems I have been dealing with, I do not wish to say more, except to frame, so to speak, the main issues for consideration by publicists of all parties in India.

1. The point of universal agreement is that Minorities, amongst whom Muslims also appear to be included, must be safeguarded, and that those safeguards must be real as well as ample on paper.

2. Has not the Parliamentary Unitary Cabinet system of Government rendered them illusory so far ? If so, how can Congress leaders insist on that system, as Mr. Rajagopalachariar has done, as the best for India, and at the same time offer safeguards *ad libitum* which, under that system, appear to be inoperable and in fact have never been operative so far as our knowledge goes ?

3. Did not the Congress make up its mind to nullify the safeguards from the beginning, and what then is the good of offering what they had refused to countenance ?

4. Does it mean that Congress has revised its ideas regarding the unitary system of Government ? If so, how and in what ways ?

5. If it has not, then a new kind of procedure etc., by which the safeguards could be made effective will have to be devised. Has this been done, and will the details be published ?

In the absence of some such adjustment, either by modification of the Governmental system or by providing safeguards

for safeguards (!) I am bound to conclude that Gandhiji's present offer of liberal safeguards, with the unitary system kept intact, can only mean that the Congress hopes to have the bread for itself while giving the Minorities stones to break their teeth upon. We cannot go on treating the Minorities eternally to a Barmecide feast of shadows.

(a) Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League claimed it as their right under the constitution that the Muslims should have representatives in the Cabinets possessing the confidence of the majority of the Muslim legislators, to safeguard their interests, and

(b) they accused the Governors of failing to exercise their powers under the Constitution to safeguard Muslim interests in law as well as spirit. The Governors gave a reply which they considered lame and tame.

(c) The issue is, did the Congress take note of this contention ? What reply did it give ? Did it hold that any Muslim by birth was qualified, as per the spirit or letter of the Act, to represent Muslims, even if such a Muslim was far from possessing the confidence of the Muslim legislators ? If it did, how does it reconcile this with democratic principles ? If unitary Legislatures and unitary Cabinets go together, should not composite cabinets go with composite legislatures ?

Pending a satisfactory reply to the criticisms on the way the Congress Ministries set about (a) their cabinet constitution and (b) their governmental functioning, I am of opinion that the charge that they worked constitution on fundamentally wrong lines, which has resulted in the present impasse between the League and the Congress, is a true and valid charge.

1. It has been authoritatively stated, (a) that Muslim representatives will be elected by their own separate electorates and (b) darkly hinted that other minorities must come in by the diluted door of joint electorates, or may be a double election like the scheduled castes.

2. (a) Why is not the same sauce applied to all these birds? (b) And is there no risk of the second variety being treated as a second class variety, with voices lacking in authenticity and authority? And what then is the good of saying that minorities would be allowed to decide their views by their own majorities when the whole lot of them—the second category, I mean—will be accused of not possessing an undiluted representative character.

Analytically speaking :

How can a member of the second type be regarded as a representative of a community or minority, when he, having been elected by a composite constituency, is responsible to that composite body? A constituency that elects has the right to demand the resignation of its member (though the member generally refuses to comply). The Minority, not being either a constituency, or the sole constituency as in double elections, has no right to demand the recall of its so-called representatives even when he betrays its interests. Every representative, his specific constituency, its member elected by itself,—is that not the right principle and one which will not give room to question the credentials of the delegates?

Finally, I do wish the Congress Ministries had not taken this holiday, which is evidently as embarrassing to them as to the country, and may the hope of Mr. Rajagopalachariar that it will be cut short be realised! *A care-taker government*, and he has warned the Governors that it should be nothing else, *is the worst form of government, because weakest*. As Congress leaders have very rightly said, a Government must govern or else go; it must have both the capacity and the will to govern. *War time is no time for an interregnum*. It should either not have been allowed to occur, or it should be cut short. And whatever happens, may internal order and the integrity of the country be fully maintained!

THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

By SIR SHAFAT AHMAD KHAN

The resolution of the Congress Working Committee on the present political situation passed at its last meeting at Allahabad, and an article by Mahatma Gandhi in the *Harijan*, have again brought into prominence the question of a Constituent Assembly for the framing of an Indian constitution. The Mahatma states with perfect frankness that he was opposed to the idea of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, but mature consideration and detailed examination of the project seem to have made him a convert to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's scheme. To those who have studied the question in all its aspects, the demand for a Constituent Assembly is perfectly fair and proper. The procedure of a Constituent Assembly has invariably preceded the enactment of a constitution for self-governing dominions. Students of Australian constitution know that the imperial Parliament made only slight changes in the draft which the Australian delegates brought to London for enactment as the Act of 1900. Mr. Joseph Chamberlain's amendments to the Australian draft in the House of Commons were few and unimportant, and the Australian Act of 1900 embodied in essentials the greatest common measure of agreement which Australians of various interests and creeds had achieved in their own country before they set foot on the English soil. In South Africa, the Boers and the Dutch had discussed in detail the solid operative ideas of the constitutional structure before the Dutch delegates arrived in England. The history of negotiations between the chief Canadian parties is an exceedingly long and complicated one, but the study of the acrimonious debates which took place in Canada, before the great Canadian statesman, Sir John Mac Donald, went to London with the final draft of the Canadian constitution, will convince anyone that the British Parliament dealt with the exceedingly delicate question of the

union of various provinces into a federation at the express request and general desire of Canadians of all classes for an agreed settlement of issues which had produced a state of civil war in that Dominion.

Presumably the demand of the Congress for a Constituent Assembly is based on the analogy of the history of constitutional discussions in the Dominions. It seems perfectly legitimate for constitutional purists in the Congress to conclude from the numerous precedents which the prolific materials on the subject afford even to the cursory observer that India will be able to solve her difficult problems by following with mechanical precision the technique of Dominion Parliamentarians. The Indian constitutional problem is "a riddle wrapped in mystery inside an enigma." To those who have passed through the ordeal of prolonged discussions and constitutional problems—and it was the writer's lot for nearly ten years—such experience is like the stern light of a ship which only illuminates the track it has passed. The records of those discussions stand before us in vivid colours, like banners on cathedral walls. The Congress seems to ignore the essential factor that the more we delve into the subsoil of thought, the greater the danger of devastating controversies and furious debates. Many of the issues which had divided India have happily been forgotten. Political night has fallen upon that Niobe of India—the vexed question of percentages of Muslims and Hindus in the Punjab and Bengal—and it is the earnest hope of every patriotic Indian that so far as this question is concerned, it will not be until morning. India is still worshipped among the nations of the world for her goodwill towards men, and it will be a sad day if the old controversies which have happily been relegated to the cupboard are taken out, dusted down and restored to the family circle. Yet, this is precisely what will happen if the conception of a Constituent Assembly is logically developed. It might be argued that an experiment which has worked with decisive effect on the fortunes of three self-governing Dominions

will prove equally successful in India. Why should India fail where others have succeeded? Is not a Constituent Assembly the only effective instrument for giving statutory expression to the national will? Is it not in conformity with the strictest canons of constitutional propriety? Does not the self-respect of India demand the framing of a constitution which is not imposed from above by the combined forces of Imperialism and reactionaryism working mysteriously in the background, and undermining the foundations of national unity and solidarity? A constitution framed by a Constituent Assembly will be the product of indigenous talent and energy, and will embody the distinctive features of our growing and pulsating manhood.

I have put in a concrete form some of the arguments which have recently been advanced by the ablest exponents of this scheme, and have marshalled them in the order in which they have been so advanced. The reply to these arguments must be based on the realities of the Indian situation, no less than on the essentials of the constitutional history of the self-governing Dominions. I will deal with the latter point first. The arguments advanced by Congress politicians on the analogy of the Dominions completely ignore the tremendous difficulty which Dominion statesmen experienced in carrying through their proposals for the federation. We are inclined to concentrate on the finished product, and ignore the serious impediments which every Australian and Canadian statesman experienced. Take Australia. The project for the federation of New South Wales and other semi-independent provinces of Australia was the focus of an acute controversy for nearly thirty years, and the number of inter-provincial conferences and conventions which met to discuss a variety of schemes of federation was unusually large. The debates have been preserved, and anyone can go through that appalling mass of printed material and realise for himself the extent and intensity of the passions roused by the simplest scheme. Canada supplies us with even more material, and the young and vigorous school

of Canadian historians has published comprehensive monographs on almost every phase of the controversy over the Union of Canada. I need only mention Kennedy, Wrong and others who have published documentary history of the Canadian constitution during that period. While Australian colonies fought mainly on economic issues, the question in Canada was inextricably mixed up with religion, as the Catholics of Quebec—"a fragment of France embedded in northern ice"—were determined on safeguarding their political identity by effecting constitutional safeguards. The conferences that preceded the framing of a definitive draft for the federation of Canadian provinces were numerous and roused racial and religious animosity to an extent which astonished Sir John MacDonald, the great statesman. But for the generosity and tact of MacDonald, the representative of the majority party in Canada, the French Catholics of Canada would never have consented to join the Union. Even so, their representation in the Dominion Parliament is fixed by the Constitution Act, and they have invariably every project which aimed at vesting the Dominion Parliament with the right to amend the Constitution Act. The representatives of Catholic Canada have declared in no uncertain terms that they are not prepared to give this power to the Protestant majority in the Canadian Parliament. South Africa offers another example which ought to serve as a warning. The English element in South Africa would never have consented to vest the South African Parliament with complete power to amend the Constitution Act, and a compromise between the English and the Boers could be arrived at only after a bloody war which involved England in serious losses of men, money and prestige. The Convention which met after the Boer War was not a typical Constituent Assembly, and the fundamental questions which seriously affected the English minority had been decided on many a battle-field in the years 1899-1902. The main questions concerned the franchise for English settlers, the

use of the English language, and the sovereignty of the British Parliament.

I have adduced these facts to show that the procedure of a Constituent Assembly which is to act as a *deus ex machina* in solving all the problems of India is by no means so efficacious as many Congressmen seem to think. The difficulties experienced by Australian, Canadian and South African statesmen were encountered in countries which were united by many cultural, racial and political ties. Economic interests sundered the provinces, and the solution of economic problems in Australia paved the way for a real and lasting unity. In Canada and South Africa, the problem was complicated by religion and race, and in the former it required a long war to settle them, while in the latter, the Catholics of Quebec have clung tenaciously to their religion, race, culture and representation in the Dominion Parliament. The problems in India are infinitely more complicated and their appalling intricacy would damp the ardour of the stoutest champions of a new scheme. In British India and the Indian States there are nearly a dozen political stresses, and most of them overlap into ramifying and interlaced sub-stresses. The problem of modern India consists in the melting and casting of numerous strains into a single, solid ingot. But it cannot be solved by adopting the Constituent Assembly as a universal panacea for the troubles of this land. To refer all the issues which have perplexed and worried the best brains in England and India in a new body which will be created in a distant future before deciding the fundamental issues which have unhappily marred the relations of the two communities in India, is to place the cart before the horse.

The scheme of a Constituent Assembly looks attractive at first, but the more it is analysed, the greater the difficulties which every impartial and patriotic Indian is bound to experience. It raises a host of problems which neither Mahatma Gandhi nor Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru seem to have considered with customary care. The basic problem which the Congress

will have to face is the question of minorities. Will the minorities who have been guaranteed representation by sep rate electorates in the Provincial and Central Legislatures be asked to give up and throw them into the melting-pot to be tossed about like tennis balls between the acrimonious and contentious disputants in the Constituent Assembly, who will come armed with weighty material to scrap the existing rights and start with a clean slate? If this is the intention of the framers of this scheme, then few representatives of the Muslim community will attend this body. The Muslims, and, I think, the other minorities will not be prepared to give up rights which they have secured after years of ceaseless endeavour. If, on the other hand, it is decided by the framers of the scheme to guarantee the quality and quantity of representation enjoyed by them by the Act of 1935, then the Hindus of Bengal and the Sikhs of the Punjab will raise serious objections to the convening of such an Assembly. All the difficulties and anxieties through which leading Indian statesmen passed in the years 1929-35 will be revived and intensified with tremendous force and momentum, and the whole country will again be swept by a hurricane of communal feeling which might shatter the foundations of the Constituent Assembly. The Congress has never yet attempted a satisfactory solution of the communal problem. It attempted it in the Nehru Report but burnt its fingers, and the Report itself was scrapped at Lahore. It has not yet definitely accepted the Communal Award and will be perfectly within its rights in raising the entire question of communal settlement. But if it attempts this Herculean task, it will find that a wholly satisfactory solution is unattainable.

I have dealt so far with the problems of the minorities. When the Congress discusses other problems of the Indian Constitution with which delegates of the Round Table Conferences were faced, it will involve itself in a labyrinth from which it will find it impossible to escape. The device of the Constituent Assembly may operate like the injection of artificial energy but the unity of the country which is the aim and endeavour

of every Muslim and Hindu to realize, cannot be secured by this round-about method of shelving fundamental issues. The Constituent Assembly will have to devise ways and means of achieving national solidarity by bringing the Indian Princes into any constitutional structure that may be constructed. The entry of the Princes will raise thorny problems of sovereignty and equally difficult problems of the Federal Legislature and the Federal Executive. Moreover, the Princes may refuse to attend the Constituent Assembly and deny its competence to legislate for their territories. How then will the decisions of the Constituent Assembly be implemented? The Paramount Power is bound by its Treaties to help the States on definite and specified occasions, and no power can compel the Princes to join the Assembly against their will and wish. I do not believe for a moment that the Ruling Princes can be easily dispossessed of their thrones, as many of the States are national States and their rulers are the hereditary chieftains of clans and tribes whose members will rally to them in times of crises. No Rajput or Mahratta can be touched with impunity, while the Nizam of Hyderabad has the overwhelming support of the Muslims in every part of India. If, on the other hand, the Congress decides to exclude the Princes from the deliberations of the Constituent Assembly, it will frame a constitution which will permanently divide India, destroy her organic unity, and cut off the vibrations of intellectual and cultural energy which fused the different parts of our country into a unity, and cut up the country into fragments which will be rigid and inflexible and will automatically sabotage any scheme that may be evolved by the most perfect Constituent Assembly in the world. The Assembly will be impaled on the horns of a cruel dilemma, and it will consequently be unable to take swift decisions or large and comprehensive views of the Indian situation as a whole.

Let us take other problems which the proposed Assembly will be called upon to solve. It is natural that Indians of all classes should try to scrap the chapter on Commercial Discrimination

which was incorporated by Parliament in the Government of India Act of 1935, against the wishes of the Indian mercantile community. However, safeguards for European capital in India must be provided and prove to be effective. Will it adopt the definition of "citizen" adopted in the Nehru Report or will it evolve some other scheme to allay the anxiety of Europeans in India? Then there is the question of representation of Europeans in the Provincial and Central Legislatures. If the representation of each community in the proposed Constituent Assembly is to be in exact proportion to their numerical strength, then the Europeans of Bengal and Assam will be called upon to make a sacrifice of their excessive representation in the Provincial Assemblies of Bengal and Assam in a way which will reduce them to a position in the public life of India to dust. It is for the Europeans to decide this crucial issue but signs are not wanting to show that they will not touch the scheme with a pair of tongs.

Let me refer now to another problem which the Constituent Assembly will be expected to solve. I refer to the position of this Assembly *vis-à-vis* the British Government. Lord Zetland has made it perfectly clear that the Government is not prepared to shed its responsibility for the framing of an Indian Constitution, and the British Government will not be prepared to implement the decisions of a body which it has not recognised or to take statutory expression to any scheme which it may evolve. If the British Government refuses to recognise the existence of this body, what sanctions will the latter employ to enforce its decisions. Apart altogether from the sanctions of a military character which the Assembly will not be able or competent to employ, will the moral sanction of such a mushroom organisation impart it sufficient validity and vigour to the ukases issued by it in India? The greatest support of a moral sanction is the unquestioned support of a united people animated by a high resolve to achieve the unity of their motherland. Will the Assembly enlist and mobilize this support? I have no hesitation in saying that in the

existing circumstances, it is impossible for an Assembly constituted in such a manner to call forth the dominant energies of a virile people. It is, indeed, probable that such an Assembly will have spontaneous combustion, and though the cloud of words inside its halls may for a day or two obscure the sunburst, it will end in the quiet and orderly compounding of high explosives. There are certain other points connected with the summoning and constitution of this Assembly. It will presumably be summoned by leaders of various groups and interests. If, however, their representation is based entirely on their numerical strength, many groups will refuse to send their delegates. If the Princes refuse to attend, the Europeans will hold out, and the British Government refuse to recognise its constituent character, who is going to implement its decision? Will the Congress do it single-handed? If it defies all these forces, the latter will be automatically combined against it and the combination of Muslims, Princes, Depressed Classes and the British Government will prove irresistible. I need not deal with the numerous other issues which will have to be decided. Will the Franchise be adult suffrage, as visualised by Mahatma Gandhi in the *Harijan*? If so, the organisation and disciplining of such an amorphous mass will be so strenuous that the entire electoral machinery will simply crash.

I have now summarised all the arguments against a proposal which is, in my opinion, impracticable. It simply cannot be worked in India in its present mood and temper. In a country of chronic and passionate dissensions it will be selling fire to a powder magazine to convene a gathering of such character. The Congress has confessed the bankruptcy of its statesmanship by launching such a proposal at this juncture. The real reason for this move lies in the inability of the Congress to solve the communal problem.

It wishes to relegate all inconvenient questions to a body which is expected to solve all the problems with the swift insight of genius and resource. It fondly hopes that out of the rebellious material of which the Assembly will be composed, it

will be able to wring a scheme which may be spoken as the natural will of a united India. Such pretensions will not deceive anyone. It would have been infinitely better if the Congress had boldly tackled the problem instead of shelving it and acted in a spirit of generosity and fair play towards the Muslim minority. Its supreme incompetence was shown in its handling of the Shia-Sunni problem when 15,000 Shias and 3,000 Sunnis were incarcerated in jail, in its incapacity to deal with the Khaksar agitation, in its narrow outlook on economic, agrarian and industrial problems, and above all, in its failure to recognise the claims of the Muslim League and its studied and deliberate attempt to belittle Mr. Jinnah's authority and Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan's supreme position in the hearts of the Punjabis.

In my opinion, the only way whereby India's troubles can be removed is by the frank recognition of difficulties and by an honest endeavour to remove them directly. Instead of buttressing up the chimerical project of a Constituent Assembly which will act like a high explosive in a country seared by 25 years of communal animosities, it will be the height of wisdom for the Congress to come to grips with the problem and offer a constructive solution. This can only be done in a spirit of generosity to the minorities. It is my earnest prayer that these virtues make their abode at Wardha and Ananda Bhavan.

The Fog of War: The Ministry of Information.
Modern business: Pounds, shillings and suspense.
The Dictator: A man with a gift of the grab.

MEN AND MEASURES

By POTHAN JOSEPH

[EDITOR, *Indian Express*]

"I despise and hate myself every hour for engaging in such dirty work, and am supported only by the reflection that without such a Union, the British Empire must be dissolved". So wrote Lord Castlereagh to Lord Cornwallis in piloting the cause of the Union of Ireland with Britain. It was a tremendous feat of Castlereagh, the Union, and it made him the best-hated statesman in Ireland. The inwardness of the episode has its bearings on India in certain aspects of our settlement with Britain. The separate status with Ireland which Castlereagh later subverted, had originally rested on the basis of legislative independence for Ireland, but the Lord Lieutenant and the Chief Secretary were the nominees of Great Britain. The Civil Service did contain Irishmen, but their loyalty was entailed to Dublin Castle with the result that the heads of administration in Ireland bore allegiance not to the Irish Parliament but to the machinery of foreign governance. Lord Castlereagh had to exploit the situation to corrupt the Irish Parliament for obtaining its vote for the Union. "My occupation is of the most unpleasant nature", reported Castlereagh in June, "negotiating and jobbing with the most corrupt people under heaven". When a Chief Secretary or Viceroy is corrupt, the people of the land must play up to the profitable deal, through the dispensers of the patronage may themselves imagine that advantageous terms stipulated by those corrupted are due to a double dose of original sin among the local populace. Ireland then had legislative independence but the fabric of administration was British. In India, let us realize we are undergoing a similar phase. With regard to the vital Services, the power vests in the Secretary of State while legislative systems are granted to the provinces which tend to exhaust themselves with additional taxation to maintain the perquisites of autonomy.

The whole framework of the Government of India Act rests on the basis of legislative independence for India, comprising the Provinces and the States but without final control of the personnel of the administration. The situation is on a par with the agony of Ireland before Mr. De Valera interpreted the terms of Irish Swaraj.

Now there is an Irish Governor-General, one Mr. Hyde, but no one in Ireland cares two figs who is the Governor-General in Dublin. There is a democratic constitution where the chosen leader holds full sway. The whole key-note of the Irish struggle was that the personnel should be subject to the direction of Eire, since the mere delegation of legislative authority could result only in the capacity of a subordinate cadre with big names for the bigwigs, to invite liabilities upon the taxpayer. Ireland had learned her lesson. India in the scheme of provincial autonomy is, or was, re-traversing the same ground of enjoying legislative power in localized spheres while the big machinery (from the the Army down to the district Civilian, remains under the final control of the Secretary of State. It represents the Castlereagh content of sovereign government.

Castlereagh was alarmed at the possibility of Ireland fraternizing with France, then an enemy country, but he failed in the first effort because he had not the realism to address himself to the task of bribery which the system of foreign control offered him. In his trial (1844), Daniel O'Connell established that apart from a bribe to the Irish boroughs, three million pounds had been "expended in actual payment of the persons who voted for the Union". There is a despatch of Castlereagh showing the items of bribery to enable England to have her own way with regard to the Union. The legislative sham of freedom was worth abolishing in the absence of plenary authority over the ministerial staffs, and the question is whether in cases of puerile autonomy we are not being made into instruments of truncated control invested a sense in the direction of subordinate power. To be sure of reform we should be warned by the experience of Ireland. When De Valera took charge, he insisted

on determining the personnel of administration including judges. The judges might be of interior erudition according to the opinion of British lawyers, but they would at least consist of men who could understand the way of justice in the land under a new regime. Many Congress Governments have had their rebuff against the prerogatives reserved by the Secretary of State in connection with members of the Imperial Service. In spite of all "the emphasis at their command", provincial ministries have had to swallow vetoes. The Viceroy and Governors are in the position of the rulers in Ireland at the time of Castlereagh. Provincial ministries have succumbed to defeats, but they are free to make use of the powers of legislative independence without final control of the principal officers who constitute the Civil Services. Orders under provincial autonomy are issued in the name of the Governor and many instances of overruling have occurred in the name of Whitehall, a procedure which prevents the picture of a conflict with the Governor by Ministers and maintains the semblance of the compact at the time of office-acceptance that the Governors shall not interfere with the ministries in routine-administration through the exercise of their special powers. The contrivers of the British regime do not as practical men force the issue in terms divergent from the compact but at the same time have their way by resort to other means of authoritarian expression. An acid test came when war-preparations began last May in the open when the Congress was supposed to be bound by resolutions about non-participation in wars of "British Imperialism". The resolution was soon watered down with the concession that preparations for "defence" should be assisted by Congress Governments, because after all, it is good sense to consolidate defensive measures in spite of abstractions about non-violence and imperialism. No aggressor, not even Hitler, proclaims that he mobilises men and resources for the purposes of attack. All are busy with defence, and the Congress ministries, by the timely accommodation of the word, brought themselves into line with their

contribution in military preparations, the object being defence, with no motive of an attack on the Axis Powers. The independence of what Mr. Lloyd George called the steel-frame, much to the defence of India, should (even without any particular gesture of co-operation or sufferance on the part of ministries), be able to subserve the purpose of a tremendous departure in national policy and provide for the mobilisation of men and resources under orders expressed in the name of the Governor. The body politic of provincial autonomy has within it a system of outside obligations capable of being discharged with the strength of foreign responsibility.

The lesson of Castlereagh is that in such a set of circumstances the personnel of administration stands emasculated for the benefit of the real masters of the situation. Legislative autonomy without executive authority is a delusion and a fraud. The members and bosses of the legislature become on the other hand but a price upon themselves and cling to their claims. It is difficult to dispose a body so composed, and therefore Castlereagh made a list of members whose vote could be bought. He sent up the following estimate for sanction at Whitehall :

108 Boroughs at £7,000 each	..	£ 756,000
32 Counties at £7,000 each	..	£ 224,000
50 Barristers at £4,000 each	..	£ 200,000
50 Purchasers at £1,500 each	..	£ 75,000
" Dublin Influence " (Misc. Bribes)		£ 200,000
Total		£ 1,455,000

The barristers caused trouble later and the Miscellaneous Disbursement for corruption of "Dublin Influence" got the Irish Secretary a bad name where he was not free from the suspicion of a liberal helping for himself.

The vocalists of legislative independence, namely, the members of the legislature, put a high price upon their votes ;

it meant no final responsibility plus a fortune in exchange for the privilege of making noise in sham chambers having no control of the executive. They held together for their price, and Castlereagh thought it prudent to buy them up for cash since none of them, aware of the market, would be content with titles. The legislature had powers of taxation and trumpery reforms of self-exhaustion which they bolstered up as vital for Ireland, but the whole farce merely tended to bleed the peasantry. Castlereagh worked out his capital requirements from the basis of interim-payments. If reform or the delegation of autonomy is to be genuine, it must be accompanied with full powers of controlling the personnel. De Valera in his fight for separation from Westminster profited by the lesson of the past and insisted that full control of personnel should be part of devolution instead of consenting to another chapter of Irish history being written with the taint of corruption. When there is mere legislative independence, national heroes develop corruption for the reason that their status renders them corruptible. Upon the application of the lesson to India, it is hardly necessary, as days pass, to enlarge on the dangers of similar evil, since the situation itself, rather than the amenability of men on the scene, makes for the subtle prevalence of corruption. The system is wrong, and makes for the debauch of liveried slaves.

" You should always let bygones be bygones, my boy. "

" Then why do I have to learn history, daddy ? "

* * * *

Frank !

Young man, practically useless, would like some brave employer to take a chance.

Advt. in the *Bulawayo Chronicle*.

THE FUTURE OF PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT IN INDIA

By DR. NANDALAL CHATTERJI

The recent declaration of Mr. Jinnah and other Muslim League leaders that democracy has failed in India, and that it is totally unsuited to Indian conditions, has caused widespread surprise and regret in this country. Democracy has so far been supposed to be the ideal of Indian political progress, and the belief is entertained even in diehard and conservative quarters that India cannot for ever be denied the status of an equal partner in the British Commonwealth of Nations. The sudden rejection of the democratic ideal by Mr. Jinnah now comes as a rude shock not only to those who look forward to a free and autonomous India, but also to those who believe that Islam is a democratic creed and that votaries of this faith could not possibly abandon the ideals of democracy and freedom.

The question arises as to why Mr. Jinnah has suddenly realized the futility of the democratic type of government for India, and decried it with all the emphasis at his command. Is it a political stunt, or a new-born conviction? The stand taken by the Congress leaders on the war issue, and their confabulations with the Viceroy coincided with Mr. Jinnah's statement about democracy. Is this merely accidental, or premeditated? Or, does Mr. Jinnah want to exact a heavy price for any co-operation that he may be asked to offer? The suspicion is likely to arise that Mr. Jinnah is out for political bargaining, and that he could not really mean what he has said. For, did not the Muslim League recently adopt the independence creed? Nothing unusual has happened of late except, of course, the war which could justify a precipitate rejection of the democratic ideal.

Mr. Jinnah's disclaimer may or may not be a political stunt, but the time has really come when all lovers of Indian freedom should ponder over the question as to whether democracy of the western type could suit Indian conditions at all. For, after all, mere imitation or grafting can never be a permanent success in the sphere of politics. The character of representative government has undergone startling changes in Europe, and it is England alone which may be said to possess substantially the orthodox type of parliamentary government. But, are not conditions in England different from those that obtain at present in India? Such questions are bound to be faced sooner or later, and it is no use evading them.

Democracy of the western type implies, of course, the rule of the majority and the acquiescence in it of the minority, or minorities, and also presupposes the probability of the minority or the minorities becoming the majority and forming the government. Democracy does not connote, in short, permanent occupation of office by any party. The present conditions in India are such as make this ideal rather unworkable. Mr. Jinnah is probably afraid of the democratic ideal, because he can visualise nothing but permanent political subjection for his community in the majority of the Indian provinces, and at the centre. That is why he would rather prefer the maintenance of the *status quo* than allow the Congress to be in office permanently both at the centre and in most of the provinces. Safeguards have been there, but still the Muslim leaders feel that these have remained practically ineffective, and that the majority rule has been detrimental to the vital interests of the various minorities.

It is undeniable that no safeguards can totally obliterate the Hindu majority in India, and that the Muslims as such have no chance of securing power either at the centre, or in the majority of the provinces. This means that democracy on the western model cannot be a success in India so long as political parties are formed on the basis of religion. Religion being a permanent fixture, minorities will remain perpetual

minorities. No weightage or safeguard could prevent the Hindus from occupying office. Even separate electorates will not alter this essential fact. If anything, separate electorates would accentuate the cleavage between the religious groups and intensify the communal bickerings.

Parliamentary government can be a success in India only if religious and communal jealousies are subordinated to economic and other interests. In other words, political parties must cease to have religious labels and religion should not be allowed to become the mainspring of political thought and action. Since the introduction of the communal electorates in India, religion has been a living force in the political life of the country. The situation will remain unchanged so long as separate electorates on the present model are continued. The trappings of a democratic form of government in the midst of separate electorates are rather a travesty of democracy, and it is difficult to ignore that separate electorates and the communal award form the very antithesis of all democratic notions. Separate electorates, special weightages, reservation of seats and allotment of posts on the basis of communal percentages have so far retarded the growth of the national feeling in India, and so long as these continue in their present form, democracy will remain an almost impossible ideal.

Unity talks and conferences have proved a failure so far, and it is unlikely that such talks between communal leaders or groups will lead to any lasting solution of the problem. The failure of the recent talks between the Congress leaders and Mr. Jinnah is hardly surprising. It may happen that the communal leaders may temporarily bargain to sink their differences with a view to wresting concessions from the British Government, but that will not mean the end of all troubles. For, even if the British rule were to disappear, religion would still remain the motive force of all political activity. And, in that case, will democracy be a success in India? There may in fact be a renewed outburst of religious fanaticism on the removal of the British yoke, and India may have to undergo

the blood bath of a religious civil war of which the present day Hindu-Muslim riots are an ominous warning.

Is there any remedy? Will India abolish religion? Certainly not, for a long time to come. The only remedy may be the gradual abolition of all religious labels and slogans in the political life of the country. This is impracticable so long as the separate electorates remain intact. It is up to the majority groups in India now to insist on the withdrawal of the so called communal award, and the abolition of all communal electorates. New methods must be found for the due protection of the vital interests of the various minority groups. It is not unlikely that India may yet evolve a new type of democracy which may be suited to her peculiar genius. But, whatever modification may be introduced, it must not affect the essential character of democracy itself.

The recent political talks at Delhi have made the question of coalition ministries a live issue. Superficially viewed, coalition ministries might appear to be the panacea of all ills. It might be argued that coalition ministries would bring about a lasting understanding and co-operation between the two major parties in India—the Congress and the Muslim League, and would thus hasten the solution of the problem of Hindu-Muslim unity. The coalition ministries may also mark the end of the communal wranglings in the Congress provinces. The idea of coalition ministries is thus very tempting, indeed. Besides, coalition ministries may enable the Congress and the League to fight for Dominion status at the present moment. But, the fact remains that coalition ministries would mean merely the postponement of the evil day. A pact on a communal or religious basis will perpetuate the existing rift between the communities, and will thus ultimately jeopardise the democratic ideal itself.

It is unfortunately true that anti-democratic and centrifugal forces are particularly strong in India. Caste and religious antagonisms, not to speak of linguistic and cultural

differences, are a negation of democracy as it is known in the west. These forces have been strengthened as a result of foreign rule, and the recent constitutional changes in India have given an added impetus to these in a manner that cannot be mistaken. It may be argued that these differences could have been minimised, if the British Government had framed India's constitution on really democratic lines. As a matter of fact, the groundwork of India's constitution has been thoroughly undemocratic so far. Some superficial trappings of parliamentary government are all that India has been given. Under the circumstances one may well argue that given favourable opportunities India may yet get rid of her internal difficulties.

The truth is that democracy has not had a fair trial in India yet, and until it has had a trial, it would be unfair to say, as Mr. Jinnah does, that democracy is totally unsuited to India. It may be conceded that religion will continue to impinge upon political life in this country for some time to come, but if political parties resolve to concentrate on other than religious interests, and agree to frame their programme along economic lines, there will yet be a future for democracy in India. In conjunction with separate electorates, parliamentary government has no chance of success in this country, or for that matter, in any country in the world. Let it not be forgotten that real democracy has yet to be introduced in India. Till then the question of its success or failure does not arise.

From Hitler's Autograph Album.

As Napoleon said to Metternich in a celebrated interview at Dresden in 1813:

"Kings, born on their thrones, can let themselves be defeated twenty times and still return to their capitals; for my part, I cannot, because I am a parvenu soldier. My domination would not survive one day after I had ceased to be feared.

—*The Times.*

HARDY'S TESS

By SHYAM LAL SADHU

THOMAS HARDY breaks quite fresh ground in the English Novel by his tragedies which generally depict the fall and ruin of a man or woman, not essentially because of an inherent flaw in character but because of the malice of some supreme governing power. Great critics agree that Hardy's conception of the tragic in life approaches Hellenic fatalism in its sternness, that before unrelenting Fate all joys are swept away, and that the "Will to Enjoy" is constantly and persistently thwarted by the "Circumstantial Will against Enjoyment."

Fools rush in where angels fear to tread. To cross intellectual swords with eminent critics or to suggest a little improvement or alteration in the accepted views in criticism is hazardous. But it has been very pertinently remarked that the little boy in the pit trying to hide his tears best appreciates a tragedy of Shakespeare. Professionalism in literature sometimes sickens our taste and colours our judgment; for we must, as professionals, swallow down a heterogeneous mass of criticism by eminent doctors and professors. Appreciation or criticism is subjective and personal. To say that Hardy's conception of the tragic in life is out and out Hellenic is unsavoury to many unprofessional lovers of literature, inasmuch as such a view rules out the place of character in a tragedy and abandons man, skinless and unprotected, to the mercy of Fate.

Nobody will deny *Tess* the first place amongst Hardy's novels, particularly as an exposition of his philosophy. It is a commentary on his own view of life. Is *Tess* wholly a tragedy of circumstance and fatalism? No doubt, fatality and circumstance play a very considerable part in bringing about the ruin of Tess, but a failure on her part that ultimately resulted in her tragic end cannot be overlooked. Her tragedy

consisted in her separation from Angel Clare when she thought she had found a place in his heart, and her marriage with Alec in spite of her vain desire against it. On the one hand she has been pining for her Angel for years without so much as hearing a single word from him, her whole soul mortifying in remorse for having failed to unveil her secret to her 'angel' before entrapping him in such an irrevocable social snare as marriage. On the other hand there is Alec, rich, prosperous and perhaps promising, who could all at once scare away the poverty of the D'Urberville family, entreating her to accept him, his wealth, his love, all placed at her feet; and the tragedy finds its acme in her finally accepting Alec, having despaired of Angel after struggling with numerous temptations and dangers.

What is at the root of it? It is the so-called morality of Angel: it is preposterous in his eyes to accept Tess, having been the mother of a natural child, as the would-be mother of his children. She is rejected because she has been the victim of an outrage upon her honour and maidenhood. One or two minor incidents concur with this and lead to her tragedy. Had she not been victimised by Alec, it is inconceivable how Angel Clare could have failed her, other things being as they are. And her victimisation she owed to her character. Let us see how it is so.

TESS is a country girl with a foolish father and a silly mother. She is beautiful, grown up and sensitive. She is honest (in the full Elizabethan sense of the word), a 'vessel of emotions untinctured by experience.' Apparently in a society where young girls are expected to be 'pretty' under all circumstances, to be 'untinctured by experiences' is an encomium sincere enough. But part of the tragedy of Tess lies in that expression. Prof. Bradley, speaking about a tragedy of Shakespeare, says that a tragedy may result either because one's will or passion is in conflict with a supreme controlling order, or because one fails to conform or adapt oneself to that order. One may be rashly aggressive, as Macbeth, break

the order, and incur punishment, or one may be involved in a machine, working at a high speed, because of one's ignorance of the working knowledge of the machine, or his failure to work the machine in its proper order, as with Brutus.

Tess, it is clear, is no aggressor, but she suffers from the other malady. She is untutored in the normal demands of life outside her home. That is why she is roughly handled by mysterious powers. Long, long before Tess, the daughter of a Venetian Senator met with a similar end. She fell into a chasm, to which she was blind, between her husband and a Venetian monster. With a little experience, a little tact, a little insight into the realities of life, Desdemona might have risen equal to the occasion and saved the situation, but unfortunately that could not be. Tess in this respect does not differ very much from Desdemona. To make her family amends for negligently causing the death of a pony, she offers to wait upon a great lady of the name of her family. Unfortunately, she interviews her profligate son instead. Had it been any other girl but Tess, she would have sought her escape after that. But Tess was wavering, indefinite and rather yielding, and walked into the trap, not realising the import of his overt acts and gestures.

Apart from this, however, we are to determine her responsibility in her loss of maidenhood. Such a subject has been treated in *Clarissa Harlowe*, the *Heart of the Midlothian*, *Adam Bede*, and *Tess*. The constancy of her lover and her sister's affection save Effy Deans (the *Heart of the Midlothian*) from a tragic end. Hetty Sorrel (*Adam Bede*) meets a tragic end not so much because of a conflict between her passions and her conscience as through the betrayal of a lover who deceived a 'dairy wench' by giving her false hopes, or at least not disillusioning her mind of them. One may attribute it to lack of experience or reserve in her, but considering her circumstances, one cannot be too hard upon Hetty. Given a true lover, she might have been saved.

The contrast between the characters of Tess and Clarissa is perfect as also the resemblance in the honesty of their motive. Clarissa's virginity is smutched when she is under an opiate drug and the reality dawns upon her when it is too late. Tess is not unconscious when outrage is perpetrated upon her. Of course, she would never lose a chance if it lay in her power to ward the misfortune off. But apparently she does not resist, though a stubborn resistance would have ultimately saved her honour so long as no drug was used. Isn't it impossible for a man to overpower a woman single-handed? It is, and yet Tess makes no resistance, though it lay in her power in the circumstances. We are not to impute it to any impure motive, but are to seek its roots in her character, her mental constitution. At a moment of crisis she suffers from a nervous break-down, loses mastery over herself, works mechanically and is yielding to what she is bid under the impending catastrophe. She can think of nothing, her mind becomes a perfect blank, a clean slate and her senses are stupefied. We have glimpses of this in her first interview with Alec, and in the cart scenes while she travels with her seducer. At the moment of her extreme crisis, she is in a more precariously abject state. In the utter helplessness of her situation, she suffers from a collapse, a paralysis of her morale. She has not even tears for her fate at that time. The shock of the situation stuns her senses and, therefore, the idea of resistance or anything else does not cross her mind at all. We have similar tales of women, whether fact or fiction, in India, where usually a parallel situation exists: a solitary woman being cornered by a ruffian. But the Indian woman rises to the occasion, and resists though she cannot overcome the ruffian. She prefers death to the loss of her chastity and she conquers. Either the ruffian relents or she is killed.

We are certain that Tess would have preferred death at the moment, and gladly too. But that idea, or any other, could not enter her mind. She is utterly destitute, helplessly unnerved and broken down in her morale. Imagine Clarissa

companied by Alec at the dead of night. Such a stratagem could by no means be possible on her. She would have resisted and escaped or met her death. The surrender of Tess is like the surrender of a dove under a cobra's stare. Before her misfortune is past cure, she has handed herself to it. Richardson knew his business and, therefore, drugged Clarissa, as nothing else could have succeeded with her. Hardy too could have drugged Tess, but there was no necessity. Her character was enough. Hardy knew it and consciously or otherwise he made use of it to suit his purpose.

After this the matters are easy enough, another crisis crops upon the eve of her formal marriage when she fails to sum up courage to intimate Angel of her misfortune. Another girl would have risked the opportunity. If Angel did not marry her then, he might still have been kind and that is what she would have cherished. Unfortunately, her heart fails her; she has recourse to writing, and misfortune looms large on her.

It may be contended: if she was weak, a fragile reed, a woman without a backbone, how was she able to stab Alec? But this question is in the same line of argument as: how did she strike Alec to his bleeding? Was it impulsive? Much water had flown down the rivers of Wessex since her virgin knot had been broken treacherously in *THE CHASE*. May be her long arduous suffering had put steel into her blood. Whilst she still retained the form of a woman, her every nerve was becoming a Neamon lion's artery. The return of Angel placed before her a dream—what might have been; Alec's insulting remarks against Angel roused in her that hidden fire that had been smouldering in her soul for a long time, unable to find an outlet and burst into a flame. Her suppressed passions, thwarted ambitions, wrecked dreams, her reactions to the taunts of neighbours, all found a sublimation in that act of revenge against the external cause of her miseries, and she made a hit. Till Alec was past cure, she did not become her normal self again. It was then that the import of her act dawned upon her. She had not premeditated the result, it

could never have been deliberate. "I have done it, I know not how," she confesses. But it happened and her dream returned to her. She escaped.

This weakness, then, being at the root of her first calamity, forms the basis of her tragedy. It was partly inherited and partly developed under the environment. Enough has been said by eminent critics about it and we need not discuss it.

In *Jude the Obscure* Hardy aims his fiery and venomous shafts at the society, morality and conventions. *Tess* is comparatively the tragedy of an obscure village girl forming very little contacts and living in villages which are hardly disturbed by newspapers and where we dream to picture every village as a bower of bliss. But with *Jude* again, the initial difficulty is of character, the ease with which he was hooked by the first woman who baited for him. Sue thrusts herself on Phillotson against her unconscious desire as an act of punishment on Jude who, she knew, loved her ardently, and there the tragedy takes its course.

Hardy has, it seems, made a strong, almost too strong a case for circumstance, chance or fate as being the cause of the tragic in life. But it seems to me that unconsciously, character, as distinct from this exotic fate or chance, has usurped, in spite of Hardy, quite a sufficient place for itself in his scheme. In *Tess*, in *Jude*, and some other tragedies the wheel of fortune is set into motion in its downward course by a weakness in character, a failure on the part of the hero or the heroine to prove equal to the normal demands of life. They melt like butter in the heat of the world events because they have not seasoned themselves. Modern researches in Psycho-Analysis would also lend some colour to this view (vide Freud's *Psycho-Pathology of Everyday Life*). It is imprudent and sometimes dangerous to differ from savants grown grey in criticism. 'A novel', said Hardy, 'is an impression, not an argument.' So is criticism or an appreciation.

REDUCING THE NUMBER

By M. CHAND

From the point of view of world peace it is obviously desirable that certain nations which have not reached a high standard civilisation should begin to limit their rate of increase are the views recently expressed by the well-known biologist, Prof. Haldane. Ours is perhaps a country which is relatively uncivilised at the present time. Does that mean that we should reduce our number? No, not until it is proved that we are over-populated. But over-population and under-population have no meaning unless we define the scale with which we measure them.

That brings us to the problem of the so-called optimum population. Carr Saunders is supposed to have said that as regards quantitative problems it was of the utmost importance for every group to approximate to the optimum number. This is the number which, considering the environment, the degree of skill employed, habits and customs, gives the highest return per head. The concept was more exact when it was said that we must attain the most productive ratio between the natural resources and the population.

Dalton went a step farther in maintaining that changes in number act more directly and unequivocally on productiveness, and hence they influence what is popularly termed 'economic welfare'. Optimum population, therefore, corresponds to maximum welfare, which, in turn, is proportional to the mode of thinking of the present generation. For what was maximum for our fathers need not be so for us.

Practically, however, we may study the comparative changes, through the ratio of production to population. If the ratio corresponding to the optimum be called unity, it will be less or greater than one according as there is over or

under-population. In popular language we may say that if for a country like ours we find that the farms are small, that the amount of labour applied to an acre is very large and that living is poor, we may suspect over-population. Or, we may fall in with Dr. Van Heek when he expresses that over-population occurs if the general standard of prosperity renders the maintenance of the energy of the population impossible. He is better understood when we find him comparing the total minimum requirements with the average annual yield of food products.

An enquiry undertaken at Allahabad University showed that there was much shortage of food. Sir Megaw thinks that India can to-day supply food for 40% of its population only. However, the following may be taken as tests for normal nutrition :

1. One-third of the food consumption should consist of fruits and vegetables.

2. Milk and allied food should in a well-balanced diet, provide 20% of nutrition.

The area under fruits and vegetables is 2½% of the total area cultivated : and it is not increasing perhaps because we are not yet become vegetable-conscious. Milk is perhaps available, but the people have not the means to buy it.

To remove the malnutrition or undernourishment we must, therefore, increase production. The problem may be said to have three aspects, viz.,

1. Increasing agricultural production with an increasing attention paid to vegetables and fruits—It reminds one of the fragmented holdings, the deplorable seeds and manures, and the indebtedness, the inadequate water supply, etc. But it must be noted that increasing attention is being paid by the Provincial Governments to bring about a revolutionary increase in agriculture by methods they deem best.

2. Developing industrial production—There is a constant cry for industrialisation in the press and the public alike while

Government seems to try to favour the British for whose goods India still serves a good dumping ground.

3. Better organised marketing facilities—It makes one think of the AGMARK activities and hope that the tortoise like progress will be speeded up.

- Production will have certainly to be backed by a substantial change of dietary in favour of one that will fetch our bodies a daily supply of about 3,000 calories with an adequate amount of phosphorous, calcium, and the not less important vitamins.

But even if the most optimistic estimate be made, the desired progress cannot be attained in less than ten years. We are about 38 crores to-day : in ten more years we may easily be fifty crores. The population curve for India shows no downward tendency. We should not, therefore, wait for the day when our problem will be solved by progress in the direction of production alone. That lands us in the controversial field of birth-control *versus* self-control. The following arguments may be advanced in favour of the former :

Abstinence involves nervous strain and may lead to irregularities, perversions and eccentricities. The path of self-control is as sharp as a razor, perhaps because flesh is stronger than the spirit. It is necessary to stop the transference of transferable diseases like T. B., cancer, etc. Lastly, it is wrong to allow the sins of the parents bring in swarms of feeble, crippled and timid children.

But while the ideal contraceptive is still to be found the trouble is that those who practise it are the very ones who should multiply faster. Leave aside the possibility of the loss of a Nehru or Jinnah, such devices are beyond the pockets of the Indian masses. Again, to thus enable the masses to follow a 'Do what you will' policy means encouraging them to become slaves to passion, which is the worst kind of slavery. True that India will continue to have her 'merry birds', but it may

amount to putting a premium upon vice, specially in the light of the following remarks of some of the western scientists :

'What with Freud, the cinemas and the enfranchised women writers, the susceptible mind has to-day become sex-conscious to the point of obsession.

'Ah! by comparison with a night-club, churches are positively gay.'

Nevertheless, it is true that so far as the educated class is concerned the battle for birth-control has almost been won. The adoption of the popular method of birth-control by the rich and the merry birds is only a matter of time. Those who were and are wavering also tend to the side of the merry birds.

But there is not the proper medical organisation for the dissemination of the knowledge among the masses. How many of our medical men possess the requisite—nay even substantial—knowledge of the science of birth-control? And it would perhaps be easier to inspire the villagers by the idea of self-control—more so when it comes from a person like Mahatma Gandhi.

Anyway, we have surely reached the stage when the individual must conduct in a manner as to eliminate not only disease but defect and disability. We may conclude with the following remarks of the *Bombay Sentinel*

A nation is built upon its sons and daughters, and it is always the mother who is to rear them from childhood. Alas! most of the mothers think little on the subject, which every one ought to think about very seriously.

When Louis XVIII published his *Voyage a Coblenz* a Paris journal reviewed it in one sentence: "If this little volume was written by the King, it is above criticism: if it was not written by the King, it is beneath criticism."

Manchester Guardian.

INDIAN INDIA

TRAVANCORE (1931-1939)

By A TRAVANCOREAN

I

With the assumption of Ruling Powers by His Highness the Maharaja in November, 1931, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar was appointed as Legal and Constitutional Adviser, and he took charge as Dewan of Travancore in September, 1936. Either as Legal and Constitutional Adviser or as Dewan, Sir C. P. was primarily responsible for the administrative reforms and other measures of progress and development in the social and industrial field. His part in the promulgation of the Temple Entry Proclamation is well-known.

As Legal and Constitutional Adviser, the first task undertaken by Sir C. P. was to raise the political status of the State commensurate with its relative importance and position among the major States of India. As the result of his intervention, certain political practices which were altogether inconsistent with the status of Travancore

as a full-powered State were put a stop to.

To ensure increasing association of the people's representatives with the administration of the State the Constitutional Reforms of 1932 were introduced on his advice. The Sri Mulum Popular Assembly and the Sri Chitra State Council were reconstituted as the lower and upper houses respectively of a bicameral legislature. The predominant non-official majority in both the houses, the extensive powers, both financial and legislative, vested in them and the remarkably low franchise provided for them, took Travancore at one leap to the forefront of Indian States in the democratisation of popular legislative bodies.

His negotiations on behalf of Travancore with respect to the Cochin Harbour Agreement have not only safeguarded the commercial and financial interests of the country but have

given a fillip to the over-sea commerce in the South West Coast of India.

During the federal negotiations he has strenuously endeavoured to secure for Travancore its rightful place as an efficient and independent unit of Federal India and for safeguarding the peculiar financial and economic interests of Travancore as a maritime State.

Since assuming Dewanship, he has been devoting his extraordinary abilities and unrivalled qualities of constructive statesmanship to promote the good of the state and to the execution of various schemes for the social, educational, commercial, economic and industrial regeneration of the country. Temple-entry proclamation, factory legislation, measures for the relief of agricultural indebtedness and remission of land revenue, the institution of the credit bank, establishment of the Travancore University and re-orientation of educational ideals, the nationalisation of State transport system, the attention given to hydro-electric projects, the extension of the telephone system, improvement of irrigation works and

extension of water supply and drainage works, measures for rural uplift and improvement of the capital by the introduction of town-planning schemes, the general toning up of the standard of administration, are some of the important features of his work. The remarkable increase in the State revenue and the sound financial position of the State are noteworthy.

(Details of the progress made by Travancore in various directions are given in part II).

II

It only remains for me to announce that in commemoration of this occasion, I have resolved to pay out of my private funds a sum of one lakh of rupees to serve as initial capital for a Travancore Land Mortgage Bank and another sum of half a lakh of rupees for starting a home for the Destitute and the Infirm. It is further my intention to place the Sri Mulam Popular Assembly on a statutory basis with enlarged powers and functions, and a Proclamation will shortly be issued for carrying out that intention.

These were the announcements made by His Highness in November, 1931 on Assumption of Powers as the Maharaja of Travancore. In 1932 a bicameral legislature was established with extensive

Legislative Reforms

powers and a predominant non-official majority elected on a wide franchise. The Sri Mulam Assembly consists of 72 members, of whom 48 are elected and 14 are nominated non-official members. Ten officials are nominated, and the 14 nominated non-officials represent minority communities and other inadequately represented interests. The franchise is based on a very low property qualification. Every graduate, and every one who pays income tax or municipal tax, however small the amount of such tax may be, is entitled to vote at the elections. Women exercise the same franchise as men. The Upper House (the Sri Chitra State Council) consists of 37 members of whom 27 are non-officials. Twenty-two out of the twenty-seven non-officials are elected.

Besides the power of law-making, the Legislative Assembly exercises effective financial control over the Government. The State budget is prepared in consultation with a Finance Committee consisting of a majority of non-officials elected by the Legislature. The Dewan or

such other officer as may be nominated by him acts as the President of such Committee. The State budget so prepared is presented before both Houses of the Legislature in the form of Demands for Grants, and both Chambers have to vote on the Budget before expenditure is incurred by Government during the next financial year. Excess demands required during the course of the year have to be sanctioned by the Legislature in the form of Supplementary Grants. The right to move interpellations and resolutions on matters of general public interest is exercised by the Legislature. A Public Accounts Committee elected by the Legislature scrutinises the annual audit and appropriation accounts of the State. Every department of public activity comes in for searching scrutiny and criticism at the hands of the Legislature when the Budget is under consideration. Freedom of speech on the floor of the House is guaranteed by state. The only subjects which are completely removed from the cognisance of the Legislature are those relating to or

affecting the Royal Family, the Paramount Power and Foreign States.

The Sri Chitra State Council (Second Chamber) exercises substantially identical powers with the Legislative Assembly including control over finance. Any conflict that may arise between the two Houses will be resolved by a Joint Sitting consisting of an equal number of members selected from both Chambers.

The Land Mortgage Bank was started in 1932 and was designed to relieve agricultural indebtedness by the grant of long-term loans at low rates of interest. Besides the donation of a lakh of rupees by His Highness the Maharaja, the Bank's working capital was drawn from advances allowed by Government and the balance available out of the State Life Insurance Fund invested with the Bank. It was run as a Government concern, but its accounts were kept distinct from the State accounts. The conditions produced by the severe economic depression and the fall in the

prices of agricultural produce could not be adequately met by this institution. Consequently, Debt Conciliation Boards were instituted in relief of indebtedness of the peasantry, and the Land Mortgage Bank has now been converted into a Credit Bank which will enable the agriculturist to command credit at low rates of interest and rehabilitate his resources. Boards were established for conciliation of agriculturists' debts, and for the reduction in the rates of interest. The arrest of agriculturists in execution of decrees for moneys has also been abolished except in cases of fraudulent evasion of payment by debtors able to pay. The total value of debts sought to be conciliated during 1936-37 alone amounted to Rs. 4.69 lakhs. It has since been found that this expedient too has not given adequate relief to agriculturists and a mixed Committee is now re-examining the whole position.

The distress prevailing amongst the agriculturists has also been sought to be relieved by substantial remission of land tax from year to year.

Very recently, a remission of Rs. 5 lakhs was announced and a substantial percentage in the annual tax payable on account of wet lands in Nanjinad was remitted.

Jenmi and Kudi-
yan Problem

The Jenmi Kudi-
yan Act (the
Landlord and
Tenant Act) passed during His Highness' reign has been a substantial boon to the agriculturists in that it settled a problem of age-long controversy and conferred on the tenants a permanency of tenure and fixity of rights which have been welcomed as a most beneficent adjustment of mutual rights and obligations. Travancore being mainly a land of peasant proprietors with agriculture as the mainstay of the people, irrigation has received special attention from Government.

Home for the
Destitute and
the Infirm

The Sri Chitra
Home for the
Destitute and
the Infirm, intended to eradicate mendicancy by methods of organised relief, was opened in 1934. The institution is housed in a spacious building

with extensive premises and is now equipped so as to accommodate 50 inmates. There is an orphanage attached, with accommodation for 50 children. Indigent and infirm persons of either sex above 40 years of age and orphans under 16 are admitted, irrespective of caste or creed. They are fed, clothed and housed, and the children are sent to school. Supervision is vested in a representative Board of Management nominated by Government.

The Temple
Entry Procla-
mation.

The Temple
Entry Proclama-
tion.

with which His Highness heralded his 24th birthday has been, to the Hindu Society, a charter of liberation from the shackles of immemorial custom. The courage, vision and wisdom epitomized in this Proclamation will perpetuate His Highness name as the saviour of Hinduism. It has been an epoch-making reform which has brought about a re-orientation in the religious and social life of a large section of His Highness' subjects. Besides welding together into an

essential religious unity the innumerable sections of the Hindu community the Temple Entry Proclamation has produced a silent revolution in the social adjustment and inter-relations of the Hindu population. Untouchability and unapproachability, banished from temples have disappeared in all ranks of society. His Highness the Maharaja set the example in this respect when, on the occasion of Her Highness the Princess' marriage His Highness received in the marriage pandal, citizens who were till then being branded as untouchables and unapproachables. This was followed by similar invitations to Garden Parties and other functions, attendance at which was till then the exclusive privilege of the higher castes. This Royal gesture of social equality was not slow in its effect on society as a whole, and at present, unconsciously enough, considerations of caste do not play any part in the social intercourse among different classes of the people.

Uplift of backward classes Government, on their part, have made special

efforts towards the uplift of the backward classes. Intensive and systematic ameliorative work among the backward communities according to a definite scheme is being carried on with the assistance of an Advisory Committee. The uplift work consists mainly in the selection of lands suitable for registry to members of backward communities, establishment of colonies of landless families among them, provision of wells, approach roads, common building, burial grounds etc. the organisation of thrift societies and the popularisation of industries. The education of backward communities is systematically encouraged by the grant of special fee concessions, stipends, scholarships, boarding grants, etc. About 55,000 students are enjoying the benefits of these concessions in the various schools and colleges in the State.

Reorganisation of the military The improvement of the State Military engaged the close and personal attention of His Highness soon after accession, and it was reorga-

nised as the unit of the Indian State Forces. Previous to the reorganisation, recruitment to the army was the exclusive privilege of Nair community. The first step in the re-organisation was the abolition of this exclusiveness, and the army was thrown open to all classes of His Highness' subjects. The army is now well-equipped, well-manned and constitutes an effective unit for service within and abroad.

Ports The development of Commerce and industry has always been in the forefront of His Highness' programme; and the keen and personal interest evinced in this direction may be seen from the steady improvement in the trade at the State ports during recent years. Additional facilities for handling an increasing volume of trade have been provided at Alleppey, the most important of the local ports, and similar improvements have been effected at Trivandrum, Quilon and Colachel. The future of Travancore is, in fact, bound up with its trade and commerce, the total value of which

is much over 17 crores of rupees per year.

The State is also making rapid progress in the exploitation and utilisation of its natural resources and raw products.

Industrial development The Government have undertaken the erection of a factory for the refining of Kaolin or China clay and the manufacture of porcelain and stoneware. This factory is located at a place called Kundara, about six miles from Quilon. Kaolin deposits of excellent quality occur in this region. The industry consists of two sections, one for washing and purifying China clay and the other for manufacturing stoneware and porcelain ware. An Indian expert is in charge of these works. Stoneware, mainly in the form of glazed pipes to be used as sewers, are in great demand on account of the drainage schemes undertaken both in and outside the State.

The manufacture of sugar from jaggery, is a very thriving industry in Travancore. The soft wood available in the

forests is already greatly in demand for industrial purposes. The utilisation of reeds and bamboos for manufacture of paper and the development of the rayon industry is included in the industrial programme undertaken by the State.

Exploitation of hydro-electric resources for supply of cheap power attracted the attention of His Highness' Government and the Pallivasal Hydro-Electric Scheme was undertaken within one year of the accession of His Highness. The Power House will contain 3 Generating Units of 4,500 K. W. each. Power will be generated at 11,000 volts and stepped up to 66,000 for transmission to the plains through double circuit overhead lines carried on steel towers to a total length of 134 miles, for distribution to most of the important towns and rural centres in North and Central Travancore for industrial and agricultural requirements. The various Textile, Coir and Oil Mills at Alleppey and Quilon and the Tile Factories and the Mineral Companies which now make use of their isolated power

plants, where the cost of generation must necessarily be high, are expected to take advantage of hydro-electric power and effect considerable economy in their operations.

The supply of cheap power has attracted considerable attention from the leading Industrialists in India like Sir Victor Sassoon who has already started in Travancore a Bleaching and Finishing Mill at Alwaye. It may be mentioned that though foreign capital and experience have been induced to come, sufficient safeguards have been provided to protect the interests of Travancore and Travancoreans. Negotiations are in progress for the establishment of a paper factory. The regeneration of the country by a carefully planned scheme of rural reconstruction is also engaging the attention of Government.

The total area of the Reserved Forests of the State is 2,400 square miles and is under the management of the Forest Department officered by men trained in England, Dehra Dun and Coimbatore. Most of the forests are worked under work-

ing plans scientifically prepared. The forest resources comprise big blocks of timber trees like teak, blackwood, ebony, etc. Sandalwood and cardamom are some of the varieties of indigenous products. In addition, there is an almost unlimited extent of soft-wood and reeds that can yield an abundance of pulp for the manufacture of paper, cardboard and artificial silk.

Travancore is rich in mineral resources. The exploitation of mineral resources of the beach contain some of the most valuable minerals. The deposits of monazite in Travancore are by far the richest in the world. The deposits of ilmenite are co-extensive with those of monazite. In addition there are vast sand dunes which contain these minerals to the extent of about 70 per cent. and more. Zircon is also found along with these. Mica found in Travancore is of the finest quality, being of the crimson variety. His Highness' Government are fully alive to the possibilities of these various branches of industrial activity and suitable measures

are being adopted to regulate their development to the best advantage of the State.

Government have not been slow to realise the importance of improving the conditions of labour in Travancore Factories; and a legislative measure was passed mainly on the lines of the latest enactments in British India. As a measure of encouragement to local industries Government have established a Stores Purchase Committee and circularised to all Heads of Departments to purchase, as far as possible, for the use of Government only locally made articles. An Economic Development Board has been constituted consisting of experts in the various trades and industries and of representatives of non-official agencies competent to advise Government on the lines of development. The departments of social welfare receive the closest and the most liberal attention of Government.

Closely akin to the development of trade and industry is the problem of regulating transport facilities

Regulation of transport facilities

within the State. Motor transport is fast replacing other means of transport in Travancore; and for the better control and regulation of motor traffic the Government have taken over under their direct management an important trunk line of communications which was almost a monopoly enterprise in the hands of one individual. The experiment is proving a success and there is great demand from the people to extend the transport system to the remaining trunk roads also. Government have also undertaken the transport of good to and from the High Ranges of the State where a very large number of extensive Tea and Rubber estates such as the K. D. H. P. Company are working.

With the supply of cheap power from Pallivasal important business centres within the State will be connected by electric tramways; and Travancore will not have to face the problem of competition between road and rail traffic.

Coastal Travancore is linked almost from one end to the other by a net-work of water-

ways—the cheapest means for the transport of goods. These waterways are naturally connected with the Travancore sea ports which carry on extensive trade both in imports and exports. The improvement of the waterways for speedy transport of goods as an important item in the programme of development is engaging the active attention of Government.

Ancillary to the Pallivasal Hydro-electric works Government have also installed a system of telephonic communications linking up all the important towns and commercial centres in the State and these are being connected with the Trunk Telephones of British India.

The improvement in the general financial position of the State has kept pace with the all-round progress in other directions. At the time of His Highness' assumption of powers in 1931, the total revenues of the State stood at Rs. 2,19,28,436 and the total expenditure at Rs. 2,18,89,854 while today the

Financial
Progress

revenue and expenditure stand at the record figures of Rs. 263 lakhs and Rs. 261 lakhs respectively. It is significant that this remarkable increase in the revenues of the State within the short period of eight years has been achieved, not by fresh taxation or additional imposts but by the careful husbanding and normal development of the existing revenue resources of the State.

The State spends nearly one-fifth of its revenue on education. Travancore is in the forefront of States and Provinces in India in point of literacy and female education, the percentage of literacy being as high as 41 for males and 17 for females as against an average of 16 and 3 respectively for All-India. There are four first grades and three second grade colleges as also a Law College, a Teachers' Training College, a Sanskrit College and a College of Ayurveda. Distributed throughout the State, there are more than 3500 educational institutions giving instruction to more than 7,00,000 pupils.

During the last 25 years representative public opinion in Travancore has been demanding the establishment of a separate University for Travancore. The defects of continued affiliation with the Madras University had become apparent and the need for an institution which would serve as an effective and powerful instrument for a reorientation of educational ideals was keenly felt. The reorganisation of secondary and collegiate education had become a matter of fundamental importance in view, on the one hand, of growing acuteness of the problem of middle class unemployment and, on the other of the policy and programme of rigorous and rapid industrialisation which has been undertaken by Government. An authoritative and comprehensive exposition of the need for a separate University and of its ideals and aims was given by Dewan Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar at a Conference of members of the legislature and other prominent persons. In the course of his speech he said :

Travancore
University

Apart from the economic necessity for a University, there is great practical and political necessity also. I foresee—and as an administrator I cannot but foresee—that middle-class educated unemployment which is every day on the increase, will necessarily lead to a situation which will be intolerable. If the state of things is not dealt with in time, the troubles which certain European countries are now suffering from, which Bengal is suffering from, would be the result here too. There is, therefore, also a great political necessity for reorganising our system of education.

It was in these circumstances that His Highness' Government took the bold initiative of organising a separate University for Travancore to give practical effect to the change in educational ideas. The inauguration of the new University with His Highness as the Chancellor and Her Highness Maharani Veti Parvathi Bai as the Pro-Chancellor and Sachivottama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar as the Vice-Chancellor has already appealed to the popular imagination as demonstrated by the very liberal endowments and donations that have been announced for the University. The Travancore University will not be a mere replica of other types of Universities in the neigh-

bouring Provinces but will concentrate attention on branches of study which directly affect the material well-being and standard of life of the average citizen. The new University will also represent the special features of Kerala art and culture. The great task of reorganisation of the educational system has already commenced and all-India is watching with keen interest the result of the new experiment.

Public Health and Sanitation have also received the attention of Government. A scheme of Protected Water Supply for Trivandrum is already an accomplished fact and a Drainage Scheme is in progress of execution. The extension of the Protected Water Supply for important mofussil towns has also been undertaken.

In line with the increasing interest evinced in the matter of Game Preservation in other parts of India and elsewhere, the Government, in 1933, appointed a

Game Warden for the preservation of wild life in the State. It was realised at the time that, owing to indiscriminate shooting, extension of cardamom cultivation and assignment of lands within reserves, wild animals and birds were becoming scarce, that several valuable and useful species had been completely exterminated and that a separate agency other than the normal Forest staff was essential to look after game preservation. The post of the Game Warden was therefore created; and he was enjoined to take measures for the preservation of wild life by creating game reserves in suitable places and by the formation of Game Association to regulate hunting, to prevent poaching and other forest offences and to introduce new and varied species of animals and birds from other countries.

An organisation known as "The Wild Life Preservation and Protection Organisation, Travancore" was formed on lines similar to those in British India and Ceylon with a view to promote an interest in the preservation and conservation

of all forms of animal life, birds and fish.

His Highness has also evinced keen interest in Art Gallery encouraging painting and art. The Sri Chithralayam (Gallery of Asian Painting) was opened in 1935 in order to provide for the enjoyment, education and development of the artistic taste of the people by means of a collection of pictures representing the various eras of painting in India, along with some indication of the art in other parts of Asia that have been influenced by Indian culture. The Gallery gives a continuous view of Indian painting, and has attained the unique distinction of presenting the first good collection, in India, and perhaps, elsewhere, of a new movement in painting by field workers and fishers of Bali. Kerala Dancing has also received a liberal measure of Royal patronage and Mr. Gopinath, a talented dancer, has been appointed Palace Dancer. In opening the Palace and State Art Galleries and in fostering interest in the re-discovery and preservation of old frescoes and other

invaluable art treasures of the past, His Highness the Maharaja and Her Highness Maharani Setu Parvati Bayi, the enlightened mother of His Highness, have contributed to the starting of a new era of cultural renaissance in Kerala.

Thus, under the hegemony of a charming Prince and his

able Dewan—Sachivottma Dr. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar whose varied gifts have won for him an all-India reputation, Travancore is confidently looking forward to an yet brighter future of administrative efficiency, political awakening, social and economic advancement and intellectual enlightenment.

Better Learn This !

The Home Office has invented this jingle to jog your recollection of air-raid warnings:

Wavering sound;
Go to ground.
Steady blast;
Raiders passed.
If rattles you hear,
Gas you must fear.
But if handbills you hear,
Then all is clear.

P. T. O.

What Kind of War ?

There is no mystery about the slowness of the beginnings, and no question about the sterility of the sequel.

—J. L. GARVIN
in the *Observer*.

Indian India (continued)

HYDERABAD STATE FINANCES

By J. T. FERNANDEZ

The publication of the 1349 F. budget estimates of the Nizam's Government again focuses attention on the fact that the ship of the Hyderabad finance has for long years been moving on an even keel and raises curiosity about the stability of the State's financial affairs. A critical review, therefore, of the state's financial system and its present condition will be found desirable.

The present financial system, which is a creation of Sir Akbar Hydari, has now passed the stage of experiment having stood the test of time spread over 6 trienniums. Through years of stress and strain, when bad seasonal conditions, international depression and various economic factors have forced several states and provinces to provide deficit budgets, it has been characteristic of Hyderabad to present annually a surplus budget and, what is more important, to utilise its increasing resources for ameliorative measures and progressive schemes.

A few salient features of the scheme known as "Departmentalisation of Finances" need recapitulation here to show that through this system the Nizam's Government have been able to gain a greater and more accurate insight into all the sources of revenue as well as into the various items of expenditure which for lack of vigilance used to be wasted.

It is no exaggeration to say that the Hyderabad budget is framed in a clearer form than that of other provinces and states. The budget heads of receipts and disbursements are so classified as to exhibit each class in its true perspective and different funded investments have been so earmarked under separate reserves according to the sources from or the objects for which they have been constituted. Sir Akbar's classification enables

each class of receipts and expenditure to be seen in its correct proportion, by distinguishing extraordinary items of income and capital items of expenditure from service items. Thus receipts which cannot be depended upon as a regular source of income are not mixed up with an ordinary source of revenue, and similarly extraordinary items of expenditure of a non-recurring nature are not exhibited as part of the normal expenditure. Similarly, the working expenses of commercial and quasi-commercial concerns are not mixed up with their capital outlay but proper revenue and capital accounts for each concern are shown. Also, expenditure heads like Miscellaneous or Refunds, which convey no idea of the exact department to which they pertain, are broken up and the expenditure shown under the proper heads of the department to which it relates. Likewise, important departments like Agriculture, Veterinary, Co-operative Credit, and Industries are not, as hitherto or as in provincial Governments, grouped together but given separate major heads. Separate heads are also allotted for Famine Relief Reserve Funds, etc. The result is that particular receipts and expenditures can be scrutinised at a glance and the possibility of errors of discretion is eliminated. The display of the financial accounts is therefore both clear and simple, simple as will be seen from the summary of the principal heads of Revenue and Expenditure given below which are extracted from the current budget estimate.

Major Head.	1349 F. Receipts Lakhs.	1349 F. Expenditure Lakhs.
A. Revenue (incl. Land, Forest, Customs, Excise, Registration, Mines, etc.)	651.30	155.96
A.A. Berar Rent	29.16	...
B. Interest and Debt Redemption ..	31.00	70.62
C. Mint, Paper Currency, Exchange ..	22.94	3.08
D. Post Office	13.50	15.13
E. Payment to H. E. H. and Royal Family ..	...	61.93
F. General Administration and Deptts. ..	..	579.45

Major Head.	1349 F. Receipts Lakhs.	1349 F. Expenditure Lakhs.
G. Commercial and quasi-commercial, e. g., Railways, Electricity, Telephone, etc.	138.01	319.38
H. Nil	..	..
I. Famine	20.11	35.11
J. Miscellaneous	8.00	5.57
Total Revenue, Ex.	914.04	958.15 *

* Includes Rs. 45.45 lakhs from Past Surpluses and Departmental balances.

K. Capital	0.87	164.37
L. Investments	33.83	6.56
M to V. Debt Heads	102.45	90.26

Prior to the introduction of Sir Akbar's departmentalisation scheme, which has given a stable equilibrium to the financial position of the state, the expenditure budget was framed, in the first instance, without a reference to the receipts budget and, secondly, the expenditure was allotted without due consideration of the normal expenditure of the department.

Under the "Departmentalisation Scheme" on which the budget has been framed since 1922, the total grant of each department for a number of years is fixed and the department given a large measure of autonomy within that grant. It is permitted to carry out whatever measure of reform it might desire to institute and to incur within its grant provided the interest charges incurred by the State in financing it are not departmentally.

On the basis of past experience the Finance department makes at the beginning of each triennial period "a forecast of revenues normally likely to accrue during the forthcoming triennium." With this as a guide and in consultation with other departments of Government it "fixes their normal budget grants for each year of the triennial period, including provision for such developments as they can foresee." *Any surplus of a triennial period after it has actually accrued, the Government*

again distributes amongst the various departments along with a moiety of the savings which the departments have failed to spend at the end of the contractual period. The scheme makes for a "well thought" out programme and also ensures the possibility of a deficit budget being avoided. The system of fixing normal estimates at the beginning of each triennial budgetary contract enables the Government to make an exhaustive survey of the receipts which the Government anticipate 3 years in advance, in the light of which the normal expenditure figures of all departments are fixed, so that at no time during the currency of the budgetary contract does the expenditure outstrip the receipts. This accounts for the continuity of surplus budgets. Another noteworthy fact is that although it has been definitely laid down that in the case of a grave financial emergency the grants are liable to reduction, during the last 17 years not only have these triennial contracts with the departments not once been broken but where good reason has been shown, Government have sanctioned extraordinary expenditure to several departments.

The merit of the Hyderabad finances lies not merely in the surpluses that have been its distinction for a long number of years but in large reserves it has built up from these surpluses. It is this distinctive feature of the Hyderabad financial system which enables the Government to face adverse situations and emergencies and liberally promote industrial enterprise and nation-building activities. After taking charge of the Finance portfolio Sir Akbar Hydari set to earmarking "the different funded investments under reserves according to the sources from or the objects for which they were constituted." The Government makes certain Rupee and Sterling investments in Government of India Loans and various Municipal and Port Trust Debentures either from the accumulated surpluses of previous years or from profits on coinage of Osmania Sicca Rupee and issue of paper currency notes, and these are set apart as "Reserve". A passing review of the various reserves which amount to Rs. 12 3/4 crores excluding Rs. 14 1/2 crores

of paper currency reserve the bulk of which has been invested in the securities of Government of India is not devoid of interest.

Paper Currency Reserve :—The Paper Currency Reserve which will be dealt with more fully later is one in keeping with the recognised principles of paper currency. The total value of the currency notes in circulation is O. S. Rs. 14,57,37,829 against which securities of the Government of India of the face value of B. G. Rs. 4,45,05,700 (O. S. Rs. 4,72,84,115) are held in the paper currency reserve in accordance with the Paper Currency Act which provides that one-third of the total value of currency notes may be kept in Government securities, and the balance in Osmania Sicca rupees in the Central Treasury and B. G. Rupees with the Imperial Bank of India.

Osmania Sicca Stabilization Reserve :—By measures similar to those by which the Government of India were able to maintain a fixed ratio between their Rupee and the English Pound Sterling after the closing of the Mint and up to the Great War, the State also has been able to prevent the fluctuations of value between the Osmania Sicca and the B. G. Rupees going beyond their respective silver content (which is Rs. 116-10-8 to 100 B. G.) the limit of appreciation of the Osmania Sicca being kept at Rs. 115-10-0 and the depreciation at Rs. 118-12-0 to 100 B. G. Rupees. The minted value of the Osmania Sicca Rupee is thus, as in the case of the B. G. Rupee, very much in excess of its bullion value, and the difference, after deducting the cost of minting which comes on an average to about 2 per cent. of the value of the coins minted represents profits on coinage. These profits have been invested in the securities of the Government of India and set apart in a reserve so as to be available, whenever the necessity arises, for preventing (by the purchase of Osmania Sicca for B. G. Rupees) the depreciation of the Osmania Sicca below or by the purchase of the silver and minting and issuing of fresh Osmania Sicca) its appreciation beyond the normal fixed points. British

Government promissory notes of the face value of Rs. 3,61,62,094 are now held in the Osmania Sicca Stabilization Reserve.

Debt Redemption Reserve:—The debt position of the Nizam's Government is entirely satisfactory, for apart from a negligible amount of about a lakh of rupees of unclaimed loans, all matured loans have been paid up. The principal and interest of the state loans are secured on the reserves and assets of Government. For the redemption of these loans, there is a Sinking Fund, set aside in the above reserve the annual contribution to which has been at a rate sufficient to discharge the loans on maturity. The total Public Debt amounts to O. S. Rs. 7,21,24,400. Against it the above Reserve holds O. S. Rs. 3,01,70,264, almost all of which has been invested in the Government of India securities. The state securities are classed as authorised securities under the Imperial Bank of India Act and the Bank now advances money to holders of His Exalted Highness' Government promissory notes in the same way and to the same extent as to holders of Government of India securities. As indicating continuous improvement in the credit of the Nizam's Government it may be stated that the recently issued loans were oversubscribed in a few minutes and that H. E. H. Government paper is now quoted at a premium and recognised by the Reserve Bank of India as acceptable security.

Famine Reserve:—Famine expenditure is amongst those classes of expenditure which come inevitably but after a cycle of years and, therefore, due provision is made every year for the purpose, by the creation of a specific reserve. It has been calculated that on an average (not taking into account any loss of revenue which should be met from the accumulation of surplus balance in good years) the cost of famine expenditure cannot be more than Rs. 3 crores in 20 years. A sum of Rs. 15 lakhs is, therefore, set aside every year for the purpose in the above reserve which now shows a balance of O. S. Rs. 3,10,34,460, almost all of which has been invested in

Government of India securities. The state is, therefore, able to face the prospect of famine with equanimity and the people without fear of the dire consequences of the scourge.

Industrial Reserve:—This reserve was constituted in 1929 by setting aside Rs. 55.13 lakhs from the surpluses with a view to building up an industrial trust of Rs. 1 crore to ensure the industrial progress of the state at least so far as it depended on financial support. The corpus of the fund is utilised in giving help in the shape of capital to large industries and the interest obtained upon such loan is spent in advances to smaller industries. In keeping with its purpose the bulk of investment is in concerns fostering Hyderabad industry and in which the Nizam's Government is directly interested, *e. g.*, Associated Cement Co., (with which the Shahabad Cement Co. is incorporated), Debentures of the Singareni Collieries, the Osman Shahi and Azam Jahi Mills located in the Dominions and the agencies of the latter which are held by the Industrial Trust Fund. The reserve stands at present at Rs. 2,09,64,340 including an advance of Rs. 54,67,000 and original corpus of Rs. 1 crore. The balance representing the unspent income of the Trust, Rs. 65½ lakhs, is invested in outstanding industrial concerns and sterling investments whereas, 1½ crores is invested in local industries which are thereby given a great fillip. Prominent among such industries are the Nizam's Sugar Factory, the Sirpur Paper Mills, the Osman Shahi and Azam Jahi Cotton Mills, Tobacco, Shares, the Deccan Marble Co., and the other smaller industries.

Deposits and General Reserves:—This reserve has been constituted so that deposit which is really an invested form of cash balance readily available at any time of need to meet the cash requirements of Government whether in cash, by sale or as over for accommodation on cash terms which are received by Government and on which interest is payable by them as, for example, for the Provident and Insurance funds, Post Office Savings Bank, etc., may not be mixed up with other assets of Government and used for other purposes. This reserve now

stands at about a crore. It is mainly invested in Government of India and municipal paper and in shares of paying concerns such as the Associated Cement, Tata power, and the Investment Corporation of India.

The Hyderabad Paper Currency is comparatively as popular and secure as any of the best systems in the world. One simple statement will bear out the fact of its popularity. It is just two decades since paper currency was introduced in the Nizam's Dominions and the circulation at the end of the last in-official year was Rs. 1,457 lakhs (14½ crores). The average crease in gross circulation figures compare very favourably with the total notes in circulation in British India which amounted to Rs. 2,16,99,58,00 on the 15th September, 1939. These figures when compared with the total population of British India show an average circulation of 6 per head whereas the total of the Hyderabad notes in circulation (O. S. Rs. 14,57,37,829) as compared with the population of the Nizam's Dominions gives an average of Rs. 8 per head—a fact which speaks for itself when it is remembered that Hyderabad Paper Currency comparatively, is still in its infancy.

The next consideration is security. The Hyderabad paper currency is fully backed up by a reserve of silver coin and by the Government of India Securities. The silver coins in Treasuries, Currency Chests and local banks amount to Rs. 9,84,53,714 while in accordance with the provision in the Hyderabad Paper Currency Act which permits one third of the paper currency reserve being invested in Government security, Government of India scrip of a purchase value of O. S. Rs. 4,72,84,115 is held. It is noteworthy in passing that B. G. securities held by the Nizam's Government in the currency reserve amount to a face value of B. G. Rs. 4,45,05,700 which converted in O. S. currency is equivalent to over O. S. Rs. 5 crores (to be exact O. S. Rs. 5,19,23,316) and, therefore, this added to the silver in reserve amounts to Rs. 1,503 lakhs against Rs. 1,457 lakhs of notes in circulation, i. e., the

“Reserve” is actually Rs. 56 lakhs more than the notes but Government have only charged the purchase value of Rs. 4,72,84,115 in the accounts.

It is also worth mentioning that according to the Currency Act the Nizam's Government could have invested this Reserve in its own promissory notes but has refrained from doing so in order to inspire further confidence in its paper currency. Also there is an erroneous idea that paper currency is always backed by gold, but currency practice all the world over does not bear out this belief. The fact that O. S. Rupee is linked with the B. G. Rupee further does away with the necessity as this link provides a Gold Exchange Standard. But one feature of Hyderabad paper currency which goes to its credit is the fact that unlike the practice of the Bank of England, the Nizam's Government has no fiduciary issue and every note put into circulation is backed by a reserve in silver rupee and Government of India securities as a guarantee for its repayment on demand. With the currency of 15 crores in circulation a fiduciary issue would have given the Hyderabad Government a crore and a half to pay with, if not more. Lastly, in addition to providing a most convenient means of remittance in a country where banking is still in its infancy, the State paper currency has been a source of income to Government as the Government of India securities held bring in a net income of about Rs. 17 lakhs by way of interest.

To sum up, the main principles underlying the financial policy of the State in recent years have been—Firstly, to try, as far as possible, to meet current annual expenditure, as distinguished from capital expenditure, from current revenues; secondly, if there is any surplus of current revenue over current annual expenditure, to spend it on investments or give special grants to departments for expenditure on special objects which do not involve any commitments beyond the amounts allotted; thirdly, to finance capital expenditure by utilising the available cash resources to the utmost extent and reducing interest charges to a minimum.

Without going into details of the essential and radical difference between "service expenditure" and "capital expenditure" and between "surplus and cash balances", it may be pointed out that to finance service expenditure by loans would mean really deficitting the financial position. To finance capital expenditure from current revenues to any extent is open to the objection of throwing unfairly the burden of expenditure on the resources of one year instead of spreading it equally over a large period and especially on the generation that would really be profited by the capital expenditure now being incurred. Whilst the surplus denotes the stability, the cash position is really no such index of the financial position of the State. A large cash balance may be really a sign of financial weakness if it is made up by large borrowings to meet current expenditure. On the other hand, a small cash balance may indicate strength and careful husbanding of the State's resources if it is due to meeting heavy "capital expenditure" without recourse to a loan.

During the last 17 years from 1332 to 1348 F. the surpluses that have accrued from the excess of current revenue over current expenditure have amounted to about 14½ crores. Out of these, almost half has been given to departments, mainly for and nearly one-fourth has been laid aside as part of ordinary expenditure from Famine Insurance and Debt Redemption Reserves. Of the remaining, one crore has gone to form the Industrial Trust Fund for encouragement of industries, and over 3½ crores for the purchase of the Railways which is not expenditure in the real sense of the term but a very paying investment for the annual revenue from railways exceeds one crore.

During this period the capital expenditure has also amounted to Rs. 14 crores, about 8 crores on Railway, about 5½ crores on Irrigation, a crore on city and district electrification and ½ crore on miscellaneous capital undertakings. Against the above capital expenditure the total Government debt outstanding at present amounts to only Rs. 7½ crores. The

remaining expenditure was met by reducing the excessive cash balance by nearly Rs. 4 crores and from deposits, etc., with the Government, of which about half like revenue, judicial and other deposits are without interest and the other half are at a low rate of interest ranging from 1 to 2½ per cent. Even though the irrigation works will not, for a considerable time give a return equal to the amount of the interest liability on that account, the Government have in the Railway and City Electricity Departments, the two most valuable assets which on their books stand at about Rs. 19 crores bringing an annual netincome of nearly Rs. 1½ crores and the various Reserves amounting to over Rs. 12½ crores which have been fully invested in the securities of Government of India.

In conclusion, a demonstration of the financial policy as applied to the current budget estimates (1349 F.) is deserving of passing notice. These estimates show that despite financial stringency due to various causes the Government has continued its policy of devoting its resources to an increasing extent for ameliorative and nation-building purposes. Before mentioning some salient features of the current budget, I would quote a pertinent passage from the foreword of the Finance Member to the current budget note. "The details of the estimates for the next year (1349)", says Nawab Mehdi Yar Jung, "were settled before the international crisis in Europe culminated in war being declared against Germany by the British Empire. H. E. H. the Nizam, in accordance with his traditional faithful alliance with His Majesty the King-Emperor has placed the resources of the State at the disposal of His Majesty's Government for the successful prosecution of the war. So long as the war lasts the policy of the Government would be to discourage all proposals for increased expenditure, *unless they are found inevitable for the progressive functioning of the administration and the expanding needs of the people.*"

In keeping with the first obligation His Exalted Highness has already placed at the disposal of His Majesty's Government a sum of £100,000 (equivalent to over Rs. 17 lakhs) for the

needs of the aerial warfare and has committed his Government to a contribution of a lakh and a half of rupees monthly commencing from the beginning of the current official year (7th October, 1939) to the end of the war. This generous help has been given, be it remembered, at a time when due to bad seasonal conditions and economic depression a fall in Land Revenue of Rs. 30 lakhs and about Rs. 7 lakhs under Excise and Interest is anticipated.

In spite of this financial stringency the Government have not allowed the progress of the country to be retarded and have devised to find funds for meeting the progressive requirements of the country. For example, the ordinary recurring expenditure provided for the present year is 14.68 lakhs more than the previous year. Apart from large provisions to meet the normal expansion of departmental activities, the expansion of Free Primary Education has entailed an additional recurring grant of Rs. 7.5 lakhs progressing to Rs. 12.5 lakhs in order to give effect to the decision of Government to open a free Primary School in every village with a population of a thousand. Then again an extensive programme of Capital works has also been provided for to the extent of Rs. 164.37 lakhs, of which Rs. 76.83 lakhs is for railway developments, such as the construction of the Mudkhed-Adilabad line, the conversion of metre gauge into broad gauge from Purna to Manmad and for Road Mechanical and Air Transport Services. Rs. 8½ lakhs are provided for the construction of distributaries under the Nizam Sagar project and 70 lakhs have been set apart for public buildings in particular, Medical, Military and Police and the University. Further, the amounts accrued from past surpluses have been generously appropriated for meeting the requirements, in particular of Water Works, Drainage, Aviation and Gold Prospecting.

A liberal policy has also been followed in advancing loans for furthering the industries and civic interests of the Dominions at economical rates of interest. Thus, besides advances of about ½ a lakh given from the Industrial Fund to small local

industries, the Hyderabad Municipal Corporation is being helped by a loan of nothing less than Rs. 40 lakhs, the City Improvement Board by a similar loan of 5 lakhs and the Co-operative Housing Society by another loan of 1 lakh. These and other progressive measures constitute the chief features of Hyderabad finances, and the fact of Rs. 364 lakhs representing 38% of the State's revenue being devoted to nation-building and beneficent activities is a record which compares favourably with several British Indian provinces and leading Indian States.

MAGINOT THE MAN

Who was this Maginot, whose Line along the Western Front is giving Hitler such a headache just now?

It has been said that Maginot was a private who rose to become Minister of War in France. It would be more accurate to say that Maginot was an Under-secretary for War who became a private and later Minister of War.

Andre Maginot was an overwhelming personage. He was more than 6 ft. 2 in. tall. He was a tremendous eater, particularly of oysters. In French politics between 1910 and 1931 he was the Winston Churchill of France. He served under a dozen Premiers and his peculiar gifts were acknowledged by all of them. He was a brilliant administrator, uninfluenced by party shackles.

Maginot first made his mark in French public life as Under-secretary of War in 1913. When the war began he insisted on joining up as a

private, in spite of the protestations of his friend and colleague M. Briand.

Before long Private Maginot became Sergeant Maginot, and among his friends this rank stuck as long as he lived. He was from then on known as "The Sergeant". His manner had, as a matter of fact, always been that of the French N. C. O.

Before Verdun in 1916 he was severely wounded in the leg. This wound caused him to limp for the rest of his life, but "The Sergeant" was proud that his wound came in the defence of Verdun and his beloved Lorraine.

After his bad wound in 1916 Maginot had to leave the army, but he did so with the Cross of the Legion of Honour and the Medaille Militaire pinned to his breast.

In 1917 he became Minister for the Colonies under M. Ribot. They made him Minister of Pensions after the war, a very stiff proposition.

Then in 1924 under M. Francois-Marsal he got his teeth in the job he really loved—the Ministry of War. This didn't last very long as the Government fell after a few weeks. In 1928 and 1929 he served under Poincare and Briand, but he only had the Ministry for the Colonies.

At last in November, 1929, M. Tardieu, the new Premier, offered him the War Office. Maginot grabbed it. The Maginot Line was born.

Andre Maginot was not the technical expert behind the Maginot Line. His conception was confined to broad principles. The execution of the plan fell to Generals Weygand and Debeney and a host of nameless technicians.

Maginot did not live to see the completion of his Line. Between 1929 and 1935 more than £ 60 millions were poured into the building of it.

Since then at least another £ 10 millions have been spent. For the people of France caught Maginot's fervour and determined that the Line should always be up-to-date capable of blocking the fiercest

onslaughts of modern weapons.

As a result the work on the Maginot Line never stops. It will never be finished. Every month new developments are incorporated in the fortifications and new ideas are woven into the fabric of defence. Thus the vision of Maginot lives on.

Andre Maginot, who conceived it all, died from typhoid fever contracted from eating his favourite oysters, in January, 1932. He was only 54, and if he lived to-day he would probably still be Minister of War at the age of 61 three years younger than Mr Churchill.

Now the fields of Lorraine are in danger. The old forts of France stand resolute, but the new line, "La Ligne Maginot," conceived by one of Lorraine's own sons, guarantees the liberty and security of the whole democratic world.

—RONALD TURNBULL, in the *Statesman*.

HITLER'S BROTH

Hitler never eats meat and he never drinks a drop of

wine. His usual meal consists of potatoes and spinach, with a red apple for dessert. As an extra he has hard-boiled eggs with mayonnaise. His favourite dish is a kind of broth with balls of force-meat floating in it. Tea and coffee are barred, but he drinks mineral water and camomile. If he catches a cold, he has a spoonful of brandy slipped into his glass of milk.

President Roosevelt drinks more than he eats. Breakfast consists of grapefruit, tea and toast; lunch of soup, salad, and fruit. On Sunday evenings he has a feast: scrambled eggs, bacon, crab. He never touches wine or liqueurs. Instead he drinks iced water and orange and lemon juice.

—LA DEPECHE (Toulouse).

WHAT'S THE DIFFERENCE?

The essential difference between Nazism and Communism is negligible. Although Germany has not wiped out private capital, she has initiated such rigid control over private enterprises that they might almost be said to be State-owned.

We quote from *The German Revolution*, by H. Powys Greenwood, published by G. Routledge & Son, London.

"Most German business men find it advisable to keep on the right side of the local Nazi Party authorities. By no stretch of imagination can their property be called their own. The State suggests or limits extensions of plant or new construction; it fixes most prices as well as wages; it compels companies increasing dividends to invest an equal amount in Government securities, it dictates the use of domestic instead of foreign raw materials. No directors of private concerns are appointed without the tacit assent of the State and the Nazi Party."

On the other hand, Russia seems to be trending towards capitalism. Inequality of income, a small amount of private ownership, interest on deposits in State-banks are allowed.

From this we can see that Nazism, which came into being to "protect" private property, and Communism, which came

into being to destroy it, are gradually reaching a compromise.

—*Sunday News*.

COUNTERACTING FORCES IN THE BALKANS

Curiously enough the Nazis themselves may furnish an obstacle to any ambitions that Stalin may now cherish in South-Eastern Europe. In other words, it may be a case of diamond cut diamond. For if Stalin has made the Balkans safe against Germany, the existence of the Nazis may make them proof against Soviet avariciousness. Germany has always considered herself as directly interested in the Black Sea because the Danube, though Roumania controls the mouth, is regarded as a German river. The river is now, as a result of the economic blockade, Germany's only trade channel eastwards, though naturally now of only limited value, and for that reason alone the Nazis are not likely to countenance willingly any further development of Soviet influence. Were the situation not so tragic there would be material for cynical

humour in the spectacle of the two opportunists outwardly friendly, but inwardly terribly hostile, watching each other's moves in South-Eastern Europe like two cats on hot bricks. It is probable that out of this hidden conflict of these antagonistic influences the democratic countries will alone stand to gain.

Meanwhile Roumania and the other members of the Balkan Entente are exercising a watchful alertness fully perceptive of the swift changes that are taking place. Hostile as they are to Bolshevism, they fully appreciate the value of a counteracting influence which may well prevent an act of aggression in the Balkans.

—J. M. BEE,

in *Great Britain and the East*.

THE SPY-CAMERA

The camera is, indeed, the chief standby of the industrial spy. Until a few years ago the most famous maker of spy-cameras was a certain optical expert in Dresden. His most celebrated masterpiece was the "Mysterium", a camera in the shape; and with

the appearance down to the last detail, of an ordinary pocket watch. He also made cameras, and highly efficient ones, in the shape of buttons, tie-pins, walking-stick handles, and a variety of other disguises.

For many years miniature cameras were extensively used by spies. But now their scope, or rather the opportunity for their use, is more limited. All important industries operate an efficient counter-espionage organisation, and in some factories today it would not profit a spy much even if he were able to photograph plans or working parts of new and secret machinery. His film would be rendered useless even before he left the premises. This is done by the use of the Rontgen ray. All visitors to the factory would be forced to enter by a certain narrow corridor. The Rontgen apparatus would be placed so as to command this passage, and the rays have the peculiar property of making photographic films and plates useless, even if they are in the camera.

However, even this ingenious counter-device was counter-acted after a time by ingenious spies, who took the precaution of encasing their miniature cameras in lead, which the Rontgen rays cannot penetrate. In one great concern the counter-espionage service found a way to foil this latest stroke on the part of spies. Every visitor to the factory was asked to don a tight-fitting suit of overalls lined with rubber. Rubber boots were also provided, and the sleeves were drawn over the hands. The excuse offered by the directors for such treatment of visitors was the danger of contact with chemicals, and it was bolstered up by the fact that the employees who took visitors round were similarly clad.

Now, thought the counter-espionage men, it will be absolutely impossible for anyone to take photographs. Even a miniature camera mounted in a ring cannot be used through rubber gloves. But still photographs were taken and found their way to competitors. The successful spy was an elderly gentleman in horn-

rimmed spectacles. And in the horn-rimmed spectacles was hidden a tiny camera. The next step on the part of the factory's counter-espionage service was to provide special glasses for all bespectacled visitors.

—S. PEYDING, in *Allers Familj Journal* (Stockholm).

PREDICTION

The most sober calculation of the German Government to-day is that the continued neutrality of the South-Eastern States will enhance the Reich's ability to withstand a blockade. Every ruse of diplomacy and every wile of propaganda is therefore employed to impress upon them the sincerity of German friendship and to prove the wilfulness of British infringements of neutral rights.

The Nazi elite has had recent moments of dismay, but has recovered itself, and its cunning and ruthlessness are as they were before. The reserves of the nation, material and moral, are largely dissipated; the divergence between party and people is probably greater than it has yet been. But the party hopes to whirl the people far

on its own dynamism, crushing every attempt at active opposition and clinging to the last to its power.

In its career towards its own destruction it will probably destroy the few values that still remain intact in Germany. But that its destruction shall come is the prayer of many thousands of Germans who have watched with pain the decivilisation of their country.

—*The Times*.

AS HISTORY GROWS DIM

All that will be left of our forgotten worthies in a future dictionary :

Gladstone : a travelling bag with a specially wide mouth.

Victoria : low carriage with a broad seat.

Prince Albert : a stuffed coat, very long, formal, and never unbuttoned.

Bismarck : an especially fat German rump steak, not popular now.

Salisbury : another steak, English, made of what was left over from a Bismarck.

Chateaubriand : a French beefsteak, made of something else.

Lincoln : a kind of car, origin of name lost.

Cardinal Wolsey : a brand of gent's underwear.

Napoleon, Wasington, Caesar : trade names for bathroom fixtures.

Marie Antoinette, Josephine, Marie Louise, Eugenie : trade names for ladies' underwear.

King Edward, Bonnie Prince Charlie, Robert Bruce : stallions with a pedigree.

—STEPHEN LEACOCK, in *New Yorker*.

FINE !

There is a story told of two magistrates who were summoned to appear before their own court for exceeding the speed limit in a built-up area.

When they arrived at the court there were no other magistrates present, so they agreed to try each other. No. 1 went on the Bench and No. 2 in the witness box. A question was asked: "You are charged with exceeding the speed limit. Do you plead guilty or not guilty?" "Guilty, your Worship." "You will be fined five shillings."

They then changed places, and No. 2 went on to the Bench. He said to No. 1: "You are charged with exceeding the speed limit in a built-up area. Do you plead guilty or not guilty?" "Guilty, your Worship." "Now these speed-case are becoming far too common. This is a second we have had this morning. You will be fined 30 shillings."

—*The Listener*, London.

The Twentieth Century

THE PRESENT IMPASSE

By "SCRUTATOR"

The Indian horizon still continues to be overcast. Congress governments have gone into the wilderness. It was not to be expected that they would sit silent over this act of self-immolation. During the first few weeks of their disappearance most of the Ministers relieved their pent-up feelings by complimenting themselves. They felt sure that they had done far greater good to the helpless inhabitants of this country than the British had done during the 150 years of their rule. At any rate, this was what was claimed for them by Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel. And why should he not say all that when he could easily refer to the testimonials of Governors, the Viceroy and the Secretary of State? The day of official chits and testimonials is not over yet.

Nobody has yet been able to assign any constitutional reason for the resignation of Congress governments. Ordinarily a government resigns when it loses the confidence of the legislature or of the electorate. Congress governments had not lost, and could not lose, the confidence of the legislatures—so overwhelming were the majorities behind them. There was nothing to show that they had lost the confidence of the electorates. Had they any mandate given to them by the electorates at the last election that they should resign if war broke out, and the British Government refused to agree to their demand of Independence and Constituent Assembly? Were the electorates given any chance to think over these things? Have the electorates been taken into confidence as to the meaning and implication of Independence and Constituent Assembly? If so, when? Can anybody say what the verdict of the electorates

on these questions is? Of course, every one knows that Independence is the creed of the Congress and Constituent Assembly its passion. But the Congress is not the electorate. Nor is it the country, for the country consists of more elements than the Congress. The true explanation of the resignations is that the party dictatorship, otherwise known as the Congress Working Committee, decided that this was the time to strike the blow. It was therefore not for any constitutional reasons, nor even because there were any differences of opinion between the Governors and the Ministers on any vital question of responsibility, that the Congress Ministers were called out.

Apparently all this was done by the dictators at Wardha to strike the imagination of the world, that is to say, of their friends and admirers among the Leftists in England, the Leftists in India, and possibly a number of friends in America who would not lift the embargo on arms and ammunitions if England did not practice in India what she preached in the world. The embargo has, however, been lifted, and America has been preaching counsels of moderation to the belligerents or holding out some threats to some of them. The Leftists in India have not become more docile to the Congress. Subhas Babu has, if anything, used his whip more stridently, and asked the Rightists—what next? The Leftists in England have put a few questions in the House of Commons, written a few articles in some of the dailies, and even Lord Samuel, comparatively cautious and economical in language at the time of the Round Table Conferences and in the debates on the Constitution Bill in Parliament, has delivered a speech which has won applause in India; not because he pressed for Independence, but because he pressed for Dominion Status; not because he pressed for a Constituent Assembly from which the British shall be excluded, but for a sort of Assembly in which the British shall be included.

Something more than this has happened. Sir Strafford Cripps has flown to India and been the guest of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. In fairness to him it must be said that

though he has blessed the idea of a Constituent Assembly and told us that even Conservatives are thawing and may accept the idea, his British instincts have prevented him from speaking like a firebrand in India. Sir Strafford Cripps' position at the Bar is unchallenged. But the average Indian is apt to assume that he counts for a great deal in English politics, which unfortunately he does not.

If Mahatma Gandhi has been over-generous in his statements and articles and interviews, and Mr. Rajagopalachari and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru too have been unsparing in their interpretations of the situation, let us not forget the difference between the one and the other two. Mahatma Gandhi, even when he does not command assent, obviously gives the impression that he wants peace—at any rate an honourable settlement. If he is not very fond of exposing to public view civil disobedience, Mr. Rajagopalachari combines the forensic and political methods of fighting. One can detect a feeling of regret in his speeches that the Congress Governments are out, and also a hope that they may soon be back in office. Not so Pandit Jawaharlal. After the usual exordium about the necessity of maintaining 'dignity' and of 'deliberate action,' he always tells his audience that the time for action is approaching. In other words, civil disobedience with him is a possible and near step. When feelings get the better of him, he must come down on the devoted heads of some class of persons. Having during the last few months cooed like a dove towards Mr. Jinnah, he now roars like a lion towards the Indian Civil Service. He has no regrets; he has nothing to withdraw from what he said about the Civil Service. "Inefficient" and "incompetent" are the mildest words he has used about the Civil Service. He has challenged their loyalty and attributed to them a desire to defeat the best intentions of the Congress. The politics of the Civil Service and their statesmanship have often been questioned by others than Congressmen, but this is the first time that their efficiency and competence, honesty and loyalty, have been besmirched by a leader of the standing

of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who knows that that they cannot reply.

While all this has been happening, the King's Government, as the phrase goes, has been going on. Except that Congressmen themselves and their friends and admirers have been blaming the British Government for not making it easy or possible for the Congress Ministries to continue in office, there have been no public demonstrations of regret or sorrow over their departure. The average man is apathetic, though no doubt the same average man, when roused by something dramatic, may join the Satyagraha crowd. What has however annoyed, hurt and pained Congressmen, and it must be said of many others, is Mr. Jinnah's *hukoom* to his followers to observe the 22nd of December as the day of deliverance from the Congress rule and thanksgiving to God.

If Mr. Jinnah's point in asking his followers to celebrate the day of deliverance was to show to the British the depth and extent of Muslim discontent, then perhaps he has succeeded in showing it, but Mr. Jinnah has raised a hornet's nest round his ears. Not only have Mahatma Gandhi and Lord Zetland from their places appealed to him to desist from this course, but quite a number of Muslims have denounced the course which he has advised the Muslims to adopt. It is all the more to be regretted that Mr. Jinnah should have taken this line when the country was led to believe that after the preliminary pourparlers at Delhi, conversations for peace were to begin between him and Pandit Nehru. Perhaps, Mr. Jinnah has overshot the mark. Perhaps, his whole object is to put an irremovable barrier in the way of the Congress. It was not to be expected that Congress would not express its resentment over the line taken by Mr. Jinnah. It has actually done so, and Mr. Patel and Pandit Nehru have issued statements of an ominous character. Howsoever one may criticise the pride and prejudice on either side, no one who has the slightest regard for the future of this country, can rejoice in the present impasse.

If peace negotiations are to be conducted in the spirit in which they should be, then they must be preceded by a genuine and sincere truce. The best service that can be rendered on an occasion of this character, is not by flooding the newspapers with statements and interviews but by creating an atmosphere of goodwill and hopefulness. This is as much a part of the obligation which the Congress owes to the country as of the obligation which Mr. Jinnah owes, and must owe, to the country. Perhaps, in this respect, the country may look up to Mahatma Gandhi to set an example. If he himself will refrain from writing day after day about the majority and the minority, about Constituent Assembly and his conversion to it, about Paramountcy and the Princes who are described now as an integral part of it, he will promote the chances of that peace which is no doubt dear to his heart. The danger at the present moment is not in speaking too little, but in speaking too much. And in this respect, perhaps Lord Linlithgow is wiser than the combatants in India and also wiser than the statesmen in England.

Incidentally, one other issue emerges. And it is the favourite plan of political combatants in India referring their disputes to the arbitration of Chief Justices and judicial tribunals. Dr. Rajendra Prasad suggested to Mr. Jinnah a reference to Sir Maurice Gwyer. Mr. Jinnah turned it down. Mr. Jinnah, on his side, has suggested a reference to a Royal Commission composed of Judges of His Majesty's High Court and under the Chairmanship of one of the Law Lords of the Privy Council. The bad example was set by Mahatma Gandhi himself when the Rajkot controversy was referred to the arbitration of Sir Maurice Gwyer. Sir Maurice gave an award, and we know what has happened to it. The point of principle which emerges is that political controversies can only be settled politically, not judicially. And judges, English or Indian, must be rigorously kept out of such controversies. No one has ever heard of political disputes between one political party and another political party in India being referred to judges in England or

elsewhere. The Coal commission over which Lord Sankey presided is no parallel. It was an economic conference, not a political one between a majority and a minority. If confidence in our judges is to be preserved, then the judges must stand absolutely aloof from political quarrels. Their function is to decide controversies between individual parties, or private parties and the State. The present writer who has got great personal regard for Sir Maurice Gwyer as a judge and as a gentleman, cannot help regretting that Sir Maurice Gwyer was drawn into a controversy into which he should never have been drawn last March. The point is not whether the Congress is going to submit to an investigation by judges from England, but whether it is at all right that sheer political issues should be raised before any judges, foreign or national. There the matter must rest for the present.

II

What dominates everything at the present moment in India is not the question of Independence *versus* Dominion Status, or Dominion Status *versus* Independence. The goal, immediate or remote, has receded into the background. What is in the forefront is the method of reaching that goal. It is the question of procedure which has ousted the question of substance. Recent speeches in England have made one thing quite clear, and that is, that the only kind of Dominion Status that is known, is that which is embodied in the Statute of Westminster which can be traced back to the Conferences of 1926 and 1929. So if India gets that Status, it will be the same as that of the other Dominions. Mandates no doubt are of three classes, but Dominion Status is only of one class. But then arises the question as to what is the meaning to be attributed to the speeches that have been delivered in Parliament. The optimists among us interpret those speeches as foreshadowing Dominion Status for India at the end of the war. The pessimists or the doubters say that those speeches, and particularly those of Lord Zetland, are vague, and may mean anything or nothing. Then again, the statements that have

been made in England, particularly by Sir Samuel Hoare, that Dominion Status is not conferred, but is a recognition of existing facts, do not help to clear the position. They are pedantic, and are open to the criticism that they do not take an accurate view of the existing facts in India. How are those facts to be brought into existence which will attract the recognition of India's Status as a Dominion. It is no use repeating time after time that Dominion Status is the goal of British policy in India, or that it is implicit in the declaration which was made 23 years ago. The real question before British statesmanship is not one of ultimate goal but as to how soon that goal should be realised. When and how?—are the two questions which British statesmen have got to answer, and unless they answer them satisfactorily or soon enough, slogans and cries must continue to swell the mass of confusion in India. It is only when Indians generally feel sure that Dominion Status is not a far-off adorable dream, but something within reach, that they will begin to ask themselves—why Independence? Not until then is there any hope for any party to arise in India which can talk in terms of realism or fight subversive tendencies.

The question of procedure, as however indicated above, has assumed greater importance and has pushed back the question of Independence. Everything now centres round the demand for Constituent Assembly. The Mahatma has confessed publicly that he has become a convert to the idea of a Constituent Assembly, and for that reason "more enthusiastic than Jawaharlal himself". He seems to "see in it a remedy which Jawaharlal may not, for our communal and other distempers, besides being a vehicle for mass, political and other education". Illiteracy does not trouble him; he would plump for an adult franchise for both men and women. He would give separate vote for the Muslims; but without giving separate vote, he would, though reluctantly, give reservation, if required, to every minority according to its numerical strength. There is no parallel to this demand of a Constituent

Assembly for a population of 350, or may be more than 400, millions of people. The eighteenth century Constituent Assembly of France did not precede, but succeeded, the uprooting of the Bourbons' Sovereignty. We all know the history of the dictators and the history of France, and the easy passage from Republicanism to Empire. The Constituent Assembly did not solve the problem of France for all time. Revolution followed revolution there till the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The Constituent Assembly in Russia was only possible when the Bolshevics had finished with the Czar, and the Red Army was there to enforce Lenin's and Trotsky's will. The Congress must first acquire sovereignty and establish a new state before it calls a Constituent Assembly.

Are the conditions parallel in India? The British are still firm in the saddle. The State established by them is functioning. We need not seriously take into consideration as to whether there is an army ready to enforce the will of the Constituent Assembly, for the Mahatma's methods are the methods of non-violence, and consistently with his philosophy, it is no use having an army to enforce the popular will. The fiat has gone forth, and no Congressman dare question the wisdom or the feasibility of this demand. Pandit Jawaharlal has already proclaimed that any Indian who opposes this demand is an enemy of the country. The Muslims therefore must be taken as the enemies of the country because they are opposed to it. Non-believers in Congress ends and Congress methods, Hindu and Muslim alike, must all be put down as enemies. Europeans who have sunk their capital in India may also be included in that list of enemies. The Princes who have been repeatedly described as creatures of British Paramountcy or as part of Paramountcy may also be put down as enemies of the country. So, it is in the midst of so many enemies that the demand for Constituent Assembly is being put forward in the name of the country. What chance is there, therefore, for this glorious idea of Constituent Assembly bearing fruit, in the midst of such hostile environment? And supposing

all these 'enemies' refuse to join the Constituent Assembly or participate in it, what is then to happen? Are the British ready to hand over the country only to the Congress, even though it may sincerely claim to represent or speak for the whole of the country? Are they ready to witness the spectacle of something like a civil war? Are they ready to sign their own death-warrant? We are told that even Conservative opinion in England is entertaining this proposal, and newspaper correspondents have been assuring us that the Viceroy is furiously thinking about it and that the Reforms Commissioner (Sir Hawthorne Lewis) is busy writing note upon note on the possibility and practicability of a Constituent Assembly. No one should feel surprised if the British were to give the Congress a sort of Constituent Assembly, but will it be the Constituent Assembly from which they will agree to be excluded, and from which the Princes excepting those who are ready to be converted overnight to the virtues of Constitutional Monarchy will also be excluded? Sir Strafford Cripps has spoken some words of encouragement on this subject to the Congress. But Lord Zetland still persists in speaking on the old lines. He still thinks and exhorts that the Hindus and Muslims should make up their differences, and even then he tactfully reminds us that provision will have to be made for defence and British interests. Congressmen may still continue to cling to the belief that if the international situation should deteriorate for the British, they will be in an yielding mood. To stake the future of the country on the chances of a war, is not practical politics or wisdom; it is mere gambling.

Apart from these political considerations, how is the Assembly to be convened? How long will it take to prepare a register of voters on the basis of adult franchise? Who is going to foot the bill? And what guarantees are there that there will not be jerrymandering and wire-pulling? And supposing all these difficulties are got over, is there any guarantee that there will be anything like agreement in the majority community itself? And supposing the majority community

presents a united front, and comes to an agreed or nearly agreed solution, how is that solution going to be enforced against an unwilling minority?

Glib references are being made to what is supposed to have happened in Canada, Australia and South Africa. What was their population when they held their conferences consisting of representatives of various parties in the Legislatures or outside? And how many conferences did take place in Canada before the Quebec resolutions were passed and before ultimately the British North American Act of 1887 was passed? It was not until 1858 that the Canadian Government advocated the establishment of a Federal Union for British North America. It was not until 1866 that Sir John MacDonal and four others sailed for England, and even then the maritime provinces decided to be represented by their own delegates. The Bill was then passed in 1867. It is absurd to call the Canadian Act the result of a Constituent Assembly. In Australia, the movement was of a much longer standing. Convention after convention met there. The draft constitution which was prepared ultimately was considered by the legislatures of the different colonies. Differences still subsisted. The method of referendum was adopted in 1898. The Premiers' Conferences was again held in 1899, and it was not until the end of that year that Joseph Chamberlain wired or cabled to Earl Beauchamp, Governor of New South Wales, expressing the hope that the delegation from the federating colonies might come over to England. The delegation then went, and interminable consultations took place. And when the final compromise took place, even then there was not complete agreement as to the provisions. In short, between 1890 and 1897-98 repeated conferences were held. The differences that arose were of a political character. No communal questions arose. There was nothing like the element of the Indian Princes there. If these conferences can be described as anything in the name of a Constituent Assembly, well then, all that can be said is that the expression is being used in a peculiar sense. In South Africa

again, let it not be forgotten that there had been, before the Act of 1909, a terrible war between the Boers and the British. And though conferences did take place there, they were nothing like a Constituent Assembly. It is the personality of Botha and Smuts in South Africa and Campbell-Bannerman in England which is indelibly impressed on the South African settlement. And yet the fact remains that South Africa is still very different from Canada or Australia. The fact of the matter is that the idea of Constituent Assembly in India is still undefined and vague, and probably it is undefinable. And probably because it is so undefined and so difficult to define, it has passed from the intellectual plane into that of emotion or passion, hallowed and sanctified because it has been adopted by the Mahatma.

It is not a promising idea. It does not hold out the promise of a practical solution which will be accepted by Hindus and Muslims, Indian States and the British alike. If the Congress were the only element to be taken into consideration, there would not be perhaps so much difficulty to encounter. But unfortunately there are other elements to be taken into account, and their existence cannot be ignored, either by the Congress or by the British. What the solution of the present impasse may be, it is not very easy to say. But one need not dispense with accumulated human experience. If there are leaders, that is to say, men who actually lead and know how to lead, and if there are among them some who can rise superior to the exigencies of the hour, and who can think in terms, not merely of to-day, but also of to-morrow and the day after, high-souled men who place the country before the party, then it should not be difficult for them to meet together and to come to some understanding between themselves and to recommend it for the acceptance of their followers. Are there no such high-souled leaders in India? At least one name will readily occur to everyone. And that is the Mahatma himself. He can change the psychology of even the minorities, but he must first shed his party allegiance.

He must cease to be a party leader for he has degenerated into that. Among the Princes too, howsoever much we may on public platform condemn them and their methods of government, there are at least a few who have imagination, wisdom, courage and love of country. As for the British, they are thoroughly practical-minded people, capable of reading the signs of the times correctly, and there are some among them who can rise to the height of the occasion. If all this is imagination, then the idea of a Constituent Assembly too is nothing but a chimera.

Forget Your Age.

Age doesn't matter. Mozart gave concerts when he was six, and Michelangelo completed his greatest work at 87. Goethe began to write at the age of 10, and finished his masterpiece, *Faust*, at the age of 80. Leonardo da Vinci was 77 when he painted his famous "Last Supper." Joan of Arc became the heroine of France at 16; at 40 Cromwell was still an unknown farmer. Lord Kelvin made his first scientific discovery when he was 18, and invented improvements to his marine compass when he was 83.

Herbert N. Casson, in *L'Efficiencie*, Brussels.

THE INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL PROBLEM

A REPLY TO CONGRESS LEADERS

By Dr. C. R. REDDY

It is gratifying to note that Congress leaders are now giving laborious explanations almost amounting to apologies, of the fundamental principles on which they based their policies with respect to the composition of their Ministries and the policies they pursued, which have been the subject matter of criticism from publicists belonging to more than one party in India. From the speeches of the Congressmen themselves and the articles appearing in some of the leading Congress papers, the Congress leaders appear to be in a reflective wood. And I shall be happy if as a result of these reflections and revaluations they undergo a change of heart which they prescribe so liberally and constantly to others.

Mahatma Gandhi has been assuring Minorities that their interests would be perfectly safe in the hands of the Congress. He avers that the Congress is more interested in their welfare than the British Government. But surely it cannot be denied that the Minorities themselves are far more interested in themselves than either the Congress or the Government. And when Lord Linlithgow had asked all these communities and Minorities to come together, it obviously implies that the Government had withdrawn not merely from interference but from participation, so far as this problem is concerned. Under the circumstances, to drag in the "third party" and to say that the second party is better than the third, is not only meaningless, but it does not dispose of the proposition that the first party is better than either, and should be allowed self-expression, free, undiluted and efficient. To talk of the third party

Value of Congressional Assurance

as the villain of the piece, after the terrible tale, in frequency and magnitude, of communal riots and border raids and abductions during the democratic era of Provincial Autonomy, the reality of which has been openly acknowledged by leaders like Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar and the Governors commended for having become figure heads, i.e., figures without heads, is to continue in this one respect to talk of ancient history in place of relevant modern.

The Congress attitude on Separate Electorates is not yet clear. It is speaking with two voices, conceding Separate Electorates at one time and pleading hard and almost prescribing Joint Electorates at another. On one point alone they seem to be united, namely, in acknowledging the right of the Muslims to have their own electorate. But this is the unity of surrender to a powerful body which they cannot over-ride and not conscientious conviction that such Separate Electorates should be regarded at least as a right of the Minorities concerned, though not an absolute good in the judgment of the Congress.

With respect to the assurances that Mahatma Gandhi has been giving, one asks : " Is not politics business ? And should not business be conducted on business lines ? And therefore, should not the Congress state the measures, the institutions or the procedure by which it desires to make its assurances operative and effective ? " Gandhiji should realize that general assurances will not wash.

Should not the Congress explain how a Unitary Party Cabinet type of Government, beloved of Congress Premiers intent to rule absolutely, consistent with safeguards and special representation of Minorities ? Are they in favour of composite Cabinets and Government by general agreement in supersession of Unitary Party Cabinets and Government by Wardha decrees ? Would they have an independent umpire to whom the special representatives of Minorities by their majority votes amongst themselves could appeal as a

matter of constitutional right and whose decisions would be final and binding ? Or would they allow the majority of special representatives to exercise a veto, suspensory or absolute, on measures thought to affect their interests until a referendum of the community is taken ? What exactly does Congress propose to do beyond the sweet pledges given in the hour of weakness which may become fetishes to be flung aside in the days of power as has been the case with the Criminal Law Amendment Act ?

Mere verbal sweets will not go down because the record of the Congress in this respect is clear but not clean. First, we shall examine the moral assurances given. Gandhiji has stated that the Congress Flag, referred to as the National Flag, though national flags are statutory institutions, should not be hoisted on District Boards and other Public Buildings, even if there is a single dissident. He has further declared that its National Song or Vande Mataram should not be sung even if a single member of the audience objects. Have either of these pledges of Mahatmaji been honoured by his followers ? What happened at Allahabad a few days ago and that too in the University, is illustrative of the impossibility of having such assurances carried out in practice in spite of the perfect sincerity with which they are given. Furthermore, has not Gandhiji himself gone back on a series of resolutions of the Congress itself when he defended the retention and employment of the Criminal Law Amendment Act at Madras ? In that connection, he laid down the dangerous doctrine, so destructive of the confidence of Minorities, that Congress resolutions should not be treated as fetishes. What is there to prevent the present assurances becoming in their time and season fetishes themselves ?

But the greatest blunder of the Congress has been in refusing members returned by the Separate Electorate of such important communities as the Muslims and the Scheduled Castes, to have representatives in the Government commanding the

Separate Electorates
and Totalitarian
Policies

confidence of the majority of the "communal" members concerned. There can be no denying that the Congress in this respect pursued a totalitarian programme. A Muslim returned on any non-Congress ticket, if he signed the pledge, was treated as a convert to the new faith, and the old ethical principle that the Congress itself applied to other Parties, namely, that under such happenings the new convert should be forced to undergo re-election on the new ticket, was conveniently forgotten. The Congress claimed, though it may have lost the majority of the Muslim Separate seats, and in one Province though it did not have even a single Muslim elected on the Congress ticket, that any isolated Muslim who joined the Congress was a proper representative of all the Muslims. In other words, the Congress sought to serve Muslim interests by its own nominations, just as the bureaucratic Governments used to do in the old days. But Congressional nomination cannot be regarded as more justifiable than bureaucratic.

With respect to the double elections provided for the Scheduled Castes, the Gandhian pledge that they would be allowed to choose their own candidates without interference from the Congress, was honoured by organised violation after it had served its purpose.

Can it be said that these acts by which they tried to absorb or destroy the Muslim League and another parties, were due to thoughtlessness or to momentary aberrations of judgment? Such a construction, if permissible, would brand the Congress Party as wanting in goodsense. But in point of fact, this policy towards the other Parties was based on a principle of Life and Politics, namely, that the Congress should cease to have political significance if they were to be allowed to exist. They employed unscrupulously as well as ruthlessly their doctrine that political salvation was possible only through *Nirvana* in the Congress. Only to the Congressmen should the sanctuaries remain open.

Origin of Totalitarian
Policy

In the pursuit of this idea, they went back on their original pledge made before the elections that they would not enter into Coalitions with other groups. They intrigued for Coalitions in Bengal and in Sind. In Assam and the Frontier, they succeeded. And in Assam, in order to strengthen the Ministry, they increased the number of Ministers by two—tactics which if employed by any other Party, would have brought upon their heads the moral thunder of Wardha. And through all these tergiversations the Mahatmaji remained either silent or if he spoke, spoke excusing, palliating, forgiving. What was right for the Congress was treated as wrong for others. What was wrong in others became right for the Congress. The Congress which appealed to all persons irrespective of their differences to support it in the elections on a broad, all-embracing Nationalist platform, became a sect after it got into power. The *Indian Express*, a Congress daily which has not prostituted its integrity of thought, tone and character to Office Retention as the chief good to be pursued, has in several leaders pointed out how the advancement of the material interests of the masses and communal unity were sacrificed on the altar of the moral drive for enforcing by legislation and administration the Gandhian remedies for individual and social ills.

One need not be shocked by this kind of evolution under office acceptance and the influence of secular power. It has ever been the case in human history that when spiritual leaders acquire earthly superiority, they naturally try to use their powers ruthlessly and unscrupulously, because they are obsessed by the deep moral conviction that what they are doing is necessary for human salvation. I do not think it is easy to overcome this very natural tendency. Given a party that believes that the world has taken a wrong course, that a new prescription and a new diet is necessary to restore it to health, peace and order, given further that after 20 years of teaching in the wilderness and finding it fairly ineffective, it got into a position from which it could employ secular engines of coercion, power and influence—is it any wonder that it employed them in the authoritarian

and totalitarian manner? This is not the first time in history that prophets have turned into policemen, and proved that they were far more efficient as policemen than they ever were as prophets. It seems to me, therefore, clear that the intolerant attitude of the Congress towards what it denounces as communal parties and even non-Congressmen generally, has had its root and being in their own settled principles. And on moral grounds, no fault could be found with them. In their sincere pursuit of their gospel, in objective, agency and machinery, they had to wreck the possibility of a united national front and they did it unwittingly.

Deflection of discipline from External to Internal Problems

Originally the iron discipline of Congress was forged and justified on the ground that it was an army fighting a foreign foe and that all its soldiers should therefore obey without asking the reason why. Under office acceptance it was extended and enforced on Congress legislators with reference to the entire range of Ministerial activity though 99 per cent. of this covered only the field of India's internal problems including the communal. Legislatures were converted into guard rooms; and taxes, bills, tenancy legislation, launching of prosecutions, withdrawal of prosecutions of Congressmen, educational scheme, etc. a fair field for differences even amongst the orthodox, were rushed through to the quick march of the silenced Congressites. Naturally authority unquestioned by those that put it in power, viz., the party—and such questioning is the essence of responsible government—was bound to lead to irresponsible government and corruption.

I think there is now a change in the Congress mentality, and a change for the better. In one of his articles published about a month ago in the *Harijan*, Mahatmaji has stated that the majority community in India would not do any injustice to the Muslims and the Sikhs, etc., because it was afraid of them. If the fear of their strength is a guarantee and deterrent on any tendency to tyrannise, it is a proposition that carries with

it the corollary that communal organisations have not only a right to exist but are necessary in the present condition of the country at least as defensive organisations preventing the possibility of injustice. And to this negative, the need for giving them power and position to promote a positive policy of fairness all round, it will go a long way to induce the mentality of a truer nationalism than the present totalitarian aberration—an unfortunate off-shoot of sudden unchecked power.

And now they have re-stated their assurances to the Minorities after having done their best to nullify the safeguards provided in the present Constitution, they look like righting the wrong done. As this again has a promising tendency, I would like to examine Mr. Rajagopalachariar's defence of the previous conduct of Congressional Ministries, which he made in his recent speech in Bombay. He stated—"Some argued that because the Congress had taken an assurance that the Governors would not interfere with the Ministries' administration, the former were helpless. 'I challenge the Viceroy', he said, 'or any Governor to say that, at any time, they found it necessary to raise objection or interfere with the Ministries in order to protect the minorities. It is not a question of 'assurance' but of fact.'

It seems to me it is not even a question of fact but of fits and fancies. Do not 'assurances' taken or given naturally reduce Governors to helplessness? Otherwise, why want them?

Governors as witnesses

In the first place, is it true that the Congress had taken an assurance to the effect mentioned? No doubt, they asked for it. Government made statements in interpretation of the Act, but not in reply to their specific demand. Gandhiji complained that while he wanted the Government to talk to him, they were talking at him. The 'at' continued unchanged. Then after three months of speeches everywhere by Congress leaders, they came to the conclusion that the interpretation put by the Government was an assurance in substance and, treating

their own specific demand as a shadow, undertook office. But granting that they did have such an assurance, or in any event, that the practical result was as though an assurance, in terms had been given, what is the position? You disarmed the Governors. The Governors had, either through your action or their own, become divested of the power to safeguard. And now you turn round and say—'Let the Governor be summoned to tell the world whether he ever found it necessary to safeguard', when he had no power to safeguard on your own statement. Would any Governor be such a fool as to even think of safeguarding, when he had not the power and competence to safeguard? Furthermore, 'what would be the value of the evidence of a handicapped Governor? Having no power to safeguard, he would naturally say—'No occasion arose for me to exercise a power which I did possess.' Or is he expected to confess—'Though I wanted to safeguard, I was so terribly afraid of the Congress Ministries and the consequences of their resignations that I did not have the courage to do my duty under the Constitution. I was chokeful of good wishes but did not possess will or power'? To disarm a man and then call upon him to swear that he had never need to use arms, is to add insult to injury.

The other point in the Bombay speech that deserves notice is the lyric about the Constituent Assembly. And what does it all come to? On the subject of Separate Electorates for the communities, an open 'Yes' with a private 'No'. On the subject of the procedure, etc., the leaders should first come to an arrangement before the constitution of the Constituent Assembly could be determined. Surely, if so much could be determined by the leaders and the intelligentsia, why not go a step further and get the whole of the new constitution settled in a similar way? It looks to me the Congress is swayed in this matter by two considerations. (1) That in the general *mélée* of an election, in a country full of ignorant people, illiterates and those amenable to personal appeals, influence and corruption, a

widespread organization would be always able to tackle mere numbers and get the type of representatives it desires, knocking out a good many of the intellectuals and intelligent leaders. (2) And in such an Assembly, it will be able to pull the threads of the Separate Electorates, even where for the sake of appearance it would not openly seek to prevail. Congress chiefs have had experience of Congress sessions attended by thousands and also of legislatures under the new democratic franchise. And as these have been nothing more than bodies come or called together, to register the decrees arrived at in the conclaves of the leaders, there could be very little doubt that a Constituent Assembly would be equally docile. And it will discharge the one important function of giving national validity, so to speak, to the conclusions of the caucus.

Such tactics are perfectly fair in politics. But the point still remains. How long will conclusions arrived at by such means stand the test of time? Are there not people who, though they do not represent numbers, represent ideas? And by excluding them, can you exclude once for all and for all time to come the ideas as well? In other words, what is it that the Congress is after? Moral conviction of the best in India or the mere votes of numbers? And it is a Party which has ever proclaimed that quality was more important than quantity, that one single *Satyagrahi* would bring salvation to the world provided he was really perfect, while the multitude would be no good, that Truth was not a function of numbers. And why is it they now hesitate to apply these doctrines to the solution of our political problems? The other day I read in a paper the speech of a Congress leader who attributed the hostility to the Constituent Assembly to the fear of intellectuals that they would be wiped off in the elections and would not be able to find a seat. Granting this to be true, and probably it is a sad truth, is the objective of the Congress, numbers without quality? And when did this cult of numbers to the exclusion of quality become the official religion of Wardha? Can

Numbers *versus*
Leaders

permanence be achieved by such tactics? And a constitution, if it is not to generate revolutions and civil war, should satisfy the best minds and be durable.

As regards the national validity, is it going to be of any higher order than the resolutions of the full sessions of the Congress or the A. I. C. C. or of our Legislatures under the new regime, which merely register the decrees of the few arrived at in the calm thought of closed doors? And since, in any case, the All-India Legislature and the British Parliament have to pass the New Act, why not follow the more rational method of evolving a constitution by the better means, qualitatively speaking, of a conference of the leaders, and present them for enactment to the Statutory Powers? Why, till the other day, Mahatmaji was for giving a blank cheque to the Muslims. And within the last year or two, he and the Congress made attempts to come to terms with the Muslim League. So this method as such could not be wrong. The Motilal Constitution which, with Mr. Jinnah's amendments so moderate compared to his new demands made as a result of the office exploits of the Congress, deserved to be the Constitution of India to-day, was shaped by four or five of our intellectual giants. And the Congress did not repudiate that procedure. Is it therefore due to the fact that it has not succeeded in arriving at a settlement by the method of consultations with leaders, the Congress leaders have now started an agitation for determining, *i. e.*, dittoing by numbers? I am glad some Congress papers view this method with grave suspicion.

A foreigner asked for butter at a German restaurant. When he tried to pull a face and exclaimed: "Now I know why you prefer guns!"

———*Pariser Tageszeitung* (Paris).

LET US PAUSE AND REFLECT

By I. D.

Years roll by: some are 'fleet of foot', some are heavy-footed and slow. Nineteen hundred and thirty-nine has hurried forth into the limbo of oblivion, to the tune of cataclysmic crashes and crumbling ruins—a fitting finale to the Thirties which have found the foundations of faith in the orderly march of civilisation shaken, if not altogether removed. What a dismal and dreadful tale they tell! Manchukuo, Abyssinia, Austria, Czecho-slovakia, Poland, Finland—what do they signify unless it be the law of the jungle, and what do they proclaim except that Might is still the Right? They constitute an eloquent and unanswerable charge-sheet against the spirit of the Thirties. Was it not during this period that the League of Nations became 'The League of Abominations', and Geneva, 'the home of euphemisms' and the graveyard of the smaller nations, and that Democracies were nearly swept away by the rising tide of the Dictatorships all over Europe? Fascism in Italy, Nazism in Germany and Bolshevism in Russia meant but

Lamentings heard i' th' air;
Strange screams of death,
And prophesying, with accents terrible,
Of dire combustion, and confus'd events,
New hatch'd to th' woeful time.

Mussolini, Hitler and Stalin were the symbols of the spirit of the Thirties, "portentous things, unto the climate they point upon" and "strange eruptions". Of earth, it can well be said, that as a result of the wicked and shocking legacy of the last ten years,

It weeps, it bleeds, and each new day a gash
Is added to her wounds.

And what of India? She too has had her share of woes and troubles, with communism, communalism and every variety

of political extremism, rampant on the soil and ravaging her life. Agrarian strifes, industrial disputes, communal riots; constitutional breakdown in the Provinces, political unrest in the States; Leftist revolt, League aggression; Congress domination at the expense, not so much of British Imperialism as of national unity; and the growth of a Fascist junta and of totalitarian spirit—it is a grim story of discord, division and dispute, and of suffering, sorrow and shame. What an argument for a Constituent Assembly, and what a preparation for Complete Independence!

Proposals are being put forward with a callous indifference to their consequences. As Viscount Halifax said, in another connection, in one of his recent speeches in Parliament:

None of us can see in these days very far ahead in the world in which we live, but we can and must always be sure of the general direction in which we travel.

Shall we, to-day in India, choose the path of consultation and conciliation, or that of controversy and conflict? Let us ask ourselves if the love of liberty has any meaning without the urge for unity, if there can really be liberty without unity, and if such liberty, even if attained, is worth a moment's existence in the present order of things. The one main problem that confronts us to-day in India is: Shall there be a single-party domination (and all the ills of which it is a prolific parent) or national concentration out of which a united India will emerge and attain a Status which will ensure freedom on the one hand and security on the other? *It is a problem, essentially for the heads, and not for the hands, to solve—* and it is a problem that awaits solution in 1940.

Will the year that has now opened, with a most doubtful legacy, witness the end of dictatorship abroad and of domination (of one kind or another) at home, or the utter demolition of the securities of society and the values of life, without which society has no security, and life no value?

And amidst the hurrying hours, let us pause and reflect.

DOMINION STATUS

ITS HISTORY AND IMPLICATIONS

By NAWAB MIRZA YAR JUNG BAHADUR

I

Its significance In the future history of India, Oct. 26, 1939 will always be treated as a memorable day. It was on this day that, consistently with the interpretation put by Lord Irwin as Viceroy of India in 1929, on the Government of India Act (23rd Dec., 1919) and in consonance with the statement made by Sir Samuel Hoare as Secretary of State for India on Feb. 6, 1935, Lord Linlithgow as Viceroy and Crown Representative most solemnly pledged England to the grant of 'Dominion Status' to India—a pledge which he said was 'enshrined in the Parliamentary record of Great Britain' and was made with full concurrence of Lord Zetland, the present Secretary of State for India. No future history of India can be complete without referring to this memorable incident and no future constitution of India can be properly framed without fully grasping the implications of the term 'Dominion Status'.

II

How Dominion Status and Constitutions grew	In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries of the Christian era, there sprang up a class of persons belonging to commercial interests of European nations who attempted to take possession of as many tracts of land in different parts of this globe as possible, for the purposes of emigration as well as for expanding the resources of their wealth through commerce and trade. In his survey of the British Commonwealth, Mr. W. K. Hancock quotes an interesting, though a little unpleasant, passage from Swift's <i>Gulliver's Travels</i> which gives a graphic description of
--	---

the early adventures of this class who laid the foundations of great Dominions and Colonies that are so much the sources of strength to the British Empire to-day :

A crew of pirates (he says) are driven by a storm they know not whither; at length a boy discovers land from the topmast; they go on shore to rob or plunder; they see a harmless people, are entertained with kindness; they give the country a new name; they take formal possession of it for their king; they set up a rotten plank or stone for a memorial; they murder two or three dozen of the natives, bring away a couple more by force for a sample, return home, and get their pardon. Here commences a new dominion, acquired with a title by divine right. Ships are sent with the first opportunity; the natives driven out or destroyed; their princes tortured to discover their gold; a free licence given to all acts of inhumanity and lust, the earth reeking with the blood of its inhabitants; and this execrable crew, of butchers employed in so pious an expedition is a modern colony sent out to convert and civilise an idolatrous and barbarous people.

There may be much apparent evil underlying these first acts of aggression. But in the scheme of Providence, how often we see that ultimately good comes out of even an apparent evil. The beginning was so barbarous and uncivilized as depicted above. The end is the formation of Dominions and Commonwealths which add so much to the lustre of the British Empire. The pirates of yesterday are the scientists, philosophers, statesmen and great generals of to-day. In these first efforts made by the mercantile interests of several European nations, it has not, as a rule, been possible to restrict immigration of one nationality to a particular tract of country, yet all the immigrants had to depend at least upon one sovereign power for protecting their rights and privileges during the early stages of their expansion and growth. Naturally, this protecting sovereign power for each Colony was often determined by the voice of the majority of the settlers or immigrants themselves which again was determined by the country from which they mainly migrated. Guided by these principles, the settlers of the present six Dominions within the British Empire chose the Crown of England as their protector. As they grew in size, the exercise of sovereignty

rights by the settlers on the land of their domicile increased proportionately—a process in which the Crown itself gladly acquiesced. As time went on, a few advanced colonies wanted to describe their settlements by some name which could distinguish them from other territories included within the British Empire. It was this feeling which prompted the Colonial Conference of 1907 to determine upon the word 'Dominion' as the proper word to convey a more accurate idea of the position and status which they had come to enjoy within the Empire. This is the beginning of the conception of the term 'Dominion'.

In framing their constitutions, these Dominions, as offshoots of a tree, were naturally animated by the democratic spirit of its main trunk. Their sovereignty rights must be exercised not by the will of an individual who happens to be strong, but through a Constitution reflecting the will of a body of persons who are supposed to be the representatives of the people. They must have Parliaments, Ministers and Cabinets. As Burke remarked as to these colonists, "this child of ours wishes to assimilate to its parent, and to reflect with a true filial resemblance the beauteous countenance of British liberty". The mother-country also showed an affectionate regard for her children. The Crown of England which nurtured and nourished them in their infancy always remained anxious to maintain its parental connection. But the question was how to attain the object through the free will of its liberty-loving children. A scheme was devised which was considered to have served the purpose by sending a Governor-General from the mother-country as the head of the local executive. Lord Durham was the Governor-General who first of all introduced the idea of Responsible Government in 1838-39 in the administration of Canada to establish this connection and also to remove clashes which often arose there between the Executive and the Representative Assemblies of the people based on a wide franchise. Responsible Government in a country means

Government by the chosen representatives of the people or by a Cabinet consisting of those whom the people select for the purpose of carrying on administration. It means an Executive removable by the Legislature or the representatives of the people. This principle was originally confined to control over the expenditure of local funds by the representatives of the people. Lord Durham himself never intended that the control of British Parliament should be relaxed. He thought the appointment of a Governor by the British Parliament over the head of the Executive would secure the object of retaining control. He never thought that this child of his, when fully grown, would shake off the yoke of its own mother—the British Parliament. But once the idea of Responsible Government found its root in the mind of the colonists, it began spreading its tentacles and control over subjects which were originally reserved for the Parliament of Great Britain. Theories and paper constitutions were superseded by practice, usage and conventions. Thus within half a century, the exercise of sovereignty rights by all colonies which got Responsible Governments under Lord Durham's proposals was so complete and widespread that eventually they shook off all restrictions placed upon them and got control even over Defence, with the result that by 1870-71, the Imperial Forces had to be withdrawn from all Dominions. The whole process of growth took about two centuries. However, this evolution was not without its own cataclysm. The constitution of every Dominion is the net result of many processes of adjustments at so many clashes and conflicts that occurred either internally between Provinces and Provinces situate within its boundaries or between the Dominion as a whole and its mother-country in matters of general administration and foreign policy. From 1850 to 1930, there hardly passed a decade when a Conference was not held to settle some question connected with Dominions at every Conference, the mother-country showing a sort of parental affection in recognizing their rights and privileges at every stage. It has often been remarked that Dominion Status grew,

not so much by the use as by the disuse of powers by the British Parliament. It allowed them to grow and grow freely. The growth looked as if it was by 'mutual consent and concert.' For this show of affection and regard, the United Kingdom was paid back in another form. Abstention on its part from interference with the affairs of colonists served as a great incentive to the latter to remain attached to the mother-country. The self-interest served by such an attachment, the convenience in settling their internal disputes and problems through the convenient method of appealing to the British Parliament, and the prestige and status following the attachment to a great power were forces which contributed greatly to their constitutional advance and evolution within the ambit of the British Empire. Though they would not tolerate subordination to the Government of the United Kingdom, yet a status of equality would meet the ends of independence and liberty to which every human society aspires. These were the psychological forces which contributed to the development and growth of Dominions on the present lines.

Precedents and conventions were also important factors which played their part in the growth of Dominions. There were matters in which all Dominions were equally interested, however distant they may be from each other geographically. Canada and Australia may be separated by thousands of miles. South Africa may have nothing in common with Canada in many matters of its internal administration such as those relating to labour, colour, or gold industry, yet in questions like the extent of their legislative powers or the predominant voice which each would have in the appointments of its Governor-General or the scope of its internal and external sovereignty, their interests were common and alike. Over all these subjects, the weight of their joint influence was of a cumulative character, so that whenever a question of common character arising in a particular Dominion was decided by the Crown, it generally served as a precedent for the other Dominions. For instance, in 1849, a question arose as to the advisability of dismissing

a working ministry by the Governor-General of Canada. Lord Russell, the then Prime Minister of Great Britain, sent the following instruction to the Governor-General :

If the present Ministry in Canada are sustained by popular opinion, and by the Assembly, they will remain in office. If, on the contrary, the opinion of the Province is adverse to them, the Governor-General will take other advisers, and will act strictly in accordance with the rule that has been adopted here.

This precedent amounted to the introduction of a cabinet system prevailing in Great Britain. It meant the Legislature or the representatives of the people controlling the Executive. Again in 1926, the question arose in Canada whether the Governor-General could act contrary to the recommendations of the Prime Minister of that Dominion with respect to the dissolution of its Parliament. When they could not agree between themselves, a deadlock was created. On the analogy of the powers of the Prime Minister of Great Britain *qua* the King of England, the Governor-General of Canada had to give in eventually. Mr. A. B. Keith, a great constitutionalist of England, wrote to the Editor of the *Times* of London on Nov. 16, 1931, in connection with a burning question of the day, *viz.*, the authority of Ireland to abolish the right of appeal to the Privy Council :—

Moreover what applies to the Free State must ultimately be the model for relations between India and the United Kingdom, a fact which makes a wise settlement of the present issue of the greatest importance.

This shows the value of a precedent in the eyes of constitutionalists.

A short history of the constitution of those settlements, colonies and dependencies which gradually rose to the status of the present Dominions will also throw further light on the methods of their growth. Beginning with Canada, out of the many Provinces into which it is divided, first of all, the tract known as the Province of Canada obtained Responsible Government in 1840. This was followed by grant of Responsible Government to other Provinces of that country. But these separate Responsible Governments in different Provinces of the same country

could not pull on very long. The Dominion of Canada is inhabited partly by the English and partly by the French. There arose a conflict between French and English nationalities settled in different Provinces. To remedy this, a scheme of Federation was devised which was completed in 1867. These facts show that it is possible for people of different nationalities to federate. There were also perplexing questions similar to those of minorities and depressed classes which exist in our own country. The constitution was so framed as to give protection to both the above interests through the Courts and the Privy Council. Can the device of such safeguards help us also at least to a certain extent, in framing our own Constitution in India ?

In Australia, its Provinces began developing first as distinct colonies. As they advanced, they received responsible governments one after another—a process which went on from 1825 to 1899. Then conflict of interests and difficulties of administration arose. Eventually the people felt the necessity of having a Central Government on federal lines. In 1899, a convention of delegates elected from all colonies met who themselves drafted a constitution that united them in a federal Commonwealth—a Constitution eventually accepted and proclaimed by the King-in-Council. This Commonwealth of Australia has got its own dependencies and mandated territories. Thus, the history of this Dominion shows that it is possible for a Commonwealth of Nations to lie within another bigger Commonwealth such as that of British Empire. Then a question arises as to India whether, with due regard to the diversities of its races, religions, cultures and its influences and connections extending over islands and ports beyond its shores such as Aden, etc.,—is it possible for our statesmen so to frame its constitution as to lead it gradually into a form of Commonwealth similar to that of Australia which resembles India in many respects ?

The above history of Canada and Australia will show that both of them are carrying on their administration on federal lines. The most important point worth noting is that in both

of these countries, the constitution of every unit of the Federation possesses its own distinctive features, not found in others. Even the degree of responsible government prevailing in each province or unit is not the same. It varies with the development which each unit has attained in its progress towards constitutionalism and institutions of local self-government. In some, the representative element preponderates, while in others, the nominated element prevails. The conclusions follow: firstly, that the constitutions of all the units of a Federation need not be of a stereotyped character; secondly, that fully developed democratic units con federate with units which are not so well developed on democratic lines. This is of special interest with reference to conditions prevailing in India where we have got British Indian Provinces and Indian States, both developed on different lines to a certain extent. In this connection, important questions arise for consideration. To bring British India and Indian India into one Federation, is it necessary at all that both should have developed on the same lines? Or, to convert British India into a federal state, is it indispensable that both Indian India and British India should federate simultaneously? Again, just as in Canada, so in Australia, people of different nationalities have been able to federate. It shows how far constitutionalism has gone to embrace principles of Federation. It throws light on the feasibility of the suggestion which was made the other day by the Premier of Great Britain, namely, to achieve permanent peace, one of the peace terms of the present war may be that all the States and Nations of Europe should so federate as to make future wars in Europe an impossibility.

New Zealand with its unitary constitution was recognized a Colony in 1841. Responsible Government was conceded to it in 1855-56. Small islands, settlements and dependencies all round New Zealand were gradually placed under its government. It has got its own distinctive flexible constitution, different from that of Canada or Australia.

The Dominion of Newfoundland and Labrador with unitary constitution was accorded responsible government in 1855. It has got an area of some 120,000 sq. miles. This Dominion is not so fully developed as the remaining five in the democratic character of its constitution, but in the matter of Status, it is on a footing of equality with them. The instances of New Zealand and Newfoundland show that for a new country to acquire the status of a Dominion, it is not necessary that constitutionally it should have developed on democratic lines similar to those found in existing Dominions.

In South Africa, Responsible Government was first established in the territory known as the Cape of Good Hope in 1872. Then for many economic and administrative reasons, Natal and Orange Free Colony were joined to the Cape of Good Hope. In 1908-09, a local convention first prepared a unitary constitution, but subsequently it was found necessary to introduce the principle of federation in certain respects, though the constitution taken as a whole is considered unitary. The King-in-Council declared the whole country as the Union of South Africa which now includes many Provinces. In 1814-15 the territory of South-West Africa where there is a considerable Dutch, British and German population, was transferred from the control of Germany to the Union which now enjoys the status of a full-fledged Dominion.

The history of Ireland is slightly different. It did not grow from the position of a Colony to that of a Dominion. There was no question of growth from small beginnings. Ireland, the north of which is populated mainly by the Anglo-Saxon race, was originally a part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain. It practically seceded from the United Kingdom in 1929 and by an express treaty with England, constituted itself into a separate and distinct entity with the Status of a Dominion. In 1922, they framed their own constitution in which they expressly laid down that their authority to do so flowed from God. In 1933, they actually

deleted the clause relating to oath to the King from the Constitution. As a Dominion, it is known as the Irish Free State. Thus they have been developing a sort of Republic under a special set of circumstances, though for the purposes of external relations and in appointing diplomatic and consular representatives, the King is still retained by way of implication only. This instance illustrates that even a Republic can form one of the units of a Federation under special compact or treaty.

The above is a brief summary of the gradual growth of the six Dominions within the British Commonwealth of Nations. This summary will be incomplete without reference to the Statute of Westminster (Dec. 11, 1931) which is really the culminating point of their growth. In 1914 when the Great War broke out, it was found that there were many questions affecting the rights, privileges and status of Dominions which required clarification. Therefore, after the War was over, a joint conference of Dominion Prime Ministers and British Statesmen was held at Westminster in 1926 and 1930 whose unanimous reports clarified many points that were considered vague and indefinite. For the first time, 'Dominions' were clearly defined to mean 'the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, the Irish Free State and Newfoundland. The preamble to the above statute lays down that as all the Dominions

have severally requested and consented to the submission of a measure to the Parliament of the United Kingdom, (therefore) it is necessary for the ratifying, confirming and establishing of certain of the said declarations and resolutions of the said conferences that a law be made and enacted in due form by authority of the Parliament of the United Kingdom.

This will show that the conferences simply declared the position which actually existed on the dates of conferences and the Statute only gave those declarations a legal form. It further appears that all this was done at the request of the Dominions themselves. In other words, the Statute converted their *de facto* autonomy into *de jure* autonomy. As

Mr. Keith puts it, it "merely recognized accomplished facts" or "converted a political theory into constitutional law" accepted by the United Kingdom. The above history of the Dominions will show that except Ireland, the remaining five started with responsible governments as stepping-stones after which three forces—conventions, precedents and express parliamentary statutes—began contributing to the growth of the present 'Dominion Status'. It is in this way, that within the British Commonwealth of Nations the present six Dominions have grown and come to acquire a position, power and independence, described by jurists as 'Dominion Status'. What sovereignty rights they are actually exercising in the name of this status will appear from the following paragraphs.

III

Internal sovereignty of Dominions The sovereignty of a country is determined chiefly by the powers which it exercises in administering its executive, legislative and judicial functions. I propose to take up these branches of administration, one after another.

On the executive side, Dominions are very powerful. The Governor-General of a Dominion may be looked upon as its highest executive authority and the method of his appointment throws a flood of light on the executive sovereignty of Dominions. The ministry of a Dominion is carved out of the Legislature and is practically its sub-committee on the model of the British Cabinet. Whatever may have been the procedure followed in the past, the convention now established is, that it is the Dominion ministry which suggests the name of its Governor-General and the King has no option but simply to approve of it. The suggestion of the ministry goes *not to the British Government* but to the King. The Home Government of the United Kingdom has no voice in his appointment. His warrant of appointment is signed by the Prime Minister of the Dominion concerned and bears the royal

signet of the King. A Governor-General is generally appointed for five years, but a Dominion Government can terminate his term before the expiry of five years, which may happen if the party which originally recommended him goes out of power and a new one comes into being under its constitution.

For the purposes of communication with the Dominions, the King may devise his own machinery which may be even the Colonial Office of the British Government but it is no more than a Post Office. Canada has got its own liason officer. He is known as 'High Commissioner in Canada for His Majesty's Government in Great Britain.'

Under the constitution, the assent or sanction of a Governor-General may legally be necessary for certain executive acts, such as the dissolution of Parliament, but he cannot exercise that discretion contrary to the recommendation of the Prime Minister of the Dominion, just as the King of England is constitutionally bound to act according to the recommendations of the Cabinet of Great Britain in such matters. If the Crown of Great Britain cannot turn down the recommendations of the British ministry, the representative of the Crown in the Dominions cannot oppose the recommendations of the Dominion ministry. A fountain cannot go higher than its source. The Governor-General of Canada once attempted to dissent from the Prime Minister, but he was eventually overruled. Thus, the Parliament of a Dominion has come to play the same role in exercising rights of sovereignty as the Parliament of England does in England. Dominions enjoy full control over Defence. They have got their own land and air forces which are quite independent of the United Kingdom. If the United Kingdom goes to war, a Dominion has full liberty to keep back. Its Governor-General cannot declare war against the wishes of the ministry. These facts show how much limited is the authority of the Governor-General of a Dominion.

One may ask, what then is the use of a Governor-General whose authority is so much restricted? But the Governor-

General of a Dominion or the Governors of its Provinces are not excepted to administer. They are intended to serve as symbols only. There must be some thread or bond, however delicate it may be, to show the connection of a Dominion with the British Commonwealth of Nations. The Governor-General serves the purpose of a nexus or 'moral bond' between the two. The Statute of Westminster lays down: "The Crown is the symbol of the free association of the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations." The Governor-General goes to a Dominion as the representative or symbol of the Crown and not of the British Government for the time being. His chief duty is to watch and see from a distance that the Constitution of the Dominion is followed and acted upon. In the performance of his duties, he accepts the advice of the ministry because he would not like to bring his principal or the Crown 'into the arena of political strife'. Internal administrations of Dominions may differ from each other in matters of detail which depend upon the constitution of each Dominion. For example, in the Commonwealth of Australia where the federal system prevails, the Federal Government cannot remove Governors of Provinces or States forming the Commonwealth. They are appointed by the Crown. Within this Commonwealth every state enjoys a sort of responsible government in different branches of administration which cannot be touched by the Central Government. These States have their own compacts and agreements with the Federal Government. Thus, subject to the above limitations and reservations, the internal sovereignty of Dominions on the executive side is complete.

Let us now look at the legislative aspect of Dominion sovereignty. Before Dec. 11, 1939, it was doubtful how far an Act of Parliament of the United Kingdom could supersede the legislative power of the Dominions. As a matter of fact, there did exist the Colonial Laws Validity Act of 1865 passed by British Parliament which restricted the legislative powers of Colonies. But this was practically abrogated by the Statute of Westminster which lays down that after Dec. 11,

1931: "No law hereafter made by the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall extend to any of the Dominions as part of the law of that Dominion otherwise than at the request and with the consent of that Dominion". The possibility of Imperial legislation or of enacting a law by the British Parliament for the Dominions with their consent or at their request is retained simply to secure uniformity of legislation in matters like extradition, foreign offenders, merchant shipping, prize law, etc., in which all Dominions are equally interested. Even this reservation is with their consent. Where royal assent to certain bills is required under the Constitution, the King is to act according to the advice of Dominion Ministers. The Imperial Conference of 1930 decided that every case of legislation is to be governed by the advice of ministers. Again, the statute lays down that no law passed by a Dominion Parliament "shall be void or inoperative on the ground that it is repugnant to the law of England" and the legislative power of the Dominion "shall include the power to repeal or amend" any Act of Parliament which has so far been applied to it. In 1935, the Irish Free State actually enacted its own Nationality and Citizenship Act which practically repealed the British Nationality Statutes of Aliens Act. In 1936 the Parliament of the Irish Free State abolished even the office of Governor-General in Ireland by legislation, so that even the King's representative is eliminated from all internal affairs. In *Moor-v-Attorney-General of Irish Free State* (1935 A. C. p. 484) it was held that under section 2 of the Statute of Westminster, the Irish Parliament could amend its own constitution in the above manner. If the United Kingdom sends a Governor-General, nobody in Ireland cares for him. He remains a figure-head.

It may be stated that under sections 8 and 9 of the Statute, apparently there are two reservations. Firstly, the amendment of the Constitution or the Constitution Acts of the Commonwealth of Australia or the Constitution Act of the Dominion of New Zealand cannot be carried out otherwise than in

accordance with the laws and practice prevailing before Dec. 11, 1931, when the Statute of Westminster was passed. Secondly, the Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia cannot make laws as to matters which are within the exclusive authority of the States or Provinces which constitute the Commonwealth. As to the first, if the States or Provinces of a Federal Dominion wanted this reservation, the reason was quite clear. Federation really means "compacts binding on members", and therefore, the individual rights of the units of the Federation under compacts arrived at before Dec. 11, 1931, have to be respected. At least with respect to some of the matters which were within the authority of the States or Provinces, they might have decided that abiding by the laws of the United Kingdom was to their greater benefit—a circumstance which is an evidence rather of the exercise of right to choose than of its curtailment. It should always be borne in mind that the Commonwealth and the States are populated by different nationalities and therefore, as much freedom of choice is given to them individually as is consistent with the preservation of Federation. As to the second, *viz.*, New Zealand, its representatives willingly accepted these reservations with due regard to their own interests. They were not imposed, but were asked for in the unanimous report of Dominion ministers in 1926 and 1930. The Statute of Westminster (Dec. 11, 1931,) simply legalizes through an Act of Parliament the unanimous reports presented by all Dominion Ministers deliberating jointly. The Statute really represents *their* joint wish and desire and not of the United Kingdom. *They* were the best judges of their own interests. Therefore, even reservations in the Statute proceed upon considerations of freedom and liberty.

There remains the third aspect of sovereignty, *viz.*, judicial administration. The Dominion Courts have absolute power to administer justice. They have got their Supreme Courts. Though the powers of the Judicial Committee of Great Britain to admit appeals have not been expressly abrogated, yet every Dominion seems to have got a right to pass a law which abolishes the right

of the Crown to admit appeals from the judgment of the Supreme Courts of the Dominions. The Imperial Conference of 1926 laid down :

It is no part of the policy of His Majesty's Government in Great Britain that questions affecting judicial appeals should be determined otherwise than in accordance with the wishes of the part of the Empire primarily affected.

The Statute of Westminster, 1931, practically empowers Dominions to abolish the right of the Crown 'to admit appeals from the decisions of Dominion Courts', though they may not do so in their own interests. In Canada, the right of appeal to the Judicial Committee in *criminal* cases is abolished. In 1933, the Irish Free State abolished altogether the right of appeal to the Judicial Committee. Therefore, the right to hear appeals from the judgments of the Supreme Courts of the Dominions is now exercised only with the assent and acquiescence of Dominions. Thus in all the three aspects of internal administration, *viz.*, Executive, Legislative and Judicial, the Dominions are for all practical purposes independent and free.

IV

As to External Sovereignty possessed by Dominions, section 3 of the Statute of Westminster, 1931, lays down :—

".....the Parliament of a Dominion shall have full power to make laws having extra-territorial operation.

The individual States constituting the Commonwealth of Australia or the Provinces constituting the Dominion of Canada may not possess powers of extra-territorial legislation, but their Central Governments, namely, the Parliaments of the Commonwealth and of the Dominions do possess such powers. For instance, laws can be made relating to merchant shipping which will have operation outside Dominions. Thus an offence committed by a resident of the Dominions on board the ship plying outside the limits of the Dominions can be tried within the limits of the Dominion according to its laws. The Colonial Courts of Admiralty Act (1890) passed by the British Parliament

shall not apply to Dominions which can pass their own Admiralty Laws (section 6, Statute of Westminster). For the protection of the interests of stockholders many of whom may be Englishmen, some limitations as to legislation relating to Dominion securities have no doubt been placed by the United Kingdom which is not prepared to recognize those securities unless Dominions agree to refrain from legislating any law which injures stockholders or affects their original contract, but this again is a matter of compact between the Dominions and the United Kingdom and not of any restraint.

No treaty with foreign powers, whether commercial or otherwise, will be binding on a Dominion unless it gives its assent to it. In the Lusane Treaty of 1923, the Dominions were not represented. Canada protested and disclaimed all liability under it. It was on the ground of want of representation that in the Locarno Pact, a clause had to be added exempting Dominions from their obligations. They have secured full economic freedom in dealing with other nations. They have their own tariffs. They may have their own Zollverein.

In 1911, the right of the Dominions to be consulted in matters of foreign policy was recognized. During the War of 1914, they took active part in its prosecution as well as in its peace proceedings at Paris. Their representative was one of the members of the Peace Delegation. They cannot be dragged into any war against their will. They have their own "searchings of conscience". They 'would constitute themselves judges of the justice of imperial foreign policy'. In the war declared by England against Germany in 1939, Ireland decided to remain neutral. South Africa decided to join the war by the majority of one vote alone.

In the League of Nations, Dominions are treated as independent sovereign states. Canada is separately represented in the League. In foreign countries like America, Canada has got its own representative at Washington. All such questions relating to representation were threshed out in the Imperial

Conferences of 1926-1930, and their right to be represented as separate sovereign states is now clearly recognized.

The diplomatic officials posted in countries outside the British Empire receive communications direct from the Foreign Offices of the Dominions and not through the Foreign Office of London, and they act on those instructions, though it is open to the Dominions and their subjects to use the Foreign Office of London and their diplomatic officials for Dominion purposes. *Pari passu*, Dominions can appoint their own Consuls. The above facts will show that the external sovereignty of Dominions is equally complete.

V

Whether the connection of Dominions with the Crown of England is a forced one from which no Dominion can break away, or it is based upon their free will, is one of those questions which remained clouded in mystery for a long time. However, on March 30, 1920, Mr. Bonar Law, the leader of the House of Commons, in discussing the effect of the grant of Dominion Home Rule to Ireland, said :

But it goes much further than that. To say that he is in favour of Dominion Home Rule means something much more. There is not a man in this House, and least of all my Rt. Hon'ble friend, who would not admit that the connexion of the Dominions with the Empire depends upon themselves. If the self-governing Dominions, Australia, Canada, choose to-morrow to say, 'We will no longer make a part of the British Empire', we would not try to force them—Dominion Home Rule means the right to decide their own destinies.' (Keith's letters on Imperial Relations p. 27.)

Nobody in the House of Commons contradicted the constitutional position thus enunciated by Mr. Bonar Law. Anyhow, as a result of the Imperial Conferences of 1925 and 1933, this right seems now to be treated as established beyond question. In the preamble to the Statute of Westminster of 1931, the Crown is described as

the symbol of the free association of the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

The association is therefore free and not compulsory. The very fact that the association is free implies the right to secede.

A brief summary of the events which led to the formation of the Irish Free State is given above. As Mr. Ratnaswamy remarks in his masterly survey of its political position, in his treatise on Indian Constitution :

Ireland is a Dominion which can proclaim itself a Republic today without any change in its present constitution in which the King or a Commonwealth of Nations is not even referred to, and under which even oath to the King is not necessary. Ireland goes on changing its constitution without reference to the King or the Parliament. I must say that the right to secede is not confirmed by any express enactment of the British Parliament nor by the wording of the Constitution of any Dominion, but it is a right which by its nature is included in the conception of 'Dominion Status' which has now been established beyond any shadow of doubt.

VI

I have so far been trying to show the sovereignty rights which the Dominions have been exercising in the different branches of administration, both internally and externally. Now this exercise has conferred a Status on Dominions which in legal phraseology is styled 'Dominion Status'. Dominions may now be legally defined as self-contained and independent political constitutional units which exercise vast powers of sovereignty both in internal and external affairs and which have attached themselves to the British Crown out of their own free will subject to certain limitations and restrictions imposed by themselves in their own interests. By attachment to the Crown they do not legally make themselves subordinate to the British Government, for they are not attached to any Parliamentary party government in power for the time being. Dominions are like planets revolving independently of each other round the Crown of England which may be regarded as their sun, whose centripetal political force keeps them on their fixed orbit. In their relation to the United Kingdom of Great Britain, they stand on terms of equality. Like sons before the mother, the youngest claims equality with the eldest

in the matter of the status of sonship. The Crown of England to which alone they owe allegiance has agreed on its part not to make any change in its character and rule of succession without the consent of its offspring known as 'Dominions.' The Statute of Westminster (Dec. 11, 1931) lays down in its preamble that

any alteration in the law touching the Succession to the Throne or the Royal Style and Titles shall hereafter require the assent as well of the Parliaments of the Dominions as of the Parliament of the United Kingdom."

If there arises a dispute between the United Kingdom and any of the Dominions, it is provided by the Imperial Conference that it should be decided by "*ad hoc* arbitration on a voluntary basis." To achieve uniformity in matters of foreign policy, such as trade, war, expansion, etc., a scheme of Imperial Conferences has been devised where representatives of all Dominions meet and discuss such question on terms of equality. In other words, the position of these Dominions is that of separable pendants strung voluntarily to the Crown of England through the common bond of allegiance to the same King, thus adding not only to the splendour, beauty and lustre of the Crown but insuring their own safety and security through that connection. Elements of partnership, equality, co-operation, goodwill, trust, confidence and self-interest of both play a prominent part in their relations to the United Kingdom. A Dominion is not to be treated as a British possession (Sec. 5, Statute of Westminster, 1931). In that historical debate before the British Parliament in Oct. 1939, when the nature of Dominion Status promised to India was being discussed, the position was clarified on behalf of the British Government as the mouthpiece of the Crown in the following words :

There are no two kinds of Dominion Status, as some people seem to think. The Dominion Status that we contemplated was the Dominion Status of 1926.

In 1926, the Conference of Dominion Prime Ministers headed by Lord Balfour defined Dominions as follows :

They are autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in *any aspect of their domestic or external affairs*, though united by a common allegiance to

the Crown and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations."

Therefore, it is Dominion Status of the above character which was promised to India on Oct. 26, 1939. In the above definition of Lord Balfour, the words "in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs" are italicized by me. In 1930, Mr. C. F. Strong wrote in his 'Modern Political Constitutions' :

The generally accepted view now is that the Empire is a group of free States—even nation-states—and any government at home which tried to interfere in the constitutional arrangements of any self-governing Dominion without its consent would be courting disaster.

Thus all leading constitutionalists agree as to the conception of 'Dominion Status'. If Dominions have accepted any reservations or limitations they have done it, not with the object of subordinating themselves, but with the object of further strengthening their international position. A man who wants to become the member of a society must conform to the rules of that society, but this conformance cannot be called a derogation from his liberty as man. Similarly, a country which wants to enjoy the benefits flowing from the attachment to a great Commonwealth must place itself under some restrictions and limitations that are necessary to keep it united to the Commonwealth, but this limitation does not necessarily derogate from its real sovereignty rights. The limitations are really a begatelle in comparison with the advantages which flow from the membership of a great Commonwealth. The acceptance of any limitation is a question of only balancing its advantages or disadvantages. Even the United Kingdom has undertaken obligations and duties in its relations to the Commonwealth as a whole. The membership of the League of Nations does not derogate from the sovereignty either of England or of France. As to how far this membership has added to the strength of Dominions, Col. Reitz, a minister of Africa, who during the Boer War fought against England, says in his speech broadcast from London on Oct. 25, 1939 :

South Africa as a voluntary partner of the British Commonwealth was not only free, but safer than they could hope to be, if they were on their

own with the 'smash and grab' policy' which was now trying to dominate the world.

The Constitutions of the Irish Free State, the Commonwealth of Australia, and the Union of South Africa were drafted solely by representatives of the Dominions themselves, and they of their own free will and accord joined the British Commonwealth knowing full well the duties and obligation which its membership implied. The constitutions of other Dominions were apparently drafted in co-operation with members of British Parliament. All the same, they were accepted by the Crown through Imperial Acts which simply converted *de facto* autonomy into *de jure* autonomy. Three of these Dominions, viz., the Irish Free State, Newfoundland and the Dominion of New Zealand have got a purely unitary constitution, whereas the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia and partly, the Union of South Africa follow the federal system. The details of their constitutions differ but in the matter of Status, they stand on almost the same level. For all practical purposes, they are full-fledged sovereign states, both internally and externally, working according to their constitutions which they are at liberty to change or amend as they desire, but owing allegiance to the Crown of England—an allegiance from which they are free to secede at any time they like. There might be slight gradations in the exercise of sovereignty rights by different Dominions, but in the matter of status, they all stand on almost the same level. These are the implications of Dominion Status.

How far these implications of Dominion Status can be given practical effect to in the future constitution of India, remains to be seen.

J. M. BARRIE

By P. R. SRINIVASAN

To know Barrie is to love him.

—BROTHER LEO.

I

James Mathew Barrie, "a divinely-gifted man whose life in low estate began", was born in an obscure Scotch village on 7th May, 1860. Kirriemuir in Forfarshire, the birth-place of Barrie, immortalised by him in his early works under the name of Thrums, is "a huddled and storm-beaten village", made up in those days "of a handful of houses jumbled together in a cup, mostly earthen-floored and showing the rafters overhead." The inhabitants were mostly weavers struggling against want and poverty, but full of religious enthusiasm. "Their last years were generally a grim struggle with the work-house" but "chill penury did not freeze the genial current of their soul." The zest for life was very keen in them; the world for them was no blot or blank; it meant much and meant good. Life at Kirriemuir was therefore vigorous and intense; "The comedy of summer evenings and winter firesides was played with zest and every window-blind was the curtain of a romance." It was in such an atmosphere of romance and enthusiasm 'thriving under starvation and duress' that Barrie grew up into a boy.

Barrie, like many men of genius, is a challenge to the theory of heredity. His father, David Barrie, was a poor weaver, with very little education to boast of. Like David Wylie, he had however a great respect for learning and would have readily endorsed what the boatman says in *Mary Rose*: "Education is the grandest thing in the world." He was

determined that his sons should receive the benefits of sound literary education. James was indeed fortunate in having such a father; otherwise he might have been 'a mute inglorious Barrie', and the genius that shaped immortal works of art might have been wasted in the production of perishable fabrics.

The mother of Barrie, known to her family by her maiden name of Margaret Ogilvy, was the dominant influence in his life. 'Those eyes I cannot see until I was six years old have guided me through life.' These are the words in which he expressed his indebtedness to her. She was "the nurse, the guide, the guardian of his heart, born, as it were, to warn, to comfort and to command him, and conduct him in the paths of honour." The spirit of his mother appears in the pages of his books in all the portraits of a noble womanhood they contain—in the heroism of Jess as in the motherly devotion of Margaret Dishart.

Even as a boy, Barrie showed keen interest in books and read voraciously. Robinson Crusoe, Arabian Nights, Pilgrim's Progress, were some of the books on which he fed his boyish imagination. He was so much impressed and fascinated by the work of Bunyan and that 'he turned his garden into sloughs of Despond, with pea-sticks to represent Christian on his travels and a buffet stool for his burden'. To gratify his passion for reading, Barrie resorted to borrowing and even practised successfully the habit of going through most of the other books in a shop while standing at the counter for buying a book—a habit which may not be approved of by moralists but which will commend itself to all impecunious book-lovers. Among his adventures in the world of books as a boy, the most notable was the reading of a tale in a magazine about a girl who sold water-cress which inspired him to write tales of a similar nature.

Barrie was educated mainly at the Dumfries School and the Glasgow University. As a student, Barrie was not erratic

and his academic career was not marked by any irregularities or lapses. He did not give himself up to 'wilful alienation from the right, or walks of open scandal, nor did he allow his time to pass on remissly in vague and loose indifference, easy likings, aims of low pitch, duty and zeal dismissed.' He applied himself to his studies with enthusiasm and spent his time in profitable reading. While at Dumfries where he remained for five years, he took great interest in the school magazine and read widely and unceasingly. Barrie's life at the university was quite happy and the reader must turn to the pages of the book, 'The Edinburgh Eleven' for appreciative sketches of the men under whom he studied there and who influenced him during his college career.

II

'Know thy work and do it': this famous gospel of Carlyle Barrie may be said to have carried out in his life. He knew that literature was his work and dedicated his life to it. 'From the day I tasted blood in the garret,' he says, in Margaret Ogilvy, 'my mind was made up; there could be no humdrum profession for me; literature was my game.' When he took his M. A. degree in 1882, he was determined to enter the field of authorship and live by his pen. This resolve deserves special commendation because literature was not then considered respectable as a profession. We are told by Barrie himself that two ladies, on knowing his intention, exclaimed, 'you an M. A., to be an author!' His mother did not very much favour the idea of his becoming an author, because, like the mother of Dishart, the Little Minister, she was looking forward to the day when her son would stand on the pulpit. Curious and strange as it may appear, it was a tailor who encouraged him with his favourite lines:

What can I do to be for ever known,
And make the age to come my own?

Barrie is a striking example of a journalist who became an author. Journalism was the ladder by which he climbed to the heights of literature, and Barrie was never guilty of

kicking the ladder by which he had risen to eminence. He never disparaged Journalism. He described it 'as the Grisette of Literature, who has a smile and hand for all beginners, who trains men for literature, welcoming them at the threshold, teaching them so much that is worth knowing, introducing them to the other Lady whom they have worshipped from afar, showing them even how to woo her.'

Barrie entered on his career as a journalist in 1883 when he joined the staff of the 'Nottingham Journal' as the leader-writer. In the chapter 'ROB GOES OUT INTO THE WORLD' in 'WHEN A MAN IS SINGLE', Barrie has described under veiled names, the 'Nottingham Journal' and the personalities connected with it. Silchester is Nottingham and the 'Daily Mirror' is the 'Nottingham Journal'. Enterprise without outlay is the motto of the Editor, George Frederick Liequirsh. Penny, the foreman, with a loud voice and blustering manner, is the real autocrat of the office. Respect for the House of Lords constitutes his politics, because it rises early, thereby enabling him to have everything set before supper-time. Things are done with such great despatch and promptness that the reports of meetings and concerts are ready even before they are over. The library contains about fifty books, 'which the staff could consult with the certainty of finding the pages, wanted, missing'.

As a leader-writer, Barrie displayed tremendous capacity for work. He wrote editorials daily, a special article and a column of notes once a week. The special articles cover a wide field dealing as they do with such topics as Hobbies, Cricket match, Lear's Fool, Stage tricks etc. Journalistic work gave him good training in the use of language and served to develop his powers of thinking and expression. It did not however stifle and deaden his genius and make him incapable of soaring into the higher regions of creative activity. As a critic has said, 'He learnt the trade but preserved his soul.'

Nottingham was the place where Barrie 'sharpened his weapons for the assault on London'. In his spare hours he

wrote articles and sent them to London editors. The *Pall Mall Gazette* published one, and the *Home Chimes* another. These two formed the prelude to 'An Auld Licht Community' which appeared in *St. James Gazette* in 1884. It was the first of the charming sketches of Thrums and represented Barrie's earliest realisation that there might be something worth writing about his native place—a realisation which, coming 'as unlooked for a telegram,' opened up to him a world rich with a beauty and significance he had not dreamt of.

Barrie had now started on his career as a creative artist and become popular in the literary world of London. He had outgrown both journalism and Nottingham. The time had come for him to bid good-bye to the office of the *Daily Mirror* and join the Commonwealth of Letters. It is immaterial whether he had resigned his place as a leader-writer or whether his services in that capacity were terminated by the manager. It is equally immaterial whether he proceeded to London straight from Nottingham or whether he went back to his native village and moved down to London from there. What really matters is that the beginning of the year 1885, found Barrie a literary adventurer in London. He gravitated to the great city, despite the discouragement of the editors and the fears of his mother 'to whom London was a monster that licked up country youths as they stepped from the train.' His impressions of London and his early adventures there must have provided him with materials for the chapter—ROB ANGUS IN LONDON, IN WHEN A MAN IS SINGLE.

'The greatest glory that has come to me' says Barrie," 'was to be swallowed up in London, with no means of subsistence, and the fun of working till the stars went out.' Greenwood, the editor of *St. James Gazette*, asked for more of 'those Scotch things' and these laborious days of his early life in London saw the composition and publication of those sketches of Thrums life which, in the form of the two books, 'Auld Licht Idylls' and 'A Window in Thrums', established his fame as a writer. The early books of Barrie were mostly recast from the articles

written and published at this time. Barrie now made friends with Alexander Riach, on the staff of the *Daily Telegraph*, and became a regular contributor to the *Edinburgh Evening Despatch* when the latter became its editor. Robertson Nicoll, the editor of the newly started *British Weekly*, impressed by a burlesque account of the Inverness Assembly of the Free Church in the *Evening Despatch* by Barrie, sent him an invitation to write to his weekly. 'The Edinburgh Eleven' and 'When A Man is Single' first appeared serially in the *BRITISH WEEKLY*.

III

The year 1887 saw the publication of Barrie's first book 'Better Dead', an extravaganza, recording the achievements of the society 'for getting rid of people who would be better out of the world'. Though it deals with a theme which reminds us of De Quincey's essay on Murder and R. L. Stevenson's account of the Suicide Club, it does not deserve to be ranked along with those works. 'Its vein is wit and not humour, it lacks heart'. It does not exhibit the combination of satire and sentiment, so characteristic of Barrie. Barrie himself considered this Juvenile effort a field of prickles, though he had a sentimental interest in it, as it was his first work, published when he had small hope of getting anyone to accept Scotch.

The next year, 1888, were published the three books. The 'Auld Licht Idylls', 'When a Man is Single', and 'Edinburgh Eleven'. 'The Idylls' consisting of twelve sketches of Scotch village life, was favourably received and reviewed. 'When a Man is Single' is a novel of journalistic life recording the life and adventures of Rob Angus, the hero. Except for the early chapters dealing with the hero's disappointment in love, the book is largely auto-biographical, blending fact with fiction. As a work of art, the book suffers from a serious defect. There is no real relation between the earlier and the later chapters. The expectations raised by the opening chapters are not fulfilled and the possibilities of tragic development offered by

them are not worked up. Rob is shown as disappointed in love and Barrie suddenly switches on to a picture of his life as a journalist in Silchester and London. As Thomas Moulton observes, 'the tragic prologue is succeeded by frivolous scenes and Rob Angus is lost in a morass of relative futility.' The work lacks organic unity and is deficient in what Mathew Arnold called the power Architectonics. 'The Edinburgh Eleven' contains eleven studies of notable personalities connected with Edinburgh and reveals Barrie's power of portraying character.

The publication of 'The Window in Thrums' next year set the seal on the fame of Barrie as a writer. This book is a companion to and a continuation of the Idylls, giving glimpses of life in the village of Thrums as seen by Jess, the lame woman of the Window 'to whom at her window always, when she was not in bed, things mournful and happy came into view.' On reading this book, R. L. Stevenson wrote, 'Jess is beyond my line; I have no such glamour of twilight on my pen. I am a capable artist; but it looks to me as if you were a man of genius.'

"My Lady Nicotine" followed in 1890. What Izaak Walton did for fishing, that Barrie did for smoking in this book. Supposed to be written by a seasoned smoker, it glorifies smoking and contains an interesting account of the adventures of a group of individuals. Nicotine belongs to the realm of light literature.

'The Little Minister', published serially in good words, assumed the form of a book in 1891. This thrilling novel, the scene of which is laid in Thrums, 'literally spread Barrie's fame over the wide earth'. Barrie now began to make experiments in the field of drama, and the closing years of the 19th century constitute the period of autumn in his career as prose-writer 'when his wings he was furling close'. 'The Sentimental Tommy' was given to the world in 1896 and was followed by 'Tommy and Grizel'. The first presents the picture of a young Scot endowed with an artistic temperament. The other book,

its sequel exhibits the frailties of the human heart. Tommy is an erratic genius, of changing moods, and Grizel, a paragon of beauty, ruined by her love for him. 'Her love for him is deep and true, while his love for her is gusty and uncertain'. When the time for marriage comes, he realises he is not prepared for it. 'He has been deceiving himself and her. He is afraid of marriage, afraid of reality'. The book is weak in the matter of technique, and according to Phelps, shows evidence not of inspiration but of perspiration.

'Margaret Ogilvy', published in 1896, is 'the most enduring memorial, the most beautiful monument that ever sprung from filial love'. It is largely autobiographical and gives a vivid picture of Barrie's early life with his mother. The influence she exercised on him, the inspiration he derived from her, the joy with which she treasured up everything he wrote, the delight she felt at finding herself so often depicted in his books—all these are described with great vividness and recalled with tender love.

IV

The novelists of the 19th century, like Jane Austen, Dickens, Thackeray and Trollope, portrayed in their novels the life of certain social classes with which they were familiar. Modern novelists, like Hardy, Bennett, Sheila Kaye-Smith, have gone a step further and have restricted themselves, not only to certain social classes but also to certain geographical regions. The Thrums books exemplify this literary fashion and may be considered as contributions to what is called topographical fiction. 'What Dorset is to Hardy, the Five Towns to Bennett, that Thrums is to Barrie'.

The two books "Idylls" and "Thrums", give charming and sympathetic pictures of a community of weavers, living in a small Scotch village, away from the fretful stir and sick hurry of the civilised world. Simple and unsophisticated, bigoted and intolerant, full of eccentricities and humours, they are comic but lovable. They are all Auld Lichts, extreme Presbyterians,

who starve for the sake of having a minister for the Church, 'who weaved and weaved till they weaved another minister.' Health cheered them but not wealth and plenty and their lives are heroic struggles to escape the humiliation and ignominy of entering the workhouse. Both men and women are full of 'thick-sighted prejudices and moveless conventions', very officious, fussy over little things, and lacking in a sense of humour. They greatly find quarrel in a straw and their lives are woven of petty rivalries and misunderstandings, small jealousies and hates, humble desires and ambitions. They are men of intense domestic affections and are actuated by a strong community sense. Marriages christenings and burials are great events for them. 'Nothing took it out of the Auld Licht males so much as a christening. Invitations for burials were sought after as cards to my lady's dances.' They hate paper ministers for 'to follow a pastor who read, seemed to them like claiming heaven on false pretences.' When they are courting, they have generally to be told of it by elders and when thus made to realise they are making love, they propose straightway in a business-like manner. Marriages are generally celebrated on Fridays, for the Saturday following being a slack day, gave the couple an opportunity to put the house in order. The honeymoon consisted in going to church thrice on Sunday, and Monday saw the man at the loom as usual.

The two books introduce us to a number of interesting personalities; on reading them we are tempted to say, 'Here is God's plenty.' Lizzie Harrison, the post-mistress, who expected and received presents from the villagers, and who steamed and destroyed letters written by the school-master whom she disliked; Henders Ramsy, in clover on snowy days when he rescued snowed-up persons for charges varying according to the wealth and status of the persons; the Dominic, the school-master, with twenty pupils, some rickety desks, and earthen floor, proficient in the art of dodging and circumventing the inspector whom he regarded as his natural enemy; Snecky Hobart, the bell-man, who gave forth news with great gusto,

who scorned, like the Minister, to read, who never allowed himself to degenerate into a machine, but put his soul into the reading of the proclamations provided by those who employed him; Tamma; Haggart, the humourist, who held that humour 'is a thing that spouts out of its own accord' as gentle rain droppeth from heaven, but who could not explain the humour in what he considered to be his master-strokes of sarcasm. Bowic, the shining light of the literary club, who dealt a crushing blow at the reputation of Burns with the few words, 'I am of opinion that the works of Burns is of an immoral tendency; I have not read them myself, but such is my opinion'; last but not least, Gavin Dishart, the minister, the dominant figure in the life of Thrums who began his trial sermon after giving the big bible to the Precentator to give his arms freer swing and struck wonder into the hearts of the congregation, because he did not use even a square inch of paper, who perfected the art and technique of delivering sermons by inventing and practising various new postures and physical movements—these are some of the dominant figures in the world of Thrums.

Augustine Birrell observes about these two books, 'Tragedy is there, and pathos well-nigh unbearable, and humour abundant, inevitable and yet always surprising, so cunningly is it hid.' These sketches are humorous and pathetic, comic and tragic by turns, showing that 'human life is ever playing out, in very minor keys and in very narrow fields, the eternal human comedy, the inevitable human tragedy.' The Courting of T'Nowhead Bell is an amusing story of courtship and marriage. Sanders and Sam'l, both lovers of Bell, leave the church in the midst of a sermon and proceed towards her house for proposing to her. Who proposes first will win her hand, and so the race they run is for nothing less than a wife. Sam'l reaches first and Sanders sustains a defeat. What is lost through weakness of legs or slowness of feet is regained through quickness of mind. Sanders remains calm and composed, congratulates Sam'l on his success and while returning, tells him that marriage is a

heavy responsibility, and slyly remarks that Bell is a bad girl. The stratagem succeeds and Sam'l broods over what Sanders has said and on the day prior to the marriage cajoles and coaxes Sanders into taking Bell as his wife. Sanders gets her hand and obliges his friend. How Gavin Burse put it to Mag Lownie is an equally funny story of love and marriage, in which Gavin, engaged to Lownie, becoming enamoured of another girl, seeks her permission to cancel the engagement, deliberately paints a dark picture of himself to frighten her away, but finds her too clever for him. She says, 'we have all our faults Gavin, and devil or no devil, you are the man for me.' He quietly decides to marry her. The description of Little Rathie's funeral is in the vein of Dickens. The members of the funeral party are so dressed that 'by a skilful re-arrangement of garments, such as making Tammass change coat, hat, and trousers with Craigiebuckle, Silva Mcqueen and Sam'l respectively, a dexterous tailor might perhaps have supplied each with a fit.' On the way, they become serious and grave and express such platitudes as 'death must come to all, in the morning we are strong, and in the evening we are cut down.' The guests at Tibbie's wedding who, having informed their hostess that they were not hungry partook of a hearty tea; Mr. Dishart, with the bride and bridegroom near him trying to give an agreeable turn to the conversation by describing the extensions in the cemetery and in shaking hands with the newly-married couple reminding them that it was a leap year, wishing three hundred and sixty-six happy God-fearing days; Jess, an invalid in her cottage, with her wonderful capacity of 'ferretting out other people's businesses by a process of deduction', making right inferences about important things from very insignificant circumstances; and on one occasion, preparing to receive visitors, who do not turn up, effecting a number of sudden transformations in the room to give it an appearance of respectability, issuing peremptory and strict instructions to her husband, Hendry, who murmurs "It is not for a man to be so crammed full of manners; Tammass

Haggart, giving his friends as an instance of his humour the reply he gave to a friend who enquired about his wife and who did not know that he had married a second wife, that 'she was very well, but she is not the one you mean', and on finding them not laughing, assuring them that the friend went laughing like anything, and finally expressing his inability to explain why that friend laughed on the ground that 'one cannot be expected to make the joke and to see it'; the same celebrity, pronouncing with great gusto in the midst of a discussion on the influence of Mary, Queen of Scots over men, that 'If I had been Mary's man I would have stood none of her tantrums and reminded her, 'Man is the superior, man the lord of the creation'',—all these are in the manner of the creator of the immortal Pickwick.

The story of Cree and Mysy is a touching story of filial devotion, full of pathos. The Cree, the grinder, struggling against poverty but anxious to keep from his mother, Mysy, his sufferings, weaves far into the night, singing all the time to make her think he is very happy, starves on potatoes, telling her that he was sharing her meals, exchanges his overcoat for a blanket for her, giving out at the same time that he still wore it, and after her death, clears off a debt of two pounds. Jess recalling the memory of Joey, dead twenty years ago, with all the sorrowful affection of a mother, and Hendry saving money at great sacrifice and getting a cloth with beads for Jess, all the while keeping up a ring-ding-dang about her folly are two vignettes of domestic life which are very moving. The picture of Jamie, the son of Jess, coming to Thrums after the death of his mother and father, treading alone the room in his cottage, 'whose lights are fled, whose garlands dead,' touches the very depths of pathos. The high water-mark of tragedy in low life is reached in the story of Nanny Coutts, living with an irresponsible and selfish husband and making calamity of her whole life but keeping her suffering a secret from others, cheerfully courting the evil reputation of being a bad and godless woman so that he may be known as a good man and dying

without making any attempt to vindicate herself or remove the misconceptions about her.

V

"The Idylls" and "A Window in Thrums" are not novels in the real sense of the term. They consist of independent sketches, casual in construction and episodic in character. There is something like a connected story only in the closing chapters of Thrums which describe the home coming of Jamie. It was in the little Minister that Barrie interwove the humours of Thrums with a romantic love story and gave to the world a novel. Gavin Dishart, a boy preacher of twenty-one, is the hero and the novel is built around the love adventures of this 'young palmer in love's eye'. A battle in the market square, described in the opening chapters, between the weavers who have rebelled against the reduction in the prices of their web by the manufacturers and the soldiers sent to arrest the rioters brings the young minister soon after his arrival into contact with an Egyptian woman, Babbie, who later on is discovered to be the betrothed of Lord Rintoul, with gipsy blood in her veins. She brings secret information of the coming of soldiers and Gavin later saves her from the soldiers and falls under her spell. 'Against the persuasiveness of her beautiful eyes and her madcap pranks', even three scathing sermons against women preached in self-defence are of no avail. Dow, the drunkard, whom the minister has reclaimed from sin, sees him in her company and suspicion of Gavin grows among the Auld Lights. Gossip and scandal become ripe and things reach a crisis when the minister, deeply in love, fails to attend the church to pray for rain. The whole congregation become openly hostile to him and turn him out of the church. A hasty gipsy marriage between Gavie and Babbie is performed in the woods and this is watched from a distance by Lord Rintoul and others. A heavy rain follows and Thrums is flooded. Lord Rintoul is stranded on an island slowly crumbling away, and Gavin leaps into the torrent to save him. Gavin himself is cast on an island which is being slowly washed

away. Standing on the brink of death and ruin with the whole hostile congregation before him, he rises to such tragic-heights of heroism, fortitude and resignation that the people are struck with admiration and wonder. "That is a man. That man has a religion to last him all through", they all say with one voice. Rob Dow jumps with a rope to save the minister and Gavin tries to seize the hand but Rintoul clutches the rope. They are both dragged into safety but Rob Dow is drowned. The minister is reinstated in the love of the people and is married to Babbie.

'Inchoate, glittering mass'—this is how a critic succinctly describes this novel. The book is not without its flaws and shortcomings. The plot, on the whole, is rather desultory and thin and the action does not move forward steadily with the impetuous force of a torrent to an inevitable end. It is also slender; it is not made up of a number of strands skilfully knit together. Barrie, it may also be said, did not fully develop the artistic possibilities offered by the theme. He could have portrayed more fully the life and manners of Thrums, made the social background richer, and shaped the theme into a social or historical novel in the spacious manner of Thackeray or Scott. The ending of the novel is unsatisfactory. The proper ending would have been to make Gavin die a heroic death on the islet. The prosaic happy ending takes away the effect of the splendid scene where Gavin calmly prepares himself for death after a night of crowded life. The whole story is narrated by a Dominie who turns out to be the father of the hero, Gavin, and who also plays some part in the action of the novel. No artistic purpose is served by putting the unfolding of the events into the mouth of the Dominie who only acts as a hindrance to the story.

The novel, with all these defects, is a thing of beauty. The figure of Babbie, 'the daughter of a summer night, born where all the birds are free,' 'to look upon whom was to rejoice that so fair a thing could be; to think of whom is still to be young,' throws over the novel a halo of romance. She

'dances along it as a sweet truant from some pagan land of fairies and elves.' The closing chapters describing the flood are magnificent, confronting us, as they do, with nature in her violent aspects, with the tremendous forces of destruction which at any moment may swoop down upon us and overpower us.

The little minister is an 'incarnation of the disturbance that Beauty affects' and the elevation that love brings about in the lives of men. The figure of Babbie, the concretion of beauty dances into the life of Gavin and kindles in him the holy passion of love. His mind suffers the nature of an insurrection and the sermons against women belong to the period of 'Sturm und Drang'. Love, however, makes a man of Gavin and gives him a personality. A quaint fellow whose life was a string of Sundays becomes under the influence of love a dynamic figure, with the will to dare and do what is right in scorn of consequence. Once the indecision is over and the die is cast, he becomes bold and resigns himself to Fate, saying, 'We are in God's hands. If it be God's wish that I should suffer for this, I must suffer.' When Babbie advises him to give her up and go back to the congregation, he says, 'My duty is not what is right in my people's eyes, but what is right in my own.' She is so much struck with the courage he displays that she says, 'This was love, that made a weak man strong'. The novel is a testimony to the edifying and exalting influence of love.

Rob Dow deserves special mention. Like Sydney Carton in the novel of Dickens, he makes amends for a life of drunkenness by a final act of self-sacrifice and flings away his life to save the life of the man who redeemed him from vice and saved his soul.

LECTURES ON COMPARATIVE FAITHS—JUDAISM

By PROF. PRITAM SINGH

Palestine has been the home of the tribes of Israel who had entered the country at different times and by different routes. They were at one time under the rule of the Pharaohs of Egypt. These tribes owned Jehovah as their God and were nomadic at first and lived in tents, but gradually learnt to grow grain, vine, olive and figs, and also learnt to make oil and wine. These arts they learnt from the Canaanites, a superior tribe. Each city and town had its own place of worship often upon a hill-top. The altars were made of rude stones and at times, halls were also built for sacrificial feasts. In private sacrifices, the victim was commonly a sheep or goat, the blood being thrown on the altar and the flesh was eaten by the offerer with his family and guests and unused parts were burnt. The tribes gradually settled on the banks of the Jordan and were later united under one king known as King David. The god Jehovah was originally a tribal god and corresponded to the Storm or Rain god of the primitive faiths.

Moses was a prophet who gave the law to the tribes of Israel. The story of his life is told in the Old Testament as follows :—

As a little baby of three months he was placed in an ark of bulrushes and put by the brink of a river. The daughter of the Pharaoh came to wash herself at the river and seeing the ark, sent one of her maids to pick it up. She suspected the baby to be a Hebrew child, because the Pharaoh had said that every son that is born was to be thrown into the river and every daughter was to be saved alive. A nurse was sent for and it so happened that child's mother was called who brought Moses up in the palace. The Pharaoh's daughter

called him Moses or one drawn out of the water. This happened about 1,500 B. C. or 35 centuries ago. We next find Moses interfering in a fight between an Egyptian and a Hebrew and slaying the former. For fear of being hanged he ran away and dwelt in the land of Midian and married the daughter of the priest whose flocks he was tending.

It was on Mount Sinai that the angel of the Lord appeared to him in a flame of fire out of the midst of a bush. "And the Lord said to him, put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou treadest is holy ground". Moreover, He said :

"I am the God of thy father, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob*. I have come down to deliver the tribes of Israel from the captivity of the Egyptians and lead them to a land flowing with milk and honey".

The Pharaoh would not listen to Moses and the Lord sent in succession seven plagues in Egypt and it was then that the Israelites were let go, and 'the Lord went before them by day in a pillar of cloud and by night in a pillar of fire to give them light to go by day and by night.' All this is, of course, symbolical and so are some of the miracles attributed to him. And God said to Moses :

"I am the Lord thy God, thou shalt have no other gods before me. Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image or any likeness of anything that is in heaven or earth or that is in the earth beneath and that is in the water under the earth.

The ten commandments are:

Honour thy father and thy mother.

Thou shalt not kill.

Thou shalt not commit adultery.

Thou shalt not steal.

Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.

Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor his man-servant, nor his maid-servant, nor his ox, nor his ass, anything that is thy neighbour's.

* These Prophets had appeared in Canaan before Moses.

Of the judgments there are many. (See Exodus Ch. 21, Verses 23-25).

And if any mischief follow, then thou shalt give life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot, burning for burning, wound for wound, stripe for stripe.*

This is known as the doctrine of *Kasas* or retaliation.

Among the Jews altars and sacrifices were gradually replaced by Synagogues and Prayer. The sacrifice of bulls gradually disappeared and was replaced by prayer and this was a great improvement indeed! In the place of Temple came the Covenant—a special relation between God and the people of Israel. The outward sign of this Covenant was circumcision, a custom which continues both among the Jews as well as the Muslims up to this day. The Israelites entered into a Covenant with God when they promised to observe the Sabbath.* The Covenant conferred a distinction and imposed a duty. It was a bond between a gracious God and a grateful Israel. It made the Jew self-confident and arrogant and it was his defence against the world's scorn. They had a book and a tradition and that has sustained them. The tradition is embodied in a book known as the Talmud.†

The life among the Jews was placed under Law. Obedience to commandments was a necessity. Conduct, social and individual, moral and ritual, was regulated in the minutest details. Law in the Judaism was looked upon as the expression of the Will of God. Man was to submit that will for two reasons, first, because the Law came from God who was perfect and the fountain-head of all morality and secondly, because man's own nature corresponded to the moral law. The difficulty arises, however, when ritual piety is confused with moral virtue. This takes place in almost every religion. The Jew has always been distinguished for domestic virtues, purity, sobriety, charity and

* Sabbath among the Jews is observed on Saturday.

† Talmud is a collection of books expressing the literature, religion and life of the Jews in Roman times.

devotion, because he was law-abiding both in theory and in practice. The codified law was to him the Law of God. The law was also the expression of Divine Reason.

It is really remarkable that dogmas imposed by an authority able and willing to enforce conformity and punish dissent are unknown in Judaism. There were Jewish divines known as Rabbis but there was no Pope. The membership of the religion of Judaism is almost entirely a question of birth and race and conversion is rare. Proselytes are admitted by circumcision and baptism and by acceptance of the Unity of God and the abjuration of idolatry.

The three generally-accepted articles of faith among the present-day Jews are (i) Existence of God, (ii) Revelation, and (iii) Retribution. In a tract entitled the "Essentials of Judaism" the following fundamentals of faith have been laid down :

There is One Eternal God, who is the sole origin of all things and forces and the source of all living souls. Our souls are immortal and we can hold direct communion with Him. Our souls are directly responsible to God for the work of our life on earth, but God being merciful and just would judge us justly, no intermediary being necessary. God is Eternal and Omni-present and dwells within us and His Spirit helps and leads us towards goodness and truth. God has revealed Himself through His prophets who bring the principles of religion and morality within the reach of man."

Know the Lord thy God was the key-note of Jewish theology.

The Jews observe three great feasts known as the Passover or the season of freedom, the Pentecost or the season of the giving of the law and the Feast of Tabernacle or the season of Joy. The Jews visit their places of worship at these times. The last one, the Tabernacle is a nature festival while the first two commemorate the Exodus or the formation of the Jewish people and the union of religion with morality respectively. The essential rite connected with the Passover is the avoidance of leaven or the practice of eating unleavened bread for seven days. Gathered round the table, the family recounts in prose

and song the narrative of the Exodus.* Wine forms part of almost every Jewish rite including the Sabbath, undue indulgence being, however, forbidden. Besides these three great festivals, the Jews have two other holy days, the New Year's Day and the Day of Atonement. The New Year's Day has been transformed into a Day of Judgment or the opening of a ten days' period of Penitence which closes with the Day of Atonement. These days are associated with fasting. Sacrifices have been discontinued among the Jews and in their place the idea of Atonement has come in, which means purification from inward sins. Much of this ritualism, however, is passing away from among the Jews and they are surrendering their own original theory of religion and life and their rituals have been modified beyond recognition. Their contact with the nations of Europe has affected their religion and language.

The idea of the coming of a Messiah is very common among the Jews. The Messiah was to be of Davidic descent who would be the restorer of Israel's greatness. He was to be the king of Israel as well as inaugurator of a new moral and spiritual era. The *Zionists*, *however, say that a Messiah was not required, what was wanted was a Jewish State in Palestine under the protection of Europe and the revival of the Hebrew religion. The Jews, however, believe that the glorious age will come about through the regeneration of the Jewish people which will be effected by a descendant of the house of David sent by God to guide them on the road of righteousness. The weakness of Judaism like that of Christianity and Islam is that it claims a finality and a permanence which it denies to other faiths. The Jews had their reformers in Isaiah, Maimonides and Spinoza, as much as Christianity had its Luther. Both Christianity as well as Islam owe a great deal to Judaism, as we shall see. The hope expressed in every Synagogue thrice daily is that the Lord shall be King over all the earth; in that day shall the Lord be One and His name One. The Jews, however, did not accept the claim of Christ as the Messiah; on

the other hand, they crucified him and as a result have been wandering about and have been persecuted by the Christians as well as by the Muslims.

While Christians and Muslims were occupied in diverting the world from paganism, the Jewish divines were busy with the safeguarding and vitalization of the old religion out of which these new religions grew up. Judaism lays claim to become a universal religion but it has remained local and national all these centuries.

In India priesthood was most influential in the progress of religious thought; in Greece it was the poets and philosophers, in Israel the Prophets. A succession of men of widely diverse genius and station, through a period of many centuries, transformed the national religion of the Jews into an ethical monotheism. The first of these prophets was Amos, who introduced many reforms. He was followed by Isaiah who appeared as a prophet in Jerusalem with the same message. His prophethood lasted for 40 years. In his time the kingdom of Israel fell and his contemporary Micah predicted the fall of Jerusalem. Hosea was another prophet who painted his times in the darkest colours and said that all classes of people—king, nobles, priests, and prophets were corrupt. Many other prophets followed and Deuteronomy in the Old Testament embodies the ideals set forth by them. Jeremiah and Ezekiel foretold a restoration and laid emphasis on the individual element in religion.

At one time of their history the Jews came into touch with the Babylonians, the Egyptians, the Persians and the Greeks. The Zoroastrian religion of Persia gave to the Jews the doctrine of the day of Judgment in which a new heaven and a new earth shall be restored. The ideas such as rising of the dead from the graves and punishment and reward seem to have been borrowed from Zoroastrianism. The ideas of the immortality and the pre-existence of the soul seem to be of Greek origin. Later prophets constructed from the ideas and imagery

drawn from many sources composite pictures of the great crisis and the Messianic times or of the golden age to come. The belief still persists that Jews will come to the Holy Land from the end of the world and this was to synchronise with the appearance of the Messiah. There appeared in Europe an aggressive anti-Jewish feeling which drove the Jews homeward. Thus began the Zionist movement of which the results are difficult to foresee.

*Exodus refers to the coming out of the Israelites from Egypt.

*The present-day Jews who are finding a home in Palestine are known as Zionists and Zionism is a political movement.

Work It Out For Yourself.

It is rather remarkable that the war started by Hitler commenced on the 666 day of the year, as Poland was invaded on the morning of September 1. If we take A as 100, B as 101, C as 102, and so on down the alphabet, we get Hitler as 666, as follows: H 107, I 108, T 119, L 111, E 104, R 117, a total of 666. Cheops Great Pyramid has a base of 9,131 British inches, and from August 4, 1914, to August 4, 1939, is exactly 9,131 days. If we take the interlaced triangles of Solomon's Seal, and mark the six corners clockwise from 1 to 6, the inverted triangle has the corner numbers 246. England's entry into the war is 246 days from January 1, 1939. There is more in this than meets the eye. The Beast is on the prowl again.

Letter, in Light, London.

INDIAN INDIA

'MYSORE THROUGH BRITISH INDIAN EYES

By S. V. RAMASWAMY

To a normal man the sun looks red; to one suffering from sore eyes, it looks yellow; to a scientist looking through a spectroscope many colours are visible and the spectral bands enable him to analyse the composition as well of the sun. Similarly, the ardent believer, from British India, in the spinning wheel as the only wheel of India's fortune and in "khadder" as the only hope of India's teeming millions, would be greatly upset by the fashion set by society in Mysore and the foreign materials it requires. If the visitor is a Leftist, drawing inspiration from Moscow, the very existence of kingship might set him thinking furiously of his patent prescription of a proletarian revolution. If, on the other hand, he is a Self-Respectist, the peculiar socio-religio-political product of South India, he might flare up at the sight of so many Brahmin priests, wrapped up in richly embroidered shawls, commanding respectful treatment, and come to a solemn conclusion that there is no salvation for Mysore till the Mysoreans take up his battle-cry of "Delenda est Brahmano!"

But such subjective interpretation of our sense-data from the standpoint of our peculiar preconceived notions, our likes and dislikes, our fads and fancies, will warp our judgment. It will lead us nowhere. Each will have his own vehement opinion and we will be none the better for a jumble of prejudiced views. What is worth considering is a dispassionate and scientific analysis of statistical data from the standpoint of the principles of public administration and the canons of public finance, if we are to understand correctly the real worth of Mysore. In doing so, we might compare her with British Indian provinces, particularly, with Madras, which is by far the best. (We need not

compare Mysore with any other Indian State as it is easily the best). But let it be remembered that we are not here comparing the Mysore Government with the Congress Government. It would be improper to do so. We are merely comparing the state of affairs in Mysore with that in the British Indian Provinces.

In British India, the mainstay of provincial finance is the land revenue. In Madras it is 45% and in Assam it is as high as 52%. The average for British Indian provinces is somewhere about 40%, while excise is 25%, except in Bengal where it is low. The next item is stamps. These three items constitute roughly 70% of the total revenues. Mysore is more fortunate in its sources of revenue. Land contributes only 30% and excise only 12%. Her forests, mines and industries contribute a good portion of the revenues, which is far in excess of that in the British Provinces.

In the matter of allocation of revenue also, Mysore is more advanced. The cost of administration in British India is so enormous that that in itself constitutes an indictment of foreign rule, maintained with the aid of a frightfully costly foreign public service. The Administration Report of the Government of Madras discloses the fact that the salaries and pensions alone of public servants, from the civilian down to the village "karnam", come to 8 crores, out of a total income of 16 crores of rupees. No wonder British India is so backward, industrially, materially and otherwise. There is not much left for nation-building activities after meeting the enormous cost of the services. The disparity between the per capita income of the British Indian and the salary of even the district officers is so great that it is damning to the credit and fair name of the British. Mysore is fortunate in that salaries and pensions cost about a third of the revenue, leaving more funds for scientific investigation, rural reconstruction, industrial development, public improvement, extension of communications, etc.

The economy in the administration of the departments is also noteworthy. In Madras, for instance, the income from the forest department is Rs. 48 lacs, but the expenditure is Rs. 41 lacs, leaving only a ridiculously low balance of Rs. 7 lacs, a good portion of which, be it remembered, consists of fines collected from the most miserable specimens of humanity, offenders against forest laws who are brought to our courts in batches and who prefer to get food for a few days at least in jail, rather than enjoy freedom outside and starve; of fines collected from rags and bones to pay unconscionable salaries. Here in Mysore, out of an income of Rs. 28 lacs, only Rs. 12 lacs are spent, leaving Rs. 16 lacs as balance, a net contribution to revenue. The Mysore Forest Department is also noted for its high productive efficiency. It has only 4,600 sq. miles under its jurisdiction and produces an income of about Rs. 750 per sq. mile, whereas its Madras counterpart has over 18,000 sq. miles but produces a little over 200 rupees per sq. mile.

In the field of agriculture, the keen consideration of the Government for the ryots is made abundantly clear. They have taken great pains to extend the area under irrigation; year after year, more and more tanks are built and more and more canals are laid out, so that the ryots may not be entirely at the mercy of uncertain Nature. The splendid facilities which Nature has bestowed so kindly on this fortunate State have been fully taken advantage of for the benefit of the masses. They have taken great pains to introduce new and improved varieties of seeds and plants, to get name and fame to Mysore coffee and cigarette tobacco in the markets of the world, to improve village life through rural reconstruction and to add to the meagre resources of the ryots through the poultry industry, bee-keeping, fruit culture, etc. Agricultural credit has been extended through co-operative societies and the cattle needs of the ryots have been met by a judicious establishment of breeding stations. In agriculture, British Indian provinces do not lag behind, but they can learn much from the village agricultural demonstration plots and communal orchards in

Mysore through which the benefits of scientific agriculture are brought home to the ryots.

It is said that art flourishes most under the patronage of royalty and that the Muses are in their element with kings rather than with dull drab, democrats. The democrats are comparatively materialistic for to them art is an aesthetic sensation indulged in by the idle rich. But even they must, I think, get inspired by the incalculable spiritual value of art at the "Brindavan", under the shadow of the Kannambadi Dam; that enchanting fairy-land of bewitching flowers and fountains; that supreme creation of Beauty, in lovely lawns and murmuring cascades, in flood-lit watery arches bathed in vibgyor colours; that realisation through matter of the ennobling spirituality of a philosopher-statesman. It is the pride of Mysore that hundreds of thousands of visitors and tourists, who, year after year, in ever-increasing numbers should pay their silent homage to the magnificence of this man-made glory. But if "Brindavan" is the sun, there are several planets and satellites scattered throughout the State in Bangalore and even in the villages. If Mysore and Bangalore are the garden-cities, the whole State is the Garden State, and it is all the work of the present Dewan, who will not rest till every nook, every corner, is made a park, so that people may enjoy the glory of Nature, even in the din and bustle, the dust and disturbance, of crowded cities.

It is for her hydro-electric projects that Mysore is justly famous. The Sivasamudram scheme is the first hydro-electric undertaking in India. It is this undertaking that opened the eyes of the world to the progressive nature of the Mysore Government. In conception, it is spectacular; in execution, grand; and in utility, immenso. From that time Mysore has become the byword, east of Suez, for progress in harnessing electricity for the comfort and convenience of man. Today this comparatively little State, with only 29,000 sq. miles, 70 lacs of people and an income of about Rs. 4 crores, has invested over Rs. 8½ crores in hydro-electric projects and is planning

to spend Rs. 2½ crores more on two new projects. It derives a net income of Rs. 42 lacs out of 67 lacs gross, and generates 240 million units, giving a per capita consumption of 32 units. Even Madras, with its 1,42,000 sq. miles, 4½ crores of people and annual income of Rs. 16 crores, has invested only about Rs. 3½ crores on hydro-electric and thermal projects, yielding only Rs. 30 lacs gross and generating slightly over 100 million units, thus giving a per capita consumption of only ¼ unit. The other provinces are far behind in this respect, not to speak of the other States. If per capita consumption of electricity is taken as an index of the material prosperity of the State, as some economists think, then Mysore far outdistances the British Indian provinces, and still more the other Indian States.

But Mysore is most noted for her industries, in extent and in variety. There are heavy industries, like manufacture of iron, steel, cement, chemicals, fertilisers, electrical transformers, cotton and woollen textiles, sugar, sandal-oil, etc., there are medium-sized industries, producing silk, electric bulbs, porcelain ware, insulators, pharmaceutical preparations, vegetable oils and oil products, glass, ceramics, cigarette tobacco, and even radios; and there are small industries connected with the manufacture of ribbons, handloom cloth, "kaddar," mats, etc. The steady impartial and uniform development of all kinds and classes of industries, in garden-cities, amidst sylvan surroundings of parks and beauty spots, avoiding the pitfalls of western industrialism is the unique feature of Mysore.

The policy behind this industrialisation is worth studying and copying, even by the popular Congress Governments. Even before the advent of the National Planning Commission those charged with the destiny of Mysore had planned without a commission and formulated a policy which is hard to better. The set plan by which the Government offer land, water and power at special rates for companies intending to work in Mysore is very attractive for investors and enterprising men. The Government's policy of taking a percentage of shares and

appointing two of their directors, is very sound and sensible and results in a happy combination of investors and technical experts under governmental control and direction. The participation of the Government in industrial concerns through shares and directors guarantees their soundness and is a source of encouragement to the investors. It is in this way that the Government have coaxed capital out of its shyness, for the greater good and benefit of the State, of labour, the merchants, the traders and of all generally. It is this far-sighted economic policy which has not only to a great extent given work and wages to the unskilled labourer, but has also absorbed scientific experts and educated young men. Mysore is the technician's Paradise. If he is honest and can assure reasonable success, he will find the Government giving help which he will not get anywhere else in India.

To fail to note the nature of industrialism in Mysore is to miss the most important point, pregnant with meaning for the future. It is not the haphazard promiscuous growth of large-scale capitalist enterprise. Nor is it the economic totalitarianism of a communist state. Private enterprise is in no way restricted; its growth is keenly watched and actively supported. But Mysore to a great extent is a vast experiment in State Socialism. The mighty irrigation schemes, the vast hydro-electric undertakings, both generation and distribution, the big iron and steel works, the large sugar factory, the railways, besides a vast amount of shares in semi-private industrial undertakings, these are the properties of the State, the assets of the people. The income from them are alternative sources of revenue; and to the extent that they contribute to the general revenues (the sugar factory alone contributes Rs. 12 lacs by way of excise duty), they relieve the taxpayer of additional taxation to meet the growing demands of the Government to discharge its duties to the people and to provide them with the means of material, moral and spiritual enrichment. Mysore is fast approximating to that happiest of all States, Sweden, which has evolved a new economic order where

co-operation has acted as buffer between a disintegrating, iniquitous capitalism and a red revolutionary communism, giving birth to the Co-operative State, the state of the future. The budget of Mysore is in the nature of a balance-sheet of a vast company covering the entire State, the Government being the Directors, the people the shareholders, all co-operating joyously in a mighty joint enterprise of making Mysore, the model state, the object of emulation of the less fortunate peoples.

What the ultimate State will be, whether capitalism will collapse or whether the world will fall a prey to the programme of the Third International and get enveloped in Communism, will be hotly debated by partisans of politico-economic doctrines and imaginative historians, like Wells or Spengler. But those who take a view which is neither dogmatic about the sanctity of property nor antagonistic to it and to the present profit system, which has landed the world in the present cataclysm, will long for a society in which there will be a judicious adjustment between the spheres of the State and co-operative and private capitalistic industrialism, with a due sense of proportion regarding the scope of large, middle, and small-scale industries, in order to avoid the conflicts of capital and labour, of the classes and the masses, of the haves and the have-nots and the ungodly sight of plethoric plenty in the midst of gnawing want and in order that there may be a just, fair and equitable distribution of national wealth. Such people will find Mysore happy, thanks to the far-sighted statesmanship and the broad humanitarian outlook of the Government of the day.

Mistress: "Did anybody ring up whilst I was out?"

Maid: "Yes, ma'am, the French Ambassador."

"Really? What an honour! What did he want?"

"Nothing, ma'am. It was the wrong number."

——Parade.

When Cupid hits the mark he usually Mrs. it.

——Parade.

A woman visitor to the London Zoo asked a keeper whether the hippopotamus was a male or a female.

"Madam," replied the keeper sternly, "that is a question that should be of interest only to another hippopotamus."

——Parade.

Told as a true story. Guest at departing, after having dined well at a house in the country, to footman: "Tell me, is that my car on the left or the right?" Footman: "On the left, my lord; the car on the right is a subjective phenomenon."

"From Day to Day", in *The Countryman*,

Kingham, Oxon.

It is often said that women have more backbone than men. As a matter of fact, they only show more.

Kolnische Illustrierte Zeitung.

When American women began travelling alone on railroad trains in the 1870's, many carried a closely bundled "artificial baby," or large crying doll, so they would appear to be mothers and have no trouble in securing seats and discouraging the attentions of lonely gentlemen.

——Freling Foster in *Collier's* (New York).

On his recent visit to Rome, Admiral Horthy, Regent of Hungary, was asked by Mussolini why he used the title of Admiral. "You have no navy," said the Duce. "Why do you have a finance minister?" said Admiral Horthy.

——*New Masses* (New York).

Twentieth Century Miscellany

FACTS ABOUT FINLAND

The prosperity of the Finns in the face of international economic depression is indicated, among other ways, by the fact that the use of gold and silver in Finland has increased so rapidly in four years that last year nearly twice the amount of these precious metals was stamped than in 1935. The importation of gold and silver has more than doubled in the same period.

Farmers in Finland get between 75 and 85 per cent. of the price consumers pay for their produce. Thanks for this unusually happy state of agricultural affairs are due mainly to the efficiency of the Finnish producers' co-operative movement, through which distribution costs for farm goods have been reduced to a level approximating the possible minimum. Profitable agricultural production would otherwise be next to impossible in the country because of consequent cut-throat competition. Since the

turn of the century, when they began on an ambitious scale, the agricultural co-operatives have made such rapid progress here that already there is hardly a Finn engaged in farming who can avoid getting involved in some kind of co-operative endeavour.

Every Finn who wants to work can get a job in Finland. Since the attainment of Finnish independence there has been a practical absence of unemployment under normal conditions. Those out of their ordinary trades can always fall back on agriculture, where in fact a positive shortage of labour is the rule during busy seasons.

* * *

The completeness with which Finnish differs from the Indo-European languages has prompted certain imaginative writers to regard the Finns as people quite different from other Europeans in race, habits, and looks, and to dub them gate-crashers to the white man's continent. Those who have

read descriptions of the queer, outlandish appearance of the Finns ought to find amusing disillusionment in the fact that international juries time after time choose Finnish maidens as the most representative European types in beauty. The reigning queen of beauty of Europe is Finnish, and in the last four annual all-European beauty contests Finns have thrice earned the title of "Miss Europe."

From Finlandia News Service,
Helsinki.

HITLER PSYCHO- ANALYSED

In primitive society, there were two classes of powerful men, Dr. Jung explained to me; one was the chief, who was physically stronger than his fellows, the other the medicine man, whose influence arose mainly from the belief of other men in his power.

Hitler's physique does not suggest force. His most striking characteristic is his dreamy air. He has the appearance of a crystal gazer and belongs to the category of medicine men.

It is this mystic gift of Hitler which causes him to do things which seem illogical, curious and irrational, but even the terms in use in the Third Reich (as the Nazis call their Germany, "Reich" being the German equivalent of "empire") have a mystic significance. No one ever thought of calling the empire of Kaiser William II the Second Reich. The Nazis chose "Third Reich" because the word "third" has a mystic significance. Subconsciously it suggests the Biblical Holy Trinity.

Then again, take the rebirth in Germany of the Cult of Wotan. Who was Wotan? The god of the wind. Then take the word "Sturmabteilungen" (Nazi stormtroops) and "Sturm" means tempest in which the wind predominates. In the same way the Swastika represents a whirlwind turning towards left, which, in Buddhistic symbolism, signifies something that is sinister.

The sum total of all these symbols of the Third Reich, led by its prophet under the

banner of the wind and the sign of the whirlwind, swept the German people into a tornado of irrational emotions, towards a destiny which no one can foresee.

To his followers, Hitler is the mirror of their own subconscious thoughts. He is like a loud speaker, magnifying the imperceptible murmurs of the German soul. The secret of Hitler's power does not rest on the fact that his subconscious mind registers more impressions than yours or mine, but on the fact that his subconscious can become conscious, and that he lets himself be moved and guided by it.

In our case, even when our subconscious comes to the surface in a dream, we are too rational to obey it, but Hitler listens and obeys. He has spoken of his voices; his voices are the subconscious minds of eighty million Germans.

In a sense, the position of the Germans is remarkably like that of the Jews of the Old Testament. Since their defeat, they have expected a Messiah, and they had Hitler. His mission is to unite his people

and lead them towards the promised land. This explains why the Nazis fight every form of religion which disagrees with their idolatry.

Germans are very impressionable; they go to extremes. Germans have always wanted to dress like an English gentleman, but Hitler said to them, "Now, bei Gott, it's time you began to be Germans".

Hitler is a medicine man. As a man he hardly exists. He is not a man, but a materialized collectivity.

H. R. KNICKERBOCKER in
Europe Nouvelle, PARIS.

"NUMBER FOUR MAN"

Officially Himmler is at best "Number Four Man" in the order of Nazi succession to power. But if Hitler goes, no man can seize power without Himmler.

A gang-lord most fears that lieutenant whom necessity has made him trust the most. That lieutenant has access to the boss at all times, knows where to find him, hires his body-guard. The same set-up haunts Hitler today.

A card-index was the weapon that Heinrich Himmler used to slug his way to Hitler's right hand. Every bit of gossip, every word of wild talk by a liquor-loosened tongue, every bit of scandal from a bribed woman or beaten from a man, was carefully stored away in Himmler's index.

Himmler himself never drank, smoked, kept company with loose women; but when others did it, Himmler was always there—listening, remembering.

Such weasel tactics collected the information that led the famous "Blood Purge" of June 30th, 1934. Himmler set his trap, sent a note to Hitler with 397 names marked down for the purge.

With the purge successfully carried out, then did chinless, bespectacled, steel-conscienced, butcher-minded Heinrich Himmler become the official Nazi bloodhound—nearest approximation to the description of Napoleon's head ferret, Joseph Fouché: "Cold, selfish, remorseless fanatic."—

—*Sunday Mirror*, New York.

AMBASSADORS IN MOSCOW

In the first place, he cannot leave the country when he wants to. He has to make long-winded application for a visa of departure, stating the frontier station at which he will leave Soviet territory. Nor is he free to travel where he likes in the Union. A large part of the country is closed to the foreign diplomat; in these regions he would get neither railway tickets, hotel accommodation, nor petrol. He is, in fact, limited to the well-known "Intourist" routes.

In Moscow, no diplomat may join a football or tennis club. He cannot visit a riding school. Theatre tickets can be bought only on written application and in small numbers. The great State library is closed to foreigners. Diplomats are not allowed to buy any Soviet newspapers except a chosen few. No Russian would dare to give language lessons to a foreigner, and no Russian girl would take the enormous risk involved in keeping a rendezvous with a young attaché. Everyone is constantly being "shadowed". No ambassador

can leave his house without being followed by a small Soviet car containing three or four friendly young men.

Diplomatic entertainment presents incredible difficulties to the hostess. Not only has every drop of wine or spirits to be ordered abroad: but flowers, fresh fruit and vegetables, cheese, even meat, can only be imported by rail from Riga or Berlin, or by air from Stockholm. And even ambassadors are not permitted to import potatoes and asparagus. Vitamins are the favourite talking point of diplomatic society. A dish of really fresh carrots ensures the success of the evening. The only table luxury which Russia offers is caviare, which can be bought after written application at the former staff store of the O. G. P. U. by the Lubyanka prison.

Great are the daily troubles of the diplomatic ladies. There is not a frock to be bought in all Moscow, and even alterations or repairs cannot be done unless the lady has learned dressmaking herself. If the skin cream runs out, there is a diplomatic crisis of the first order; hostile relations with

another Power cannot restrain the ambassador's wife from applying to the enemy for help. Under these conditions the little diplomatic community in Moscow, with its fringe of newspaper correspondents, has drawn very closely together in friendly co-operation. Entirely excluded from the life of Russia, members of all nations have long thrown politics aside to form a large, united family within the invisible frontiers drawn for them in the midst of the Soviet capital.

From the *Frankfurter Zeitung*
(Frankfurt.)

AMERICA'S AIR FORCE

What is the value of the aviation industry and air force of the United States? asks W. B. Courtney in *Collier's*, New York. You have at least a partial answer in Europe. Britain and France in the air are to some extent the United States in the air, too. Hundreds of planes have been imported by the Allies from the United States—pursuits, bombers, observations, engines, parachutes.

If this war goes on, each side will have to exploit its full air power; a major test

will be inescapable. If America gets involved, enemy submarines might carry death to American factory yards. Submarines, air experts know, will carry unassembled planes to within short distances of American shores. Such a plane could be bolted together quickly. Without markings, it might slip across the long American shore line, mix with airway traffic and, if no ground observer's suspicions were raised, come over one hundred military objectives in the great "critical industrial area" of the United States; which is, roughly, the triangle from Boston to Chicago to Baltimore.

As war clouds piled up the U. S. Government appropriated £ 60,000,000 for the Air Corps, exclusive of the Navy and Marine corps aviation; raised its personal strength until it was one-fifth of the entire American Army. Unless peace comes soon and brings general disarmament we can look for a thousand-million-dollar Air Corps budget—as much as the total American national debt was in 1914.

The United States is at present in the seventh place as a world military air power, with a combined total of 3,900 machines. On the other hand, she has more active commercial planes probably than the six leading air powers combined—more than 10,000. Most of these would be useful for transport and instructional purposes. Thus, in actual flyable aeroplanes the U. S. A. is far ahead of any other country.

It isn't so much the number of planes you have, but the number of trained pilots you have for them, and the petrol supplies you control and can spare for training purposes.

In both respects the U. S. A. is in an advantageous position. She produces sixty per cent. of the world's petroleum: a thousand million barrels a year. Germany's rock-bottom peace-time requirements of petrol is 6,500,000 tons: her own production of these only about a million. Her war-time needs are figured at 20,000,000 tons. So you can see how much she is dependent on petrol imports.

It isn't the number of the skies. If Americans planes you have when you really spread themselves in a start to fight, but the speed big war they could probably with which you can build train 50,000 pilots a year. replacement and new types. The United States Army Combat losses must be made Corps now holds most of the good or your air superiority important world records for vanishes. In the four years military aircraft performance. of the last war, Britain built Recently it broke six inter- 56,000 aeroplanes. national and fifteen national records.

Americans have great plans for increased output if they are drawn in. "Put to it," their leaders say, "we can outbuild any of the others." Reasons: a smart, compact, alert, highly efficient nuclear industry and a tradition of mass production. Also, a plenitude of domestic and easy availability of foreign raw materials—including the co-called "critical" materials, such as manganese, chromium, tin, rubber. Practically every known material is used in some degree or manner in aeroplane, engine and instrument manufacturing.

American air experts believe that, under war pressure, the country could expand her air-craft industry within two years to build 36,000 aeroplanes a year; literally swamp the enemy in

the skies. If Americans really spread themselves in a big war they could probably train 50,000 pilots a year.

—PARADE

NAMING THE WARSHIPS

Not the least of the many problems connected with this tremendous effort is that of finding suitable names for all these additions of the Royal Navy.

Tradition, prejudice, superstition, and the conflicting claims of counties, towns and various sections of the public all have to be borne in mind.

Names are chosen, in the first place, by a "Naming Committee". This body, however, has no official status and all it can do is to make suggestions which are, in due course, considered by the Board of Admiralty.

Of all the factors governing the choice of suitable names tradition is perhaps the most important, and a glance at th

names of some of our latest warships, including those building or to be built, will show how the old traditions are being kept alive.

Two of the new 35,000 ton battleships now under construction bear names that are part of British naval history. They are *Lion* and *Temeraire*. The present *Lion* is the sixteenth ship to be so named, the first being a vessel of 120 tons. She made her appearance in the Navy in 1511. Equally famous is the name *Temeraire*—for ever associated with Trafalgar, but to the public best remembered as the subject of Turner's great picture "The Fighting Temeraire."

Arethusa, *Bonaventure*, *Implacable*, *Illustrious* and *Victorious* are other famous names known to most of us, but there are many warships afloat today whose names have an even longer history.

The cruiser *Dragon*, for example, is the holder of a name that dates back to 1013. The cruiser *Cumberland* is the fourteenth ship to be so christened. There have been nine predecessors to the present

destroyer *Blanche*. Some people might imagine that the name *Euryalus*, given to a cruiser launched last May, might be a new departure, whereas, in fact, there was a ship of the same name engaged in the Napoleonic wars.

Superstition is another very important factor which the "Naming Committee" has to bear in mind. The Navy has lost, among other vessels, four *Vipers*, four *Serpents*, three *Lizards*, two *Snakes*, one *Adder*, one *Cobra*, and one *Crocodile*. This doleful list gives strong support for the superstitious dislike of reptiles names, a dislike so forceful that even the Board of Admiralty have had to bow before it. There was, for example, such an outcry when a submarine was christened *Python* that their Lordships had to change the name to *Pandora*.

There is almost as widespread an opposition to the naming of ships after female animals. Thus, while no sailor objects to the name *Lion*, he has a cordial dislike for *Lioness*.

—David J. Murphy, in
The Trident, London

The Twentieth Century Library

AN INDIAN JOURNALIST ABROAD

By H. M. A.

Outside India. By Khwaja Ahmad Abbas. Hali Publishing House, Kitabghar, Delhi. Rs. 2/8. Sh. 5.

'Adventures of a Roving Reporter' or 'Outside India' as Khwaja Ahmad Abbas, an intrepid journalist on the staff of a nationalist daily of Bombay, prefers to call his 255-page impressions of "girdling the earth", provide not only entertaining but interesting, and not infrequently informative, reading. As he himself points out, his book 'does neither reveal the Truth about anything or any person, nor is it a Tourist Guide nor Travel Information' nor even "a guide book", as Ethel Mannin, the well-known friend of India, reminds his readers in a flattering preface, since he had "no pretensions to be an authority" on the various topics of the day.

It is as well doubtful if it can even be styled as "the Indian equivalent of John Gunther's famous book 'Inside Europe'", to quote from Ethel Mannin's preface—since 'Outside India' fails to reach that high pitch of conversationally couched political information, wherein the celebrated American author excels.

Rapidly formed impressions of a fast moving panorama no doubt, but by one, apparently endowed with analytical intellect, keenly observant eyes and highly sensitive nature. "Doing", 25,000 miles in five months is job enough. But Colombo, his first hop from Bombay, known as the "Pearl of the Orient", failed to conceal from his penetrating eyes the various vagaries of Europe's economic imperialism, Singapore gave him his first glimpse of China, of her young men 'bold and assertive' and maids 'possessing self-confidence and easy grace'. The 'White

Man's burden' and 'the coloured worm turning', he witnessed in action in the unloading of heavy packages by Chinese coolies and monopolising of the ships' entire deck-chairs by their nationals. That its economic organism could not long withstand the pressure of Japanese jingoes, he detected while in the 'Land of the Rising Sun', where in a train he met an English commercial traveller, who, though having visited the country four times, could not locate its most sacred mountain-peak, and refused to 'keep the windows open' an attitude, the author claims for himself. He has some interesting things to say about the calculated misinformation and hopeless ignorance of the Indian life and movements, obtaining in the U. S. A. Talking of half a dozen Indian Swamies, busy saving the souls of American, an Indian friend told the author that "it was a good reply to the colossal conceit of the white people sending missionaries to India to save our souls." He further noticed that the negroes, in spite of their age-old slavery, had lost none of their sense of humour and self-respect. The fabulous wealth of skyscraper New York failed to conceal from him the awful misery frequently on its boulevards.

In Paris he found little traces of either colour prejudices or licentiousness. He has a lot of pertinent things to say about Geneva, the home of the League of Nations, and Mussolini's creation, the Fascist Italy. That many from amongst its landladies and maid-servants suffered from too much colour prejudices was his experience at the metropolis of the British Empire. Back on the Continent, he witnessed a very old Jewish woman driven away from a Vienna park, reserved for Aryans, by a Nazi official. In Turkey, he found that the Government had completely secularised the public life of the people, though there was no trace of pronounced irreligiosity.

That Mr. Abbas, was particularly lucky in finding himself at places where a bit of history was on the anvil for the time being, will be noticed. When he landed at Shanghai the 'guerrilla warfare', was the order of the day, Kobe he found in ruins because of the unprecedented floods. Notorious anti-

Indian film 'Gunga Din' was being shot when he found himself at Hollywood. 'World Youth Congress' was in sessions when he reached New York. Europe was on the verge of war when he reached London, and the first thing he did there was to arm himself with a gas mask. When he reached Constantinople, modern Turkey was mourning the death of Kamal Ataturk.

There can be no denying the fact that the youthful author has produced a highly entertaining, lively and sparkling travel book, occasionally interlarded with pronounced views on the various world problems.

The Editor Regrets

"Illustrious Brother of the Sun and Moon:

"Behold thy servant prostrate before thy feet! I kowtow to thee and beg that of thy graciousness thou mayest grant that I may speak and live. Thy honoured manuscript has deigned to cast the light of its august countenance upon me. With raptures I have perused it. By the bones of my ancestors, never have I encountered such wit, such pathos, such lofty thought. With fear and trembling I return the writing. Were I to publish the treasure thou hast sent me, the Emperor would order that it be made a standard of excellence and that none be published except such that equalled it. Knowing literature as I do, and that it would be impossible in ten thousand years to equal what thou hast done, I send thy writing back by guarded servants.

"Ten thousand times I crave thy pardon.

"Behold! My head is at thy feet and I am but dust.

"Thy servant's servant,
"WANG CHIN, Editor."

Quoted in a letter to The Trident,
London.

BRITISH INDIA—HISTORY AND HISTORIANS

By B. N. V.

✓ **History and Historians of British India.** By Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan. Kitabistan, Allahabad. Rs. 1-12-0.

The expansion of European countries throughout all the corners of globe during the preceding four centuries is among the most thrilling episodes in history. And the account of settlement in and conquest, consolidation and rule of Britishers over India, is of particular interest to students of Indian history. This—*The History and Historians of British India*—forms the subject matter of a series of two lectures delivered in Baroda in 1938 as "Shrimant Sayaji Rao Lectures" by Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan, Professor of History, Allahabad University, and is now published in book form by Kitabistan, the enterprising publishers of Allahabad.

These lectures have been very rightly described as 'a critical analysis of the essential data for the study of history and a brilliant survey of the essential movements of history'.

Sir Shafaat has brought to bear upon the task to which he has addressed himself, a truly scientific spirit, the spirit of the earnest researcher and seeker after truth. It is all the more creditable when it is remembered that in addition to his scholastic pursuits the learned lecturer has also been an active politician and a party man. That when he writes anything as a historian he is able to take a detached view, despite his political leanings, of men and events and to see things in their proper historical perspective, is praiseworthy indeed. Otherwise, he, or for that matter, anybody would fail as a historian. For, in the author's own words, 'a historian has no theories and prepossessions. He should try to deal with each question with an open mind, in calm and cool spirit, immune from the war cries of the politician and the special pleadings of the partisan'. That some of the early historians, who were mostly Englishmen, were not actuated by these high prin-

ciples and their works 'were conceived in the spring tide of Kipling's imperialism and tended to become purely propagandist manifestoes in which the appetites, sub-conscious impulses and consuming ambition of English heroes were disguised under vast mental construction and clever apologia', that there are many periods which have not been properly and adequately dealt with and that there are many sources which yet remain to be tapped, have been forcibly brought out and rightly emphasized in these lectures. A perusal of the book under review will bring home to the researcher the great possibility and necessity of research in modern Indian history.

Sir Shafaat gives a rapid survey of a vast period (1600 to 1937) with a view 'to trace the evolution of historical works on British India, appraise their value and point out significant gaps in our knowledge of the period, and interpret important events and programmes'. He has many interesting and important observations to make.

The English never attempted to colonise India, nor did they aim at the establishment of their dominion in this land till the middle of eighteenth century.

The contribution of the Portuguese to Indian culture should not be measured by the extent of their possession in India, or the duration of their political influence.

If all the European nations who founded their settlements in India, the Dutch were the only people who produced no influence on Indian thought and life.

It is a mistake to suppose that the administrative arrangements which the Mughals had perfected for a century and a half fell to pieces immediately after the death of Aurangzeb.

From 1757 to 1770 the annals of Bengal are one long story of mismanagement and ignorance.

There is no more sordid chapter in the whole history of modern India than the clandestine negotiations, intrigues and arrangements which the Company's servants in Madras conducted with Muhammad Ali.

The Englishmen who came out to India after 1860 differed from their predecessors in their outlook, temperament and training, and left the tradition of Malcolm and Munro far behind.... They remained stubbornly aloof from the main stream of Indian life and thought, and the gulf was considerably widened.

The 'significant gaps' are :

Very few of the standard works in Dutch have been translated into English, and the gap in our knowledge

of the organisation and powers of the Dutch Company has not yet been filled.

The material on the subject (finances of the Company) is enormous and a skilful investigator could reconstruct the financial history of the East India Company between 1720—1773.

The Mughal Secretariat has hitherto received little attention.

The history of the people of India in the 18th century awaits a band of workers.

The time has now arrived when an impartial estimate of (Warren) Hastings' character should be attempted by Indian historians.

We lack detailed and comprehensive history of India during the first half of the 17th century. The lecturer did not choose to deal with the history of India after Lord Hastings in detail, as fierce controversies have raged over certain measures, and an impartial and detached view is impossible'. He adds: 'The regimes of Ripon and Curzon, Irwin and Willingdon are a fascinating sub-

ject of research, but to those who have taken any share in the public life of their country, it is clear that the real authorities for this period are beyond the reach of the scholar, for if they were made accessible they would produce a conflagration in India.' His advice to students of Indian history is that 'Modern India must be studied with great caution, as the nearer we approach, the greater is the temptation to mix up history with politics'.

The stuff on which the poor Indian school boys were for long fed was a grossly distorted version of the history of India. But for some time past works of intrinsic merit have been produced by Indian scholars. Much has been done but much still remains to be done and it is time that researchers should take up the work of filling in the gaps with zeal and in the true spirit of a historian.

Quite.

English is not generally regarded as a "hard" language to learn, except in two respects—the one auditory, i.e., its pronunciation; and the other visual, i. e. its spelling.

—Professor Lloyd James in *News Review* (London).

The Twentieth Century

THE PROSPECT

By "SCRUTATOR"

The new year always brings new hopes, and men make new resolves. It is quite clear that Lord Linlithgow, having made his new resolve, left Calcutta with new hopes for Bombay, and made a remarkable speech at the Orient Club—a speech which, in its tone and language, was certainly more hope-inspiring than any other that he had made on the Indian situation since October last, though the offer of Dominion Status and the interim change in the Central Government contained nothing new which was not already known to those who had seen him or met him at Simla or Delhi. What has made the difference is the manner—and not the matter—of the speech. Newspapers are responsible for saying that an advance copy of it was sent to the Mahatma; that may or may not be so. For the Viceroy to send an advance copy to a political leader fighting for certain definite ideals is an act of supreme courtesy. It may also imply a feeling of confidence that you are appealing to a man who is bound to respond. That response has undoubtedly come from the Mahatma. His reactions to it have been quite favourable. He has discovered in it the germs of an honourable settlement. He is only anxious to dot the i's and cross the t's. Meanwhile, the Working Committee has at its last sitting simply noted the speech, kept silent, and probably committed the whole matter to the Mahatma's charge. Those who can read between the lines will tell you that many of the stalwarts—not all—of the Committee have had considerable doubts as to the wisdom of calling out the ministers in the provinces. They will not admit it. No politician readily admits his mistake. They have realized vividly during the three months of journey in the wilderness that to

be out of office is not the same thing as to be in office. They have also felt, though they are too proud to admit it, that this act of resignation which was in the nature of a gesture to the Leftists, has failed of its purpose. As a threat to the British Government, it has been a complete failure. The King's Government has been run all this while. The Khaksars have disappeared from the scene, public peace has not been disturbed, and there have been no communal riots anywhere worth mentioning. There have been no demonstrations on the part of the public, that is to say, the non-Congress public, indicative of their wrath and displeasure over the disappearance of Congress ministers from the Secretariats.

If the Mahatma's reactions have been satisfactory, and if Mr. Rajagopalachariar has *now* discovered that Dominion Status practically means the same thing as Independence, and that in some respects it is better than Independence, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has not allowed the grass to grow under his feet. There is, however, a distinct note of pessimism and pceevishness in the speeches he has delivered since the last meeting of the Working Committee at Wardha. The struggle, in his case, is always to come, only it is being put off by the peace-loving Mahatma. He must still talk of the principles of Moscow as the only right principles in this world, even though Stalin has broken his heart. Having made a vain quest for peace and tried to court Mr. Jinnah, he has now dropped him. He recognises that, like a true *satyagrahi*, the Mahatma and the Congress must always be ready for peace or honourable settlement, but then, his idea of peace or settlement with the British is that if the conditions laid down by the Congress Working Committee are not accepted, there should be no peace, and then the 'question of a further step forward will arise.' If, said he to an audience, they wanted his opinion, he did not see the possibility of any settlement at present. This is not by any means hopeful. Optimists may still believe that there seems to be some sort of arrangement between the Mahatma and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, that while the latter is at liberty

to *say* anything that he likes, the former also is at liberty to *do* anything he likes. There are, however, currents and cross-currents in the Congress; and the stream never flows smoothly or in defined channels. It may run into the channel of Constituent Assembly to-day, it may run into the channel of Independence to-morrow, it may again divert itself into the channel of Dominion Status day after to-morrow. The essence of the whole situation is that while the Mahatma is sincere to the very fibre of his being in his demand for Indian freedom, he knows and realises the difficulties of the situation. At any rate, he has begun to feel those difficulties. He very seldom talks about Defence which one would expect the aspirants of Indian freedom to put in the forefront. Consistently with his own doctrine of Non-violence, Defence is a negation of Non-violence, and therefore, a superfluity. But perhaps, he will not be prepared to push his logic to the extreme. If Congressmen were wise to-day, they would talk less of Constituent Assembly and Independence, and more of a rapid enrolment of Indians and their training in all the Defence Services, and particularly Air. This they have not done, and they can excuse themselves by saying what the rank and file do say in the streets; "This is an Imperialist war and we shouldn't help the British". This is very much like cutting your nose to spite your face.

Meanwhile, the communal situation has shown no signs of real improvement. Mr. Jinnah has had the satisfaction that the Deliverance Day has been celebrated. The "deliverance" has not actually come, any more than "independence" has come by celebrating the Independence Day. It is something, however, that only a wordy warfare has been raging and that heads have not been broken. The tension has been relieved by some exhibition of crude humour on both sides. The Mahatma has notified to the world that he is no longer disposed to address Mr. Jinnah as *Shri* nor as *Janab* Jinnah Saheb and that he must now address him as *Qaide Azam* because at one time he was told by Hakim Saheb what the

meaning of this phrase was. Mr. Jinnah asks why he was not addressing him like that during the Hakim's lifetime or up till now. The Mahatma's reply is awaited. He has told us very solemnly that he does not like the prefix 'Mr.' against Indian names. Mr. Jinnah continues, however, to be contumacious and persists in addressing the Mahatma as Mr. Gandhi. This is our humour, and this is our politics. This, however, is not a reposeful background for a settlement that is to come.

Sir Hugh O'Neill has said in the House of Commons that His Majesty's Government do not propose to hold any enquiry such as is demanded by Mr. Jinnah. That is the end of the demand for a Royal Commission. The necessary implication of Lord Linlithgow's Orient Club speech is that there is to be no Constituent Assembly. That is also what the *London Times* says. That may be taken to be the British attitude. That is what virtually Lord Meston has said in his letter to the *Manchester Guardian*. From Independence we have come down to Dominion Status. That is what the much-maligned Liberals also said. That is what was said at the Round Table Conference. That is also what the Hindu Mahasabha has said, though, not to be outpaced by the Congress Working Committee it is speaking of Dominion Status as a first step. The only dissentients to-day are Mr. Subhas Bose and the Leftist followers. Why not then, in the name of commonsense, and fairness to the much-befogged masses, descend from the cloudland to solid earth? Why not then fix upon Dominion Status of the Westminster Statute type as the basis for discussion? Probably, this will be the basis for discussion between Lord Linlithgow and Mahatma Gandhi—and Lord Linlithgow and Mr. Jinnah, if not between them all. Then will come the danger of dotting the i's and crossing the t's. The Chinese have given to the world the phrase of 'face saving'. May we hope that we shall not be guided by this Chinese phrase and that the Congress will not then demand, to save its face, a Conference of some sort, if only it is called a Constituent Assembly, and it is agreed

that the Britishers will keep out of doors when it is discussing galore the content of Dominion Status or Indian freedom inside the doors? May we also hope that Mr. Jinnah will not again come out at that time with his thesis of two separate nations living in India and of Democracy which has suited Canada or South Africa not being suited to India, because one nation here is Hindu and the other is Muhammadan?

Seriously speaking, the situation demands that the immediate and future interests of the country should be safeguarded, not with reference to the favourite theories of this leader or that, or in the light of one 'ism' or another 'ism'. If there are two nations, how are you to make one of them? If there is appalling poverty in the country, how are you to replace it by affluence and plenty? If our future lies in relieving the downtrodden peasant from his grinding poverty, how are you to make him happy, contented and economically strong? If the minorities feel a sense of insecurity, how are you to assure them that in the new order to be, they will have their proper share not only in the Services or the Legislatures but also in the actual Government? If the majority feels that it is entitled to carry things in its own way, how is it to carry with it the minorities? The truth of the matter is that it is not the perfection of the written word in a constitutional statute—perfection judged in the light of one theory or another—which matters. What does matter in the affairs of men is not the bookishness of the University professor or the amateur politician, but the long-range view of the practical statesman, the keen sense of realities, and above everything else, commonsense, toleration and a spirit of give and take. This is lacking. And unless this is forthcoming, no matter how heartily Lord Linlithgow and the Mahatma may embrace each other, no matter how perfect the constitution may be, the problem of India will not be solved. So long as the Muslims continue to feel that they were at one time the rulers of the country, and so long as the

Hindu majority feels that as a majority by itself it has got the right to rule the country in the name of Democracy and to liquidate the seven hundred years of Muslim rule in India, so long all this talk of notionalism is vanity. It is this spirit which is wanting. Slogans have nearly killed it. The exaggerated ego of leaders—Hindu and Muslim—has had a blasting effect on our polity. Does it do any good to anyone to say that the communal problem is the creation of the British? Assuming that it is, why cannot we be sensible enough to approach each other in the spirit in which we should and defeat British machinations, if any? How long are we going to say that in a free India there is no place for Indian States or Princes? How long are we going to pervert Indian history and say that the Indian States are the creation of the British or a part of British paramountcy and that they owe their present position to the British? Udaipur, Jaipur, Jodhpur, Travancore, Cochin—one may add Mysore and Hyderabad—were there long before the British appeared on the scene. If you hold out threats every day of your life to these Indian States, why should they help you in creating a free India? And yet, if there is, and has been, anywhere scope for Indian talent and Indian capacity, it is in these much-maligned States. It is quite another thing to demand that the pace towards constitutional form of Government in the States should become more definite and more rapid. But these idle threats either to the Indian States or the minorities will never pave the way for a peaceful and progressive India, even though there may be Dominion Status, or Constituent Assembly and then Independence. The technique of public oratory requires to be changed. And that is the most urgent need of India.

It is difficult to prophesy at this juncture what the upshot of this exchange of gestures may be. The Rightists have been striking a note of optimism and their organs in the press are already jubilant that the Mahatma's strategy and fairness are about to yield results. The 'disembodied spirits' of the Govern-

ment, namely, the whilom Ministers are getting obviously impatient that their return to office is being so much delayed. Not so Jawaharlal. There is a feeling of uncomfortable uneasiness about him in New Delhi. His speeches after the Wardha meeting are none too hope-inspiring. He will have nothing to do with Mr. Jinnah now but will accept a settlement with the British only on his terms. That is to say, he will not be happy unless he gets the Constituent Assembly first and Independence next. This apparently Lord Linlithgow is not prepared to do or will be allowed to do, howsoever much he may be anxious to placate the wise Mahatma or to restore Ministers who are the victims of circumstance. Further, Subhas Bose is already up in arms. He has already been pouring ridicule and contempt on the Rightists for their abiding faith in *charka* and non-violence. He has, however, one thing in common between him and the Rightists; just as the Rightists are speaking of the 'next step' and 'the coming struggle', so has he been talking of the Leftist determination to take the next step. Perhaps he has a better sense of history when he puts the query about the demand for a Constituent Assembly when the British are still here. But whatever Jawaharlal may say or Subhas Bose may say—the fear that they will do anything may be dismissed—Qaide Azam Jinnah will be the decisive factor. The Congress have caught a Tartar in him. He firmly believes that sweet words butter no parsnips. Professions of democracy and safeguards for minorities stink in his nostrils. Nothing will satisfy him unless it be an actual partition of power. But how can that be unless the High Command is prepared to part with it? It is plain that it is not prepared to do it. So one need not be too optimistic.

WISHFUL THOUGHTS

GOERING

Here Hermann Goering lies asleep
 Beneath a stone some inches deep—
 A measure of precaution lest
 He fret—with nothing on his chest.

RIBBENTROP

A clever man is buried here,
 If, traveller, you shed a tear,
 And wish to learn some further facts,
 He made champagne and also pacts;
 But which fell flat and which went pop—
 Best ask the shade of Ribbentrop.

HESS

Buried here,
 Is Hess,
 Never much,
 Now less.

GOEBBELS

Here Goebbels *lieth* still.

—A. P. Sturrock, in the *Glasgow Herald*

SHEAVES FROM A SCRAP-BOOK

By I. D.

Cabinet resignations have always in them the elements of a first-class political controversy. Mr. Hore-Belisha's good-bye to Mr. Chamberlain has been the theme of animated discussion in the press and in political circles. It is obvious that but for some serious considerations, Mr. Hore-Belisha would not have vacated the office which he admittedly filled with rare distinction. But neither the interesting discussion in the House of Commons nor the personal statements made by the Prime Minister and the ex-War Secretary proved to be enlightening. If anything, they but tended to deepen the mystery in which the whole episode has been shrouded from the very beginning. Nothing has happened to remove from the public mind the prevailing impression that, by his audacious Army reform, Mr. Hore-Belisha came into conflict with the vested interests of the Army and he was called upon to pay the price for his daring and drive. To appease Hitler, Mr. Chamberlain had earlier got rid of Mr. Eden; now to please or placate some other elements he has possibly sacrificed Mr. Hore-Belisha. That is Mr. Chamberlain's way.

* * * * *

Prime Ministers have their difficulties in driving a team—particularly during the war period. Mr. Chamberlain's experience is by no means new or strange. In the last war, Mr. Asquith, later Earl of Oxford, had his own share of worries due to internal squabbles in the Cabinet, but he faced the problem in his characteristic way. Lady Oxford's recent disclosure in the *Sunday Times* provides, besides interesting reading, a useful tip to Mr. Chamberlain:

I went to say goodnight to him (my husband) in his dressing room one day [writes Lady Oxford] after he had been exhausted by the efforts he had made to compose the quarrels in his Cabinet. I found him translating Kipling into Greek. "I want to get my mind away," he said, "from the squalid quarrels going on between our Admirals, Generals and politicians. I shall be fresh to face them again to-morrow morning."

The Asquith antidote to Cabinet conflicts is typical of the man who believed in the efficacy of the classics: it has no attraction for Mr. Chamberlain who is essentially an angler. The trouble with Mr. Chamberlain is that while he knows fishing all right, he has the knack of fishing only in troubled waters.

* * * * *

Shrewd observers who perceived in the Viceroy's speech at Bombay the only ray of sunshine on the political horizon which had grown menacingly dark, stand vindicated. Yet another ray is now visible. The Mahatma's unequivocal declaration of faith in Britain—and the Viceroy, is an evidence of his statesmanship and also an investment for an amicable and honourable settlement of the Indian problem. It is a more authentic expression of Congress reaction to the Viceregal statement than the comments in the Congress press and the utterances of Congress politicians. And it now serves to bridge the gulf between the first impulses and second thoughts of the Congress rank and file. If the Mahatma is for a settlement as he undoubtedly is, and if the Viceroy's sincerity is beyond question as the Mahatma readily admits, February may well be looked up to, for making up for the wrongs of October.

* * * * *

Complete Independence This does not, however, mean that there are no hurdles to be cleared. On the question of Complete Independence *versus* Dominion Status, the Congress, and the Mahatma in particular, are least likely to break over. There is little purpose in discussing the relative merits of both which are such a perennial source of

controversy, for there is no getting away from the fact that the use of the term 'Complete Independence' by the Congress has revealed more expediency than conviction. The great Liberal journalist, Mr. J. A. Spender, has hit the nail on the head when he recently said:

Those who have never debated with Eastern politicians about the meaning of the word 'independence' will no doubt think it preposterous that Mr. Gandhi should demand from the Viceroy a promise of 'complete independence'. The phrase has a formidable sound, but it has by this time a conventional meaning which robs it of much of its sting in Eastern countries.

That explains.

* * * * *

But what happens to the idea of a Constituent Assembly over which the Viceroy has remained silent? Will the British agree to convene one—and leave it to the nation to frame its own constitution? Will the Princes and the minorities, and the Muslims in particular, agree to participate in it? If not, will the Congress agree, after so much ado, to put it in cold storage—inside Anand Bhawan? These are difficult questions to answer. But what is not apparently a matter for anxiety to the Viceroy and the Mahatma, need hardly be a source of curiosity to us. They have several other matters too, to discuss—and there is Mr. Jinnah who is perhaps a tougher problem than either Independence or Constituent Assembly.

* * * * *

Blast And Counter-blast Until the League and the Congress come together in sincere co-operation, it would be idle to speculate on the future of our political progress [said Dr. C. R. Reddy in his recent Jubilee Memorial Address in Cochin] I believe that the country's interests will be best served by the Congress abandoning the Constituent Assembly and the League the Royal Commission and getting into direct touch with each other.

In these words we hear the voice of sanity. To the Congress blast of Constituent Assembly, Mr. Jinnah's Royal Commission is the counter-blast, and in the disappearance of

both lies the hope of an understanding between the communities and of a settlement between the parties. It is quite on the cards that one will cancel out the other, and political parleys will take a realistic turn. But there is little prospect and less use of the League and the Congress 'getting into direct touch with each other'. The Viceroy's intervention—whether it is offered or sought or secured—seems to be indispensable and, incidentally provides the most eloquent commentary on the realities of the Indian situation.

* * * * *

Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar It is interesting to recall that the day on which he laid down the reins of office—and he was the first Congress Premier to wind up his show—Mr. Rajagopalachariar said that they (Congress Ministers) were but going on a three-month holiday march and would be back at their posts of duty in February. It was not mere guesswork: it was shrewd calculation. He knew (unlike many a Congressman) what he was talking about. It must be said to his credit that since he came out of office, he has been most strenuously working for a settlement while the Pandits were busy sowing wild oats. Answering charges, posing queries, citing parables, evolving formulae,—he has been unremitting in his labours to tide over the situation on honourable terms—terms honourable to both sides. He knew the trend of Congress politics, the mind of the Mahatma, the mood of the nation. In public affairs it is vision that counts, not vehemence. And while the Mahatma may love others, he leans on Rajaji.

* * * * *

Travancore and Cochin It is noteworthy that the Nawab Saheb of Chhatari who went to Travancore and Dr. C. R. Reddy to Cochin have both given with alacrity a very good account of the State each visited and paid a handsome tribute to its Ruler and his Dewan. While the Nawab spoke of His Highness the Maharaja

of Travancore as one who 'embodied in himself the highest ideals of patriotism and democracy' and said that it seemed to him that 'the Government of the State by the Maharaja through his trusted and able adviser and minister, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, was run on the most modern and efficient lines and had been able to achieve phenomenal progress in all directions', Dr. Reddy avowed that whatever test be applied 'the Maharaja of Cochin stands out prominent—an inspiring example to future generations' and eulogised the excellence of Cochin and the eminence of the Dewan (Sir R. K. S. Chetty). This is all not mere conventional praise or sentimental sonorosity but genuine appreciation of the remarkable progress made by Travancore and Cochin and the rare qualities of their Rulers. Dr. Reddy pertinently asked:

Have there not been progressive States....progressive not merely relatively to other States more backward than themselves, but relatively to British India, the implied standard of comparison?

And he gave instances too. There is little doubt that, left to themselves, some at least of the States will go farther ahead than they have actually done while, faced with internal unrest engineered by outside agencies, they are apt to move tardily, if move at all they will. Far more harm than good is done by trying to reverse Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's famous dictum that 'good government is no substitute for self-government'.

* * * * *

The inter-dependence between the States and the Provinces is well-illustrated by the recent appointments made in Hyderabad which have attracted wide attention and evoked much praise. If, in appointing Sir M. Venkatasubbarao, formerly of the Madras High Court, and a man universally esteemed, Hyderabad turned to Madras, it has now, in filling up the places of the Chief Justice and Judicial Member, drawn on U. P. and Bihar respectively. Mr. Chaudhri Niyamatullah, Chief Justice-designate, of Hyderabad, who has been practising in Lucknow

since his retirement from the Allahabad Bench, enjoys a reputation second to none. Mr. Syed Abdul Aziz of Patna who is to succeed Nawab Mirza Yar Jung Bahadur as the Judicial Member of Hyderabad, is a man of wider interests, and an active politician. It is of the utmost significance that notwithstanding Mr. Aziz's connection with the Muslim League in Bihar as its President, the *Searchlight*, a Congress paper, was the first in the field to pay an unqualified tribute to his ability and the very agreeable personal side of the man. The reception given to these appointments made by H. E. H. the Nizam augurs well for the new era which is shortly to begin in Hyderabad with the introduction of the Reforms. Incidentally, it may be noted that the Hyderabad example of giving functional representation seems to have caught public imagination. Rampur follows the model. And the *Statesman* is so enthusiastic over it as "the most natural form of political expression."

* * * * *

At the first meeting of the Congress Working Committee at Wardha since the declaration of the War, the Mahatma was in a minority of one. At its last meeting the Working Committee unanimously decided to leave everything to Gandhiji. The question arises—who converted whom? Perhaps it can only be answered in the light of the developments at Delhi. In the meantime it would not be unfair to assume that the Angel of Peace is flapping its wings directly over the heads of the War Sub Committee. It is all for the good of India.

* * * * *

Allahabad, the intellectual and cultural metropolis of U. P., is entitled to the satisfaction and credit of having been the venue of the largest number of conferences in India this winter. There is a sense of harmony in the season's activities having been brought to a close with what may be termed as a feminine

touch. The women who assembled here from all parts of India may justly claim to be representatives of a tradition, exponents of a culture and advocates of a cause which have won universal recognition. Neither their fabrics nor fashions were even remotely suggestive of fetters. When the guardian angels of homes and hearths come into the open to protect the nation's honour and fight for freedom, we should feel more confident than critical and rejoice over the sight as well as the prospect. The address delivered by Begum Hamid Ali as President of the Allahabad Conference is truly combative and challenging. But in demanding for (Indian) woman the freedom to decline her mistress-ship of the kitchen and to bear or not bear children, and in trying to draw a picture of men in India as Hitlers and Indian homes as concentration camps, she reminds us of a great woman's dictum that "my sex are born embroiderers, and I hardly know a woman who can give a clear statement of fact." Amidst all their demands, born of new consciousness, let not women forget the fundamental proposition that there is no better way of building a nation than by each building a good home first.

* * * * *

Those who met Mr. V. N. Mehta on the 25th and 26th of January at the parties given in Allahabad in honour of Sir Maurice and Lady Hallett, and found him hale and hearty and in excellent spirits, could never have dreamt that he was nearing his end. His death due to heart failure on the succeeding Saturday came like a bolt from the blue. Senior Member of the Board of Revenue, U. P. and ex-Prime Minister of Bikaner, a man of wide learning and versatile talent, and a gentleman of great personal charm, he was held in the highest esteem both in official and non-official ranks. He was an enthusiastic supporter of this journal and a valued contributor to its columns. News also comes from Madras that at Mysore, while drinking tea, old V. V. Jogiah Pantulu

dropped down dead in the lap of his son, the well-known Mr. V. V. Giri, ex-Congress Minister. Mr. Jogiah Pantulu was the leader of the Bar at Berhampur and a life-long Congressman, highly respected in all circles. The manner of the passing away of these two veterans shows that Death sometimes comes stealthily, takes one unawares and extinguishes the flame of life all too suddenly and also illustrates the utter vanity of human wishes and futility of human hopes.

THE PRESENT IMPASSE

APPROACHES TO THE SOLUTION

By DR. C. R. REDDY

Several ways have been suggested to overcome the impasse and advance to a higher stage of political development. Mr. Jinnah desires that a Royal Commission should be appointed to go into the whole question of the future constitution. I do not see how his view could be dismissed as *a priori* unreasonable. He has from the outset opposed with more sincerity than the Congress the federation sought to be established by the present Act. His grounds are clear and have been consistent—that federation involves the subordination, in the Centre, of Muslims to the Hindus, and that this jeopardises the autonomy of the “Muslim provinces” as well, and reduces their status as States and nation. Furthermore, in the provincial sphere, the unitary party cabinet type of government has degraded the Muslims and other minorities to a position of helplessness. The constitutional significance of separate electorates and safeguards had been nullified with the connivance, active or passive, of the British Government. So tinkering with the present constitution and making this amendment or that will not do. What is required is a new type of Government—a *de novo* constitution.

And it has been customary to appoint Royal Commissions when distinctive stages of constitutional advancement are contemplated. *A fortiori*, when a new type of Government is necessary, should not an independent Royal Commission be charged with the task of enquiry and recommendation? True, the Royal Commission will enquire into the grievances tabled by the Muslim League and the minorities. But that is because no constitution worth the name or possessing reality and power of growth is possible without a concrete examination of conditions

and the manner in which the constitutions to be superseded have actually functioned. Mr. Jinnah, apparently and probably with good reason, distrusts the ability of the present Government of India and the Governors to act as independent judges and arbitrators. They had betrayed the Muslims two and a half years ago and have never listened to them, but have been rather anxious to conciliate the party of numerical power, namely, the Congress. And so he asks for a Royal Commission unassailable and inaccessible to hypnotism by numbers. We may approve or disapprove of Mr. Jinnah's contention. But it would be foolish to refuse to recognise the weight of his argument.

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY :—The Congress has made several different approaches to the solution of the impasse.

(i) It has given and is giving liberal assurances to Muslims and minorities. But politics is business. And, in view of the influence of office acceptance on the psychology of the Congress as illustrated by these two and a half years, the Muslims naturally demand something more substantial than the word of the Congress....namely, measure, constitutional provision and procedure by which these provisions could be made effective. I do not think the Muslims, for instance, would agree to leave safeguarding in the hands of the Governors. They would demand that their own representatives shall meet and by a majority resolve on the representation to be made right up to the highest authority. This will involve the right of that authority to exercise immediately a suspensory veto and to impose its decision on the ministry, also an obligation on the part of the ministry to accept that decision. If it refuses and resigns, the constitution should provide for other forms of government. Or it may be that, rather than face these risks and interregna, the new constitution will provide for the democracies of a popular without being a party type, as Mr. Jinnah would have it, with an irremovable executive, whether *de facto* or *de jure*, as in America and Switzerland. There is no need to go into the

niceties of speculative constitutions before the Congress and the League agree on the fundamentals.

(2) The Congress has approached Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League directly for a settlement. It is our misfortune that this has not fructified. The grounds of failure have already been stated. As my old teacher, Professor Pittendrigh, used to say, "When there is much to be said on both sides, it is best to say nothing".

Failing to reach a direct settlement with the Muslim League, the Congress now advances as its official proposition the constituent assembly. The old order changeth, yielding place to new. For twenty years it was Hindu-Muslim unity first and Swaraj to follow automatically. Now the values and precedence are reversed. Declaration of Independence first and then Hindu-Muslim unity will be fabricated by the constituent assembly. The Muslims and the Hindus will be obliged to come to terms, once the British bayonets and *Par Britannica* are removed, in fear though not in love of each other. I wonder, if after a fight or without.

It will be recalled that this idea of a constituent assembly was first thrown out by Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru years ago. But Gandhiji's adoption of this appears to be subsequent to the breakdown of the Delhi negotiations. If those have succeeded, the constituent assembly would not have been thought of as immediate or practical politics.

The constituent assembly has gone through many phases already. And it is difficult to keep in touch with the changes that authoritative Congress leaders have been ringing.

As regards its composition, some hold that all the minorities as well as the Muslims shall be elected by separate electorates; others that only the Muslims should be given the privilege; still others that, if necessary, other minorities also might enter by their own door of special electorates. Who is to be judge of the necessity?

The phrase has also been employed, namely, "real interests" of "genuine minorities"....adjectives that easily lead to arguments, differences and, possibly, arbitration. Who is to judge which minority is genuine and which fictitious? Who is to judge what the real interests of a minority are and when they overstep the bounds?

In regard to the functioning, it has been declared that as far as possible the minorities would be left to decide their special interests themselves and that the decisions would be accepted. The majority will not impose its will on the minorities. Here, again, the field of possible friction appears to be extensive. Each minority is apparently a constituent assembly for its own interests. There may be a clash of interests between the different minorities, as in the Punjab. How to resolve them?

If no agreement is possible in this chamber, divided within itself though not against itself, recourse should be had to arbitration. A constituent assembly having recourse to arbitration is a novel type of body. But the Indian conditions are a novelty too.

How will this arbitration be chosen? Mahatma Gandhi, who despairs to find twelve wise men in the country, concludes that final wisdom would be found only in the constituent multitude. But will this multitude appoint the arbitrator? But the arbitrator would be required because the minorities and the majority do not agree. And how can one of the parties appoint the judge? If, therefore, the multitude cannot appoint the judge, surely somebody will have to discover the all-wise, all-impartial arbitrator. Why not then proceed to discover twelve wise men here and now and attempt a way out? This is the proposal of Sir Maurice Gwyer and of Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan. It is difficult to see any other way than negotiations between party leaders.

After all, numbers, though much, are not everything. Ideas though submerged now, may re-appear later. And the desire

to stampede the country and the minorities by the numerical power of a party, though it may produce results of a kind in the immediate present, may sow the seeds of future trouble. Moral convictions should not be ignored. And is there a better way of arriving at heart-to-heart settlements excepting negotiations with the leaders that have created the ideas now rampant in the country? The distrust of the intellectuals is, I suppose, a wholesome feeling within measure and limit. But is it not a virtue that can be easily carried to excess?

Incidentally, the speeches of some Congress leaders on this idea of the constituent assembly have revealed some unforeseen aspects. One of them asks the government to help in arriving at a solution. That the government which has been accused as a third party fomenting divisions in order that it might rule should be looked upon as a possible help is notable evidence of the lack of self-confidence in the Congress in these troubled times. The party which declared that it was there to solve the Hindu-Muslim problem and bring about unity, the prerequisite of Swaraj, evidently finds that it is no longer within its power to achieve that divine consummation. And there are hints and open statements that Government should prevent unreasonable, recalcitrant minorities wrecking the possibility of settlement. In other words, coercion may have to be employed by the Government.

The constituent assembly which started in full moon glory appears to be fast dwindling into new moon. One of the leaders declares that the constituent assembly will be elected by adult franchise; that it would work through sub-committees and produce a constitution. Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, speaking with more practical wisdom, is of opinion that a small number of people would meet and devise an agreed constitution and that the constituent assembly would serve mainly as a ratifying authority. Under such circumstances, it would not be able even to amend the constitution presented for its ratification. The following is an extract from the editorial of the *Hindu*:

There is, of course, the larger question whether the idea of a constituent assembly must be taken to exclude the possibility of the essentials of a constitutional scheme being hammered out by a small number of delegates... which is what Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan apparently favours and which, as Sir Maurice Gwyer points out, was the method adopted in Canada, South Africa and Australia. We do not see why a constituent assembly should preclude the doing of the preliminary exploratory work by a relatively small body of representatives of important parties.

I am glad that the constituent assembly has thus receded in its functional importance. Should we not then avoid quarrelling over its composition and functions and start the exploratory and constructive work by means of a conference like the one recommended by Dr. Paranjpye, or even a smaller body?

Some Constructive Ideas—I must now pass on to one or two observations of a general nature.

Are there no types of democracy other than the British standard pattern? Montesquieu declared that unless there was separation of executive, legislative, and judicial powers, the liberty of the subject and democracy could not be guaranteed. It is on this principle of separation of powers that a large number of constitutions in the world, perhaps the majority, are based; notably the United States of America, which has served as the model for all the South American Republics. The unitary party cabinet type and the unitary House of Commons with hardly ever more than two effective parties are a peculiarity of the British atmosphere. That atmosphere cannot obtain on the banks of the Ganges or of the Cauvery. No country has been able to reproduce the Mother of Parliaments. Even the daughters born of her have a physiognomy all their own. Switzerland is a type that has been often alluded to as more fitted to serve for our model than England. An irremovable executive lends itself more easily to a composite structure than the removable. And being apart from the legislature, as in America, it has a better chance of cultivating the spirit of agreed solutions than party cabinets subject to no-confidence motions. It is more stable.

And the legislature too, as it would not be subject to dissolution by such a Government, would not feel it necessary to obey the party whip with dumb docility.

The Indian system may have to be far more composite than other federations. It must be a federation of provinces which ultimately may be formed on a linguistic basis, that is to say, geographical federation. It will have also to embody the principle of ethnic federalism and provide a sufficiently important place to Muslims and minorities. The Order of the Princes has to be included. Recent experience, I am afraid, has not promoted in them a desire to join. Except under a system of irremovable executives, it may not be possible to bring these elements to co-operate with each other.

Fissiparous tendencies will have to be overcome. As the position of defenceless nations is fraught with danger to their integrity and independence, it would be necessary to accept the membership of the British Empire with necessary adjustments. Every form of federalism necessitates a limitation of numerical democracy, since even a small unit joining must be given in some shape or another a place of equality. For instance, in the American constitution the Lower House is constituted on a population basis. But in the Senate every State of the Union, irrespective of its area, population or contribution in taxes, is given an equal membership. Since this equality should also be functionally effective, the Senate is endowed with very real power, though not co-extensively with the House of Representatives. It is far more powerful, for instance, than the House of Lords. Whether in the Upper Chambers in India we should not adopt a similar principle of construction and function and see that no one community is allowed to have a majority over all other communities is a matter for consideration.

I suspect there is a battle of tactics going on between Mr. Jinnah and Gandhiji. The Mahatma wants to force a solution by the power of numbers which he is confident of

commanding in the constituent assembly. Mr. Jinnah, not being in a position to command numbers, wants to have the controversy removed to the field of calm judgment by a Royal Commission.

Until the League and the Congress come together in sincere co-operation, it would be idle to speculate on the future of our political progress. I believe that the country's interests will be best served by the Congress abandoning the constituent assembly and the League the Royal Commission and getting into direct touch with each other. Let us hope and pray that a new era of communal unity in common patriotic aims and co-operation will dawn and dispel the gloom that now unhappily surrounds the prospects of our Motherland.

[From the Cochin Jubilee Memorial Lecture at Ernakulam.]

THE MINORITIES PROBLEM

PRELIMINARY CLARIFICATION

By PROF. K. R. R. SASTRY

The problem of the minorities in India has been used by the British Government for purposes of the strengthening of Paramountcy. As Dr. K. B. Krishna has well summed up in his masterly study, the evolution of British policy in India is on the "lines of counterpoise, concessions and the strengthening of Paramountcy." The high moral fervour one finds in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report (*Vid.* para 228) has only to be re-extracted to find the bitter disillusionment of recent times. To illustrious Montagu "the history of self-government among the nations who developed it, and spread it through the world, is decisively against the admission by the State of any divided allegiance, against the State's arranging its members in any way which encourages them to think of themselves primarily as citizens of any smaller unit than itself."

When one peeps into the Report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee, the conclusion is irresistible that none of the four essential factors of Parliamentary Government as understood in the United Kingdom "can be said to exist in India." (Para 19). In their place, the Committee were confronted with "the age-old antagonism of Hindu and Mohamman" (?)

Two remarkable reports have been published recently in Hyderabad and Mysore. The repercussions of British India experience have had reactions in the two states as well. As a result of Hindu-Muslim agreement (the famous Lucknow Pact) excepting the two Provinces (Punjab and Bengal) where the Muslims were in numerical majority, they were given weightage in every other province. The Committee in Hyderabad presided over by an eminent lawyer came to the conclusion that "the signs and portents of the time were very

disconcerting." Taking a cue from the profound remarks of Sir Brajendranath Seal in 1923 that '*Facultative Representation*' will prove an influence for unification and concord," the Hyderabad Reforms Committee set the following question realistically to themselves :

Why the worn-out method of territorial representation should not be set aside and facilities for cooperation and for the evolution of a sound economic order should not be sought through a system of representation by interests ?"

Territorial constituencies have been ruled out, and instead occupational constituencies based on the economic *motif* are envisaged. The arguments of the able Chairman of the Hyderabad Reforms Committee in favour of functional representation are masterly, and this interesting experiment in the premier state of Hyderabad deserves careful study of publicists and constitutional lawyers. While Hyderabad state deserves to be congratulated on its adoption of joint electorates and rejection of separate electorates the Muslims who constitute 11% or 12% of the population are to be given equal representation with the Hindus both among the elected and nominated members *This is weightage indeed !*

Passing on to the state of Mysore, the Reforms Committee (a majority of them) felt that

the communal electorates would practically break up that close unity of interests between the Hindus and Muslims which has been a happy characteristic of the relations between the two communities in Mysore and would retard the growth of a sense of common citizenship.

The Committee unhappily did not follow up their views in their recommendations. They gave in where their better sense persuaded them to the contrary when they left the "final say in the matter to the choice of the community itself." (para 160). But the Dewan of Mysore has allowed the 'unanimous' desire of the Muslim community (the Reforms Committee only mentions the phrase "almost unanimous" in para 159) to weigh in favour of a separate electorate. Mysore, for all practical purposes, has the political consciousness of British India ; and an unhappy lead has been given by introducing the fissiparous and

centrifugal system of separate electorates. The expression of a fond hope by the Government that the "system will not retard the growth of a sense of common citizenship" is belittling pregnant observations of the Hyderabad Reforms Committee that "the signs and portents of the time are, indeed, very disconcerting." It is even now not too late to mend this introduction of a *virus* into the erstwhile sound body-politic of progressive Mysore.

WHAT IS MEANT BY A MINORITY ?

When the "legitimate interests" of minorities were deemed necessary to be protected under the 'special responsibilities' of Governors, the demand by the Indian delegation to define it has been left unanswered. Obviously, the term has no reference to the 'political' minorities. (*Vide* para 79, Joint Parliamentary Committee Report). It is at this stage instructive to refer to the solution of the minorities' problem by the League of Nations.

Though the protection of racial, linguistic and religious minorities in the sphere of international law is not an innovation introduced by the Post-Great War treaties, for the first time in diplomatic history, a new body called the League of Nations was entrusted with the task of guaranteeing the stipulations concerning the position of minorities. Minorities Treaties, Declarations and Conventions were evolved to solve particular problems in different European countries. The creators of the system had no intention of establishing a general jurisprudence applicable wherever racial, religious or linguistic minorities existed. In fact, the Lithuanian delegation's attempt in 1925 to evolve a draft Minorities Convention to include all States Members of the League proved unsuccessful.

The opinion of M. de Mello Franco (Brazil) as *rapporteur* on minorities questions is entitled to great weight. In his view :

The mere co-existence of groups of persons forming collective entities, racially different in the territory and under the jurisdiction of a State, is

not sufficient to create the obligation to recognize the existence in that state, side by side with the majority of its population, of a minority requiring a protection entrusted to the League of Nations. In order that a minority, according to the meaning of the present treaties, should exist, it must be the product of struggles, going back for centuries or perhaps for shorter periods, between certain nationalities, and of the transference of certain territories from one sovereignty to another through successive historical phases.—*League of Nations and the Protection of Minorities*—p. 19.

It is worthy of note that the Permanent Court of International Justice has consistently discouraged the attempts made to weaken the protection of minorities.

[Series B. No. 6, pp. 23-24, Series A/B No. 44, p. 28, Series A No. 7 p. 32, Series A/B No. 61, Series B. No. 12.]

INDIA AND THE LEAGUE METHOD

So far as India is concerned, the League method can have an application only when there are special statutory Treaties, Conventions or Declarations. Judged by M. de Mello Franco's test of a minority, the Muslims may just qualify for it. To quote the parallel of the League method to the distressingly dismal minority problems of India with the demand of special electorates and weightage in certain provinces is not of much real value.

In view of the failure of Indian statesmanship to solve the minority problems unaided by outside agency, an agreed reference to the League of Nations by the Government of India for arbitration may be another way of resorting to the good offices of the League. That the difficult and delicate problems referred to the League Council are being solved in a spirit of conciliation and pacification is indeed full of lessons to many Indians who are inclined to overstress their particularistic views.

CONDITIONS OF THE PROBLEM

There is in India a well-grounded suspicion that the minorities are pitted against the forces of progress by the foreigner. When the true history of the origin of some of the

mushroom so-called minorities falls to be written, the truth of this element would stand confirmed or rebutted. That some of the so-called minorities have exploited this factor is a hard fact.

There is, viewed from an all-India test, only one minority, the Muslim community. Judged from the point of view of provinces in British India—in Punjab, Bengal, N.-W. F. Province, Sind and Baluchistan, the Hindus are minorities, in other provinces the Muslims are minorities. There is thus loose-thinking when we read of other minorities.

How far the weightage given to the Muslims under the Lucknow Pact in provinces where they are in a minority has conduced to growth of common citizenship is a serious problem. How far again the *fatful* special representation with special electorates started in 1929 for the Muslims has led to present difficulties, will always remind students of Indian politics of a fatal false step taken under wrong advice.

The evolution of the Indian constitution has been set on a track where British Parliamentary experience and the evolution of British Dominions have had a continuous influence. One is not forgetting the medieval-minded Indian States which are to come in as unequal parts of the Federation-to-be. The experience of the working of Congress Ministries has created very properly a favourable reaction in the minds of competent English observers.

The history of the constituent assemblies in Canada, Australia and South Africa under widely differing circumstances bears abundant testimony to the hard fact that despite differing interests in each country, constituent assemblies for forming a constitution have met and successfully concluded their business. The issue so far as India is concerned has been put by Mahatma Gandhi in his cable to the *News Chronicle* dated 4th December thus :—"*India's opinion can only be ascertained by the free vote of her people.*" (*italics mine*).

Babu Bepin Chandra Pal was one of the earliest publicists who was reminding vast audiences of the intriguing characteristic of the *extra-territorial patriotism* of the great Muslim community. When there is a fundamental realization that *to be not free in one's country* is equally degrading to Muslim and Hindu, the birth of a common patriotism is accentuated. The working of the great national organization of the Congress in India has attracted many Nationalist Muslims to its fold. To raise the bogey of the minorities problem in India as an impediment to freedom is neither based on history nor on broad considerations of having India as a contented partner in the British Commonwealth.

Those who man the steel (British) Navy fight not in their own strength alone but in that of the generations of seamen in whom the tradition of duty and valour gains every new strength from century to century.

—The Observer.

T. H. GREEN'S CONCEPT OF RIGHTS*

By P. N. MASALDAN

A right, says Green, is a power of which the exercise by the individual or by some body of men is recognised by society, either as itself directly essential to a common good or as conferred by an authority of which the maintenance is recognised as so essential.

For the existence of a right, therefore, there must exist a society of whatever form. Rights arise only out of social relations and there can be none outside society. Membership of a society is the prime essential before an individual can put forward a claim. Secondly, the claim of the individual should be contributory to the social good or the general welfare. Unless it is so, the society will not allow the claim to become a right. A claim required only for some selfish interest cannot become a right. Thirdly, the claim should obtain recognition by society. Howsoever strong grounds an individual may have, unless society recognises it to be contributory to the social good, it cannot be an actual right. A claim may morally be a right, but if the community fails to appreciate its social value, it cannot be exercised as a legal right. Therefore, though recognition of its social goodness may not be required to make a claim a right, its exercise as such does require it. Otherwise, it remains at most an implicit right only. In fact, Green says, the fact that a claim is denied recognition is a proof of its being of an unsocial nature. The moral basis of rights does not include state recognition which is essential, however, for its exercise, as a legal right. The moral basis of a right is the capacity to contribute to the common good. The individual should have the consciousness of a common interest with which is linked his own and serving which he serves his best. The community will allow a right also because it recognises that there is a

* This essay is based entirely on Green's "Principles of Political Obligation."

common interest which is thereby served best. Thus the true basis of rights is this concept of a common good of which both the individual and the community have a common consciousness and this is the end of rights too. The system of rights that the community maintains is aimed at the promotion of the common good by enabling the individual to contribute his share to it. The system of rights is thus aimed at the moral development, the individual for the capacity to contribute to the social good is an essentially moral one. Thus the capacity to contribute to the common good is at once the basis and the end of rights—so that the system of rights seems to be an end in itself. In Green's words :

The capacity, then, on the part of the individual of conceiving a good as the same for himself and others, and of being determined to action by that conception, is the foundation of rights, and rights are the condition of that capacity being realised.

The true foundation of rights having been examined, it becomes clear that the state is not the creator—but only the maintainer—of rights. A man acquires rights not from the state but from his own social capacity which is also called 'rational will' or 'moral personality' by Green. The state only maintains the whole complex system of rights by adjusting them so that every man can exercise his rights. It is only instrumental in the enjoyment of rights by the individual. No right ever emanates from it. It neither gives nor takes away rights. Its recognition is required only that an individual may exercise his right, which can exist all the same even if the state was to refuse its practice, on unjust grounds. The state has been granted this power by society so that it may be able to discharge its function—maintaining the entire system of rights—without any obstruction. The state is to judge if an individual should be allowed to exercise a right and if it thinks he can be safely allowed, it recognises it on behalf of the community by legalising it. The point is that the state can only check the exercise of a right, but if it is in fact quite a just claim, it will remain so, even on the refusal of the state to recognise it which will effect

only its exercise and not its moral rightness which consists in its arising out of the capacity for social good.

This point leads to the difference between natural and actual rights. 'Natural rights' in their modern usage, mean ideal rights or those rights which ought to be secured by the state to the individual, if he has the qualifying capacity, of course. They are those rights to which the state system of rights should conform. It is 'a rationale of law or ideal of what it should be.' The actual rights secured by the state can be sub-divided into personal rights that are essential for the preservation of our body, property rights, rights in private relations and public rights, *i. e.*, those arising from the membership of the state, *e. g.*, right to vote or contest elections.

When a man is denied by the state a right which has a just foundation, we may say that the state has failed to conform to the law of nature according to which the individual has the right though the state does not turn this 'natural right' of the man into an actual right that he can exercise. In the case of slaves, it is best illustrated. The slave has, granted he has the necessary capacity, natural rights but they have been wrongfully deprived by the state. In the older sense of the term, 'natural rights' meant those rights which were recognised by society in its pre-civil state, *i. e.*, before the advent of the state and which continued in spite of the state.

The development of human rights has been two-fold as has been that of social relations. More and more persons have been brought under the range of the same system of rights or, in other words, the circle of men who mutually recognise each other as having certain rights has been ever widening and, in the second direction, more and more phases of our lives have been brought under the regulation of the state and covered by the system of rights. In the beginning, there were the most primary rights recognised and they too as belonging to members of very small groups as, *e. g.*, the family or the tribe. The number of rights has increased now as also those who are held

to be capable of exercising them. Some rights today are universally respected as, *e. g.*, the right to free life as was also the right to property till 1917 when one-sixth of the world went red.

It should also be remembered, before closing the subject, that rights imply duties or that rights are correlative to duties. This is true in a double sense. Where a man is granted a right, it is believed that he recognises it as his duty to exercise it in a way not to obstruct a similar exercise of the right by others. In the same way, the right of one man implies the duty of others not to impede in its exercise, *e. g.*, A is granted the right of driving a car, the duty of A is to drive the motor-car in a way which will not obstruct motor-driving by others. Also it is the duty of others to let A exercise his right to drive a motor-car without obstruction.

The Difference:

An Englishman became bald. He was desperate and spent much money on hair restorers. A Scotchman went bald. He sold his brush and comb.

—*Stuttgarter Illustrierte.*

Slogan for Bureaucrats:

"Three cheers for the Red-tape, White-hall, and Blue-book."

In *The Daily Express.*

J. M. BARRIE—II.

By P. R. SRINIVASAN

[LECTURER, HINDU COLLEGE, GUNTUR]

The close of the nineteenth century brings us to the parting of the ways in the literary career of Barrie. The novelist and the story-writer, the painter of Scotch life and the historian of Thrums became the dramatist, who presented pictures of English life, and gave visions of the world of fairies and spirits.

J. A. Hammerton, writing in the beginning of the present century, said with the confidence of a prophet that Barrie was not likely to be a serious factor in contemporary drama, since his genius could best be shaped in books, and not in plays. The prophecy of Hammerton has proved false, and Barrie is known to-day as a great play-wright, as the creator of Crichton and Peter Pan. His estimate of Barrie has been reversed and Barrie's dramatic genius is universally acknowledged. Darlington goes so far as to say: "Barrie from an early youth had an instinct for the theatre. He tried to check it at first, but in the end it became his chief means of expression, and he used it with a certainty and delicate skill that have never been surpassed".

"Drama", says Archer, "is intellectual power expressing itself in forms appropriate to the theatre." It must "without direct preaching, give something to think about". The best plays of Barrie exhibit this combination of technical skill and intellectual power. They do not present a coherent philosophy of life; they do not systematically expose and lay bare the various social sores; but they do deal with vital problems and act as valuable stimulants to thought. Barrie, the dramatist, is not "the instructor of English-speaking race" that Shaw is, nor is he the "interpreter of the qualms of conscience" that

Galsworthy is described to be. He is not inspired by any definite social purpose but his great plays do offer us something to think about, something in the way of a criticism of life.

During the years 1891-97, Barrie was in the workshop, undergoing the necessary term of apprenticeship to the dramatic art. His first plays, *Richard Savage*, based on the life of Savage, a burlesque tragedy, showing his contempt for Ibsenism, and *Becky Sharp*, a dramatisation of Thackeray's novel, did not give promise of great things to come. They were not original plays at all, and in them Barrie, as Phelps says, hitched his waggon not to a star, but to the nearest convenient post. In 1892 Barrie came forward with his first original play, *Walker*, London. It is a mere farce in which a London hair-dresser runs away with his honey-moon money to a house-boat in the guise of an African and passes through a series of funny adventures. There is no character-interest in this play, and it stands to the later plays of Barrie in the same relation in which *Comedy of Errors* stands to the later plays or comedies of Shakespeare. The *Professor's love-story*, 1895, was the first to display some dramatic skill. Like one of the characters of Moliere, who was talking prose for forty years without knowing he was speaking prose, the professor Goodwillie is in love with his own secretary without knowing he was in love and the realisation of the truth is followed by his marrying her. The plot is highly improbable and the crude incredibility of the story was later on felt by Barrie himself. The structure of the plot shows some dramatic ability and the play therefore was a work of promise. The dramatised version of the *Little Minister* which followed in the year 1897 gave proof of knowledge of dramatic technique and established Barrie's fame as a play-wright.

The play conveys the great truth that it is modesty and dignity, and not the arts of coquetry, that constitute the enduring charm of women. The plot is, without doubt, a bit preposterous and the successful impersonation of Livy by

Phoebe is an improbability. The various scenes are, however, portrayed with great power and the play is dramatically effective and contains sparkling dialogue.

The *Quality Street* was followed in the same year by *Admirable Crichton*. The publication of this play, like that of Mathew Arnold's *Culture and Anarchy*, is a great social event. It deals with the vital social problem of equality and examines the very foundations of social organisation, and touches the roots of social solidarity.

The play exhibits a combination of romance and satire. The setting is romantic, and the second and third scenes breathe the atmosphere of Shakespeare's *Tempest*. The content of the play is satirical but the treatment of the characters ironic. The cycle movements of the plot and the pictures of artificial life and natural life, which stand in contrast with each other, make for symmetry and effect. The plot is rather improbable and fantastic, but the logical development of a single idea gives it unity.

"There must always be a master and servant in all civilised communities, for it is natural, and whatever is natural right." This is what the play seeks to teach and demonstrate. "Circumstances might alter cases; the same person might not be the master; the same persons might not be servants." There may be change of leadership; men may go up and men may come down, but the regime of master and servant will go on for ever. It is a fundamental necessity of human society.

"I want always to be a boy and have fun". These words of Peter Pan represent Barrie's own desire to remain young for ever. The play *Peter Pan* is the artistic expression of this deep longing and is, as Bray Brooke points out, the symbol of a striving against the inevitable, a striving not to grow up. Barrie, pining for what is not, sought refuge in art, and created in the Never-Land, the land of his heart's desire—the land

where all are eternally young. There is in this play the mingling of fantasy and reality, so characteristic of Barrie.

The play glorifies the spirit of children. "The only vital thing in life", says Holbrook Jackson, "is the un-conscious abandonment of young things--the spirit of play". This is the spirit that prevails in the Never-Land and actuates the Lost Boys. Life is for them all play, a great adventure. 'They seek not for hidden treasures, they know not how to cast nets.' They care not for wealth or wisdom or fame or fortune. 'Pearl-fishers dive for pearls and merchants sail in ships' but these boys care only for the sheer joys of living. They warm their hands at the fire of life, and live intensely. They are unconscious artists in living. Their activities spring out of their zest for life and boundless vitality. The poets sing hymns unhidden; so also the children live spontaneously, without any thought of ambition or profit. The poet 'makes something and joys in the making'; so also the children delight in what they do.

Peter Pan is a contribution to the literature of Childhood. Peter, with his love of fun and excitement, with his agility and resourcefulness, with his hatred of dullness and drudgery, represents childhood at its best.

The whole play is a passing pageant, presenting a succession of spectacular and thrilling scenes. The daring imagination displayed by Barrie reminds us of classics like *Alice in Wonderland*, and *Gulliver's Travels*.

In *Peter Pan* Barrie soared into the cloud-land of fancy; in the plays that immediately followed it, he remained firmly planted on earth. *Alice-Sit-by-the-Fire* (1905), *What Every Woman Knows* (1908), and *Will* (1913) are social dramas. The first shows some skill in construction but it is more a farce than a comedy, the second is a great comedy in which Barrie depicts the play of various passions and emotions and 'shows virtue her own feature, and scorn her own image'. The play touches the shoals and depths of human passion. The minor foibles of human nature, as also the deeper feelings,

like ambition and love, are portrayed. The play has a great value as a mirror of human nature and it is a tribute to the power and influence of women and a testimony to the part they can play in the lives of men. The third (*Will*) is a play with pathetic ending. It produces the greatest effect with the minimum change in scene and the minimum number of characters. The play illustrates the hardening effect and the corrupting influence of wealth and shows that money does not always bring happiness.

"Barrie", says B. H. Clark, "is one of the few English dramatists who have taken the one-act form seriously. Like Synge and Schmitzler, he has been equally successful in the full-length and the one-act play".

The Twelve-Pound Look is the best of the one-act plays written by Barrie. The other one-act plays, *Rosalind*, *Old Friends*, *Half-an-hour*, though pleasing, do not show great intellectual power or remarkable technical skill.

"The purpose of the one-act play is to produce a single dramatic effect with the greatest economy of means that is consistent with the utmost emphasis." *The Twelve-Pound Look* fully illustrates this conception of a one-act play. The play is a "study in consequence and adjustment, an expression of a preceding situation." It deals with a sharp contrast of character and the final result of the conflict is alone presented. Thus both dramatic effect and economy are achieved. The play is an "epitome of a larger drama which is suggested in the background."

The Great War of 1914 was a source of great artistic inspiration and brought into existence a body of literature expressive of different moods and feelings. The War plays of Barrie exhibit the brighter side of the war and portray the finer emotions kindled by that Titanic struggle. They do not strike a note of despair; they do not give expression to a mood of disillusionment or a feeling of cynicism. On the other hand, they

reveal his faith in human nature and in the nobility of the human heart.

A Kiss for Cinderella (1916) was not a war play but a play in which the action is laid in London during the time of the War. It shows a blending of reality and fantasy so characteristic of Barrie and thus foreshadows *Brutus* and *Mary Rose*. It presents in the person of the poor London drudge the picture of a woman, charitable though poor, imaginative though living in daily contact with harsh realities of life. She is "a rebuke to those who had much and gave little".

The New Word depicts a scene in a family when the son, who is a second lieutenant, is about to leave for the war.

In *Barbara's Wedding* an old Colonel, sometimes bewildered, sees visions of Barbara and Billy, his grandson, coming home for their marriage, but is told by his wife that the first was a nurse serving in the war, and the second had died fighting.

A Well-remembered Voice shows a mother trying unsuccessfully to get into touch with the spirit of her boy who died in the war.

The Old Lady Shows Her Medals is the best of the war plays. It turns on the instinct of motherhood and touches the deepest springs of sympathy.

DEAR BRUTUS (1917), is one of the greatest of the modern plays. Inspired by the famous lines in Julius Caesar,

The fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars,

But in ourselves, that we are underlings—

the play reminds us of the scene in Fonde's allegory, a siding at the railway station, where a group of persons, called upon to explain why they have become such worthless creatures, throw the blame on circumstances and promise great things if they are placed under better conditions and set in new positions. They are all given a second

chance. The station-master who conducts the examination says: "They will be all here again in a few years and it will be the same story over again." This is what happens in *BRUTUS*.

The central idea of the play is best conveyed by the following words of Purdie. "It isn't accident that shapes our lives. It is not Fate. What really plays the Dickens with us is something in ourselves, something that makes us go on doing the same sort of foolish things, however many chances we get." Character is destiny, and only men of exceptional strength can get rid of their defects.

The play is a fine example of the skilful mingling of fantasy and reality. They are kept distinct and at the same time the one merges nicely into the other without any violent break.

The play is well-constructed. There is in it the pleasure of anticipation and the thrill of surprise. Without being merely melodramatic, the play possesses theatrical effectiveness. The element of irony is also present in this play. What the various characters hope to do and feel certain they will do, if every one is given a second chance, is supreme irony in the light of what actually follows.

Crichton and *Brutus* have a deep philosophical significance. In both, there is something deep, something fundamental, underlying changes that are either superficial or external. In *Crichton*, it is the basic structure of society, in *Brutus* the human character or personality. Barrie shows that changes are useless so long as these remain untouched. He thus conveys the lesson that mere adjustment of superficialities of things can never lead to progress and that unless fundamentals are touched and reshaped nothing good or great can be achieved.

There are more things in heaven and earth than are dreamt of in cold philosophy."

This is the idea which inspired the play, *'Mary Rose.'* It is "concerned with the unknown, the impalpable something beyond the horizon of forlorn and empty seas."

'Character', says Augustine Birrell, 'is the salt, nay, the be-all and the end-all of Barrie's books.' The works of Barrie bring us face to face with different types of men and women. We find ourselves in the company of characters, comic and eccentric but simple and lovable, like Jammas Haggart with his vanity, Gavin Dishart with his antics, or David Wylie with his mannerism 'for to make', or noble and lofty like Cree, Jamie, Jess and Nanny Coutts whose lives are made of sternest stuff, of self-sacrifice and suffering. His comic characters are not mere caricatures, and his noble ones are not mere idealised portraits. Haggart and Dishart are not mere bundles of eccentricities or oddities, but real human beings, who have all the passions and cravings of men. Jammas Haggart takes part in a funeral and talks philosophy. Gavin, the preacher, is devoted to his mother and David Wylie is capable of substantial work. The nobility of his noble characters shows itself in ways essentially human and carries about it some minor defects. Cree has to practise deception on his mother and contract debts, and Jamie goes to London to seek his fortune, has his own love-secrets to be concealed even from his mother and loves his home with all the warmth of a boy's heart. Jess has her faults which make her human, her fussiness, her curiosity, 'her possessive maternity which drives her to a petty exhibition of Jealousy.' Nanny Coutts runs the home and does the work of an ordinary woman. This together with the way in which she is treated and talked about makes her a real woman struggling in a petty world.

Barrie in his plays confronts us with characters, who are slightly more complex or who carry about them the stamp of serious defects. Tom Shand, possessed of strong ambition and drive, but flighty and rather unbalanced; Charles, the shallow Oxford youth; Harry Sims, the worldly-wise man; Purdie, the

Philanderer; Matey, the pilferer—all these are representative of some of the weaknesses and foibles of civilised society.

It is in his portraits of women that Barrie shows his power of character-drawing and his insight into human nature. The women in the early books are, as Darlington points out, mere idealisations. Mary Abinger is 'a boy's dream of womanhood,' and even Babbie is not a real human being but 'the projection of a youthful ideal'. The women in *Thrums* books and in the plays are real human beings. Jess, Margaret, Dishart, Phoebe, Maggie, Kate and Mrs. Deury display real individuality and possess personalities of their own.

Barrie has his own limitations as a painter of human nature. "One does not find in his works the inwardness and the reflective depth of Shakespeare. The tragedy of a heart divided against itself, the double nature of Macbeth, the alternating blasts of affection and bitterness of love and jealousy are complications which he does not portray." The complexities and intricacies of human behaviour are beyond him. He does not take us into the strange alleys of complexes or abnormal passions, or lead us into the dark paths of villainy and wickedness. He confines himself to simple and familiar types of men and women.

Barrie shows remarkable insight into the nature of women. He portrays with fine touches of humour their fussiness, their curiosity, their love of show and gossip, their jealousy and vanity, but he also reveals to us the depth of their love and affection, and the splendour of their capacity for suffering and self-sacrifice.

The art of Barrie is marked by a general simplicity. He is at his best in short sketches and stories, and in dramas like *Admirable Crichton*, *Brutus* and *Will* where the structure is simple. His genius does not manifest itself in the complicated harmonies of compound plots in which various threads are interwoven and fused together into one whole. Intricate plots, rich in incidents, moving with torrential swiftness and impetuosity

to an inevitable end, are not very much to his taste. *When a Man is Single* is a failure as a novel, and *Little Minister* is only a partial success. Only in very few of his plays Barrie tried to construct slightly intricate or complex plots. He cannot be considered to have achieved great success. In *What Every Woman Knows*, the plot moves rather slowly and is not of close tissue. In *Alice-sit-by-the-Fire*, the incidents are not many or varied. In *Quality Street*, there is very little of action and in the school scene and the ball scene, there is no progress of plot. In *Peter Pan* there are incidents not organically woven into the story. The plot is not swift-moving and lags in some places.

Simple, bare, hard realism is not to Barrie's taste. He is essentially imaginative and fantastic. He is at his best in fantasies like *Peter Pan*, in irresponsible intellectual flights like *Crichton* and *Brutus*. Even his sketches of Thrums are not imaginative transmutations of reality. When he is not romantic or fantastic, Barrie becomes fanciful and gives improbable plots. *The Professor's Love Story*, *Rosalind*, *What Every Man Knows*, *Quality Street*, *Will*, *Twelve-Pound Look*, *Alice-sit-by-the-Fire*, and the *Old Lady Shows Her Medals*, represent different gradations of improbability. The plots of all these are improbable possibilities.

Barrie is one of the greatest English humourists. The humour in the two famous Thrum Books is marked by sympathy and irradiated by kindness. Barrie makes us love while we laugh. He makes us laugh in affection and not in contempt.

As a humourist, Barrie belongs to the glorious company of Chaucer, Shakespeare, Goldsmith and Lamb.

Humour in the plays is tinged with seriousness and borders on pathos. The plays are full of ironical situations, charged with moral significance—Phoebe disguises herself as Livy and looks young, but Captain finds her repelling. Lord Loam wants to establish equality but finds himself under the rule of his own Butler. The guests of Lob enter the wood with great hopes but repeat their old mistakes. John Shand, by dint of industry,

risks to eminence but then loses his balance and blunders. Philip Ross reaches the height of success and wealth, but then falls into the depth of misery. Harry Sims is knighted but, when at the height of his glory, Kates comes and gives him a rude shock.

Barrie in *Dear Brutus* shows that man is not the creature of circumstances but a free spirit, the architect of his own fate. It is intelligence and character and not outer conditions and environment that shape human destiny. Personality is the vital factor, the pivot on which life revolves.

Barrie does not give us light in darkness; he does not lighten for us the heavy and weary weight of this unintelligible world; he does not tell us anything about "the end where to travel". He, however, makes us conscious of the greatness of the soul and creates in us a spiritual outlook. In Patrick Bray Brooke's words:

He makes us young when we are old, he makes us unworldly when the world is most at hand, he leads us by the still waters of pondering, he teaches us that though we are flesh and very mortal, we are at the same time immortal.

LECTURES ON COMPARATIVE RELIGION

By PROF. PRITAM SINGH

THE CHRISTIAN FAITH

Since the expectation of a great deliverance and the golden age promised in the Old Testament, many a one claimed to be the Messiah. One such prophet named John appeared in Judea about 28 or 29 A. D. proclaiming that the kingdom of God was at hand and that they should repent of their sins. Those who repented were baptised with the waters of the river Jordan. Multitudes flocked to him. This roused the suspicion of Herod, the Roman governor, who feared a breach of peace. John, the Baptist, was arrested and beheaded but this did not destroy the faith of the people in his prediction that one greater than him was about to appear.

Jesus, a young man from Nazareth, was also baptised by John. His father, Joseph, was a carpenter and the son was brought up in the same trade. He may have read in a Hebrew school and may have attended the synagogues from whence he acquired a knowledge of the Scripture. Thus he grew up in the religion of his forefathers. The teachers among the Jews were known as Pharisees who were recognised authorities on religion.

After the arrest of John, Jesus returned to Galilee and took up the gospel (good news)—“the appointed time is come; the reign of God draws near”. He went about in every town and village and taught in synagogues or discoursed to the crowds on the shore of a lake or on the side of a hill. He was commonly addressed by the Jews as Rabbi—a respectful title for a religious teacher. He soon gathered a group of disciples about him, who went with him from place to place. These disciples were common people such as fishermen, and one a was toll-gatherer.

Jesus' first public appearance, according to the gospels, was in Capernaum in the Synagogue, where he made his mark. Then he toured in the neighbouring villages proclaiming the coming of the Kingdom and teaching in the synagogues. He soon acquired a fame for driving out the evil spirits and curing diseases. The Pharisees who professed the orthodox Jewish faith stood up against him, since he went about among the publicans and sinners proclaiming the advent of the Kingdom. He did not much care for the observances of the Jews and thus seemed to encourage irreligiousness among the masses. The real conflict occurred over the Sabbath which had an elaborate ceremonial. Jesus, however, continued his work of reform. He went from Galilee in the north to Jerusalem in the south where the Pharisees were very powerful. The Rabbis or Jewish priests and Sadducees joined hands with the Pharisees in opposing him. He went to the Mount of Olives and there proclaimed the gospel of the Kingdom. His Sermon on the Mount has become classical. He purged the temple at Jerusalem of money-changers and traders and became popular with the masses. A breach of peace was feared; therefore, Jesus was arrested by the orders of the Pilate, a Roman magistrate, and was taken to the house of the high-priest. He was presented in the court of the Pilate and was ordered to be put to death by crucifixion.

Jesus did not found a new religion. Every well-instructed Jew knew about the nature and character of God and about the relation of God to man and about the hereafter. Jesus' emphasis was on piety, goodness and charity. He himself said that he had not come to annul the Law and the Prophets, but to confirm or fulfil. He cultivated these qualities in his own life and drew upon the Psalms in the Old Testament very often. His method was to teach by means of parables and comparisons, a method commonly used in the synagogues by the Jewish prophets.

Christ had twelve disciples, known as the apostles, who took his message into the surrounding country, while

converted pilgrims took the gospel to their respective countries. The disciples of Jesus were orthodox and pious Jews who were expecting a Messiah. They worshipped in the temple and attended the synagogues like other Jews. There were converts from among the non-Jews and heathens as well as those known as Gentiles. They are also called Hellenites, because the Greeks were the first to accept the gospel. His disciples called him "Master" while Christ or the "Anointed" was a title only, and later he came to be known as Jesus Christ or Christ Jesus.

Paul, who became a Christian, travelled through Asia Minor and Macedonia and went to Syria also. He laid great stress on the crucifixion. Consequently Christ's death and resurrection became the foundations of the Christian religion. Christ became the son of God and the Saviour of mankind. Redemption was to be through Christ Jesus, the only begotten Son of God who came down to earth and voluntarily laid his life, that he might save men from sin and death and by his resurrection bestow on them eternal life.

From Judaism, Christianity took its sacred scriptures and the idea of one God, creator and ruler of the Universe and, like Judaism, Christianity is ethical in its outlook. The idea of God as father is also a Jewish idea. The worship of Jesus Christ as a divine Lord and Saviour originated with the Gentile Christians who, according to Paul, were true Christians. These differences about the relation of Gentile converts to the Jewish Law created a difficulty. The new converts did not think Christianity to be a variety of Judaism, but a new religion of which Judaism was at most a prophecy and an historical preparation. They did not think conversion to Judaism was a necessity and they took their stand on the mystery of Salvation. Paul emancipated Christianity from the Law both in principle and in practice without abandoning the ground of revealed religion in the Old Testament. For him the Law was annulled and in its place was put the saving spirit of Christ. It is rather strange that after the fall of

Jerusalem the Greek Church should be established in that city and the bishops should be Gentile Christians and not the Jews who were converted to Christianity. The Jewish Christians were, therefore, left behind when the Catholic theology developed in Rome. The Jews gave the Gentiles the name of Nazarenes or the followers of Jesus of Nazareth. Paul was regarded by the Jews as a renegade and an enemy of the Apostles. They rejected the story of virgin birth and they regarded circumcision and observance of the Law as necessary. Such Jewish Christians became extinct in the fourth century A. D.

The organisation of early Christians was very simple. There were missionaries (apostles) from Jerusalem and Antioch to preach the Gospel and also to visit other churches. The local societies were called "assemblies" and were managed by presbyters or elders. The bishop or the overseer used to baptise people. The churches were autonomous but there was much coming and going and also interchange of letters among them. The Christians began to regard themselves as members of a general (Catholic) church and the services were comprised of reading from the Scriptures and a discourse or a sermon by the bishop and prayer or liturgy—all these were borrowed from the Jews. The distinctive Christian rite of the early Church was the sacrament of Eucharist, the participation in the flesh and blood of Christ. The following description of Christian worship in Rome will be found interesting :

In the Sunday assemblies a lesson is read from the Memoirs of the Apostles (Gospels) or the writings of the prophets; the presiding officer (bishop) follows with a discourse admonishing his hearers to conform their lives to the good teachings they have heard, after which the congregation rises and all unite in prayer. Then follows the sacrament, bread and wine mixed with water are served to every one present.

In the first and second centuries Christianity spread rapidly and widely. The chief early centres were Antioch for Syria, Ephesus for Asia Minor, Rome for Italy. There were churches at Carthage and at Lyons from where the Gospel spread to Africa and Southern France. The early Christians

were very much persecuted and yet they grew in numbers. There were schisms and sects and amid the clamour of rival pretensions the question arose as to where true Christianity is to be found. In the second century, a synod of Bishops was held and it was decided that true Christianity was what had been taught and practised in the Church from the very beginning. This conflict with hearsay strengthened the sense of unity among the Catholics and they acquired great importance.

The Christian community had become numerous by that time and had gained many adherents. The central problem of Christian theology from the beginning had been to reconcile the divinity of Christ with monotheism. The doctrine of Logos* was invented and the eternal quality of the three persons of the Trinity, that is, Father and Son and Holy Spirit, was considered as One. Controversies over this raged for many centuries, parties were formed and the Church was rent by these conflicts.

The Christian Church in the West was at first Greek, and then became Latin or Roman Church in the third century. There was also the Oriental Church known as the Nestorian and the various churches tried their hands in Syria. From Rome Christianity spread in Europe, first in France and then in Germany, and that is why France adopted the Catholic form of Christianity. The practice of private confession of sins became general and the priest became powerful. When Christianity became the religion of the Roman Empire, the State began to rule over the Church. Even the Pope who was elected could not be consecrated without the mandate of the Emperor of Rome. The Emperor Justinian in the sixth century had jurisdiction in the ecclesiastical as well as in civil affairs. This state of affairs continued in the Middle Ages and the Pope began to exercise authority over the Kings and he went so far as to crown them. A reaction soon followed and several councils

*This means that God dwelt in the human temple.

were called but Papacy retained its prestige and power right up to the fifteenth century.

In the later Middle Ages, when the Crusades had ended, new orders of monks and mendicants were formed. One was founded by St. Francis of Assisi and another by a Spanish priest and was known as the Order of Dominicans. These orders followed the rules laid down by St. Augustine and their function was preaching and in this way they reached the common people. The orders were under the Pope.

In 1843 Martin Luther, a graduate of a German University, initiated a reform movement in Christianity. At first he became a monk and then he went to Rome where he saw corruption rife. He lectured on the Bible and was occupying a great position in the Church as a vicar or overseer of the monasteries. He attacked the papal authority and published several pamphlets which had a wide circulation and were well received by the laity. He became the leader of a revolt against abuses in the Church. The movement spread to Switzerland where it was led by Zwingli and from there it travelled to the Continent and to England, and the Church of England remains to this day as the reformed or the Protestant Church. The common characteristic of the reform movement was the rejection of the authority of the Church whether speaking through the Pope or Council. The final sole authority was to be the scripture which could be interpreted by every one according to his light. Luther stood up against the claim of the Church to stand between God and man with the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven in the hand.

The task which awaits Christianity is to find a philosophy of religion which would be consistent with the modern conception about the universe and man's place in it; in short, to be a practical socialised Christianity which makes much of the teaching and example of Jesus, of the thought of God as the father of all men, of service to fellowmen as the true essence of religion, of the reconstruction of society on the principles of the Gospel.

ISLAM

There are two sources for our knowledge of Islam (1) the Quran and (2) Tradition. The Quran was the inspired word revealed by the prophet Muhammad and collected from palm leaves, leather, stones bones, etc. The Suras were memorized by the people and reproduced, and consequently there is no fixed order in them. Copies were transcribed and the present order is based on Zeid's texts. The Tradition furnishes data for the life of the Prophet and consists of sayings handed down by a chain of narrators going down to early days of Islam, and it was oral for the most part. First in authority as narrators were the companions of *A-hab* and then their followers or successors the *T'abuin*. The practice of the Prophet is also regarded as authoritative. The authenticity of the traditions is judged by the fact that it should be directly or indirectly supported by a text in the Quran and the source of the tradition should be either early companions of the Twelve Imams to whom the tradition is traced by the narrators. As a rule, the traditions were oral and were related during the first century of Islam. Albukhari is regarded as the book of genuine traditions.

The Shia and Sunni divisions began with the third Caliph Usman who was very weak and vacillating in his policy and was murdered. Trouble arose about his succession and Ali was appointed Caliph. Ali's lineal descendants became the spiritual successors and the true interpreters and custodians of the sacred spirit of Islam. They were accepted by the Shia section of the Moslems. The Sunni Caliphate passed into the hands of the rulers and kings and till recently the Sultans of Turkey were the Sunni Caliphs.

Arabia before Muhammad was pagan and Christianity had made no impression on its people. Judaism was known to the tribes but it did not wield much influence. The native faith of Arabia was Sabeanism or worship of stars, idolatry and stone worship. Sacrifices were offered to the sun, moon and stars,

Even the Qaaba which was first built by Abraham and Ishmael had a black-stone placed in it. It was rebuilt in the life time of Muhammad. The custom of flinging stones at Satan still continues in Mecca. Muhammad, however, eliminated all idolatrous forms and thus revealed the theism of Islam as the foundation of faith in the divine unity.

Arabia was inhabited at the time by the Bedouin or wandering tribes who had no settled life. Retaliation and blood feuds existed among them. All source of authority rested in the custodians of the Qaaba. It was in an environment of this type that Muhammad was born in the city of Mecca in 570 A. D. The heat in Mecca is very oppressive and the hills around are sultry and barren. He was only six years old when his parents died and he became an orphan. His uncle Abu Talib became his guardian and took him to Syria on a trade journey. They passed through Jewish settlements in Palestine and thus Muhammad came into touch with the Christians who were like the Jews in a fallen state. The Arabs hated the Jews and the Christians, and they in their turn detested them.

At one time in his youth Muhammad became a shepherd like Moses and tended the goats and the sheep and at another time he became a camel driver. He loved solitude and had a reflective turn of mind and had pure manners and was known as "Al-Amin" or the Faithful. A rich lady, Khadija, whom Muhammad married later, engaged him to take her merchandise to Syria, a country he had already visited thirteen years before. He saw the Christians ranged into parties, one favouring Trinity and the other worshipping Mary and dubbed them both as idolators. At the age of forty, revelation began to control Muhammad's soul. His words were meant to bring order out of the chaos of heathenism and ignorance into which the Arabs had sunk. He became pensive and thoughtful and would retire into a cave below Mount Hira, now called the "mountain of light", due to the fact that Muhammad received his first revelation there.

At the age of 45, Muhammad was firmly convinced of his mission as a Prophet and Khadija (his wife) and Ali (his nephew) and Abu Bekr, a friend, became the first converts. Balal, a negro of Abyssinia, also became a convert. He was appointed the *Muezzin* or one calling the faithful to prayer. Several others accepted him as Prophet; but very soon after, open hostility was declared against him by the Koresh tribe of Mecca. Many of the converted slaves had to emigrate to Abyssinia where the king was friendly to Islam. The powerful persons were converted to Islam about this time, one was the Prophet's uncle Hamza, and the other was Omar who was at first the notorious enemy, but later succeeded Abu Bekr as Caliph. The number of converts had hardly reached forty when the tribes and all Mecca stood up against the Prophet. A second emigration started to Abyssinia and this time the number of emigrants was 101. By then some tribes began to side with Muhammad also, among them being Bani Hashem, and thus began a series of skirmishes which finally ended in the victory of Muhammad.

From Mecca the Prophet went accompanied by Zeid to At-Taif, a city 60 or 70 miles east, but he had to flee from there to Nakhla and came back to Mecca. Meanwhile his message had reached Medina where he found many faithful followers among the Jews and the Christians who had come from Syria. This city lies some 180 miles to north of Mecca whither the believers went and were cordially received by their brethren. Last to leave Mecca were Muhammad and Abu Bekr, also Ali who was then 20 years of age. The Koresh who were plotting to kill Muhammad were perplexed and the Prophet escaped by hiding himself in a cave. This happened in 622 A. D. when Muhammad was 53 years old.

From the earliest times, Muhammad taught a broad and a catholic doctrine, saying that to each people God sent a prophet to guide, all such prophets agreeing on the principal points and differing only on non-essentials, and that all of them denounced idolatry, taught one God and enjoined

surrender to His Will. Islam therefore recognises the truth of the Jewish and Christian scriptures. It condemned the Christian belief which exalted Mary to the station of Jesus, but admitted the doctrine of Trinity in the sense that God was the Revealer, Jesus the recipient of the Revelation, and Holy Spirit as the medium of inspiration between the two.

The positive teachings of Muhammad are : prayer five times a day, fasting during the month of Ramzan, and giving of alms to the needy, the poor and the orphans. People left their ancient corrupt practices under the guidance of his teaching. Many sought exile in Abyssinia and Medina for the sake of their faith and bore persecution with patience. At Medina he was given a great reception and in that city (Yatrib) he got a house and a mosque built for himself. It was here that the prophet's daughter Fatima was married to Ali and the Prophet also married Aisha, the daughter of Abu Bekr, his friend and follower. The people who migrated from Mecca to Medina are known as *Muhajirin* or refugees and those who believed in him in Medina are known as *Ansar* or helpers. Public prayers were held on Fridays followed by a sermon by Muhammad. In the second year of Hijra he changed Jerusalem, the first Kibla to the Kaaba in Mecca to which all Muslims were enjoined to turn at the time of prayer. Circumcision which was adopted as an institution had been current among the Arabs since the times of Abraham and was continued. There are two I'ds among the Moslems, one after the Ramzan Fast which replaces the Jewish Fast of Atonement and the other I'd-ul-zuha or the day of sacrifice which corresponds to the day fixed for pilgrimage or Haj.

From the city of Medina designs were laid for the conquest of Mecca and expeditions were despatched. A clash took place at Bedra in which the enemy suffered heavily and many chiefs including Abu Jahl were killed. Many other battles followed and the Jew who helped the Meccans were also defeated. In the battle of Ohod, Hamza, the uncle of the prophet was slain and the prophet was wounded. Medina

itself was the scene of fighting, and many minor expeditions were undertaken, two of which were led by the Prophet himself. It was about this time that Muhammad addressed letters to the kings asking them to accept him as a prophet from God. After this he entered the holy city of Mecca in triumph and treated Meccans with magnanimity and forbearance. At the age of 63, Muhammad passed away, deeply mourned by all who had believed in him.

Abdul Baha writing about Islam, says :—

Muhammad appeared at a time when the peoples and tribes of Arabia were divergent and in a state of continual warfare. They killed each other, pillaged and took captives, wives and children. His Holiness Mohammad united these fierce tribes, established a foundation of fellowship among them so that they gave up warring against each other absolutely and established communities. The result was that Arabian tribes freed themselves from the Persian yoke or Roman control, established an independent sovereignty which rose to a high degree of civilisation, advanced in science and arts, extended the Saracen dominion as far west (the dominions of the Arabs of Syria, Palestine and North Africa) as Spain and Andalusia and became famous throughout the world.

HINDUSTANI AS LINGUA FRANCA

By MOHAN LAL KASHYAP

Of late there has been constant agitation in some enlightened quarters in favour of the adoption of Hindustani as the national language of the country. The constitution of this newly labelled language is essentially hybrid, as in its attempt to satisfy the sentiments of the major provinces and communities by setting up a sort of compromise, it incorporated in its vocabulary words from different vernaculars. Broadly speaking, its vocabulary comprises of Hindi, Urdu and a handful of English expressions which have since become household words. The Hindustani Academy of Allahabad grew up with the ideal of giving a common language to the country; but has, in fact, made step-motherly gestures towards Hindi having taken up the cause of Urdu, while even the province in which it is situated is essentially Hindi-speaking, being the birthplace of the greater Hindi poets.

The object of the agitation in favour of Hindustani is undisputedly pious. It desires to offer us a mode of expression calculated to be easily accessible to the masses. In these days when propaganda is a supreme force, an appeal to the masses is always aimed at. One can hardly question the legitimacy of this object. But when the manner in which Hindustani attempts to approach the masses is analysed, it will be clearly borne out at what sacrifice it springs up and how far it can be a successful medium.

The question of lingua franca can be considered from three different points of view. The literary aspect of the language and its potentialities for building up a robust literature can hardly be ignored. Every language has its own literature, which is its very own and on which its glory rests. The existence of a vital literature justifies the healthful existence of its language.

The national appeal of the language is another question of importance. What significant contribution can it make to the upliftment of a country? Again, it would be worthy of our consideration whether the language arises naturally out of national need and according to the present sentiments of the nation. If it is an arbitrarily established phenomenon, not catering for the feelings of the people, and if it is not scientifically flawless, it cannot aspire to grow.

Looked at from the viewpoint of literary possibilities, it can be asserted at the outset that it is thoroughly bankrupt of any literary tradition nor does it profess to have any. Nor is there any literature (literature in its true sense) in making. The leaders of the movement plead its popularity as a spoken language and at least one which is easier than any other in being understood everywhere. It can be remarked without malice that, honestly judged, Hindustani can by no means be called the common language of speech or of easy accessibility everywhere. When compared to the rural dialects of the country, the gulf is still wider. There may be discovered one or more common elements in the spoken language of the bigger towns of the country which is contemptuously termed as 'Babu Boli' as it frequently leans on English words, phrases and idioms intermixed with the provincial vernaculars. In North India one might make his way, though not without difficulty, by using 'Babu Boli'.

The adoption of Hindustani is somewhat practicable in North India if the 'Babu Boli' is incorporated with it, but in writing it tends to make ridiculous effects. It becomes pure fun and no literature. Sanskrit wedded with Persian, with an English flavour on paper, can provoke much fun. Not a single classic could yet venture its appearance in this language. Both Hindi and Urdu have their traditional associations which will be blurred and disfigured when twisted in strange terms. Again, the use of English expressions along with them should necessarily injure the grammatical purity, particularly of the genders. The leaders of the movement will do well by simplifying

th vocabulary of any of the two vernaculars rather than conducting such incongruous weddings! Every language has its own beauties of expression which bloom only in their congenial associations.

Fewer objections can be offered from the essentially national point of view. The integrity of the country as in many other lands does not depend here on one language at present, although a single national language will be a boon. Hindustani with a pious object not in the least injures the solidarity of the country. Its use in the *Gects*, choruses and marching songs during the last Non-Co-operation movement was not resented. But the language thus used was not aggressively Persian plus Sanskrit plus English. Its strict adherence in the periodicals which seriously tackle the national problems may not be conducive to equally good results. It can be safely adopted as the language of propaganda as it obviates numerous inconveniences. Yet, in rural areas it may have to be abandoned and rural dialects may have to be resorted to for successful propaganda there.

It is obvious at the first instance that Hindustani is not a language of natural growth. It is arbitrarily settled by a group of thinking people though it has not been accepted by the 'teeming millions'. It is evident from the fact that even when written by the most competent and able exponents, the choice and arrangement of words seem ludicrous. Like the Sanskrit language, Hindustani cannot boast of having a scientific constitution. It is but a multiple expression of an impassioned search after a common language. It does not emanate from experience but from impatience. For convenience's sake, it has brought in many inconveniences.

Whether the sentiments of the people have been taken into account in the formation of Hindustani it is essential to consider. The Urdu-speaking populace has never acquiesced in the intermingling of Hindi expressions in Urdu and in the exploitation of many vital terms from the latter. Nor are the Hindi-

speaking people feeling comfortable after such an aggressive arrangement. Hindi can ill spare her greater poets like Tulsidas, Kabir and Surdas, nor can the Urdu literature leave aside her luminaries who shed perennial lustre on the literature made great by them.

In one respect Hindustani gains amply. It has an extensive vocabulary. Yet, however deftly arranged, its constructions and combinations sound queer bereft of their natural associations and integral charms.

England too has many forms of expressions. Never did her people attempt to make a compromise by incorporating words from Welsh, Scotch and Irish with the Cockney speech to achieve mass appeal. English alone is the national language of Great Britain. Quite so Hindustani *may be* acceptable as a convenient form of speech. It cannot take the place of a language. It is nothing definite, settled and certain. It is indescribably vague and undefined!

[If anybody is inclined to present the other side in these pages, he is welcome to do so. ED. T. C.]

A TELEPHONE EPISODE

By M. A. MAZMUDAR

A sudden swift glance at the clock, a zealous scratch on the head, and Mrs. Chattopadhyay made an insane dash for the telephone. She reached the machinery, snatched the receiver, and dialled frantically.

"Hullo!" came a voice from the other end; a faint, far off sort of voice.

"I am Mrs. Chattopadhyay speaking. Is that Chattopadhyay and Sons?"

"Sorry, madam. This is Widow Relief and Uplift Organization. Can we be of any service to you, madam?"

"Oh no, thank you," said Mrs. Chattopadhyay hastily, and dialled again in an extremely uneasy manner.

"Hullo!" came a voice; this time clear and well-toned.

"Is that Chat-Chat—"

"Don't want to chat. You mischief-mongers ought to be —"

Mrs. Chattopadhyay broke up, cursing herself. She dialled again with increased anxiety and fear. Quite obviously, something prodigiously important was weighing heavily on her mind and wanting urgently to be flashed through the wires.

"Hullo!" came a voice, full and resonant.

"Is—is that Chat—Chattopadhyay and Fathers? I—I m-mean Ss-Sons?"

"What?"

Mrs. Chattopadhyay lumberingly and haltingly traversed the whole rough ground again, with a spate of hurry and worry ruining the rather delicate composition of her face.

"Yes, madam," came the reply. "This is Upadhyay and Co. But I am very sorry 'Fathers and Sons' is out of stock at

present. We will promptly send up a copy to you as soon as the fresh consignment arrives from Europe. May we—"

Mrs. Chattopadhyay cut off this bore of a bookseller in a frightfully tired, weary, and nervous manner. Each moment that flitted by was of tremendous value, and here was time slipping away in worthless pursuits after mockingly wrong numbers. But she could not sit over the matter. She must be up and doing. She sat erect, rubbed her forehead, pressed her nose, stamped her chest, coughed, and finally, keenly concentrated her full attention on the tricky dial, and made such a determined drive at it that she at last succeeded in calling up the right number.

"Hullo!" came a prompt, powerful voice.

Mrs. Chattopadhyay once more repeated her inquiry.

"Yes, madam," responded the voice.

Mrs. Chattopadhyay unshipped a sigh of intense relief. A sweet smile significant of ease and peace played, danced, and capered lightly on her features. She had at last been able to call up the number she most urgently wanted. She was now actually in communication with the firm which at present housed the person of her dear husband Vyomesh, the old established firm of Chattopadhyay and Sons. An untimely siesta had made her five minutes late, and the consequent flurry had made her waste her precious and priceless fifteen minutes after widows' reliefs, uplift organizations, Upadhyays, fathers and sons. But all that mattered not a rap now. Better late than never.

"Call Romesh at once," blew in she, brimming over with an exuberance of optimistic spirits.

Five minutes later came a voice.

"Yes, Mrs. Chattopadhyay?"

"Are you Vyomesh?"

"No, madam. I am Romesh. Didn't you send for me?"

"I—I am sorry. I seem to have made a mistake. I want Vyomesh at once. Please call him quick."

Seven minutes later, a voice came.

"Yes, madam?"

"You are Vyomesh, surely?" asked Mrs. Chattopadhyay.

"You mean Romesh?"

This was too much for Mrs. Chattopadhyay. She already had more than enough of wrong numbers and nervous tension. And invaluable time was flowing away to no purpose. She lost her temper.

"Absolutely not," rasped she. "I never meant any dashed Romesh in my life. I want Vyomesh."

"Yes, but I am Lomesh. What do you want me to do for you? Mark you, I am not Romesh, but Lomesh, the Lomesh you asked Romesh to send to you."

"Hang yourself. I don't want any blighted Lomesh to waste my time on the phone. I want Vyomesh, my husband Vyomesh, VYOMESH. I most urgently wish to talk to my husband Vyomesh. Our lives depend on that."

The man at the other end went in search of the much-wanted Vyomesh.

Twenty minutes passed. Mrs. Chattopadhyay now hovered on the brink of a nervous collapse. The idea that all this was due to her husband rankled in her mind. She sent her husband thirty-nine times to hell for being an absent-minded humbug, and so very late.

"Yes, Sita?" came at last the same husband's voice.

"Are you Vyomesh, my stupid old pig and late Latif and hell-hound of a husband?" cried Mrs. Chattopadhyay, beside herself with anger at the whole horrible hoosh.

"Yes, dear."

"You ought to have eaten† yourself before being called Vyomesh."

"Otway and Heming called me?"

"My God!" exclaimed Mrs. Chattopadhyay in sheer helplessness and despair. "I am done up, finished. A terrible pickle have I got in. Shoot your 'eshes', and then blow your own brains out. Good God! This infernal machine and these madcaps have all but murdered me. Vyomesh."

Nothing was heard except a dismal *brrrrr*. The man at the other end had, for some reason, abruptly put down his receiver. Mrs. Chattopadhyay could not quite understand this. She dialled again. Nobody answered.

Five, ten, fifteen, twenty minutes elapsed. Mrs. Chattopadhyay gave up the telephone as hopeless, and began vigorously to pace the floor in profound restlessness and anxiety. Her head had got muddled to such a terrible extent that she could hardly know herself from the walls around her. And no wonder. If her husband was true, blue ruin now faced her family. She fell into a mental stupor.

She was soon squeezed out of it by a babel of voices and foot-falls. These drew near her room and in burst her husband Vyomesh with the face of a man who has seen Death stalking round the corner; his hat lost, his hair standing on end, his tie torn to strips, his hands and feet quivering like an aspen leaf. Behind him stood a number of police constables armed to the teeth. He saw his wife, made for her, and bawled:

"Where are the murderers?"

"Where are the murderers?" asked the constabulary with one voice.

"What murderers?" articulated Mrs. Chattopadhyay completely dazed by this sudden onslaught of men and questions.

"The ones who were trying to strangle you," explained the husband.

"Nobody was trying to strangle me. No murderers ever came here. Who told you all that?" asked the wife.

"You did."

"When?"

"Just now. On the phone."

Mrs. Chattopadhyay appealed to the ceiling to give her the meaning of this muddle. And then it all came to her. Her husband had entirely misunderstood her warm speech and wailings on the phone, and had construed the whole affair as meaning that his poor wife was being ruthlessly murdered at home. Consequently, he had dashed home with the constabulary to save her.

"Ah, I see it all now!" she murmured: and then turning to the constabulary, "I am very sorry, gentlemen. There has been a sad mistake. My husband misunderstood me on the phone just now. No murderers attacked me. This telephone business often creates such troubles. I thank you for your prompt arrival for help. You may go."

The force departed. Mrs. Chattopadhyay, now her former self, quieted and soothed the over-excited spirits of her husband by depositing him in an arm-chair and pouring a glass of cold water down his parched throat. She assured him that she was safe and sound. Then she explained to him the total position of affairs from start to finish.

"But what did you want to do with me?" asked Vyomesh.

"I wanted to remind you," she replied.

"Remind me of what?"

"How should I know what?" You expressly asked me to ring you up at 3-30 p. m. to-day so that you may be put in mind of something that is vitally important to our lives. Didn't you, now?"

At this, Vyomesh Chattopadhyay exploded into a fit of laughter so formidable that it upset the Oxford Dictionary lying on a shelf in the room. Then he cried:

"O my poor stupid wife, that was to be to-morrow!"

INDIAN INDIA

WORDS

By V. R. M. CHETTIAR

Words gossip as weird sisters. Some words are misty, and some are mercurial. Shaky synonyms, shrilly used, wear wry faces, and cloud the reader's understanding. Bright words make shining cameos.

The poet's words weave songs and musically vibrate; the booby's words tell the tale of perpetual pell-mell. Walter de La Mare kindles the fire of poesy by his weird genius, his words are subtly governed by his lucid spontaneity and magic spell. He sings a mystic unfathomable song. Misplaced words, wrought absorbed in sheer phonetic vandalism, become malaprops and dogberries, while the right word in the right place serves its supreme purpose. Words are victors or victims, as the user succeeds or surrenders.

Shakespeare finds tongues in trees, books in the running brooks, and sermons in stones. Keats gauges his musical medium, and Pater is after profound patterns, Shelley kindles the rapture of a poet's paradise, and Francis Thompson's phrases prove the very hounds of heaven, Shaw's words are telling targets and Bertrand Russell's groupings imbibe the lucid necessity of Truth; Carlyle whips his words into heaving dithyrambs, Newman spritually raises the technique of tapestry and poetic pendants; Blake lifts the musical miracle of lofty intensity; Burns flings syllables of lyric fire in musical integrity; R. L. S. chisels his language perpetually.

The secret of word-magic belongs to genius.

WHERE THE STATES EXCEL

The Indian States have been performing the glorious function of preserving and promoting our culture. They have not been swamped by Western modes to the same extent as their brothers in British India. Not a little of the varied colour and richness of our country's life is due to the encouragement given by our States of the Hindu, the Moghul and Indo-Islamic arts. In them the grand old world yet lives. This is not inconsistent with modernism, as Japan illustrates. The States have been adjusting themselves to the changing environment. Kashmir has introduced reforms. Hyderabad, which is

spending lakhs and lakhs over the caves of Ajanta, the remains of Warangal and other monuments of the greatest periods of Indian and Andhra history, is striking out a new line all her own, which may be watched with sympathy. The Maharaja of Cochin has taken a step in the closer association of the people's representatives with his Government. In the field of education, arts and architecture, music, industrial development and patronage of Sanskrit, Arabic and other classical languages, they have had few equals outside their ranks and no superiors.

—Dr. C. R. Reddy.

BIKANER

BIKANER'S BATTALIONS

The second battalion of the Bikaner State Infantry has already been raised to full strength in an incredibly short time; and I have no doubt that we could, in addition,

have raised, without the slightest difficulty, five battalions of infantry for the Indian army from my gallant subjects in accordance with the offer I made on the outbreak of the war. Certain measures of

reorganisation, including those of mechanisation at a considerable cost have been undertaken by us so that when the time comes, at least one unit of the Bikaner army may be ready to start at a moment's notice and thus be afforded the longed-for opportunity of fighting in the first line in this war also for our beloved King-Emperor.

I gratefully acknowledge the enthusiasm and promptness with which my people came forward to enlist—a matter

which is a source of lively satisfaction to me and my Government. All arrangements are ready for raising recruits for the British Indian army whenever required, and I am confident that should the day come when a larger number of recruits are required by the British Government, my people, along with the other martial classes of India, will not lag behind.

[From His Highness's Speech at a banquet on New year's day.]

COCHIN

A TRIBUTE TO THE RULER

In the course of a speech, before unveiling the statue of His Highness at Trichur on January 9, Dr. C. R. Reddy, Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University, said :

It is the good fortune of Cochin and the glory of India that we have in His Highness the Maharaja Sir Sree Rama Varma, G. C. I. E., a Prince who has maintained the highest traditions of Hindu kingship in unimpaired splendour. In what

direction has he not excelled ? His fine tastes in music and drama are well-known. He has encouraged the indigenous theatre. The wonderful *Kathakali*, the affiliations of which extend to the *Veedhi Nataka* of Andhras, and, crossing the seas, the sacred Hindu dances of Bali, finds in him a hearty patron. A great lover of books, he has an impressive collection of literature and valuable manuscripts relating to the legends, folk-lore and ballads of Kerala. Nor is his a negligible name in

the records of authorship. He is the embodiment of the Hindu tradition of perfect cultural and religious toleration. And not merely toleration, but reverence for every faith and encouragement of every form of spiritual sincerity. The soul's freedom has never been so well guaranteed—no, not even in Western democracies—as in the Hindu kingdoms.

To the gifts of birth and upbringing, His Highness the Maharaja has added the fruits of culture gathered in wide observant travels. Mysore has been the Mecca of progressive Rajas and Yuvarajas intent on learning the arts of good government. Baroda, under the illustrious Sayaji Rao Gackwar, afforded a spectacle of such unique individuality that fellow-Princes naturally desired to have a closer look. His Highness's range of travels has extended over Baroda, Mysore, Travancore, and many other parts of India. And he did not travel for pleasure, but for education and enlightenment, the benefits of which went to his people.

Apply any tests you like—educational advancement, social service and the uplift of the depressed classes, religious toleration, promotion of arts and of our ancient culture, industrial development, encouragement of foreign trade by the magnificent Cochin harbour which is under completion, a simple personal life, austere and dignified, the alert mind ever adjusting itself to the growing needs of the times—the Maharaja, Sir Sree Rama Varma, stands out prominent, a worthy descendant of his immortal ancestors and an inspiring example to future generations. No sculptured figure in marble or in bronze can mirror the image graven in the hearts of men by his life's abundant grace. It is not as an aid to our fadeless memory that this statue is set up here, but rather as the heart's tribute to a soul's greatness, and as symbol and token—a full expression is out of the question—of our eternal regard, affection and gratitude to one of whom it can be truly said—

Far may we search before we find
A heart so noble and so kind.

HYDERABAD

CHARITABLE TRUSTS

A Press Note issued by the Information Bureau says that the Ecclesiastical Department of H. E. H. the Nizam's Government has recently embarked on a plan for reorganising trusts and other charitable endowments of which there is a large number in these Dominions with a view to ensuring that incomes accruing from them are not spent in an undesirable manner or on unworthy objects.

A special Officer was appointed sometime ago to undertake the work in connection with the above reorganisation scheme and Aurangabad has been selected to start with for reorganisation. The results, says the press note, have so far been very encouraging as the sifting inquiry into the management of the waqfs and endowments there had brought to light much useful information. The reorganisation work not only aims at compilation of statements of accounts relating to the income and expenditure of a waqf

or managing and controlling religious institutions supported by trusts and endowments, but also at establishing boarding houses and libraries for indigent students. It also has for one of its objects the collection and publication of materials of historical importance.

IRRIGATION PROJECT

The Hyderabad Government has sanctioned Rs. 30 lakhs for an irrigation project across the river Dindi at Gundlapalli village, Mahbubnagar District. The project comprises of an earthen dam 78 feet high with a capacity to hold 2918 million cubic feet of water and an irrigational channel of 10.5 miles long, with a carrying capacity of 200 cusecs to irrigate lands to the extent of about 163,00 acres.

Though mainly designed for irrigating Devarkonda taluk, one of the worst famine-affected acres in the State, this project will also be capable of developing power by leading 200 cusecs of water through a lined channel, four miles long,

down a precipice measuring the present estimate. The project when completed is expected to minimise the possibility of recurrent famine.

MYSORE

MYSORE COFFEE

With the advent of the Mysore Coffee Curing Works in Chikmagalur, a high standard of curing will be introduced and the world-wide reputation of Mysore Coffee will be increased. The Curing Works will also undertake to place on the market Mysore Coffee in a finished form—roasted and ground. This will check the vast amount of adulteration that is now being practised in the coffee powder trade and thus enable consumers to appreciate the real flavour and taste of Mysore Coffee. The Balehonnur Experimental Farm has been conducting researches with regard to manuring and the rearing of the plants in a healthy way and this has greatly helped the improvement in the quality of Mysore Coffee. Coffee husk is largely used in adulterating coffee powder. While no other Pro-

vince or Government has so far taken measures to prevent this, the Mysore Government passed the Coffee Husk Control Act to prevent this malpractice and to guarantee the supply of coffee free from this adulteration and to save the planter from loss by impure competition.

Mysore Coffee is highly suitable to hot climates. There is every reason to believe that coffee as a beverage will become popular in Bombay and the vast country to the north of Bombay, with its abundant supply of milk.

The hotel keepers and caterers are not always responsible for the poor quality of coffee; the fault is not necessarily in the making, it may be that the quality of the coffee powder supplied is poor. Suppliers are, to a large extent, at fault in supplying low grade coffee, badly roasted and

ground. Improper roasting is the chief cause of coffee tasting bad. Roasting is an art which calls for a certain amount of skill. Another reason for coffee not tasting good is "polishing" and "colouring," in order to make it attractive. Generally, inferior grades are used for this purpose. This does not, of course, improve the quality of coffee but improves its appearance for more ready sale. As it has been found that the colouring matter used for this purpose is often poisonous and harmful to health, the Government are considering a proposal to amend the Food Adulteration Act to stop this malpractice.

Mysore Coffee is renowned for its acidity and delicate taste. If good quality coffee is correctly roasted and used fresh, there is every reason to hope that coffee will soon become the national drink of India.

RAMPUR

NEW CONSTITUTION

A new constitution framed primarily on functional rather than territorial basis is announced in a Firman issued by his Highness the Nawab of Rampur.

By adopting the functional basis, the Firman points out, the necessity of communal representation is reduced to a minimum and all important interests find representation in the legislature. 'Not only will the cooperation and association of these interests with each other and with the Govern-

ment be thus promoted but the interests of the poorer classes of my subjects will be safeguarded thereby.'

'Up till now', says the Firman, 'the legislature has consisted of 14 members, three of whom were non-official members representing the city and elected by the municipal board, three non-official members were nominated by me to represent the rural area and the remaining eight members were nominated officials. The new Majlis (Assembly) will consist of 34 members out of

whom 17 will be elected non-officials returned by the different constituencies; five non-officials will be nominated by me to represent special interests, and the remaining twelve will be officials nominated by me.'

'Economically,' proceeds the Firman, 'the most important class of the community in the state is that of the agriculturists. In this constitution ten seats have been allotted to this class. Out of these, seven have been allotted to tenants. The tenancy constitute the foundation of the economic structure of the state, and for the first time they have been brought into direct association with my Government. Out of the seven seats allotted to tenants, three Muslim members will be elected by Muslim voters, and the remaining four members will be non-Muslim elected by non-Muslim tenants. As regards the three remaining seats for agriculturists, one each will be allotted to zamindars and the thakurdars of villages and the third to jagirdars and muafidars'.

'Three seats have been allotted to the Rampur Municipi-

pality. This constituency will return two Muslims and one non-Muslim, and these members will be elected by the members of the municipal board.'

Other interest represented by election will be 'educated persons' one seat, legal practitioners one seat, commerce one seat and factories one seat. Nominated non-official seats provide representation for Rohillas, artisans, labour and depressed classes.

The constitution provides for the appointment of statutory advisory boards composed of officials and non-officials in order to promote closer co-operation between the Government and the public.

'Alongside the desire to promote the happiness and prosperity of my loyal subjects', observes the Firman, 'it has been my constant wish that the political concepts of my people shall so evolve that with experience, prudence, ripe judgment and a growing sense of responsibility they may assist me in building a greater Rampur. This state is a sacred trust handed down

to me by my ancestors, and upon this state as one big its service is a duty shared family, of which the ruler is with me by every one of my the head and the people are subjects. I have always looked the members.'

TRAVANCORE

PROGRAMME BEFORE THE GOVERNMENT

Speaking of happenings last year in Travancore politics, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, Dewan, said of Travancore, that that was merely the foam breaking on the shore, foam due to great currents and counter-currents which began in India and led to a kind of general unrest. Old values were vanishing but new ideals were slow in taking their place. The foundations of belief were swept away, and the terrible problems of living and unemployment accentuated in Travancore by reason of its educational advancement and economics lag—these occasioned a kind of general malice. Men and women spent their assets fully believing that as a result of their education, they would obtain a livelihood

and the standards of living would be ruined. They got a suffix to their names but found nothing to do. They then found it necessary to give vent to their resentment in some way, and it was natural, whenever anybody was to be blamed, the Government would be blamed. That was the secret of the agitation in Travancore and in many other places. They had to deal with both the outer and inner causes in tackling this. The policy in Travancore and in India was to take the young minds away from too much brooding over vague ideas, and confused cogitation over impossible ideals, make them do something, produce something, create something, make them think of industrial, manual or other work. That was the programme before the Government of Travancore.

Twentieth Century Miscellany

NEW PHASE OF THE WAR

..So we come up to a new phase of the war ... the phase of the attack on neutrals, Russia tries to bully them into submission, bombs their cities and invades their territory when they resist, Germany browbeats and threatens them and sinks their ships. They are called upon to dissociate themselves equally from the enemies of Germany and the opponents of Russia. There is no safety for them anywhere. Both their potential enemies are entirely without scruple. Neither will respect their rights, their property, their liberties, or their lives, if there is anything to be gained by attacking them. They have not even the assurance that if they side with Germany, she will protect them against Russia.

At the same time it is day by day being burnt into them that their cause would be irretrievably lost if these great brigands won the war ... a thought that may reconcile

them to the inconveniences which suffer from measures taken by the Allies to win it.

It is an enormous spread of events, carrying with it incalculable possibilities. What we have most to resist is the thought that it is beyond our control. To control it needs both restraint and daring.

"Take away justice, and what are the kingdoms of the earth but great bands of robbers?" St. Augustine's question is presented to the world not for the first time, but in its most urgent and dangerous form after fifteen centuries. Let us praise our thoughts to the level of this great argument and take courage in the faith, well justified by events so far, that there can be but one answer to it.

—J. A. SPENDER

in *The Sunday Times*.

THE NAZI AND SOVIET SPHERES

Look back to Hitler's oration in the Reichstag on October the sixth. On the one hand, he summoned the democracies, in

effect, to prostrate themselves before the accomplished facts of his conquests. On the other hand, he asserted the epoch-making significance of the Kremlin Treaty.

What was his version? Germany and Russia, he said, were faced by a similarity of problems and had established an identity of views. Above all, the Reich and the Soviet had agreed on what constituted "their two spheres of interests". They had drawn a clearly marked boundary between their respective spheres.

Frontiers would be settled in accordance with historical and economic "facts" as well as racial factors. This extensive formula makes *Realpolitik* supreme and excludes ethics. It could easily be used to justify the annexation of any weaker neighbour whatever without regard to nationality.

This explains what has happened in the last three months from Poland to Finland. There is no reason to suppose that we have seen the last of the predatory principle. It makes realism and brutality the same.

What, then, is the line of demarcation between the Nazi and Soviet "spheres of interest"? It must be laid down in secret clauses or annexes. To be as efficient in the excluding disputes as Hitler has asserted, it must run the whole way from the Arctic to the Aegean.

With regard to the respective northern spheres, the truth is now both plain and grim. Moscow wrung from the Nazis the highest price for its grisly friendship. In addition to the eastern half of the Polish State, the Kremlin demanded, without abatement of a jot, the whole of the Baltic territories formerly under the dominion of the Tsars. This claim included all Finland from the granite of its skerried shores along the Gulf to Petsamo on the Arctic coast with its winter port and its nickle mines.

So much for what Hitler sold. We may take it for certain that what he bought was a free hand in the West, including Holland and Belgium.

—J. L. GARVIN
in the *Observer*.

RUSSIA'S WEAKEST LINK

In a recent issue of the *Kriegswissenschaftliche Jahrbuch*, a military-economic survey inspired by the German High Command, the railway system of Soviet Russia is examined by an expert, Colonel Dr. K. Hess. He bases his survey on Russian statistics, and presents a picture which must come as a shock to those Germans who imagine that their country's blockade difficulties will be solved by trade with Russia.

Russia, writes Colonel Hess, is a country some 21 million square miles in area. Yet it possesses less than 90,000 miles of railway communications. France and Britain together have this length of permanent way, with an area less than a thirtieth of Russia's.

At the end of the revolution Russia's railway system was in complete chaos. The first Soviet Five-Year Plan brought it up to its pre-1914 condition, and the second Five-Year Plan added a further 12,500 miles of permanent way. But if the railways are to keep pace with expanding industry, Russia

needs an addition to her existing railway communications of at least 5,000 to 6,000 miles a year.

With regard to rolling stock, too, Russia is in a bad way. The second Five-Year Plan led to an increase of 80 per cent. in traffic, but of only 50 per cent. in locomotives and rolling stock.

The German expert sums up the situation by stressing the backwardness of Russia's railway communications compared to those of other industrial countries. It is, he points out, a problem which, in peace time, will take years to solve in an adequate way. In war, with increased production of essentials, and tremendously increased traffic, Russia's railway must inevitably form the weak link in her military-economic strength.

—From *Berlingske Tidende*
(Copenhagen).

A DAY IN WARTIME BERLIN

Today the life of a German civilian is so monotonous that it differs very little from that of a soldier. The average German is compelled to get up at half-past six in the morning

for the simple reason that a special card must be exchanged at the dairy before seven o'clock for the day's ration of a quarter of a pint of milk.

Usually, however, there is not enough milk for more than two-thirds of the people who have rushed for it. Then, before 7-15 the morning ration of five and a quarter ounces of bread must be called for. And, to avoid disappointment, one has to apply for bread three times a day.

Nobody need take any money for these purchases, as the appropriate card is all that is required. At the end of the week all the card purchases are deducted from the total wage. After several other such deductions have been made there is often very little left over. So it is quite possible that the Reich could continue to manage for a while with the people existing like slaves and not a single mark in circulation.

As it is, the whole of civil Germany gets up heroically at the same early hour of the morning and patiently waits for the distribution of rations.

But this is not all! Gas being rationed (and coal still more so), Germans cannot cook their breakfasts until eight o'clock by which time they must have bought their food, prepared it, and listened to the wireless, for from then onwards the electricity is cut off.

The Fuehrer has imposed on social life the same "mechanical" technique as is applied to industry. After eight in the morning, for example, there is hardly a single Nazi who is not at work in factory or office, where he must listen to the same instructions, receive the same card, and obey orders in just the same way as his eighty million or so compatriots. At ten o'clock he has to stand up in his place in workshop or office to listen to a recital of official propaganda; after which he resumes his work in silence until mid-day.

Then he gets his card and takes his place at the end of the queue at the factory restaurant, where he receives a cardboard plate, a sausage, and two potatoes, a little chopped cabbage, and an apple or a pat of "speck" (lard),

several spoonfuls of dry peas, and a dry biscuit, according to the day's work. He is given half an hour for his meal, and then he has to return to the factory once more.

He remains at work until eight in the evening, and when he returns home he must hurry off to the distribution of rations, not forgetting to take his card with him. Half an hour's wait, half an hour for the cooking, and then at nine-thirty it is compulsory for him to listen to the wireless again. Without petrol or public vehicles there is no question of having an evening out anywhere; he must "sit tight" and not even go to the cinema to see the out-of-date films. Nor can he have a party of friends in his home, for a recent law forbids groups of more than eight people of the same family meeting in the evenings to exchange views or cheer up their spirits.

And so ends a typical day in the life of an unfortunate German robot.

—WAYNE HUGH
in *La Republique de l'Est*,
(Besancon).

WEATHER AND THE WAR

Until the war is over we shall not hear the familiar words, "Here is the weather forecast for to-morrow."

In 1914 it took our authorities some time to realise the importance of weather. A meteorologist who volunteered to help the British expeditionary force in 1914 was turned down by the Staff, who did not take his proposal seriously and asked him whether he thought the Army put up umbrellas whenever it rained!

But as air war developed it was soon realised that weather forecasts are a valuable State secret.

They are of some use even for land warfare, since an offensive like that at Passchendaele in 1917 carried out in bad weather is likely to fail. They are important in sea warfare, and vital in air warfare.

On the night of October 19-20, 1917, eleven Zeppelins while raiding England ran into an unexpected storm, and were swept southwards. No fewer than four of them were caught in France the next morning.

Of course, modern planes can fly against any wind, and we cannot hope for such luck again. Nevertheless, a pilot who does not know the wind direction may find himself many miles off his intended course. And above all, a raid cannot be properly planned if there is no information about the visibility expected. A pilot may hope for clear weather and find his objective covered by a dense fog. But if this ~~stands~~ up for only a few hundred feet it will not protect him from our fighters, which can find their own way back to the ground by radio signals.

A mass air attack by hundreds of bombers flying in formation and protected by fighters is perhaps best carried out in clear weather, though of course clear weather favours the defence if it is as strong as our own. In cloudy weather single planes or small groups can play hide-and-seek in the clouds.

You have only got to imagine a general who is planning an attack, and does not know whether he has open country or woods in front of him, to

see how severely the Nazis would be handicapped if they did not know what weather to expect over England.

"But doesn't it work both ways?" you may ask. "Do our bombers, which are flying over Germany, know what weather to expect there?"

Luckily for us, it doesn't work both ways.

On the whole our weather comes from the Atlantic, and the weather of Germany comes from England and France. Of course, when we have an east wind, the air comes from over Germany. But this is because east winds are due to eddies in the main westerly stream.

If a cyclone, that is to say an eddy moving anti-clockwise, is passing from the Atlantic over France, then we must get an east wind in southern England with some showers.

A knowledge of the weather in Germany does not help us very much to forecast our own. The most valuable knowledge comes from ships in the Atlantic, which warn us of coming cyclones.

Just as the Atlantic weather helps us to forecast our own

the British weather allows us to forecast that in Germany.

The Germans will not be able to learn about the weather in Britain or France. They will try to make up for this in two ways. They may get some radio messages from neutral ships in the Atlantic, as well as Spain and Iceland. And they will use principles of weather prediction which were worked out by a group of Norwegian meteorologists in 1914-18, when they could not get the ordinary reports. In this way they will get some

idea of the weather in Britain.

But Goering's head meteorologist to-day must be like a man trying to solve a crossword puzzle with only half the clues.

So although I hope the censorship on some other matters will be relaxed, I am quite content, for the duration of the war, to do without weather forecasts, or even accounts of heat waves, thunderstorms, frosts, and fogs.

—PROF. J. B. S. HALDANE,
in the *Daily Express*.

TRUTH AND THE CAMERA

What befell the Marie Celeste? Who was the Man in the Iron Mask? Who wrote Shakespeare?—these are matters always open to discussion; nor can we know

What song the Syrens sang, or what name Achilles assumed when he hid himself among women.

But these are things of the past, and to the past belongs the privilege of mystery.

The Japanese, however, have decided otherwise. The Japan Photography Association decided to bury, in the New Year, a number of photographic films depicting various Japanese activities; they will be hermetically sealed in a tube intended to be opened in a thousand years. Remembering the fate of parcels not to be opened till Christmas Day, one has doubts as to the inviolability of tubes not to be opened in a thousand years. But no matter; provision has been made for posterity, and the men and women of a thousand years hence will—or may—have an incontrovertible record of the practices of their remote ancestors.

Incontrovertible? The camera, of course, *can* lie, and if these were the archives of another nation they might be expected to contain photographs of Mr. Churchill bombing Helsinki, or the Anglo-Jewish Navy cowering in the upper reaches of the Cherwell. As it is, the best the inquirer of 2040 A.D. can hope for is a film showing Chinese aggressors wantonly attacking Japan.

—*The Sunday Times.*

The Twentieth Century

COMING EVENTS

By "SCRUTATOR"

Indian freedom [says the resolution of the Congress Working Committee at Patna] cannot exist within the orbit of Imperialism, and Dominion Status or any other status within the imperial structure is wholly inapplicable to India, is not in keeping with the dignity of a great nation and would bind India in many ways to British policies and economic structure.

Bereft of all verbiage, it means—and can mean nothing else—that we must ask the Britishers to surrender all power into the hands of the Congress and clear out of the country. If Independence could be won by rhetoric, by resolutions and by manifestoes, the Congress should have been declared a victor, times out of number. We may concede that there are a few millions of men in this country who live by faith, that is to say, faith in the miraculous powers of the Mahatma, but there are still not a few sceptics—what exactly their number is may be a matter of controversy—whose feet are planted on earth and who believe that star-gazing is not the same thing as the successful piloting of a ship in stormy seas. How is this severance of connection with England to be achieved? By resolutions, by manifestoes, by speeches, by articles in newspapers, by spinning the yarn or by resorting to civil disobedience? The orthodox man of faith may well chide the questioner and tell him: "Thou, man of little faith, dost thou not know, that faith moves mountains, that the Mahatma is a seer, a saint, a prophet, a miracle man. If only thou couldst spin yarn from year's end to year's end and march with the Mahatma to the promised land of Yarrowada, thou wilt see that the impossible hath become the possible, and that India had gone out of the orbit of British Imperialism". But the man of little faith would answer: "What about 1920-22, and what about 1930-32? Am I not entitled to rely on past experience? Am

I not entitled to conclude that the British who never knew anything about passive resistance or civil disobedience, have had now repeated experiences of the same? Is India more united to-day than when this very seer, this very prophet, and this very saint, fed us upon the message—"Khilafat is Swaraj and Swaraj is Khilafat"? The numbers of the Congress may have increased, but so have also the numbers of unbelievers in it. The Muslims will have none of it. To them Abul Kalam Azad, with all his burning fervour for Purna Swaraj, means nothing. To them to-day Mohammad Ali Jinnah, with his new doctrine of the Muslims being a separate nation, with his all-embracing contacts with the Muslims of Egypt, Persia and Iraq and even the trans-frontier tribes, means everything. Even Ambedkar and his down-trodden men, for the uplift of whom the Mahatma very nearly killed himself in Yerrowada by his fast, have lost all faith in the Congress and its Mahatma. The Hindu Sabha, after a period of eclipse, is coming into the sunshine again. If they have little to do with the Muslims, they have less to do with the Congress. The man of little faith relies on reason, on argument, on observation, on past experience, and on an estimate of the future. For him, the Congressman has nothing but mighty contempt.

Why is it all like this? The Congress has undertaken to speak for everyone in India and claims the monopoly of patriotism, the monopoly of wisdom and the monopoly of strategy. It has succeeded to this extent that Labour men in England who ten years ago would only speak of Dominion Status for India as an objective, are now talking loud about the satisfaction of India's claims. The English Socialists are flying out to India and back to England. More are coming, or are reported to be coming out, we are told, with representatives of different schools of thought. No one dare ask what influence they wield in their own country. How far are they prepared to make any sacrifices for India? Similarly we are told that the United States of America are full of Mahatma Gandhi and his peace mission

and therefore, of India. Mr. Rajagopalachariar's statement to the American press might well be described by the cynic as an S. O. S. The Muslims too have learnt the trick. They too have made a pathetic appeal to America. Time only will show how far President Roosevelt will press Indian freedom as a condition for world peace. The fact is that the Congress has undoubtedly succeeded in one thing—and that is, propaganda, in this country and other countries: in other words, it has generated illusions about its power, about its pretensions, about its representative character. And yet a little reflection should convince everyone that on every single occasion of a critical character, the Mahatma has failed.

In 1921, he failed in his negotiations with Lord Reading. It lay within his grasp at that time to broaden Indian freedom and Indian self-government, at least within the Provinces. He did not seize the opportunity. In 1929, when he saw Lord Irwin on the 23rd of December, a week before the Lahore Congress, when Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru adumbrated his doctrine of Independence, his intransigence and cloudy ideas broke up the Conference at Delhi. A few months later he started on his Dandi march. That was the first act of civil disobedience. Salt was broken; other laws were defied. Thousands upon thousands of men and women wended their way to the jail. In 1931, the first Round Table Conference was immediately followed by an act of conciliation on the part of the British Government. Before the delegates returned to India, the Mahatma recovered his freedom, and so did many others. Then followed the prolonged negotiations between Lord Irwin and the Mahatma and the Irwin-Gandhi pact came about, only to be a dead letter within a few months. His followers blamed the Government for having broken the pact; the Government blamed his followers for having done the same. Arrived, then Lord Willingdon on the scene. The Mahatma would not go to the second Round Table Conference, and yet he did go, but after all the other delegates, or nearly all of them, had left. Hopes were raised high. At last, said every-

body, the man who could deliver the goods had gone, and the British could confidently negotiate with him. What happened then in England?—a Minorities Pact, because the Mahatma was unable to compose the communal differences—a Communal Award which is neither accepted nor rejected by the Congress. He returned. Before his return, the no-rent campaign had been started, and when he returned to India, Lord Willingdon would not see him. Result—civil disobedience again; thousands upon thousands again shut up; Indian freedom still as far off as ever. Then was passed in 1935 the Government of India Act. In 1936 elections took place. Congress won the elections by overwhelming numbers. Doubts and misgivings overwhelmed Congressmen. Being of two minds, they did not know what to do. Then the Mahatma demanded certain assurances. The assurances came. The Congress went into office. Everybody wished them well—even those who differed from them. It did not take them more than a year in office to arouse antipathies. Revolt sprang up among their own ranks. At least two Ministers had to be driven out. Corruption raised its vile head—and no one has condemned it more than the Mahatma himself. The Muslims were first kept at bay, then dealt with at arm's length; then coaxed, humoured, but they were adamant. Titles were showered upon Mr. Jinnah. He became a 'Shri', a 'Janab Jinnah Sahab', and a 'Qaide Azam'. But the Muslims would have none of the Congress. In the ranks of the Congress, there has been open rebellion—Subhas Bose has been banned, bell, book and candle. He has, however, not taken excommunication lying low. He has raised the banner of revolt; and been whipping the Rightists with scorpions. He is holding an anti-compromise conference near the very spot where the Rightists are assembling in their thousands. He is the great Rebel who really overshadows the Congress situation whatever the Rightists may say.

Then followed the war, and the Mahatma responded to the invitation of Lord Linlithgow. There he was visibly affected. He could not bear to think of bombs raining on Westminster

Abbey and the Houses of Parliament. He declared that he would help England without any condition. Barely few weeks elapsed, and then came the Wardha manifesto—'a piece of art' as the Mahatma himself described it. The Ministers were then called out. This political strike was supposed to be temporary, and those who went out—and their hangers-on and admirers—almost hinted that they would come in again within a few weeks. Weeks have grown into months. Interviews between the Mahatma and Lord Linlithgow have taken place galore. Long-range statements have been issued by him and his apostles in India. So also by Lord Zetland. At last the Viceroy made his speech at Bombay in Jan. last—and the Mahatma suddenly discovered that there were "germs of honourable settlement" in it. Then the Mahatma goes to Delhi, and expectations rise high, and newspaper correspondents tell us that the walls of Jericho are about to fall. And what was the result? In two hours the conversations end—and for the moment, no one knows whether they are going to be revived. Then Lord Zetland makes a statement to a London paper, and he is pilloried in the Congress press for saying what is the obvious truth, namely, that a tyranny of slogans had been established in India. This is followed by the resolution of the Working Committee at Patna. The apex will be reached at Ramgarh in less than two weeks. Perhaps Lord Linlithgow has been disillusioned by now; perhaps also Lord Zetland.

If the Mahatma has been a failure in practical politics, one cannot altogether be too tender to Lords Linlithgow and Zetland. Their intentions may be all right. Probably it is true that what Lord Linlithgow dared not do as Chairman of the Joint Parliamentary Committee, he is prepared to do now, having seen enough of India and felt the pressure of world events. But neither he nor Lord Zetland can make it a point of grievance that their efforts have failed to produce any impression on the Mahatma's mind. Both Lord Zetland and Lord Linlithgow have by their conduct shown that the only two men in India who can put their seal on the fate of

India are the Mahatma and the 'Qaide Azam'. It is true that Lord Linlithgow has seen 52 or more Indian politicians, but it is also true that the terms have been negotiated with only two.

The Congress has developed a very fine technique. The Mahatma starts with a mild ethical statement. Then follows a visit to Delhi or Simla. Then a mild statement again that all that he wanted cannot be had but that still there is hope. Some of the apostles then fret and fume, and talk of the next step and its inevitability. Others at once come down from the Constituent Assembly to a body of representatives from the Legislatures who shall give us the constitution we want. The newspapers go on telling us that the door is not yet banged. This is what is happening to-day. If one is to take the Patna resolution at its face value, the door is more than banged; it is jammed. And yet Mr. Rajagopalachariar assures us that it is still open. And so do the men of faith among the newspaper correspondents and writers. We were told that the Congress was not out for bargaining. Either the resolution is in the nature of bargaining, or it is not. If it is bargaining, then how is it in accord with the ethical ideas of the Mahatma? If it is not bargaining, and if it must be taken seriously, then what does it mean? An ex-Minister, Mr. Rafi Ahmad Kidwai, told us the other day:

India has been dragged without her consent into the war with Germany. She is not our enemy. Why should we fight her? Germany may keep friendly relations with independent India. She may even help us in the work of national reconstruction.

The Congress resolution itself says :

The Congress strongly disapproves of Indian troops being made to fight for Great Britain and of the drain from India of men and material for the purpose of the war. Neither the recruiting nor the money raised in India can be considered to be voluntary contribution from India. *Congressmen, and those under the Congress influence, cannot help in the prosecution of the war with men, money or material.*

Can anyone say precisely how far all this is removed from the Mahatma's statement that he should help England without

any condition? But even he himself has said recently that he cannot conscientiously pray for the victory of British arms. He has, with the true touch of an artist, added that he says this with a heavy heart.

The resolution at Patna is a foretaste of what is to happen at Ramgarh. It is a challenge to everyone who does not see eye to eye with the Congress. The Indian States have again been notified that they cannot come in the way of Indian freedom. "Sovereignty must rest with the people, whether in the States or the Provinces." Even therefore if they can retain their crowns and *gadis*, the Maharajahs and Nawabs must be prepared to transfer their allegiance to the Congress and receive their orders from the High Command. Foreign vested interests have similarly been notified, and let all and sundry beware that "the resignation of the Ministers which is a preliminary step must naturally be followed by civil disobedience, to which the Congress will unhesitatingly resort as soon as the Congress organisation is considered fit enough for the purpose, or in case circumstances so shape themselves as to precipitate a crisis." The apologists of the Congress say with reference to the words italicized that civil disobedience will not come about after all, and that these words are in the nature of a loophole. That may or may not be right. And it is possible that the better instincts of the Mahatma may ultimately prove to be a restraining influence, but what is the spirit which has been generated? Is this ethical? If this interpretation is right, then what is it but mere bluff, which Mr. Rajagopalachariar says it is not?

How long will Lords Zetland and Linlithgow go on cogitating, hoping for a happier turn of events? Are they hoping that time may lead to the waning of the influence of Mr. Jinnah with the Muslim League, or of the Mahatma with the Hindus? Or, are they waiting for the appropriate moment to press the button and set the machinery of repression going? Waiting on events will not do. Courageous forestalling is necessary.

If civil disobedience has hitherto failed to yield results, so has repression. Why cannot British statesmen make up their minds? If they are clear that India must achieve Dominion Status within the shortest possible distance of time, let them come out themselves with concrete proposals to enable millions of men who want peace, progress and freedom, and who want no bloodshed in the country and no kind of disturbance of normal life, to judge for themselves. It is idle to hope that at the present moment the Mahatma and the 'Qaide Azam' can embrace each other, or that the Congress will formally give up its demand for Constituent Assembly and self-determination, or that the Muslims will cease to talk of their being a separate nation. The time for such hopes is over. Let there be no manoeuvring on any side. Let the British put forward their concrete proposals to fill in the picture of Dominion Status, and then see what happens in the country. The situation demands neither waiting nor bargaining. The welfare and the future of 400 million men is at stake. What it demands is an act of constructive statesmanship which will divert the attention of men from theories to practical issues, and in the circumstances this can only be done by the British. Above every thing else, they have got to remember that whatever be the constitution, the fundamental basis of it will be the electorate, and once they can, with their knowledge and experience, solve the problem of franchise and electorate, the rest of the task will not be very difficult. If they wish to please everyone, the Hindus in their entirety or the Muslims in their entirety, or the Congress or the Muslim League, they will succeed in pleasing no one, and end by creating more complications for India, and for themselves. Disaster may yet be averted.

THE ESSENTIALS OF A NEW CONSTITUTION FOR INDIA

By DR. C. R. REDDY

I

[ON THE IDEA OF CONFEDERATION IN ITS APPLICATION TO THE STRUCTURE OF THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT]

In the light of the fundamental differences that have arisen now, the following reconciliatory conclusions appear to be irresistible :

1. The Constitution Act of 1935 has to be replaced both in its Central and Provincial parts by a new type.

2. The Central Government will have to be a confederation with sovereign status vesting in the States and provinces joining. The Confederation idea advocated all along by Muslims has to be accepted if worse is to be avoided, viz., if both unity and independence are not to be risked.

3. Government with a fixed tenure and irremovable by votes of the Legislature should take the place of the present Unitary Party Cabinets. Because otherwise :

(a) Princes can't come in. They can't be partywallahs nor can they be subjected to dismissal by legislative votes of no-confidence.

(b) Nor can Muslims and Minorities: since to expose them to no-confidence motions is to force them to abandon their special character to quit.

4. The Irremovable Cabinet lends itself to a composite character. As Unitary Cabinets have destroyed the unity of the country, the composite must be adopted—or at any rate, given a trial. We can't continue wrecking the country further, however honestly and unwittingly.

5. Naturally in a confederation of States and Provinces, Government can't be based wholly on population. The

Provincial basis must supplant population basis—at least in the executive which must represent the confederate government and not populations. I don't see why political motives should be provided for increase of population in our country or for conversions from one religion to another. The need is the other way about.

6. If these principles are applied, the Central Executive would be somewhat as follows :—

A. States—(a) Hyderabad will have a permanent seat to be filled according to its constitution or by nomination of His Exalted Highness. (b) Baroda, Mysore, Kashmir and Travancore to have two seats between themselves by rotation. (c) One representative of Minor States to be elected by the Princes Chamber.

B. Provinces:—(d) One member from each province to be appointed by the Viceroy on the recommendation of the Provincial Government concerned.

The above scheme is geographical. It will not result in an unwieldy cabinet.

The case of provinces must be modelled on similar lines so far as the nature of the Executive is concerned. As regards its composition, statutory places must be given to Muslims and Scheduled Castes. Here geography being out of the question, ethnology has to come in. 1/6th of the Executive seats may be allotted to each of the above factors; the other 2/3rds may be filled differently. Such Muslims and Scheduled Caste members must be appointed on the recommendation of the Legislative Groups concerned.

The implication of an irremovable executive, which can and should be composite, is that the executive need not necessarily be members of the Legislature. And in the Centre, they being representatives of the Confederate Governments, their irremovability by the Legislature follows as a logical result.

Needless to add that I, being no prophet, don't claim infallibility for this recipe. But I think it will have a soothing

and perhaps curative effect. In view of the various interpretations now given to Independence and the absence of insistence on the Constituent Assembly, I am in hopes that a small representative body will be appointed to go into the question of the New Constitution. Let us all submit our several views without dogmatism and obstinacy to such a body and submit to its decision.

II

ON THE PRINCIPLE OF SEPARATION OF POWERS AND OTHER IDEAS

The Congress is in full-blast opposition, openly at long last, to Composite Cabinets or the principle of sharing power with the League and other factors composing the Indian nation. Nor can they on their principle of Unitary Party Cabinets, give seats to Princes. For Princes cannot be party politicians.

Unitary Party Cabinets exclude minorities, whatever their importance,—even Muslims.

In the All-India Government envisaged by the Congress there cannot be a place as of right to Princes, or to Muslims commanding the confidence of the Muslim legislators.

But can we have, unless Composite Governments are conceded, an All-India State on the voluntary Federation principle which Gandhiji once advanced but has now probably abandoned? Of course, force may decide, but force is not necessarily a function of numbers.

If the principle of Separation of Powers is adopted, it would be feasible to have a Central Government based on some such lines as the following without which the possibility of a stable All-India State cannot be assured.

(1) The Dominion of Hyderabad to have a permanent seat to be filled by nomination by His Exalted Highness the Nizam or as per its Constitution.

(2) Mysore, Baroda, Kashmir and Travancore to have two seats by rotation, since they may find it impossible to subject themselves to election ;

(3) The Minor States to have one seat by election by the Princes' Chamber ;

Considering the area covered by the States, this can't be regarded as excessive.

(4) One member from each of the Provinces appointed by the Provincial Government concerned.

A Scheme of this kind can be made fully effective under Separation of Powers.

ADVANTAGES OF SEPARATION OF EXECUTIVE AND LEGISLATIVE POWERS.

(1) The administration will be purer than if the Executives have to depend for their existence on the votes of the Legislature. Under the Cabinet system, such a dependence is inevitable, which is neither always nor altogether healthy ;

(2) As the Legislature would not be liable to dissolution by the Executive, it also will be more independent than now ;

(3) The budget, legislation and general policies will be determined by the Legislature ;

Generally speaking, recommendations respecting these matters will be placed by the Executive ; and a Composite Executive will not lend itself to rash, fanatical objects and methods. And the Legislature also, being independent with an assured tenure, might be expected to act better than under a system in which party, being both legislative and executive, tends to be rampant as well as docile.

(4) The Legislature will be in contact with the Executive as in the United States of America by means of Committees, one Committee for each Department. The composition of these Committees will be in the hands of the Speaker who will see to it that all the different Parties and Interests are fairly represented. Fair does not necessarily mean in proportion to numbers, though numbers must be taken into account.

It is not proposed to go into greater detail at this stage on Separation of Powers. The great principle of Montesquieu and the French Revolution will undoubtedly suit a country like India better than the Unitary Cabinet type of Government with its concentration of both legislative and executive powers in the same hands. The British system is a natural growth and it has not flourished in other atmospheres.

SPECIAL POWERS

I fail to see why the Congress leaders make so much of the special powers of the Governors while ignoring the more formidable weapon of legislative veto. Special powers apply to non-legislative measures, that is to say, generally speaking, administrative actions. Veto obviously refers to legislation. Are we to consider that, in the estimate of the Congress legislative, freedom is of less importance than administration? If so, it is a strange piece of democracy. Why should those who do not object to the veto which also may be exercised in the representation or in defence of a minority, get perturbed over the Special Powers? Under the Scheme adumbrated above, Special Powers would hardly be required, because the Cabinets would function like the Panchayats of old, the original genuine Panchayats, by general agreement, instead of the tyranny of majorities. So administrative protection of minorities may not be necessary, and the Special Powers will fall into disuse. As the legislative veto remains, party tyranny by legislation would continue to be impossible.

One or two points have been advanced in reply to some of my criticisms, which I shall briefly notice:—

The first is that when the Congress demanded assurances abrogative *de facto* of Special Powers, they were not asking for any special privilege to the Congress Governments but to possible Governments by other Parties as well. Surely when did the Congress, which always claimed to be the one and only Party, concede the possibility of non-Congress Governments? This appears to me to be a belated and insincere plea.

The second is that these Special Powers governed other fields than the interests of minorities, such as European interests, and that therefore in requiring their *de facto* abrogation, the Congress was not injuring the minorities. Rather a strange deduction. If the Europeans also were injured, it cannot mean that the Muslims and the Scheduled Classes were not. If, as is sought to be now implied, the real or only objective were the Europeans, then should not the Congress in commonsense as well as in fulfilment of its profession of an all-embracing national character, have taken the Muslims and the Scheduled Classes in to its confidence and explained to them the limited scope of their contention and get them to agree either (a) by explicitly limiting the scope, as apparently it is now sought to be made out or (b) by providing a specific procedure by which the Muslims and the Scheduled Classes might still, if they so desired, invoke constitutionally the safeguards?

There is a furious drive, for the first time open, against both Composite Cabinets and Separate Electorates, which at any rate, sustains my proposition that Separate Electorates do involve Composite Cabinets, and that they must either go together or go out together. If both disappear, how are the safeguards for Minorities, even now plentifully offered, to be operated?

Lastly, the recent defences of the old Congressional conduct in demanding assurances and in excluding non-Congressmen from their Cabinets while professing to be the all-embracing, national platform, openly assert that if the non-Congress elements had been taken in, it would have led to irreconcilable communal Cabinet differences, which would have led to gubernatorial intervention and the exercise of Safeguards and Special Powers. Surely, if it is utterly hopeless to expect communal reconciliation and amity, are they not giving up the very basis of all their politics, namely, that the Indians are a nation, actual or possible? If we cannot base our attitudes on possible and probable inter-communal harmony, and if we continue to base political conduct on the

feeling that no two communities could work together in the same Government, how is the Indian problem to be solved? Does the Congress seriously mean to swallow up the Princes and Muslims and all other organisations? I fear even its appetite whetted by asceticism will not be found equal to the task of digesting. In a recent statement, Mahatmaji has said in partial reversal of the new-fangled doctrine of freedom without unity, that without Hindu-Muslim unity, Swaraj could not be had *without violence*. Does it mean that the Congress is now prepared, in its anxiety to have freedom before unity, to have recourse to violence either direct or through the British Government? Or is it going back to its 25-year-old doctrine of unity first with freedom to follow as an assured and peaceful consequence?

My endeavour, now as always, has been for compromise, adjustment and the preservation of unity at all costs, without which freedom could neither be won nor retained. The Muslims of Hyderabad have started an Independence Movement for the Dominion, and adopting the principle of Mr. Prakasam's revenue policy, they want the frontiers of 1802 to be restored. I pray to God that there will not be independence days, in the plural, in addition to the singular Independence Day celebrated by the Congress.

III

CONCLUDING SUMMARY AND SEQUENCE OF IDEAS

This completes all that I have to say on the subject. The order of ideas is as follows :—

A

I. Constitutional unity of the country.

II. That is to say the All-India State.

III. In the present condition of the country, and on account of the recognition due to Princes and Muslims—a Confederate State is the only possibility, if civil commotion is to be avoided.

IV. The Central Government should be formed on the basis of Provinces and States—not populations.

V. Composite, irremovable cabinets follow as a consequence.

VI. And separation of Executive and Legislative powers as the right and only workable basis.

B

Negatively, theory and experience have shown :—

I. That Parliamentary Unitary Party type of Government has created disunion bordering on civil war, and apart from this,

II. has frustrated the significance of separate electorates and safeguards and

III. by enabling totalitarian Governments to be formed and totalitarian policies to be enforced on the strength of regimented parties and pseudo-religious appeals, has alarmed Muslims and other elements of the Indian nation in respect of their cultural and material future, failing to give due weight to the comprehensive nature of interests, involved in the idea of racial or credal communities and treating them as entitled to merely personal and private rights with no general or political significance, a dream or illusion from which the Congress should free itself. Race is a political factor because it is ethnic. Why then not community? Communal and political are not self-contradictory terms as is sought to be made out.

IV. And consequently no solution based on numbers and arithmetic is possible; but one based on communal agreements on a footing of fairness, if not absolute equality.

V. As all federalism involves a mitigation of the principle of numbers, this political demise of arithmetic in India need not be mourned as the end of cosmos and nationalism.

My approach to the subject has been partly analytical and partly empirical, viz., by analysis of the ideas of safeguards, separate electorates, etc., and their implications, and

by a study of the happenings of the last 2½ years, illustrating of course and not exhaustively, and the results thereof. Experience and theory have been combined. How well and to what extent, is for the reader to judge.

The Congress has in sentiment always stood for Hindu-Muslim unity, though it has unfortunately failed to promote it by its conduct. Understanding should precede the promotion of a cause. This is an effort at understanding without underestimating. I may have overstated the case of the Muslims; but that is obviously less dangerous than the error of understatement.

Independence has been subjected to the usual metaphysical treatment by the Congress and has evaporated in the crucible of subtle interpretations. With one leader, it is Dominion Status; with another, it is interdependence with England; with a third, it is the *ultimate* goal of the *nation* but proximately it is for the politicians to decide whether they will go in for it or for some species of Dominion Status or whatever they can get from England without putting their threats into action,—a contention that makes it undesirable or unnecessary to call a Constituent Assembly until the goal becomes the immediate field of culture, and meanwhile allows politicians to play the part of judges in regard to measure, method and attainment; and there are I doubt not other shades, which Subhas Chandra Bose would call shadows, amongst the Gandhian exponents or guides. My sympathies are with the Rightists and I wish them success.

There can be no more telling illustration of the co-equal or almost co-equal position of Muslims with Hindus and the rest of Indians, than this :

that while their population is 1/6th or 1/5th only of the whole, in a British India Confederation they can be expected to have 5 out of 11 seats in the Central Government, and in an All-India Confederation not less than 6 out of 15. Is there any other Minority Community of which this can be said to

be actual or ever possible. The same calculus will give the Congress or the rest 6 out of 11 seats in a British Indian and 6 out of 17 seats in an All-India Confederation. The geographical or provincial arithmetic thus cancels the population arithmetic, and the one calculation is as non-communal as the other.

I hope that the wise men of Wardha will wake up to this portentous fact and readjust their views to the vital requirements of the country.

Some Modern Definitions

Baby—an alimentary canal with a loud voice at one end and no responsibility at the other.

False Step—the one which many single men inevitably make, after which they are known as married men.

Lawyer—a fellow who is willing to spend your last cent to prove he is right.

Majority—a large number of people who are tired of thinking for themselves and decided to accept somebody else's opinions.

Obesity—surplus gone to waist.

Vision—what people think you have when you guess correctly.

Walking—a primitive method of getting over the ground by putting one foot in front of the other.

Youth—the first fifty years of your life; the first twenty of anyone else's.

SWINBURNE'S CHILD-POETRY

By ASHUTOSH BANERJI

April in England! Beautiful beyond words and like many things beautiful, ever so treacherous! Among booms of guns, daffodils will again dance until crushed by ghastly bombs from high. It was on a similar beautiful and serene day that a flower-like poet received a sudden chill and left this treacherous world. It was on Easter Monday, 10th of April, 1909, that Swinburne died.

His anniversary will be celebrated this year in every English-speaking country, in spite of the most unpoetic atmosphere of the world to-day. It is a pleasant sign that poetry is not so neglected as it was two decades ago. It will be more pleasant to receive a surprise by looking into a poet anew and reading his thoughts.

Swinburne is rarely read to-day, and he was not understood as he should be, when he died. The famous Danish critic, George Brandes, wrote at his death: "I do not think that English public venerated him as he deserved, and it is a disgrace to the Scandinavian North that he did not receive the Nobel Prize." Yet what can be the cause of his neglect to-day? There was some reason for his being disliked by the Victorians, whose sense of security and comfort he ruffled so carelessly. But why does he irritate the present generation? Is it because the people have taken a fancy to condemn the Victorians as a body, and unfortunately he was one of them? There is a real affinity between him and his age, in spite of the furore he created. But there is also a special trait in him which is worthy of study to-day. In an age of uncertainty and artificiality, he is, above all, simple and primitive. We who are cramped by the corruptions of civilization may go to him for a real holiday.

Even those who have loved his simplicity have not seen him at his best. They know him usually as a love-poet ; he is more glorious as a poet of childhood. Every poet is by nature childlike and loves children, but only a few poets can come up to Swinburne. Every day he would go out of his lodging in Putney Hill, whatever be the weather, without an overcoat or umbrella and walk over to Wimbledon Common. Children were always there eagerly looking out for their friend, who never failed to stuff his pockets with biscuits and sweets for them, nor ever refused to play with them. Rossetti, Ruskin and Burne Jones always found him a handsome child even in old age, and this made Rossetti ask him to sit for a picture of Galahad. His voice and disposition remained childlike in sweetness and trustfulness to his last days. Every reader has found him extravagant; this extravagance and prodigality were that of a child.

He reminds us again and again what a mess we have made of the child. Psychologists have gripped our souls and the bogey of "complex" has made us pathetically helpless before children. We are afraid of fondling them, and shiver at the thought of reaction which neglect may set up. We do not love academically, we do not weep academic tears, yet we wish to have academic children !

The sweetness and freshness of Swinburne's child-poems are reminiscent of Blake, but he is neither mystical nor in any way intellectual. Expect from him no pampering to a cherished religious or philosophical idea. Expect from him no provocative psychological study nor consciously attempted delineations of a sub-conscious mind. But expect from him whatever expectation is roused by such a poem as :

A little way, more soft and sweet
Than fields aflower with May,
A babe's feet, venturing, scarce complete
A little way.

Eyes full of dawning day
Look up for mother's eyes to meet
Too blithe for song to say.
Glad as the golden spring to greet
Its first live leaflet's play,
Love, laughing leads the little feet
A little way.

He has softly entered into the realm of child, where no difference is allowed to be made by the inhabitants between things real and imaginary. Things imagined have become concrete and mingled with the reality of the world. So the path has become softer than a ground covered with rose-petals. The child and mother both have lost themselves in a rapturous experience of budding life and have imparted their feelings to the poet. This is the real atmosphere of childhood rather than any analytic make-up of an artificial society. Similar faithful and beautiful portraiture will be found in the *Crescent Moon* of Rabindranath Tagore.

At times Swinburne forgets his subject. Bubbling with great joy of living, he picks up words richer than gold, and like a child at play on the shore scatters them all around him in a golden shower. As in the cartoons of Walt Disney, splendour bursts forth in multi-colour at the touch of a magic wand. Rich purple sunrise of the South, delicate amber evening of Brittany, gaiety of Provence and passion of Italy rise and join in a chorus at his bidding. All this is achieved by means of sound as in the nocturnes of Chopin and symphonies of Beethoven, but his poems do not stop at the ear. Music opens the portals and words stamp their meaning in our minds. An example of this is the Birth Song, written in Oct., 1875, for Olivia Frances Rossetti, beginning with these words :

Out of the dark sweet sleep
Where no dreams laugh or weep
Borne through bright gates of birth
Into the dim sweet light,
Where day still dreams of night
While heaven takes form on earth.
White rose of spirit and flesh, red lily of love

What notes of song have we

Fit for the birds and thee

Fair nestling couched beneath the mother dove ?

The word 'music' stands at the very centre of this soul-awakening poem. Such poems as these have led critics to say that he has made thought musically sensuous. The music of the words, like the Bhairavi Ragini, at first creates a luxuriant atmosphere; then as one goes on listening, one forgets the original sound and words appear as so many symbols beckoning one to a realm of thought hitherto unexplored. This realm is not philosophical like that of Shelley, nor artificial like that of the decadent poets of 1830. It is primitive and simple, yet born of deep and sincere experience and therefore not in any way commonplace, as the superficial observer would have us believe.

Religion in the Middle Ages called forth the devotion and love of the artist's soul. He poured his heart in adoration of the deity and sang of the life hereafter. The Renaissance tried to reclaim the beauty of this earth and worship due to it. Since then a struggle has been going on between the two to capture the mind of men. The Victorians tried to compromise by enthroning love in place of religion and by making this love appear unearthly. As this love denied all earthly connections to surround itself with a halo, it became a hot-house product, a precious orchid carefully reared for the parlour of an epicure. Either, men are pathetically noble-minded and loyal to their pet ideas to the last, or the Victorian poets were afraid to step into light. They continued to weave their story in an artificial bower like the Lady of Shallot. A single touch with reality shattered their magic and their song died on their lips. They were filled with doubt and despair. To Swinburne there was only one way of escape from the attack of this despair: to return to physical and simple life, which is tangible and beautiful. He can hold this supreme beauty and breathe its sweetness. The only class of human

being, who could initiate him in its mystery and diffuse this sweetness seemed to him to be the child. Hence he sang :

Baby, see the flowers!

— Baby sees

Fairer things than these

Fairer though they be than dreams of ours.

Baby, see the star !

—Baby's hand

Opens, warm and bland,

Calm in claim of all things fair that are.

It is the Adoration of Magi, shorn of all religious sentiment, and as such is more likely to find a place in the hearts of men and women to whom religion is a fearful germ to be carefully avoided. Another modern poet, Tagore, has caught this glimpse and said in ecstasy, "When I sing to make you dance, I truly know why there is music in leaves and why waves send their chorus of voices to the heart of the listening earth." It is pure poetry, independent of time, place and person. It shows how "reason makes kites of her laws and flies them, and truth sets fact free from its fetters." It is more beautiful than daffodils "that come before the swallow dares and take the wind of March with beauty." That is why in all ages the poets have sung such paeans of joy again and again. When we are drifted into the strong current of this joy, we realize what a bright thing and a holy blessing is the child ! It is the warmest spark of life, bathed in a prismatic light and spreading cheerfulness and dispelling pessimism all around. It is so full in itself that it needs no association of religion or philosophy to express or ennoble it. Nothing else can enlighten light than itself. Nothing else can add to the freshness and sweetness of a child's beauty than a bevy of other children, and nothing can express it better than the simple names by which it has been called for ages :

Babe, if rhyme be none

For that sweet small word

Babe, the sweetest one

Ever heard,

Right it is and meet
 Rhyme should keep not true
 Time with such a sweet
 Thing as you.

I would have liked to reproduce this poem at some length but I fear that sceptics may still argue that here is nothing more than sugary stanzas on sentimental life. If so, it is hard to convince them. They will not only maintain that it is harmful to love sweet things, but very logically conclude that it is wrong to go into raptures over the sweetest thing, the child! They will have the satisfaction of being consistent but they will realise later that consistency can no more woo mistress truth than our inconsistencies. Is the following observation untrue, because it happens to be idyllic?

Baby-bird, baby-bird,
 Ne'er a song on earth
 May be heard, may be heard
 Rich as yours in mirth.

Baby-bird, baby-bird,
 Your grave majestic eyes
 Like a bird's warbled words
 Speak, and sorrow dies.

Swinburne would be no poet and certainly not sincere if he became idyllic at the cost of truth, shutting his eyes to this world. I have already suggested that he was intensely aware of the physical world, but like a true artist, he was aware of its harmony and life. His experience and interpretation may differ, but they show his power of observation in the minutest scale. Even the most fastidious realist can scarcely find fault with such lines as these:

A Baby's hand, like rose-buds furled
 Whence yet no leaf expands,
 Ope if you touch, those close-upcurled
 A Baby's hands.

Then fast as warriors grip their brands
 When battle's bolt is hurled,
 They close, clenched hard like tightening bands.

Swinburne in his poetry of childhood is a direct inheritor of the true English spirit. The freshness of it resembles the fresh April-like quality of the *Pearl* and of Chaucers's *Romance of the Rose*. His similes are not forced or far fetched, but simple and telling. He seeks to match the softness of the baby and finds:

Sleek satin, swansdown, buds that play not
 As yet with winds that play,
 Would fain be matched with this, and may not:
 What likeness may?

He is also of their kinship in his technique. He takes up the old English method of alliteration and makes of it an ornament as exquisite as the flower-de-lys of a Mughal architect. He creates a thousand inner rhythms which vibrate plaintively like violins in his great orchestra of a poem. In this orchestra the truest and most passionate expression is reached when the poet talks of childhood. Such poems do not lack God's plenty either. Besides hundreds of cradle songs and birthday poems, mention may be made of *Etude Realiste*, *Baby-bird*, *Babyhood*, *First Footsteps*, *Comparisons*, *A Child's Thanks*, *A Child's Laughter*, *A Child's Pity*, *A Child's Battles*, *Not A Child* and *A Child's Future*. Those who already love good poetry will be filled with delight at reading them, but even those who look askance at poetry will find nothing to make them ill at ease. No one is required to hammer out a meaning or struggle against oneself continuously. He will find pure joy and enthusiasm, too contagious to resist. Children will take hold of the lapels of his coat and draw him to their mud-pies. He will be forced to stretch himself on the grass and watch, nay, even share their antics. All obstacles for understanding children are set aside, and the real forms of children are found leaping, dancing and running with the wildest glee for living. They have pain and frustration, but more on account of the wilful meddling of adults and their theories. The spontaneous art of living of children itself does not admit of disappointment or despair for long. In their presence

all our wisdom crumbles to dust as we learn how little is needed to be happy and that little is always at hand.

At such a time often comes the thought how wrongly men have turned aside from poetry deliberately to stop life from becoming a poem. There can be no doubt that at these moments life unfolds itself in such beauty and grace that nothing is left wanting. It becomes clear to every one that both in literature and in life there is no greater healing power than the happy looks of a child. Literature and art devoted to child life are fortunately to-day very vast in spite of the neglect of average readers.

It is a pity that Swinburne was a bachelor and his only relation with children was in the parks. He missed thus the most intimate communion with the child mind. He had to content himself with the smiles of a baby and antics of children at play. He sings of these ever so beautifully and for that very reason makes us wistful for that world of magic which Walter de la Mare often reveals in the child mind, and which Tagore offers in the glory of child nature. This world of celestial light we cannot forego at any cost, and the glory of Swinburne's music never lets us forget it. It continues to suggest that he too could give us a glimpse of that paradise, only if he were allowed to have a peep into it. The pity is that if he could live in the bosom of some family and not in the bachelor's nest in Putney Hill with Watts-Dunton, even then he could have done it. Francis Thompson was also a bachelor, but his fortunate association with Meynells gave him the necessary intimate relation with children. We feel that sense of close and deep relation with child nature in such poems as *To Monica Thought Dying*, which we miss in Swinburne. But the sweetest understanding and paternal sympathy cannot come from second-hand experience, however close. This understanding and sympathy are best shown by Coventry Patmore, the much abused Victorian poet.

But to free us from the inhibitions of modern psychology there is no greater force than Swinburne. His simple and

primitive power sweeps at one stroke the complex fads which curb our delight in the divine beauty of childhood. In every age and in every civilisation men grow callous and sophisticated at times. But though they dethrone old superstitions, they set up new ones again. For the heart always yearns for romance and tries to feed itself on such superstitions. At such a critical period men are rescued by poets, who infuse an extra zest in life and bring a deeper insight into it. They arrive at truth intuitively which is no less important than scientific truth.

Literature of childhood will not rouse us as if with a trumpet, will not preach the gospel of truth or nationalism, nor will it make the two blades of grass grow where only one grew before. It will also not turn the fancy of men in season and out of season to idle thoughts of love. But it can and will sweeten life. For quiet joy, for dispelling meanness and despair, for receiving a new lease of life and to learn the art of living, let us turn to the child and poetry of childhood.

Children are not only our hope of the future, but our best treasure of the past. Swinburne calls them very aptly the Salt of the Earth. The zest of life will depart if they were not with us. Love for children is, therefore, common in every land and needs not teaching. England is specially rich in the passionate expression of this love. Besides the few poets already named, mention should be made of Traherne, Naughtan, Blake, Wordsworth, W. H. Davies and Alice Meynell. The vanguard of this bevy of sweet singers is Swinburne. We must begin with him, he is so near and dear to us always. Others live in tents as rich as that of Peribanu of the Arabian Nights, and are hidden in their glory. He remains with us and when we pay too much for our fancy of political life, takes up the reed left by Pan and softly sings :

If childhood were not in the world,
But only men and women grown,
No baby locks in tendrils curled,
No baby blossoms blown ;

THE TWENTIETH CENTUR

Though men were stronger and women fairer,
And nearer all delights in reach,
And verse and music uttered rarer,
Tones of more godlike speech ;

Though the utmost best of life's best hours
Found, as it cannot now find, words,
Though desert sands were sweet like flowers,
And flowers could sing like birds ;

But children never heard them, never
They felt a child's foot leap and run,
This were a drearier star than ever
Yet looked upon the sun.

And, after all, this star is fast becoming dreary with its topheavy system of machanized life. Lack of harmony between the mind and the heart and in consequence a severe mental indigestion are making a mockery of our civilisation. Suppose we let the poets legislate our life just for a change.

What Man Loves Most:

At the age of one—his nurse.
At the age of five—his mother.
At the age of ten—his vacations.
At the age of eighteen—his freedom.
At the age of twenty—his sweet-heart.
At the age of thirty—his wife.
At the age of forty—his children.
At the age of fifty—his club.
At the age of sixty—his comfort.
At any age—himself!

INDIAN DEFENCE PROBLEM

By C. V. H. RAO

[EDITOR, 'INDIAN NATION', PATNA]

In view of the definite announcement made by Lord Linlithgow that the constitutional status contemplated by the British Government for India is dominion status of the Statute of Westminster variety, certain questions arise which demand clarification and settlement. Undoubtedly, the most outstanding of these is the question of Indian defence. The term 'Indian defence' is, however, a comprehensive and wide one and has more than one facet. For example, there is the question of transforming what is now known only by courtesy as the Indian army into a genuine Indian army and of liquidating the Army in India, which is more or less completely British in complexion and which is in the nature of an Army of Occupation. There is then the question of removing the discriminations and distinctions that at present render the Indian part of the army a close preserve of certain sections of the Indian people and of converting it into a real national army in which every section of Indians can join and participate in the defence of their Motherland. There are other questions too, like the development of an Indian air force and an Indian navy, in regard to both of which India is still comparatively backward. These and other associated questions will have to be tackled and settled before India can in fact attain the status of a full-fledged dominion. And in all these matters, British interests are involved, and involved rather deeply too. Protracted negotiations are necessary before an understanding/satisfactory to both sides but always in the interests of India, is evolved. An attempt is, however, essential to present these problems in the right perspective and to induce a proper appreciation of their scope and significance, and such an attempt will be made here.

That there is sufficient appreciation in high quarters, of the importance of arriving at a satisfactory settlement of the Indian defence problem such as that postulated above, is evident from the joint *communiqué* issued after Mahatma Gandhi's now famous but inconclusive interview with the Viceroy on Feb. 5th last. The public were informed in the course of that *communiqué* that the Viceroy drew attention, during the talks, to the complexity and difficulty of certain of the issues that called for disposal in connection with India's attainment of dominion status, in particular, the issue of defence in a dominion's position. Mahatma Gandhi in his press statement immediately after the termination of the interview, departed from his own well-known view of the defence problem *vis-à-vis* the principle of non-violence to accord to it the importance it deserves in the scheme of things. So far as defence is concerned, he said, surely it will be the primary concern of a free India to make her own arrangement. It may well be, he proceeded to point out, that India would want elaborate preparations and would want Britain's help, if it is given, to enable her to do so. It was a perfectly justifiable indictment of Britain's policy in regard to this problem that is contained in the Mahatma's observation that 'thanks to Britain's imperial policy, unarmed India is left wholly unprotected except by British bayonets and Indian soldiers which Britain's power has brought into being'. In Mahatma Gandhi's scheme of things, and in view of the fact that non-violence is to him a matter of religion and not merely one of policy, there may be no place for an army for India; but he is practical enough to recognise that his creed has its limitations and cannot be absolute or immutable. India does need a strong military, fully and efficiently equipped, and she will need it mostly for the defence of her own frontiers and for internal security and not for aggression. The policy of depending upon British bayonets to ward off an attack on Indian's independence is not only utterly humiliating but extremely untenable. As a dominion, India will not suffer that humiliation as she

does now in her status as a dependency. It should simultaneously be recognised too that she cannot incur the heavy expenditure she is now forced to do on defence and that expenditure will have to bear a strict relation to her general economic conditions and to her own unavoidable and imperative defence requirements. The justice of this claim is irresistible.

As has already been mentioned, an important problem that should come up for consideration in this connection is that pertaining to the composition of the Indian army. At the present moment, the Indian Army as distinct from the Army in India, is composed mostly of the Punjabis (Muslims and Sikhs), the Gurkhas of Nepal, who are more or less of the nature of mercenaries, and Rajputs and a few other sections classed 'martial'. Among the Punjabis, a vast majority belong to the Muslim community and the policy has been more or less consistently followed by the Government of India, in recent years, of encouraging Muslim recruitment and discouraging the recruitment of Sikhs. There may or may not be a settled or expressed, much less admitted policy or principle in this discouragement, but there is all the strength and support behind it daily growing practice. If, however, there is really any attempt at making it a policy that Punjab recruitment should be confined to the Muslim sections of the population of that province, there is need for abandoning it for good, and abandoning it at an early date too. It is discriminatory not only against other provinces in India but discriminatory also against other communities and sections of the population thereof to restrict or mostly to confine army recruitment to the Punjabi Muslims. Our demand is for a national army in India and we demand that it should be 'national' in the true sense of the term which it can only be when the various sections of Indians are represented therein, in adequate and proper proportions.

From this follows the necessity of obliterating the disparaging distinction that is now drawn between 'martial' and 'non-

martial, classes, a distinction which is untenable and unsustainable at this time of the day, besides being needlessly humiliating and exasperating. Martial qualities to a certain extent are inherent in a race or people; but they can be acquired also by other peoples by systematic training and there is no earthly reason or justification to condemn certain sections of Indians and placard them as 'non-martial'. At one time when the Indian caste system was extremely rigid, particular castes had particular duties and avocations, beyond the confines of which the castemen could not venture to go. But the rigidity of the caste system has been breaking down gradually and any argument about the unsuitability of a particular caste for a particular vocation or duty based on the conceptions of caste of an earlier day will not have any legs to stand upon. If, therefore, the Indian army is to be a genuinely national army, the scope of recruitment to its ranks should be extended so as to enable men from all provinces and all communities to join it. It is ridiculous, in fact, to suggest that some communities or sections in this country are unfit for military service. We have, on the other hand, the testimony of the present Commander-in-Chief of India, (Sir Robert Cassels) that 'India's greatest asset is a large supply of the finest types of fighting men', while an ex-Commander-in-Chief of India, (Sir Philip Chetwode) in a speech of his at the East India Association of London, paid a similar high tribute to the people of South India for their traditional military valour. These tributes should clench the issue so far as the classification of Indians into 'martial' and 'non-martial' classes is concerned, and dispose of the facile and puerile contention that only Punjab Muslims or Central India Jats or some others are fit material for recruitment to the army.

Another factor that is involved in the problem is that of Indianisation of the officer ranks of the Indian army and its modernisation and the development of an Indian Air Force and an Indian navy. There is a sickening persistence in the affirmation made by some persons in authority that

the Indianisation of the officer ranks has to proceed cautiously or at snail's pace it is doing at present as there is not a sufficient number of suitable candidates for recruitment for this purpose. But that complaint has never cut much ice with informed public opinion and will cut still lesser ice hereafter. When our political goal has been unequivocally defined as dominion status of the Statute of Westminster variety, it will be utterly inconsistent with that declaration made by the Viceroy, if the theme is continuously harped upon that India cannot produce 60 or 70 suitable young men every year who can be trained for and given officers' commissions in the army. As for the equipment of the army with modern weapons and its mechanisation, the need for it has been indubitably acknowledged in the Chatfield Committee's report. The British Government, acting on the recommendations of that Committee, have agreed to make a free contribution of Rs. 33½ crores and a loan of about Rs. 11½ crores for equipping and modernising the Indian defence forces and bringing them up to the level of efficiency attained by the defence forces of other countries. The free gift by Great Britain is welcome, though it may not have been made with an adulterated altruistic motives. Modernised and mechanised Indian defence forces of the three branches will be an asset as much from the point of view of maintaining the security of the British Empire as of the Defence, external or internal, of India herself. This fact of the strengthening of the Indian defence being essential from the imperial as well as the Indian standpoint, is stressed by the Chatfield Committee, which based its own proposals on the report of the Garraan Tribunal of 1933, which enunciated the principle that India should assume responsibility for the 'minor danger' of the maintenance of internal security and protection of her frontiers while Great Britain should assume responsibility for the 'major danger' of an attack by a great power upon India or upon the Empire. India, however, wants the implications of this demarcation to be more clearly defined. She claims the privilege and the right of being as far as

possible independent of Great Britain in matters of defence, though for practical considerations of paramount importance, she may, for such time as may be agreed upon between the two countries, be satisfied with the position of Britain assuming responsibility for 'major danger'. It is for this purpose that we demand expeditious Indianisation of the army and expansion of our Air force and our navy, while being prepared also to discuss necessary adjustments in regard to the problem during a period of transition.

'Control over defence' postulates not merely the organisation and equipment of the fighting forces but also control over defence policy. It is, therefore, the Indian demand that that control which now vests in the British Government and is exercised through the Committee of Imperial Defence should be vested completely in the Government of this country and exercised through an Indian Minister of Defence. This is an essential incident of India's attainment of dominionhood and is inseparable from it. India cannot be satisfied with the shadow of the transfer of power if the substance of control over policy remains with another agency. We must be prepared, however, to allow a short transition period to intervene between India's attaining the status of a dominion and her actually exercising the functions in that connection, in which the adjustments necessary to make the transfer of control over defence effective, as well as adjustments in other matters, will be perfected. In the meantime, the Indian Defence Minister at the Centre should be afforded every opportunity of acquainting himself with the intricacies of defence policy, while the Indian Legislature should be afforded every facility to scrutinise Indian defence expenditure and be taken into confidence in regard to defence policy through the agency of a standing committee of the legislature. The principle should also be definitely conceded that Indian troops will not be employed in military operations outside the country without the consent of the Legislature and that the Indian Government will be consulted in regard to issues of peace and war in which the

Empire as a whole or Great Britain or more especially India is concerned and in which the services of the Indian army are required. Britain should indeed find it difficult to treat India in a cavalier fashion in the event of any war; nevertheless, she should realise more clearly than she evidently does now, that alike by her strategic position as well as by the enormous man-power that she can mobilise in any emergency, India can be an important link in the Empire's defence chain and that it is more profitable to cultivate her goodwill than encourage her discontent or leave her with a sense of grievance.

Taking all things together, the constitutional discussion in regard to this country's future and the definite assurance of dominion status to her necessitates a wholesale review and revision of the entire problem of Indian defence in its administrative, military and political aspects, and the conclusion of an agreement between the British Government and Indian representatives as regards them. The central point in any policy that may be formulated in this regard hereafter should be that the responsibility for the defence of India should devolve upon Indian shoulders and every other decision should be such as to conform to, and be in harmony with, that central point. If the truth of this claim is recognised, it will be recognised too, that the country's defence forces should not only be reorganised, equipped and mechanized but that their personnel should, in the near future become predominantly, and ultimately wholly, Indian in composition and complexion. It will further be recognised that the Indian defence services should be controlled by the Government of India and that, in general, in all matters pertaining to Indian defence, the policy should be guided by the supreme consideration of Indian interests being paramount. To the extent that the Indian defence forces are to be utilized for imperial purposes or for the defence of Indian frontiers or interests outside India, the British Government should, as a matter of pure justice, bear the cost incurred in that behalf. But in no case should Indian forces be utilised outside the country for non-Indian or

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

even Imperial purposes without the consent and approval of the Indian Legislature. The combined gift and loan of Rs. 45 crores that the British Government have made for the mechanisation and equipment of the Indian defence services as a result of the Chatfield Committee's recommendations, is, therefore, opportune, and this country need not look a gift horse too closely in the mouth so long as that gift horse brings some advantage to India along with it. There is no doubt that these are all complex problems and that they require detailed investigation, discussion and negotiation before being satisfactorily solved or resolved. It is essential, however, that fundamental principles should not be missed or ignored in the labyrinth of details; and in order that they may not be so ignored or missed it is necessary that they should be incessantly and inflexibly kept in view by those who will participate in the negotiations, whenever they take place, on behalf of India.

If—If important personages had suffered from absent-mindedness, think how history would have been changed—

If Nero had inadvertently left his fiddle on the piano that morning.

If Sir Walter Raleigh had forgotten to put on his coat when he went strolling.

If Samson had thoughtlessly had a hair-cut once in a while.

If George Washington had overlooked chopping down the cherry tree.

And if Eve had put the apple in the pantry and then forgotten all about it!

TYPES OF UNIVERSITIES IN INDIA

By AMARANATHA GUPTA

The year 1857 saw the establishment of the Universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras on non-residential lines by the necessary law in force then. There were Universities in India in ancient as well as in mediaeval times; the Universities of Taxila, Benares, Nalanda, for example, in the distant past were centres of intellectual culture inviting students from all parts of the country, and in mediaeval age 'madrasas' of the reigns of Iltutmish, Firuz and the Moghul Emperors followed them. But Universities on the lines on which they exist in the country to-day owe their birth to the sovereignty of the British in India, which necessitated for the education of the natives for a smooth run of the administrative machinery, the famous pronouncement of Sir Charles Wood in 1854, giving them "those moral and material blessings which flow from the general diffusion of useful knowledge." With the rapid growth of University education an immediate need was felt by the Government and the natives to relieve the strain on the unwieldy jurisdiction of the Calcutta University which followed in the establishment in 1882 of the University of Punjab, and of the University of Allahabad in 1887. As time passed the inadequacy of the five Universities so far established was felt, for the growing educational needs of the country were great, and by the recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission the question of the formation of residential and unitary Universities was taken up by the Government. It resulted in giving shape to the recommendations of the Commission by founding Benares Hindu University in 1916 and the Aligarh Muslim University in 1920. The Universities before 1916 were mostly examining bodies, having control over vast areas, though the Indian Universities Commission of

the days of Lord Curzon conferred upon them responsibilities regarding the control of affiliated colleges and teaching functions. The formation of the Patna University in 1917 and of Osmania University next year imparting instruction in the Vernacular of the state, shows signs of progress in the country in the field of education. In the following years further experiments were made in the educational sphere on unitary and residential lines as an outcome of local needs, and the University of Lucknow was incorporated in 1920, followed by the University of Dacca in the following year, Delhi in 1922, Nagpur for Central Provinces in 1923, Andhra in 1926. Allahabad was felt to cover too extensive an area, and in 1927 at Agra was formed another University, covering United Provinces, Rajputana, Gwalior and Central India. According to the recommendations of the Sadler University Commission, also known as the Calcutta University Commission, the Intermediate education except in the case of Aligarh and Benares, has been taken from the Universities of U. P. by the formation in 1921 of a Board of High School and Intermediate Education. Rajputana followed suit by establishing a Board of High School and Intermediate Education for Rajputana, Central India and Gwalior in 1922. Two more Universities were started, the Annamalai University in 1929 and Travancore, the youngest of all, in 1937. And we anxiously look forward to the formation of other Universities in the country, one more, for example, in the Punjab, others in C. P., Sind and Orissa, as the demands for their formation in recent times have been insistent and earnest. The history of University Education in India, therefore, covers roughly speaking a period of 80 years in which duration various types have sprung up in the country, ranging from examining to residential and federal. The aim of the present paper is an examination of the various types, the minor shades of differences which distinguish the one from the other, and the respective merits and demerits of each type in view of their suitability to the needs of the country.

Of the 19 Universities in India, besides other academic

bodies, not Universities in the strictest sense but with functions which entitle them to the category, like the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, the Imperial Institute of Agricultural Research, Pusa, the Forest Research Institute, Dehradun, the Bose Research Institute, Calcutta, the Bhandarker Research Institute, Poona, the Indian Institute of Philosophy, Amalner, Professor Karve's Indian Women's University, Tagore's Shanti Niketan, Kashi-Mahila Vidyapith, Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Prayag, the various Gurukulas on national lines spread all over the country; some are those based on the provincial capitals and operating as affiliating and examining bodies of widely dispersed affiliated colleges; others are residential and unitary with a concentrated control within ten miles or so; others formed on localised grounds and more properly designated as regional, others federal, and some more established to perpetuate the traditions and religion of some community in the country. To the first group belong the Universities of Bombay, Punjab, Agra, Calcutta, Madras, Rangoon, Patna, Nagpur; to the second the Universities of Aligarh, Allahabad, Andhra, Annamalai, Benares, Dacca, Lucknow, Madras, Calcutta (both in respect of their post-graduate teaching), Mysore, Osmania; to the third the Osmania in Hyderabad, Andhra in the Madras Presidency and Travancore; to the fourth the University of Delhi. There is a variety of Universities in India, roughly speaking of four types, but their classification, strictly speaking, cannot follow any rigid and well-marked line of demarcation, because one type overlaps the other. One belongs to one, two or more groups, as in the case of Madras, which belongs both to the examining and residential cast, of Andhra which comes both under Regional and Residential, of Aligarh and Benares which are both Unitary and Residential as well as formed on the cultural background of the religion and the history and traditions of the Moslems and the Hindus respectively. Strictly speaking, there are only three types of Universities in

India, the examining and the teaching, residential or unitary and federal.

From the history of University education on modern lines in India, we know that the progress was from examining or affiliating to residential and from residential to federal. The earliest experiments tried in the country were on the model of London University, an examining body, followed by others on the residential model of Leeds, Edinburgh, Dublin, Manchester, and lastly, on the federal model of Cambridge and Oxford. All these types, however, exist in the country.

The affiliated or examining type of University is a vast organization run with the greatest economy, *Their Extent & Scope* it has a much wider area under its jurisdiction than that of any other University. As for example, the Agra University covering a vast area of British India within its limits, comprises Rajputana and Central India, the Calcutta University at one time included the whole of Northern India within its jurisdiction. though even now, besides being the only University in Bengal, penetrates into Assam and Nepal. Punjab, the only University of the Province, includes the territories of Punjab, North-West Frontier, British Baluchistan and Kashmir and has more than fifty colleges affiliated to it. The examining type, unlike the unitary, is diffused over a large area, not only in its own province but sometimes outside it. It keeps within its fold scattered educational institutions not big enough to constitute University centres, which it controls in respect of their staff, their appointments, leave rules, salary, dismissal, provident funds, etc., and appoints lecturers for extension of lectures year to year to deliver a course of lectures to various affiliated institutions, teachers of various colleges represent on the governing bodies of the Universities a regular record of students in each college, their percentage, how many sent up for examinations, how many declared successful and how many as failed.

The residential and unitary universities, on the other hand, are designed for more concentrated control. The teaching University is located at one centre, it is a self-centred type of University which cares little or not for other Universities, prescribes a certain standard of academic studies which it strictly follows, provides adequate facilities for research and higher academic work, as being located at one central spot and concentrates all its resources which are in no case mean and which in the non-residential types are scattered over a large area. There are not many colleges as in the former; in fact, there is none in a unitary University strictly so named except the various departments of studies, separate from each other. The Universities of Dacca, Lucknow and Allahabad, to name only three, are situated within a radii of ten miles and the teaching is centrally organized. In Dacca the authorities have organized three residential units in halls under the control of Provosts and have fostered the development of corporate life among the students in each hall by the formation of Student and Athletic Unions. The federal University, in the words of Sir Maurice Gwyer, is "a number of colleges united in an organic union with a central body with which they divide the functions and duties of the University as a whole." It is an unusual type and possesses peculiar merits of its own. Regional Universities are those which draw their strength and are founded on the lingual and cultural conelaves of the country. Universities which are, however, formed keeping in view the local conditions and are designed to become the pride of particular provinces and to preserve the heritage of the peoples living there are known as founded on regional or localized backgrounds. There are besides, Universities which have for their background the religion of a community in the country. As has been stated above, the first three types are the main types and the last two the off-shoots of the first. Osmania, Andhra and Travancore are primarily of the unitary type, the teaching being centralized in one place, but secondarily differ from the other

Universities of the country for their having been born more or less on localized grounds. Both Benares and Aligarh are residential and unitary as well; the one is the heritage of the religion of the Hindus and the other that of the Moslems. Lucknow and Allahabad and Dacca are purely unitary types and Agra of examining and non-residential type. Delhi, the federal type, and Bombay, Punjab and Calcutta are partly residential and partly teaching, for, as in Calcutta the post-graduate, honours, and research work is carried in a central place like Calcutta under the direct control of the University, in Punjab, though it is mainly an examining body of candidates sent up for its examinations from the affiliated colleges, the Honours teaching in every subject is directly under the control of the University and some attempt is made at co-ordination of the teaching in the colleges at Lahore. Similar is the case with Bombay.

All the experiments have been tried in India in the past and from the convocation addresses delivered
Respective merits and demerits to the various universities every year sounding a note of dissent, one forms the impression that there is something amiss somewhere. The results of the experiments have been far from satisfactory and an attempt at solution leaves the knotty problem still more intricate in the labyrinth of disputation and disgust. All the various types have their own merits and can be defended on their own grounds, but to say that one is better than the other is to betray signs of one's colossal ignorance and futility to solve the problems of educational reconstruction in the country. India is a sub-continent, equal in population to the whole of the world minus China. A country of manifold races and many-tongued generations as India is, it is futile to aim at an educational harmony, especially in the type of Universities. If the educational institutions were all of one type, the condition would become, at least is expected to become, worse. The heterogeneity of the country is best represented in its universities of many types, and correctly so. Let a still more

varied experiment be tried according to the growing needs of the times and the circumstances in which the country shall be placed as time passes. For a country like India, the residential type is as necessary and important to be permitted to grow side by side with the examining or the federal, and more so, when various types exist side by side in other civilized countries of the world like England and America. Indeed, the residential type has its own advantages by providing enormous research facilities of the various departments of knowledge, as the resources in the University are concentrated at one central place. But every one is not fit to pursue research, one may be fit but lack an aptitude for it and research is not the only aim of higher education. Pandit Amaranatha Jha, the Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University, in his paper "University Education in U. P." contributed to "The Leader" traces the circumstances which led to the re-orientation of the Allahabad University as a unitary and residential university and proves the superiority of the Allahabad University over others in the Province by pointing out some instances of the sons of employees in other Universities having joined the Allahabad University and by referring to the two objective tests, viz., the test of all-India Competitive Examination for the Indian Civil Service Examination and the other test of the quality and quantity of higher literary and scientific work as addition to knowledge. Judged from these two objectives, the residential University of Allahabad, says the learned Vice-Chancellor, is incomparable to any other. It would have been well if the learned contributor had taken to defend the high literary output of the residential Universities as a whole. I need not go too far in dealing how far each university has contributed to knowledge and how many students every year have succeeded in the competitive examinations or to assess the character and morale of students in each, which, I suppose, will help us little. I quite admit that perhaps more students have been selected from among those of residential universities in competitions. I need not say that more and better work of

research in Arts and Science is pursued there, advantages valuable in themselves and the facilities which ninety-nine out of hundred cases are denied to students in examining Universities; yet success in competitive examinations and research are not the only objectives of higher education in the country, though they are the most important. For this an examining university of the type of Agra and Calcutta (though it is examining only partially) should not be despised and condemned, as generally it is done. I shall quote here from the Hon'ble Sir Shah Sulaiman's Convocation Address delivered to the Agra University in 1938 to substantiate the truth of my remarks: "Unlike a self-centred university which may fix its own isolated standard caring little for others, the great advantage which a group of constituent colleges possess is the existence of a keen and healthy competition among them, as the quality of their work is annually tested on the announcement of the results of the University Examinations." I do not stand as a case for the examining universities in contravention to the residential, for it has some disadvantages which compared to the advantages are not negligible. In the words, again of Justice Sulaiman, the disadvantage, of course, is that each college has to maintain distinct and separate staffs, libraries, laboratories and other equipment, involving multiplication and diffusion of activities. Residential Universities are a necessity no doubt for the country, but from the benefits conferred by them only a few rich who can afford to study there shall derive advantage. Does it mean that others, the poor students, be debarred from the benefits of education which, according to our ancient ideal, knows no restraints of caste, creed and colour? The residential universities are good in their own way but the examining are no less, for in them the hopes of the majority of the youths of the country are centred. And especially so in India where the unevenly distributed wealth of the nation has caused wide divergence between the rich and the poor to the disgust and extreme embitterment of the latter.

Besides, the federal type possesses peculiar merits of its own. In an examining university where the colleges affiliated to it are autonomous, the danger is that the University will be overshadowed by the colleges until it may not exist at all or exists only in name. In a residential university also there is a danger of that intimate touch and relationship between tutor and student and that greater variety which a collegiate system is able to supply, being lost. The Federal System avoids both these dangers, for, in the words of Sir Maurice Gwyer, the federal system "is certainly a system which on a larger stage has been found in other parts of the world to be the most effective means of combining unity with diversity, the claims of local sentiment with the need for a representative central organisation, strong enough to counteract particularist and centrifugal tendencies." A University has a double function to perform, one is to promote learning and to extend the bounds of knowledge, the other is to teach, and both these functions can best be performed by a federal university, provided it is founded on a sure edifice of support from Government and the public.

It would not be out of place to refer to an interesting debate which took place at the opening meeting of the last "Plenary Session of the U. P. Universities' Committee" on the question of the type of University Education needed for the United Provinces and then indirectly for the whole country. Mr. Powell Price, Director of Public Instruction, U. P., suggested not to adopt Universities of the type of Oxford and Cambridge which imparted education for life, but of the type of Birmingham and Sheffield, which gave education for livelihood. Mr. Chandra Bhan Gupta was of opinion that for U. P. both types of Universities were required, the cultural and technological as both forms of instructions were necessary for the well-being of a country. Col. T. F. O' Donnell, Principal, Meerut College, Meerut, pointed out the advantages of a federal organisation where the colleges would be autonomous

An interesting
debate

and would in course of time develop into universities of the type in Ireland. The executive would have no control as in Agra over the affiliated colleges. The unitary and teaching Universities, he said, "were only such in name." Pandit Iqbal Narain Gurtu differed from Col. O' Donnell in giving a federal bias to the university education for the uniformity of standard in regard to staff, financial resources, and other conditions, etc., the necessary requisite of the federal, could be observed more in the breach. According to him, the University has four functions, "the advancement and dissemination of knowledge, and training for life and livelihood." Thakur Nahpal Singh thought that the combination of different types of colleges was not only possible but desirable. To Acharya Narendra Deo, University education was planless and haphazard and the need of planning was imperative. Dr. N. R. Dhar, Deputy Director of Public Instruction, emphasized that teaching and research should be conducted simultaneously. Mr. Chatterji said that the affiliated colleges were handicapped and that "the bulk of the work for the first degree should be done by colleges and not by Universities."

There are as many opinions as men regarding the type of University which would best serve the purpose of the country. Some say residential, others say non-residential and some the federal. There are various types, and each has merits and demerits of its own, each can be justified by its supporters. The system of education in a country remains always in a flux, more so in India, and a revision of the scale of values is required to adjust it to the growing needs of the time. Let all experiments be put to a test and the one which has the largest support of the nation be floated in the country, though the importance of other types side by side at certain stages cannot be overestimated.

[Read in the All-India Educational Conference held at Lucknow and unpublished so far.]

SHORT-FILM INDUSTRY IN INDIA

By R. N. NAGAR

Indian film industry has proved to be singularly unenterprising. With the resources that are at its disposal, it should have considerably improved its own state, and should have, also, paved the way for the introduction of short films on an industrial scale; but our film magnates have failed to realise its significance and commercial value. They have never even cared to give it a deserving attention. The previous attempts to produce short films, perhaps three or four in all, failed, because they were far too desultory in character to succeed. They met with little public response; and these failures discouraged further experiments. It may not, perhaps, appear so surprising to those who are acquainted with the appalling condition of our film industry; but the interesting point is that, whether the producers realise it or not, they will inevitably have to face this problem, no matter what time they take to do so; and the sooner they do it, the better.

Then, what blockades their way? The major incidence of the blame must lie on the shoulders of the capitalist who subsidizes the industry. He must largely share the responsibility for its tubercular growth. The cause is not far to seek—apathy of the film-goer and the film-producer, alike. The film magnate, generally has no heart for the welfare of the industry, which is, mostly, a secondary interest for him and sometimes, the film studio is a mere creation of his fancies, rather than of his business acumen! He has no interest in it beyond that of making money. He is not even aware of the details of the process, and he does not have to bother a hat-pin about it.

The adoption of indifference has not injured his pocket, because of the stupidity of the mass of film-goers. The average

Indian spectator is easily pleased. Cheap stunts and silly stories are enough to humour him. Illiteracy is his greatest limitation ; but why should the poor man come in for any stringent criticism, when, worst of all, the educated opinion has not cared to assert itself, and to make its presence felt ? Thus, the ignorance and indifference of the producer and the spectator has gone on hand in hand, and has provided the strongest cloak for the Indian film industrialist. Why should the producers bother, therefore ? Why should they bother when inferior films prove better box-office hits than the superior ones ? So long as the *Burkewali*, *Chashmewali* or the *Chabukwali* thrives, what else does matter ? Who can withstand the *Fauladi Mukka* ? The sum total of all this is that out of a hundred film producing concerns, barely a dozen of them come up to a decent standard, and even they have not been consistently good ! The rest is poor technique, deplorable photography, silly story, and ridiculous direction ! How can short films implant themselves in such a stifling atmosphere ? Yet they have to implant themselves, for they constitute a definite phase in the development of film industry in any country.

Where is the need for short films, one may argue ? An average Indian film is much too lengthy to admit the exhibition of side reels. Proportionately, therefore, any expenditure incurred on them will be superfluous and needless. But the argument is not so strong as it appears to be. On the other hand, the introduction of short films would make full-length ones immensely superior in quality. It would mean a general raising of the standard. It would mean freedom from the present suffocating atmosphere. The previous attempts to bring them in failed, because the ground had not been prepared for them. It was a case of putting the cart before the horse !

It is a pity that our juvenile film directors have failed to take their lesson in an English talkie. One wishes that they had a bit of foreign training ! Why have they

never asked themselves the reason of a vastly superior appeal, for example, of a Hollywood film ? Better technique is one ; but there is a still bigger reason—better story treatment. There, a film is not forced to run for two and a half hours. It is free from exaggerated incidents. It has just the touches that are needed, and is much better enjoyed, because the side reels tune the mind and increase the pleasure.

On the contrary, the length of an Indian film is its very bane. Seventeen thousand feet of celluloid must fill the gap of a hundred and fifty minutes. A number of incidents have to be stuffed in, more of dialogue follows, and songs have to be inserted in and out of place. In this atmosphere, story treatment ceases to be a piece of art. It becomes a mere scape-goat, an excuse for the producer to fill his pocket. Many films have failed mostly because of this glaring fault alone, like *Baghban* and the *Awakening*—from the point of view of excellence. This is the reason why, for example, *Dushman* failed to be a 'draw', in spite of clever photography, good direction and lilting music, despite *Saigal* and *Leela Desai*. The introduction of short films, however, will trim down their usual length, and, thus, automatically improve their quality. It will give a proper fillip to a new branch of the industry. It will make the people better informed, more news-conscious, and may be more sports-loving. Thus, if our leading concerns undertake to turn out one short reel along with a full length one, it would revolutionize the industry in no time.

Assuming that the implantation of short films is a necessary prelude to a full and healthy development of Indian film industry, the next important point to consider is whether or not we have sufficient resources at our disposal to ensure their production. It would, of course, depend very much on the good sense of our financiers. The financial difficulty will not be much of a difficulty. It will have to be overcome. We will have to concentrate on our ability to utilise the resources, and that ability is lying dormant. It is easily

demonstrated in such amateurish attempts as 'Jambu Kaka' or 'Nai Dulhan'. They failed to catch the public imagination because of their intrinsic crudeness, and because of the unintelligent selection of the themes. People wanted something new, something original, something apart from the usual stereotyped stories that they are accustomed to see. It is not at all difficult to find out suitable themes for short films. In fact, there is an inexhaustible store of them in a colourful country like India.

The question of technical inferiority should not be much of a hindrance. We do not, of course, expect every one of our film concerns to take up the initiative. But we have, assuredly, learnt to rely on the handiwork and enterprise of the units like the New Theatres, the Bombay Talkies, the Prabhat, and so on.

There is, also, a good field waiting for the organisers of news films. Some activity has already been evinced in this direction, and has proved popular enough. News reels have always been an additional draw wherever they have been exhibited. They may just as well be made a regular feature. The present atmosphere is particularly suitable for it, and provides a larger scope. For a safe and moderate beginning they may well start by consolidating the production of news-reel films.

This new phase of the film industry may lead to great reshuffling. It will become exceedingly difficult for small and unstable concerns to hold their feet on. Competition will reach a very high level, and it will not be possible for all and sundry to bear through. It may be all for the good. One learns at the cost of mistakes, and mistakes in Indian film world have proved particularly costly. For example, all efforts to establish the industry in the United Provinces failed, because they were erected on small capital, individually, and were hopelessly mismanaged, even defrauded. These failures cost an enormous sum, and above all they cost reputation. They put up a most

discouraging precedent for all future attempts. All this happened because film industry is thought to be an easy short cut to making money. Elsewhere too, such mushroom growths abound. They have held on due to a generally low level of the productions.

Now, we come to a recent but a very important factor—the War. It is bound to affect our stability very seriously—how seriously, God alone knows. But why should we paralyse our own efforts? At any rate, it seems to have done one immediate good. It has goaded our industrialists to think of curtailing the usual length of an Indian film, and it may herald an opening for the introduction of short films!

But, more exalting and nobler than the industrial aspect of the proposition, is its cultural and educative value. As a matter of fact, the Provincial Governments, in the beginning at any rate, should take up the initiative. It is for them to realise the immense propaganda value of such films. It is needless to point out the vast possibilities of rural uplift through them. The tremendous significance of educative films is now being gradually realised. In peaceful times they can be the best cultural ambassadors of India to the world outside.

Take Time—

Take time to look—it is the price of success;
 Take time to think—it is the source of power;
 Take time to play—the secret of perennial youth;
 Take time to read—the source of wisdom;
 Take time to be friendly—it is the way to happiness;
 Take time to laugh—it is the music of the soul.

Health Rules

Eat less, chew more.
 Ride less, walk more.
 Clothe less, bathe more.
 Worry less, work more.
 Idle less, play more.
 Talk less, think more.
 Go less, sleep more.
 Waste less, give more.
 Scold less, laugh more.
 Preach less, practise more.

Truth And Travesty

Moscow vituperates the Allies with an abject mimicry of Nazi example, but the real terror of the Kremlin is lest a mightier Reich should be the Nemesis of the Nazi-Soviet Pact.

The method reverses Prior's pat couplet:

“Euphelia serves to grace my measure
 But chloë is my real flame.”

The Bolsheviks abuse the Allies, but the thought of Nazi Ascendancy is their real nightmare.

—J. L. GARVIN

INDIAN INDIA

BARODA

NEW CONSTITUTION

By a Proclamation, His Highness the Maharaja Pratap Singh Gaekwar announced the new constitution of the State emphasising the fundamental identity of interests between the Ruler and his subjects. The Scheme is outlined in the form of a Government of Baroda Act published in the State Gazette along with the Proclamation to-day.

The Government have not accepted the representations made on behalf of the minority communities for separate electorates but have assured them that, as an adequate safeguard they have decided to raise the number of nominated seats on the Dhara Sabha by five, to sixty.

The main features of the Reforms are :—

The executive authority of the State shall vest in the Executive Council consisting of the Dewan and three other

members whom His Highness appoints and one of whom will be a non-official member of the Dhara Sabha. The members of the Council will be responsible to the Ruler and will hold office at his pleasure.

The Legislature will consist of one Chamber known as the Dhara Sabha comprising of 23 nominated members, of whom not more than 9 would be officials. There will be 37 elected members thus assuring a non-official majority. The Dewan will be the ex-officio President and His Highness will appoint the Deputy President for the term of the Sabha, namely, three years. The Deputy President will thereafter be elected by the Sabha.

Measures relating to the Army, treaty alliances and the Household Department would not be within the powers of the Dhara Sabha. The Ruler will appoint two parliamentary

Secretaries from among non-official members to assist the Dewan and the Executive Council. Measures affecting public debt or revenue or taxes, the religious rights of the subjects or the privileges of the Dhara Sabha members may not be moved except with His Highness's previous sanction. The Dewan has powers of certification in regard to measures which, in his opinion, will affect the peace and tranquillity of the State and may direct that they shall not be proceeded with. He can certify any such measures rejected by the Dhara Sabha as an emergent measure which may later be enacted by the Maharaja if the Dhara Sabha refuses reconsideration.

Some items of expenditure will be charged upon the State's revenue not subject to the Sabha's vote. Cut motions will not have effect unless accepted by the Ruler.

The constitution is based (adds the Associated Press) on the identity of interests among the different classes of people

and therefore, no separate electorate or reservation of seats for special interests has been provided. There will be no distinction between urban and rural constituencies except in the case of Baroda City.

The Dhara Sabha will have legislative authority subject to limitations specified in the Act. Measures relating to the provisions of the Government of Baroda Act or regulating, borrowing or giving any guarantee do not lie within the powers of the Dhara Sabha. A financial statement will be laid every year before the Sabha. Some items of public expenditure specified will be charged upon the revenue of the State and will not be subject to the vote of the Dhara Sabha. All other expenditure will be placed before the Dhara Sabha in the form of demands for grants for the vote of the Dhara Sabha. Rules regulating interpellations, resolutions regarding matters of public interests, procedure for bills, procedure for budgets, etc., are also published.

HYDERABAD

RT. HON. SIR AKBAR HYDARI'S ADDRESS TO LEGISLATURE

"Our alliance with the British Government has stood the test of two hundred years, and ties which bind us with the Crown are indissoluble. Hyderabad and other States have always insisted that our relations are with the Crown in the United Kingdom and this fact has now been recognised, the high office of the Crown Representative being symbolic of it. Any constitution for India, if it involves even in part the transference of those relations to any other authority, must necessarily require the assent of His Exalted Highness, in so far as Hyderabad is concerned, a principle we have followed throughout the course of constitutional discussions. It applies no less to defence than other matters where powers have been handed over by the State to the Crown and in addition to a general guarantee implicit in the alliance, certain specific military guarantees have been obtained in exchange for extensive territories", ob-

served the Rt. Hon. Sir Akbar Hydari, addressing the Legislative Council.

Continuing, Sir Akbar said that it had been made clear more than once in their discussions that 'specific military guarantee has a contractual basis and if a radical change with regard to defence takes place, it cannot be considered as being applicable to the State without the State's consent'.

Whatever future might bring, proceeded Sir Akbar, one thing was certain. "Our own aspirations and our united strength as a people, as a Government and as a State will preserve our integrity and withstand any attempt such as we witnessed last year to invade it. The violation, with a few honourable exceptions like Madras and the Punjab, of traditions of comity between Provinces and States has strengthened us in our conviction that we must increasingly depend upon ourselves and upon our resources without undue reliance on British India. Hyderabad is

big enough to follow its own genius and its own ideology. Its alliances and friendships to which it has always remained loyal, strengthen it in its aspirations. There may be those outside who might wish to create division in our ranks, those, too, who had objects, distant or particular, which might have no relation to the reality of our needs which must continue to be determined by the consideration of undivided responsibility of the Sovereign for the welfare of his people. Be that as it may, the dominant sentiment of being a Hyderabadi must prevail. I am confident that we have an inherent solidarity which none can effectively shake, a solidarity based upon common patrimony and upon unanimity in regard to common objective which is of a nobler, a greater and more prosperous Hyderabad under

the effective sovereignty of His Exalted Highness. Let us pray for his long life and prosperity."

In regard to new reforms, he said that preparation of all enactments and rules was progressing and a franchise committee was busy with details of franchise, electoral machinery and delimitation. The eventual creation of sixteen district boards, twelve Jagir and Ilaqa boards, one hundred municipal and town committees and two thousand panchayats would be provided for by these enactments, not to mention of the Legislative Assembly itself, six of whose members will be elected by these district and municipal bodies. Sir Akbar concluded with a tribute to the heads of departments in the city as well as the district for standing the strain and maintaining progress.

INDORE

THE STATE MUSEUM

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, who paid a visit to the Indore Museum recently, expressed her appreciation as follows :

"No one who comes to Indore should leave without paying a visit of at least a couple of hours to the Museum. It contains a fine collection which

is worth studying and is not only educative but fills one with pride or love for this great and ancient land of ours. I hope the Kasrawad excavations will be continued in order to add to the remarkable col-

lection already there. I should like to see a larger and more suitable building also for the Museum. I am grateful to Mr. Singh for showing me round and educating me in regard to the relics."

MYSORE

WOMEN'S EDUCATION

Presiding over the Association Day celebrations of the Maharani's College for Women, Bangalore, Sir Mirza M. Ismail, Dewan of Mysore, said in the course of his address : Of course, the system and curriculum of the Gargis and Maitreyis of modern India will be different from that of the past. They must contain, to meet the eager demands of our young lady students of today, modern science subjects. The modern lady student will handle a dissecting knife with a skill and *sang-froid* which might have filled previous generations with amazement and even with alarm ! Expansion of the women's educational curriculum, after all, only keeps pace with the expanded ambit of women's life in India, which has become so comprehensive that there is

no part of the life of the community from which it is excluded or, indeed, can safely be excluded, without loss of self-respect to the fair sex. But the essential ideals remain the same ; the women of the country should receive all the benefits of a full education, and should take their rightful place in the life of the community.

I hope you will not misunderstand me when I say that one sphere of the life of the community will always remain women's special field, a field on the proper cultivation and care of which depends, in every sense of the word, a rich and healthy life for the community. I mean the home. Whether you decide to marry and share your life with some fortunate man, or to live in single blessedness following your own vocation, in either

case the making of a home will almost certainly be one of your main interests. The married woman must make for herself and husband a home, which will provide necessary comfort and relaxation from the toil and worry of every-day life. The single woman, the independent worker must also share the burden of home-making and house-keeping. Therefore, for the great majority of women, it will be necessary to know the essentials of home-making, or what they call in America, Home Economics. I look forward to a development and re-organisation of the studies for women in this University, which, while guaranteeing to women students equal facilities for admission to all the courses that are open to men, will yet emphasise the supreme importance of home-making, and provide facilities for imparting a sound knowledge of all things that go to

the making of a satisfactory home.

Whether you decide to plunge into the full life of the community or to limit yourselves to the home and watch with sympathetic interest the life that goes on around you, supporting and helping others who are taking an active share in that life, it is necessary that you should have strong bodies and excellent health. For this purpose you should receive in these formative years of your life suitable physical education. You have in the grounds of your institution, I am sure, adequate room for all the games that girls play, and it is also our desire to give you the benefit of systematic instruction from a well-qualified lady Physical Culturist. I would urge you to pay to the building up of your body and the maintenance of sound habits of life as much attention as you pay to your studies.

PATIALA

REMISSIONS

On account of scarcity of rain and prevalence of famine conditions in the Barani tract

of Patiala State, His Highness' Government have sanctioned further suspensions in the Kharif instalment of the land

revenue aggregating to the value of Rs. 2,68,960 in the following manner :—(1) Patiala District Rs. 22,568, (2) Bassi District Rs. 10,657, (3) Sunam District Rs. 50,069, (4) Barnala District Rs. 9,335, (5) Narnaul District Rs. 1,76,331, Total Rs. 2,68,960. This is in addition to the previous suspensions and remissions amounting to Rs. four lakhs.

TRAVANCORE

POSITION OF PRINCES

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar's statement.

In an important statement on the Delhi talks, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar said :

Like many others in India, I also deeply regret the inconclusive nature of the results achieved. I have perused Mr. Gandhi's statement regarding what has been termed the vital difference between the Congress demand and His Excellency's offer, and reading it with the statements issued after the interview with Messrs. Gandhi and Jinnah, one realises to the full the distance that separates the parties *inter se*. In my present position, it would be inappropriate to say anything about British Indian politics and their repercussions on the policy of the United Kingdom,

but I may aver without hesitation that the demand for Dominion Status is, in my opinion, conditioned to no small extent upon the speedy attainment of India's capacity for self-defence, an attainment to be worked for intensively by the Government and the people alike. Without a solution of the problem of defence, Dominion Status of any variety whatsoever cannot under Indian conditions be achieved or maintained. As for Independence of any kind, it is, in my humble view, so far beyond the range of practical politics that it cannot be seriously debated in view especially of what is taking place all over Europe and Asia. It is noteworthy that Gandhiji has definitely admitted that his ideal of an unarmed and peaceful India relying on the

goodwill of the whole world is a day-dream at the present moment.

With regard to the princes, it is a matter of intense regret that Gandhiji's statement is not helpful and hardly likely to lead to a friendly adjustment. To state that the Princes will have to join the national assembly not as individuals but as the duly elected representatives of their people is to ignore the facts of history and even the present posture of affairs. It is not correct to say that the States have no status apart from the Crown. Many States had maintained an independent existence for hundreds of years, and some States, including Hyderabad and Travancore and many of the Rajput and other States have never been conquered or annexed. Undoubtedly, for purposes of defence against aggression and to secure mutual benefits, these States entered into alliances with the East India Company, that have been confirmed and continued by the British Government which

acquired a dominant position in India. Many of these treaties are on a contractual basis although they are founded also on the theory of allegiance to the British Crown coupled with rights and obligations arising out of treaty and usage. It cannot be asserted that if the Crown parts with power to-day, the Princes also have to do so. Nor can there be an automatic transference of allegiance or obligations or rights to some other political entity, excepting on the basis of fresh understandings and new treaties. On the other hand, if the Crown withdraws from India, the Indian States presumably will re-assume the position they occupied in India before the treaties were entered into. No argument based on non-recognition of this fundamental fact can possibly be accepted by the States whose adherence to the British Crown cannot be regarded as a matter for political transfer even without reference to the States and history of the Indian rulers.

Twentieth Century Miscellany

THE EAGLE AND THE FALCON

[Written by Henryk Sienkiewicz in 1902, this story has a present-day moral.]

The eagle perched near the nest of the falcon and said to him: "In the name of my rights, listen to me!"

"What do you want?" asked the falcon.

"I want to kill you and eat your body."

"Why do you wish to destroy me?"

"How stupid you are! And lacking in information, too, I see. My nest is too small, so I want yours; thus my sons will have room to grow. And besides, I have my eagle politics. You speak a different language, and you are not in accord with my ideas."

"I speak the language that God gave me. And can you tell me why I should be in accord with your ideas?"

"I don't know, but I know I have the right to kill and eat everyone who is not in accord

with my ideas, one of which is to kill you and eat you."

"Then there is no way I can escape my fate?"

"I'm afraid not. But if you were to sacrifice yourself, it would be a great honour for you."

"Tell me, my friend, where did you learn to think along those lines? Who taught you?"

"Why, you ignoramus," replied the eagle, "don't you know I studied for two years in the Zoological Gardens of Berlin?"

Magazine-Digest, (BOMBAY).

STOLEN GLORY

Morse has given his name to the universal telegraphic code. But was he the original inventor of the telegraph? Germany puts forward a counter-claim in the name of Von Sommering, whose electrical telegraph was produced in 1809; and Britain can point to Cooke's and Wheatstone's telegraph of 1837. Again, Bell puts America in the front with the

invention of the telephone in 1876; but two men who worked on exactly the same idea years earlier—Philip Reis, a German, and Charles Bourseul, a Frenchman—are almost forgotten. In 1833 a German called Stampfer invented a sort of cinematograph apparatus; but the fame for an invention which gives pleasure to millions of people every evening has come to rest upon the names of the brothers Lumiere, who perfected the idea in 1895. Who invented the ordinary electric-light bulb, the filament lamp? Americans will unanimously reply—Edison. But Britons will remember Joseph Swan, and Russians can claim Jablotikov as the great discoverer.

—*A-Magasinet* (OSLO).

TRAINING FLEAS

The art of training fleas to become circus artistes demands infinite patience and a certain sureness of touch.

First of all the creatures must be dissuaded from their natural habits. They must not jump. This first step is carried out by fixing a very fine copper wire round the

flea's neck—in itself no mean feat. By this wire the flea is suspended, so that only its feet touch the table-top. When it has remained suspended in this way for a time, its powerful jumping muscles become so enfeebled by disuse that it has to walk.

After a time the willing flea learns to walk the tightrope, tread the mill, and pull a miniature carriage. It is harnessed to the carriage by the copper wire which it wears until death, and it will perambulate round the tiny ring, drawing a weight two hundred times its own. The more sophisticated flea circuses will also treat their public to fire-alarms, chariot-racing, state processions, and other imposing spectacles.

And what do the tiny artistes get as a reward for their labours? A meal. And it is invariably the same meal—and al-fresco dinner on the forearm of their proud proprietor.

A-Magasinet (OSLO).

PHOTOGRAPHING A CONTINENT

America is taking the largest photograph in the world.

Three million square miles of mountain, prairie, forest, farm, village, town and city are being put on record through the most accurate surveyor of all—the camera.

Every bright, clear day fifty planes take the air in various parts of the United States. From Atlantic to Pacific, from the Mexican Gulf to the frontier of Canada, they are carrying out, in their appointed zones, the most immense topographical survey ever undertaken. Even though each of these fifty planes takes hundreds of photographs every working day, the gigantic task will take years to finish. But when it is finished, at a cost of some fifteen million dollars, the result will be an absolutely accurate map of the United States, in photographic form.

Already the work has been completed in several of the forty-eight states. The scale used is an inch to 1,666 feet. This means that each photograph of the hundreds of thousands necessary must be taken from an altitude of 14,000 feet. The surveying planes are fitted with special cameras, taking a nine-inch

by nine-inch negative. On each flight two hundred different shots can be secured—all parts of a vast jigsaw puzzle. And to make the work of fitting together the puzzle easier, each different picture, as far as possible, is being cut according to a natural demarcation line, such as a river, a railway line, or a road. Two such pieces of topographical jigsaw put together have an average size of two square feet and represent 5,760 acres of America.

It is extremely doubtful whether the picture of the United States, on this scale, will ever be on view as a whole. It would measure more than five hundred square feet. But an absolutely accurate map of America will be available, in smaller or larger segments, as an unimpeachable proof of what the country looked like in our time.

—*Tidens Tegn* (Oslo).

STALIN'S WIVES

There are frequent attempts on Stalin's life, but they are all kept secret. I was head of an information bureau attached to the Kremlin and

my duty was ostensibly to dole out news to foreign journalists, but in reality my task was to withhold news relating to the private life of the Russian dictator by side-tracking inquiries.

The details of one of the last attempts on his life are extremely interesting. It was made by a beautiful young woman who was employed by Stalin as a translator. A good-looking young woman who was the descendant of aristocrats turned up every morning in Stalin's private office with a pile of the latest foreign newspapers. Soon Stalin began to like these morning readings and encouraged the woman to comment on current events. The dictator reclined on a couch and next to him at a table sat the young reader. There was a sideboard in the small room laden with fruit and sweets which the dictator liked. Near this was a door leading to another office.

During one of these reading sessions Stalin ordered two cups of coffee, one for himself and one for his reader. Stalin always has Turkish coffee which has been sufficiently

sugared during the making. However, he did not object when the young woman, after tasting her own coffee, said that the coffee was not sweet enough and added some sugar from the sideboard to her own and Stalin's coffee.

But he did not touch the coffee. When the young woman left him he sent it to a laboratory for analysis. Poison was found in it. Once again his uncanny sense of suspicion saved his life. The same day the OGPU arrested the reader and found on her poison and a small revolver. Although she was subjected to third degree in the Lubianka prison for several weeks, she maintained all along that she has no accomplices.

Few people know anything about Stalin's first wife. He has one grown-up son by her who is a mechanic in a Moscow factory. He uses his father's real name, Djughashvili.

I can now reveal some intimate details of the second wife of Stalin, to whom he was very devoted. According to Communist custom she retained her maiden name, Allelueva,

even after her marriage. Allelueva, the daughter of a priest, was thirty when she was married to Stalin.

Only very few people knew that the dictator had a second wife. People were, therefore, amazed to read in the papers one day that the second wife of the dictator had died suddenly. Members of the highest Soviet circles often arrange intimate gatherings. On such occasions much drink is being consumed and it is not surprising to see a commissar in a state of intoxication. At one of these social gatherings, Stalin, who cannot hold his liquor very well, showed conspicuous interest in one of the women present. Allelueva, who had also drunk more than was good for her, began to quarrel with her husband. A dreadful scene followed. Allelueva threatened to commit suicide. Stalin and the women present mocked her about this threat. She rushed out. There was a shot. She was found dead. She shot herself in the head.

Stalin has already married for the third time. His wife is an unknown Georgian

woman. Sometimes she is seen with him in the theatre but she never appears at public functions.

—NICHOLAS MASSECHES,
in *Images*, Paris.

EASY TO BOMB BERLIN

Contrary to what one may think, Germany has nothing to gain by the development of modern armaments. An air force can completely dominate a hemmed-in country like the Reich. Surrounded by other countries save for a narrow strip of sea to the north, the Reich abounds in spots that are weak from a military point of view. One such flaw is that it has a very great number of large towns within easy reach of foreign aircraft.

It is not a reply to this to say: "Yes, but London and Paris are just as easy to reach by the German air force." That is quite a mistaken view. Massed together for the defence of a city, Anglo-French aircraft can effectively prevent it from being approached, whereas Germany cannot defend, even with eight or ten thousand machines (that is, with twice its present

effective strength), its score of great cities, the destruction of any one of which would be almost tantamount to defeat, since each city plays an important part in the economic organization of the Reich.

The destruction of Cologne would mean the stoppage of metallurgical transport and of manufactured food supplies for all western Germany. Munich wiped off the map would represent loss of food-stuffs, wood and pharmaceutical raw materials for all the South. Magdeburg demolished: no more cloth, and most important, no more derivatives of benzene.

Now, all the big cities are situated on the edge of the Reich. They can be reached from France in less than an hour; in two or three hours from Rumania, Sweden, or England. The converging stream of attackers finds, moreover, a natural centre at Berlin, a city which is so admirably laid out that from the sky it stands out as the most visible and most "bombable" of European capitals.

Built on a slight elevation, and extending over twice the area of Paris, with its factories massed together in the east, and its houses in compact blocks, Berlin, as well as being vulnerable from every side, is not built to offer resistance. Possessing few reserves, and counting entirely upon the continued provision of raw materials if it is to survive, the capital of the Reich could not provide for itself if air attack were to cut off its communications for two or three days. Not only is the city spread out over a wide area, with an immense number of nerve centres without natural defence, but it also has another handicap. It is reputed to be one of the most open cities of Europe, and its anti-aircraft defences are of necessity lacking in precision. To fly over it is easy for an attacker, who appears, drops his bombs, and flies off again, but difficult for the defender, who has to manoeuvre in a small space.

When we remember that other big cities of the Reich are even easier to reach than Berlin, we can understand that

Germany, more than any other country, has good cause to fear an aerial war.

—LIEUT. ERNST RASCHE,
(refugee ex-Reichswehr pilot)
in *La Garonne*, Toulouse.

STALIN TO SHARE HITLER'S FATE

Stalin sees the events that began with Munich as a new era of world redivision. The first stage is central Europe. Here the Soviet Union gained much by its partnership, but to attach great importance to the fact that it seems to have taken more than Germany is to ignore the nature of the present struggle. Germany is fighting for world positions and the benevolent attitude of Moscow is infinitely more important than the control of the Baltic states.

Germany has reason to expect the support of the Soviet Union for her larger plans. For this support no price is exorbitant. That is what the Soviet Premier meant when he declared that the Nazi-Soviet pact would not only change the face of Europe but of the world.

There can be no greater mistake than to see this pact as nothing more than another link in the chain of manoeuvres by Stalin. Stalin chose Hitler because he saw a chance to put both his own economic system in order with the aid of German engineers and German skilled workers and to exploit unrest in Asia for the sweeping expansion of Soviet spheres of influence.

As Stalin looks to the East he is convinced that the turbulence among its peoples contains the dynamite with which to shatter the British Empire and expand Soviet power deep into central and southern Asia.

On the other hand, Stalin knows that his own house is badly out of order and that without assistance from abroad he cannot surmount the difficulties of internal disorganization. Long before Stalin became master the Bolshevik view was that substantial economic assistance could come only from Germany. The intervention of foreign specialists during the successive five-year plans was not sufficient to bring

order and organization to the Soviet Union. It is Stalin's hope that through the large-scale technical assistance which he now expects from Germany, this may at last be accomplished.

As a cautious opportunist who seeks to remain on the safe side Stalin will continue to bide his time fighting limited engagements in spheres where he cannot be opposed. Natu-

rally, if he sees Hitler confronted with defeat he will attempt on about-face. But the Soviet structure is, and will continue to become, so dependent upon Nazi Germany for support that in all probability the end of Hitler will mean the end of Stalin.

—GENERAL

WALTER G. KRIVITSKY,
in an address to the
New York Herald Tribune Forum

BARODA

I. THE NEW REFORMS

By PROF. K. R. R. SASTRY

Among the five most progressive Indian States, Baroda has stood foremost, alike for its enlightened administration and its eminent Dewans. Rightly has the long reign of Sir Sayaji Rao III been called "the Golden Age of Baroda's History" by his worthy grandson who has solemnly stated in his Proclamation of 20th February, 1939, that he would approach the "high responsibilities of his position as the first Servant of the State".

Baroda had inaugurated the Dhara Sabha in 1908. The power of making laws in the premier State of Baroda is one of the prerogatives of the Maharaja, who was assisted till Feb. 1, 1940, in this important task both by the Ministers and by the Legislative Council on many important occasions. The Varisht or High Court is the highest court in the State in all judicial matters. Provision has been made for appeals against its decisions to the Huzur Nyaya Sabha (corresponding to the Privy Council). The State has carried out the separation of executive and judicial functions. Primary education is free and compulsory in the State. There is also a network of district, village and travelling libraries. There are in the State one Central Library, 46 town libraries, 1017 village libraries, and 176 travelling libraries.

PROCLAMATION OF 1ST FEBRUARY, 1940

A Committee was appointed to consider the question of the enlargement of the Dhara Sabha and connected questions by H. H. the Maharaja Pratapsinh Gaekwar. The recommendations of the Committee have been reinforced through the Government of Baroda Act (VI of 1940). Very properly the "right and prerogative of His Highness to make laws" is reserved (S. 4).

The Executive Council of the State shall consist of the Dewan and three other members, (*vide* the Proclamation dated 1st February, 1940) one of whom shall be "chosen from among the non-official members of the Dhara Sabha". This non-official member shall hold office for the life of the Dhara Sabha—three years. This is a noteworthy landmark like Sir Shanmukham's dyarchy experiment in Cochin.

THE DHARA SABHA

A slight alteration of the recommendation of the Committee has been made by raising the total number of members from 55 to 60. Wisely has the Baroda Durbar, under the incorruptible administration of Sir V. T. Krishnamachariar, decided in favour of general constituencies. The Government have also decided properly that all urban areas except Baroda city should vote along with the Mehels in which they are situated. The official members including the Dewan-President will be 9; 14 are to be nominated and 37 are to be elected, thus ensuring a decided elected majority.

The Deputy President after three years shall be a member of the Dhara Sabha elected by the Dhara Sabha. Two Parliamentary Secretaries shall be appointed by His Highness from among the non-official members of the Dhara Sabha.

S. 17 of Baroda Act VI of 1940 gives the topics excluded out of the purview of the Dhara Sabha. Questions affecting His Highness' army, His Highness' household, His Highness' relations and treaties with other States, and the regulation of the borrowing of money have to be necessarily excluded. There is *ex abundanti cautela* in cl. 8, regarding "any other matter which may be determined from time to time by His Highness".

Ss. 21 and 39 dealing with oaths should have been relegated to schedules. In S. 23 (h) in the fifth line the term "suspension" should be inserted after the word "dismissal".

It is a moot question whether the 'Legal Remembrancer' should be a member of the *Nyaya Sabha* (*vide* S. 46 (b)). In a

constitution where the source of legal authority is the Maharaja, interpretation has to vest in the Executive Council of His Highness, guarding at the same time the inherent prerogatives of the Ruler.

The new Constitution rightly emphasises the "identity of interests" between the Ruler and his subjects. Baroda is bound to serve as a beacon light to many of the Indian States living in different degrees of medievalism. One may assuredly look forward to further devolutions of power on representatives of the people when this experiment proves a success.

The new reforms start under happy auspices as the Maharaja, who ascended the *gadi* in Feb. last, has in other spheres of the administration instituted a number of beneficent changes.

—*Statesman*.

These reforms are a distinct step forward on the constitutional path. What deserves remark is the denial to the Minorities of separate electorates or reservation of seats. Baroda's Prince deserves to be congratulated by all friends of Indian India.

—*The New Review*.

The Indian nationalists have long been demanding such liberal reforms in their own constitution, and they must congratulate the people of Baroda for getting them in advance. The reforms though not complete are surely steps in the right direction.

—*The Amrit Bazar Patrika*.

The new Baroda constitution, preparation for whose introduction are proceeding apace, is characterized by a straightforward simplicity which every citizen can easily grasp.

—*Indian Social Reformer*.

II.—LEGACY AND LEAD

By "A FRIEND OF THE STATES".

The modern State of Baroda is the creation of a great Ruler and a galaxy of Dewans. For over half a century, His late Highness Sayaji Rao III who was 'not only the doyen of the Princes but an elder statesman of the first rank', gave to his people the best in him and changed the State beyond recognition. Of him and Baroda, it can truly be said that he found it brick, and left it marble, having written his own name in letters of gold.

In his estimate of Maharaja Sayaji Rao, Mr. Kenneth Saunders likens him to Marshal Lyautey in North Africa and says in a revealing passage that bears reproduction:

Both are veterans of immense experience and amazing vitality, who themselves, fatherly autocrats, subserved the interests of modern democracy;both are reformers and conservators.....In their character, too, Maharaja and Marshal are not dissimilar: exponents of the soldier ideal, realising itself most happily in works of peaceful reconstruction: idealists with a great power of realistic achievement. Both have in fact built new and progressive States on old and corrupt foundations, and in building have known how to study the master builders of other times, and to choose associates whom they inspire with loyalty, both to their persons and to their tasks. If their hand is in all their works, their song is on the lips of their peoples.

A deeply religious man, a scholar of repute, a veteran statesman, a Prince who dedicated himself to the welfare of his people and the progress of his State, an Indian proud of his Motherland, he was so universally esteemed that he became, in his own lifetime, something of a legendary figure. Under his gracious and inspiring auspices, Baroda stood in the forefront of social reform, educational and cultural progress, rural reconstruction and national regeneration. It was not for nothing that Sir William Barton said:

When one considers the record of a Ruler like the Maharaja of Baroda, the sweeping condemnation by the Indian extremist of the Indian States as relics of medieval tyranny, argues a surprising lack of the moral sense.

And it was no conventional tribute that Mr. Stanley Rice paid when he said that "Baroda State was the core of the Maharaja's whole being".

If it was so yesterday, it is so to-day. The present Ruler, His Highness the Maharaja Pratapsinh Gaekwar, has inherited, along with an imperishable legacy, the enduring qualities that sustain it. Within about a year of his accession, he has given evidence of the vision and realism that made the throne of Baroda, a seat of wisdom and a source of beneficence. The new constitution shows, in the simple but expressive phraseology of the *Statesman*, that 'the State remains faithful to its tradition for progress'. It cannot indeed be otherwise, when His Highness has, for his principal adviser, one who has already, according to the testimony of an ex-Viceroy (Lord Willingdon), 'rendered such consistent and outstanding service to Baroda'. Sir V. T. Krishnamachariar is a Dewan in the line of the greatest of his predecessors, Sir T. Madhava Rao. His wise counsel and adroit stewardship, allied to the farsightedness of the Ruler, will no doubt make the constitution a success and usher the State into yet more spacious days.

It is needless to go into the details of the scheme which has been ably, however briefly, analysed by so close a student of constitutional problems as Prof. Sastry, in the preceding article. It will not, however, be out of place or proportion, to emphasize the salient features which have more than regional interest. Firstly, there will be an elected majority in the Legislature; secondly, an elective element in the Executive Council (inasmuch as a Minister enjoying the full rights of other Ministers will be nominated from among the elected members); and thirdly, there will be territorial electorates of the most unadulterated type. The last feature of the Baroda constitution is an eloquent refutation to the contention, so widely heard in British India, that there can be no peace or security in this country unless electorates are cut up and carved on communal basis. Here is something which should serve as an object lesson and example to the politicians and

administrators in British India who are never tired of nursing the illusion that in the sphere of constitutional reforms, it is the Provinces that set the pace and standard to the States! Baroda's lead in this direction is worthy of her legacy.

There will yet be critics who will say that while the constitution is good, it could have been better. Mere theorizing is of no avail. The wise words uttered by His late Highness Sayaji Rao III, in reply to an address of the Dhara Sabha (Legislative Council) on Jan. 9, 1936, convey a moral which should not be lost on us:

Nothing in this world is permanent. The world is always changing, and in conformity with the needs of the times changes have been made and will continue to be made in the constitution of the Dhara Sabha. We have, however, to proceed cautiously in the attainment of our goal. Let us not be carried away by mere fashion or show. We must strengthen the body corporate, seek unity, facilitate mutual confidence and co-operation, while giving as much liberty as is consistent.

'The new constitution', says His Highness in promulgating it, 'emphasizes the fundamental identity of interests between Me and My people and among the different classes of people in the State'. It is a sentiment worth cherishing. The people of Baroda will no doubt realise that the best way of fulfilling their ambitions lies in their co-operation with the administration and their confidence in the Ruler and his advisers. Immense are the opportunities of the State for further advance which so much depends on the measure of present success. May Baroda keep its flag flying and its reputation untarnished!

The Twentieth Century Library

PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY AND FEDERATION

By I. D.

India's Constitution at Work. By Sir C. Y. Chintamani and M. R. Masani. Allied Publishers, Bombay and Calcutta. Price-Net Rs. 3-12½.

The first thing that strikes the reviewer—and almost certainly the reader—of this book is the paradoxical collaboration of Sir C. Y. Chintamani and Mr. M. R. Masani who have (at first sight) nothing in common between them except their devotion to the Motherland. A perusal of the book, however, leaves one convinced of the truth of the adage that extremes meet. Both the veteran Liberal (who was first invited by the Trustees of the Dadabhai Naoroji Memorial Prize to write a criticism of 'India's constitution at work') and the young Socialist (who was later invited to complete the gaps in the book rendered inevitable by the

unfortunate break-down in Sir C. Y. Chintamani's health) have another thing in common—considerable dissatisfaction with the provisions of the Act of 1935 and an equal distrust of British attitude to the cause of Indian freedom, or even of constitutional advance. The book, as it has ultimately emerged out of their individual efforts in probing a subject of common study, contains two distinct parts—a detailed examination of Provincial Autonomy by Mr. Masani and a critical analysis of Federation by Sir Yajneswara Chintamani.

The chapters on Provincial Autonomy, the ambit of Autonomy, the Executive, the Legislature and limits of Responsible Government reveal that Mr. Masani's grasp of constitutional issues and gifts of exposition are of a high order, while those dealing with the initial impasse, subsequent working and crisis

in the Constitution go to show that the political leanings of the author can overwhelm his critical faculty and objective approach. It is interesting to note that Mr. Masani is too ready to defend the Speaker's participation in active politics and the High Command's intervention in Ministerial functions. But Mr. Masani cannot resist the impact of party affiliations on his mind as a student of constitutional problems. Credit is nevertheless due to him for his understanding of the subject and political acumen, and for the undoubted ability with which he has examined Provincial Autonomy at work and further "catalogued some of the more vital changes in the constitution which its transformation into a truly democratic scheme of government would involve." Doubts, however, assail him.

Whether the bounds of the constitution are to be expanded by pressure from within or whether they will crumble before assault from without, [says he] will depend on a number of imponderable factors which History alone knows of and will in fulness of time reveal.

So flamboyant a conclusion to so fine a treatment of the

subject is apt to blur rather than clarify the issues. All things considered, Mr. Masani deserves praise for his critical study which lacks nothing in lucidity and vigour.

Sir C. Y. Chintamani's name is a guarantee of the excellence of the book, and of the weight and authentic note of the criticism. His views on the subject are well known, both here in India and abroad. Right from the very beginning when Federation was sprung upon the first Round Table Conference, his has been one of the most alert minds at work. To the Federation as it took shape, he was, and has since been, irreconcilably opposed. In chapter after chapter we find he is relentless, almost ruthless, in his criticism of the provisions of the Act (in so far as it relates to Federation). Whether one agrees with him or not, it cannot be denied that his entire criticism is based upon three vital factors—his inside knowledge of the conditions and environment in which it was evolved, his vast knowledge of the subject, and his firm conviction that the present Federal

Scheme is shocking to the instincts of a true Liberal. To start with, in regard to the goal of British policy in India, he thinks that "in converting India from faith to belief, from belief to doubt, and from doubt to disbelief, British statesmanship has achieved a failure of which it has no reason to be proud".

And this on Federation :

A great public disservice of incalculable consequences has been rendered by Sir Samuel Hoare and his colleagues by deciding upon such a scheme of Federation in cynical disregard equally of request, persuasion, advice and agitation; of reason, sense and justice. The people of British India have verily caught a Tartar. To catch a Tartar is like unto catching a chill. We do not catch either; he or it catches us, and we cannot release ourselves from his or its cruel grip. This is the unenviable position created by the Federal part of the Government of India Act, 1935. It is intolerable.

This is what he says on Britain's financial policy :

It is not for nothing that so genuine an admirer of England as the late Lord Sinha uttered the warning that where financial interests were involved, the British should not be trusted. Not for nothing that an English writer himself summed up British character in the telling phrase 'always

the purse, often the brain, seldom the heart'.

The government of India by England teems with unnumbered 'masterpieces of melancholy meanness' (Henry Fawcett) in the financial relations of the two countries.

On military policy :

The whole story of Britain's military policy towards India sickens the heart of every Indian and ought to sicken the heart of every honest Englishman. In the language of Gibbon, Britain for that policy does not need India's pardon for the past, applause for the present, or confidence for the future.

His criticism of the details of the Federal Scheme is equally scathing and in the nature of things, more searching. It is difficult to say if Federation 'at work' (which it is not so far) would have led Sir Yajneswara Chintamani to revise his opinion of the scheme or relax a little, in the light of experience, even as the much maligned Provincial Autonomy has subsequently melted Congress hearts. To the Act as it is, he is in deadly opposition. Here is his final unequivocal verdict :

I venture to describe the Government of India Act, 1935, as the *Anti-India Act*. I feel when I recall and reflect upon all that the Government of India did, has done, and is doing,

and all that it refused, has refused and is refusing to-day in respect of fiscal and commercial policy, I feel with some bitterness that the Government of India at least in these matters may not correctly or unjustly be described as the Government *against* India.

Sir C. Y. Chintamani's introduction to the book and chapters on Federation, more than even Mr. Masani's on Provincial Autonomy, are a devastating piece of criticism. The spirit of the book can be

described in one word as "blasting". Its value, now when the constitution is sought to be revised, is immense. It should be on the table of every student of political and constitutional problems, and in the hands of every member of the Legislature, Provincial or Central. And those who should specially prize it are the British statesmen who are confronted with the Indian problem.

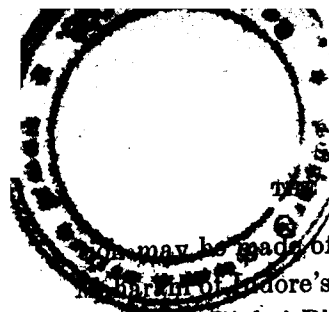
INDIAN WOMANHOOD

By MOHINI CHINTAMANI

The Awakening of Indian Women. By Kamala Devi Chattopadhyaya. Published by Everyman's Press, Broadway, Madras. Price Re. 1-8-0.

As a record of the movement of women in India and the success they have achieved in social, educational and political spheres, the book which Mrs. Kamala Devi Chattopadhyaya has brought out, in collaboration with Mrs. Margaret Cousins and H. H. the Maharani of Indore, deserves to be welcomed by the women of every civilized country. In

a series of chapters, Mrs. Kamala Devi has reviewed the social position of woman beginning from the dawn of Indian civilization up to the present date. It is an able and eloquent survey. In the latter part of the book, such interesting and instructive topics as "Towards Progress and Freedom", "Art in Early Indian Life", "Women's Disabilities in Law" and "Indian Indigenous Industries" are discussed by Mrs. Cousins, Mrs. Thampi, Shyam Kumari Nehru and Mrs. Rajji. Special men-



may be made of H. H. the Maharani of Indore's character-sketch of Jijabai Bhonsle, the famous mother of Shivaji and an example of ideal motherhood.

History reveals that woman was freer and stronger in primitive times. She helped her husband in earning a livelihood while her husband helped her in household duties. She could plough the field and discuss the *Shastras*. She was much happier than her "civilized" sisters of to-day and also enjoyed greater privileges. It seems difficult to believe that Indian woman was once so free, so educated and so happy! Gradually came the rise of private ownership, kingdoms and empires. Simplicity was destroyed, and the constitution of society underwent a transformation, and with it the lot of woman. The insatiable greed of possession gave rise to Imperialism and "where militarism and warfare are regarded as male-virtue, degradation must naturally come to woman". This revolution had two-fold consequences; women of the richer class were rendered limp and

inactive by the loss of their economic duties, and the poor class women had to work harder than ever. Thus, in the words of Mrs. Chattopadhyaya, "while the glittering walls close-in upon the upper class women, gradually the basement cellar-doors clap upon the hungry working class women". And she became only a "reproductive machine", as the field of man's work has kept on expanding, and hers contracting.

Man has now taken on his shoulders the responsibility of earning the family-bread, and made woman responsible to do household work, in other words, to look after the comfort of her husband and children keeping her own existence in the background. A clever division of labour, no doubt, but economic dependence has made woman helpless in every manner, and hence a prey to masculine dominance. She is virtually at the mercy of man. Shut within the four walls of her home, and expected to know nothing of what lies outside those boundaries, she finds that for her, husband and

children constitute the entire world. The demoralisation is so great that she cannot deliver herself from the bondage of man-made laws which she has come to regard as the laws of Nature. Thus we see that the women's movement has its roots in the economic basis of society. As Mrs. Chattopadhyaya remarks, "wherever we find women economically dependent, we find their position subordinate and inferior, and wherever we find her economically free, we find her position elevated and advanced".

Further, she is the victim of a double code of morality. Man has a licence for polygamy, but woman dare not be careless in her husband-worship! Husband-worship is necessary for the woman but not wife-worship for the man! The highest virtue of a woman is loyalty to her husband, and her only vocation is to try to be "worthy of him," although she may be twice "worthier" than he! The more the suffering at the hands of her husband, the shorter is her road to heaven! In a society which renders its women so helpless,

pardah, prostitution and child-marriage are inevitable.

The Indian woman has now begun to realise her position, but the number of enlightened women is very small. Women who assert themselves and exercise their rights are regarded as unwomanly. The ideal is still that submissive woman who has no opinion of her own!

The Indian women's movement is one of the off-shoots of the Industrial and French Revolutions which shook Europe from end to end. A new philosophy of life came into vogue, and the war-cries of "fraternity, equality and liberty" gave voice even to the dumb-tongue of woman. The European countries have begun to pay their due respect to women, but India is still in the spring tide as she is in every other matter. But it may be hoped that this spring tide will lead to "high midsummer poms" and that our dreams will one day be realised.

The wheel of time is revolving once more, and although very few women have come to the field, yet it cannot be disputed that those who have

come, have achieved a considerable measure of success in rousing Indian womanhood. It is a pity that they are sneered at by our narrow-minded society and are accused of aping the West. Liberty is the birthright of every soul under the sun, and moreover we are not imitating the West—we are only trying to do what our own forbears did centuries ago. In the early years of this century Indian woman took a step towards high education. Now we have woman doctors, magistrates, and lawyers. According to Mrs. Margaret Cousins, one woman is a District Munsif and she may next become the first woman judge. In 1927, one woman, Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi was unanimously elected as Deputy Speaker of the Council, a world record.

The organisation called the All-India Women's Conference has been concentrating on the advancement of Indian women, and has been trying to give them more facilities in life. But their work will remain incomplete until they deal with the causes of the working-class women with the same

enthusiasm with which they are dealing with the causes of the upper-class women. The working-class woman has more difficulties to face, and it is our first duty to remove their hardships.

Woman does not want to be a Goddess, she wants to be a human being. She wants to be man's comrade in the struggle for freedom—industrial, social and political. Poet Tagore has expressed this sentiment through his heroine Chitra:

I am no Goddess to be worshipped, nor yet the object of common pity to be brushed aside with indifference. Keep me by your side in your daring and danger, allow me to share the great duties of your life, then you will know my true self.

It is high time our women awakened from the torpor of ages and risen to their full stature. Let us hope that the women's movement in India will open the eyes of those—men or women—who still think with Milton that "man was born to be a rebel and woman a slave".

Mrs. Kamala Devi's publication is thus a record of achievement as well as of aspiration; of service and ideals, of the ultimate goal and the progress-

ing journey. It is an incentive to Indian women and an intimation to the world of what they are after.

'Indian States and the Federal Plan'. By Y. G. Krishnamurti, published by Ratansay Parker and Co., Bombay. Price Rs. 5.

In these critical times when events move so fast and changes are so rapid that one cannot look ahead with confidence, the question of achieving Indian unity in the constitutional sphere becomes imperative. The artificial and arbitrary barriers between Indian India and British India must be removed and one India created, if India were to occupy her legitimate place in the comity of nations.

In this small volume, the author has ably presented the problem of States in its proper perspective and offered a solution. He envisages as an ideal for India a parliamentary State, 'federal in character and distributive in technique,' thus 'harmonizing the extremes of plurality and unity'. He describes the position of the Indian States *vis-a-vis* the

Indian Government, bringing out in clear relief the untenability of the Princes' claim to sovereignty, either internal or external. The Butler Committee gave currency to a myth that the States had direct relations with the Crown and not with the Indian Government. A nice distinction was made between the Viceroy and the Governor-General in Council. This was a bold attempt of the part of British diplomacy to create an Indian Ulster and bolster up the forces of reactionaryism. This stroke of diplomacy has but encouraged the Indian Princes to make almost impossible demands in regard to their treaty rights and sanads. But the Viceroy's declaration of March 27, 1926, cleared all doubts as to the supremacy of the British Crown in India and denied the Ruler's right to negotiate with the British Government on equal terms. As the author has pointed out :

The sovereignty of the States is nothing but fictitious; but the fiction is prevented from dying out altogether, because the British can use it to bolster up Rulers who are admittedly reactionary and thus frustrate the unification and democratisation of all India.

It is time that the Indian rulers realise that their rights are dependent on the goodwill of the Paramount Power and bring their States in line with British Indian Provinces in matters constitutional, because, as Prof. Berriedale Keith points out, 'there is in fact no answer to Mahatma Gandhi's claim that the princes are bound to follow the Crown in its transfer of authority to the people.' The writer's fear that "unless radical changes are introduced immediately, constructive statesmanship will become an impossibility and the forces of revolution, to break and not make States, will be let loose" is well-founded.

Now that the Indian States are to become units of Federation as envisaged in the Government of India Act, 1935, our interest in the 'medieval anachronisms' is heightened. The combination of unequal units in Federation will have a retarding effect on the progress of British India and strengthen the forces of reactionaryism at the Centre. There is force in the writer's observation that

the units which compose the Federation are unequal in status and

power and the motive of the British Government in introducing such an anomalous constitution is obviously to strengthen the reactionary and conservative elements in order to postpone the grant of Responsible Government.

In the latter chapters of the book, the author criticizes the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935, in relation to the Indian States. His criticism of the various Federal problems, which may arise in regard to States on their accession, is vigorous, but there is nothing new in it, while in his way of writing he is sometimes merely sketchy.

With its various appendices at the end, the book is, on the whole, a useful contribution to the literature on the subject of Indian States. In his foreword, Mr. Bhulabhai Desai commends the book to the public. To be within the reach of many, it should, however, have been printed more closely, on cheaper paper, and offered at more reasonable rate.

S. G. K.

Introduction to Sai Baba (Shirdi) and devotees' experiences : By B. V. NARASIMHASWAMI. Published by the

author, 15/16, Angappa Naick St., George Town, Madras.

The author of this book was formerly known as the Hon. Mr. B. V. Narasimha Aiyar of Salem, a member of the pre-reformed Legislative Council in Madras. He was a prominent politician and a keen debater. His patriotism remains as robust as it was before he became a Swami. In those days he was engaged in raising the status of his Motherland through political activities. But ever since he has turned his attention to the other-worldliness owing to some domestic bereavement. For some time he has been engaged in bringing to light the great qualities and achievements of India's saints and sages by going round the country and gathering material at considerable sacrifice.

The life and teachings of Bhagwan Ramana Maharshi, the sage of Tiruvannamalai, were made known to the public through the author's book *Self-Realisation*. In the book under review, the author dwells on the greatness of a Maharashtra Saint Sai Baba of Shirdi who passed away in the year

1918. He was a real Advait, though a Muslim by birth. Narasimhaswami has rendered a service by relating the miracles performed by this *Maha Siddha Purusha*. The book contains the experiences of a number of eminent devotees who regarded Sai Baba as a saviour of humanity. They include judges, doctors, professors, engineers and people of all faiths and nationalities. There are statements in this book which show how far the Baba helped in removing the differences between the two great communities of India. It is said that no Hindu-Muslim problem exists at Shirdi where both the communities have been living in peace and amity for the last 50 years due to Sai Baba's influence and work.

In his foreword, Dewan Bahadur K. Sundaram Chetty, retired High Court Judge, Madras, commends this book. That it has run into three editions within a year of its publication, shows its popularity. It makes a strong appeal to spiritually inclined men, both by virtue of its text and treatment. It is noteworthy that the sale proceeds of this book go to Sai Sansthan.

N. R.

The Twentieth Century

RAMGARH

By I. D.

I

For a week Ramgarh was the nerve-centre of political India, the hub of the Congress universe. It was here that the Congress held its first annual rally since the outbreak of the war; it was here that a Muslim theologian and patriot of eminence presided for a second time—the first among his co-religionists to have the honour of doing so—over the biggest 'national' organisation, and in terms unfaltering, in eloquence burning and with courage undaunted, raised the standard of one India and a common nationality; it was here that the Mahatma took the delegates into his confidence and received sanctions and a mandate for his mission; and it was again here, on the calm waters of the Damodar, the 'leaky boat' of the Nerbudda reappeared and threatened to play the U-boat to the Congress 'man of war'. Whether the final outcome of the deliberations and decisions will be settlement or struggle, the Ramgarh session will in either case prove to be a landmark in the annals of the Congress. It will not be out of

place to attempt first at a general sketch of the Ramgarh Congress before dealing with its political aspect. The curtain rises over a village session, a Bihar setting and a Muslim president. What memories they recall or conjure up! Faizpur, Haripura, Tripuri—and now Ramgarh. Here jungles were cleared, though the clouds could not be dispersed. And it was typical of the general atmosphere that while at Tripuri the rocky boulders seemed to descend on the heads of the Congress pilgrims, at Ramgarh the giant trees and the landscape appeared to be receding and becoming a part of the mist beyond, with the result that no one could know what lay beyond the next turning of the road.

If it is the fourth session held in rural India, it is the third Congress session held in Bihar, the first two having met at Patna in 1912 under the presidentship of Mr. R. N. Mudholkar, and at Gaya in 1922 with Mr. C. R. Das in the chair. The brief description of Bihar's past

glory, in the address of the chairman of the reception committee, recalls the passage in 'the Indian National Evolution' in which its author, Babu Ambika Charan Mazumdar, an ex-President, drew a vivid picture of Bihar, in language so much in vogue in the earlier years of the Congress:

Behar the youngest of the self-contained provinces and yet one of the oldest in its traditionary greatness; Behar the Maghad and Videha of the ancients, the birthplace of Buddha Goutam, the greatest and mightiest of inspired reformers the world has ever produced, whose lofty teachings govern the lives of more than one-fifth of the entire population of this planet of ours; Behar of Chandra Gupta and Asoka of the Mauryan dynasty, whose dominions extended beyond the seas and in whose court Megasthenes sat and Pliny wrote; Behar of Pataliputra and Nalanda; Behar which has in recent times produced men like Luchmeswar Singh, Mazr-ul-Haque, Tejnarain Singh, Ali Imam and Hassan Imam;—where can you find a province where Hindus and Mussalmans live in such amity and concord, working hand in hand for the common motherland?

BABU RAJENDRA PRASAD

Bihar has since then kept up its great tradition. It was in the fitness of things that it was in Bihar—at Champaran—that Mahatma Gandhi made his first successful experiment in Satyagraha on the Indian soil, and incidentally but providentially discovered Babu Rajendra Prasad. And

it was so appropriate and significant, and also symbolic of the Hindu-Muslim concord for which Bihar was eulogised by Mr. Mazumdar, that a great Muslim leader stood on the Congress dais as the President with Rajendra Prasad as the Chairman.

It is quite natural that one's thoughts at Ramgarh should turn to, and one's impressions should centre round, the two leaders who 'stage-managed' the session. Dr. Rajendra Prasad is the soul of goodness. He is the very picture of self-effacement. He is one of the greatest gentlemen in Indian public life and one of the truest Congressmen. Wardha knows no more beloved a votary at its shrine. At each crisis in its history, when it has particularly to disarm suspicion and rouse no hostility, the Congress instinctively turns to Rajendra Babu. It was so when the Tripuri drama had to be abruptly closed and the power transferred from Mr. Bose's iron grip into the hands of the Rightists. It was so when the Patna resolution had to be piloted.

MAULANA ABUL KALAM AZAD

The Maulana Saheb is undoubtedly a great asset to the Congress. With the Muslim populace ranged against it, there was every advantage for the Congress in getting its claims and demands put forward by one whose standing in the Muslim community is undisputed.

The Maulana played his part to perfection. As Mahatma Gandhi's lieutenant and Pandit Nehru's friend, he delivered an address which revealed the latter's mind and the former's direction. As President, he was at his best and rose to his full stature. His polished Urdu, his powerful eloquence, his majestic mien, and his amazing capacity to get things done (as decided by the High Command) made his position unassailable. By his tact, firmness and dignity he handled the Congress superbly and covered himself with glory.

PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

One other man who, though neither chairman nor president, was behind the footlights and left his impress on the session was Pandit Nehru. He played the role of a deputy-president and dominated the Congress. He was the idol of the crowds; the friend, philosopher and guide of the Maulana Saheb, and a hero by his own right. Vehemence of expression and defiance of pose (which made up for the loopholes in the Patna resolution), an element of self-importance bordering on hauteur, a raised fist, and a sloganised sermon on discipline and preparation so much needed for a struggle, were the main ingredients of the pickle he lavishly served to the delegates. From grave to gay, from lively to serene—and sometimes from sublime to ridi-

culous—he turned, as an artist to his finger-tips, and became the centre of attraction.

MAHATMA GANDHI

But the Maulana and the Pandit, the Sardar and the Acharya, the whole hierarchy of the Congress, all the tens of thousands of village Hampdens and Pymys that assembled at Ramgarh—all rolled into one, could not vie, in casting a spell on the masses, with the Mahatma whose presence made all the difference between Tripuri and Ramgarh. It was to catch a glimpse of that one man—no mere man he in their estimation

—that the crowds assembled and occupied every conceivable place from tree-tops to muddy pits, in a spirit of devotion. To him they paid their homage. Little surprise that even the crowds that rushed to applaud the rebel (Mr. Bose), raised the cry of 'Mahatma Gandhi ki jai'! It was a solemn moment when he raised his voice in the subjects committee. Did he by the faltering in his voice and the note of caution in his utterance damp their ardour? No, his very presence filled them with enthusiasm. Did he contradict himself? It did not matter, it was nothing unusual—for he could do so as he 'contained multitudes'. When he talked of the possibility of a struggle, there was clapping of hands; when he spoke of his aptitude for a settlement, there was a wave of reflection. He might

do what he liked—but the Congress is with him, and at his mercy. Such a psychological reaction of Congress pilgrims to the Mahatma cannot be underrated in any quarter, and how ever incalculable the Mahatma is, and whatever be the course of action he adopts, one cannot get away from the fact that it is he, and he alone, who controls the Congress and shapes its destinies. Ramgarh has once again revealed to friends and foes that it is the Mahatma with whom Governments and peoples have to deal in reckoning with the Congress, and not with its resolutions or their sponsors.

MR. SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

And then there was Mr. Bose without reference to whom no review of Ramgarh could be complete. He is as irrepressible as he is indomitable. He is bent on pursuing the high command—every inch on this side of the grave. With a traditional attraction for all rebels in history, the crowds gathered round him, despite the Congress. Without mentioning his name—there are still unmentionables in the world, even as there are untouchables—Congress leaders attacked him and poured forth ridicule on his political

'stunts', the first of them having been the redoubtable Pandit, but they could not neglect Mr. Bose or leave him alone. His is the King Charles' head in Congress politics. He too held his conference, chalked out his programme, and brandished his big stick.

Thus the skies of Ramgarh were rent with cries and counter-cries. The air was filled with ominous rumours. British Imperialism was the target of attacks, on all sides. There was talk of struggle in Congress Nagar; there was threat of struggle in the rival camp. Struggle here, struggle there, but no struggle anywhere except, for the one, between the two groups.

THE CURTAIN FALLS

But what is the upshot of all the speeches and statements, the threats and the warnings? What are the implications of the resolutions and the consequences of the issues? It is with these that the next one or two sections will deal. And for the moment let us realise that the curtain has fallen and Ramgarh sunk back into rural oblivion. The pilgrims have wended their weary way to homes. And let the gods decide for them what is in store for India.

II

Whatever else it has done or failed to do, the session at Ramgarh has established a record in Congress annals. It would be malicious to make much of the fact that it could not hold its open session on the allot-

ted day and had to disperse in confusion and disorder. There is a Telugu proverb that when winds howl and rains fall, there is an end of the story. That was a purely accidental circumstance and deserved to be forgotten on the morrow as, indeed, it was. But the Ramgarh session was conspicuous for its attenuated agenda. It passed a single resolution and pulled up its tent pegs. There was nothing new in that resolution either. It was an old 'story'—in the sense in which the term is understood in newspaper parlance—and recited, too, in language hackneyed and accents familiar. Ramgarh is a mere swing-back to Patna, where the working committee (which has of late fully justified its claims for being called in Maulana Mahommed Ali's phrase, a *Working Committee*) passed a lengthy resolution and pasted it on 'the open door'.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Nor was there anything fresh in the presidential address. It was a mere rehash of the ideological phases and literary phrases doled out from time to time in the resolutions passed by the working committee since the outbreak of the war. Praise is due to the learned Maulana Saheb for the patriotic sentiments he expressed but no injustice is done to him if it is said that his utterance was woefully lacking in practical sense. Idealism is an abstract virtue but when divorced completely from realities, carries one

nowhere. We have before us the Maulana Saheb's own *obiter dictum*:

We cannot come to right conclusions if we are swept away by the passions of the moment. We must base our judgment on the solid realities of life.

Yet the Maulana fel' an easy—shall we say, ready—victim to the temptation of carrying loads of catch-words in bushels and emptying them at the Congress session. Imperialism is an evil, but to assert that Fascism and Nazism are lesser evils is a travesty of facts and wilful perversion. If that were so, the Maulana should have no truck with British imperialists and give up, on principle, all talks of compromise and put his foot down upon negotiations. At least Mr. Subhas Bose is logical though not practical, while Maulana Azad is neither. Even on the Hindu-Muslim question he has not been able to give anything like a lead. A mere description of the problem is of no avail. His diagnosis may be correct, but what is the remedy he suggests? Sentimental appeals are no substitute to solutions. The hour calls for statesmanship for which the Congress has apparently no use. If it means by complete independence, the right of the Congress to break the entire scheme of things into pieces and remould it to its heart's desire, there is no room for settlement and no hope of salvation. The

Maulana Saheb's address is an eloquent illustration of his attraction for the cloudland.

SUBJECTS COMMITTEE

Nor were the discussions in the subjects committee helpful in easing the tension. Such amendments as were moved were only meant to queer the pitch and to precipitate matters. The stalwarts spoke; Bahu Rajendra Prasad was persuasive. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel caustic, and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru vehement. They all stood by the Patna resolution, word for word, and had no difficulty in getting it passed, first in the subjects committee, and then in the open session. Despite non-Congress criticism which lacked nothing in argument and cogency, the Patna resolution is regarded by its sponsors as so artistic a piece of evasion and assertion that not a comma could be changed. And the marshalled regiments at Ramgarh were drilled—and driven—to ratify it and return home, await further instructions, and of course meanwhile to spin *khaddar*—and not merely yarns! Some wondered if all this elaborate show was necessary for doing nothing more than endorsing the same old declaration and demand. But the 'army' was simply asked to obey the 'general' and get ready to carry out his behests; and the disciplined soldiers, rightist and leftist, rose to the occasion as one man.

CLARIFICATION OF ISSUES

Does the Patna resolution by which the Congress swears show a way out of the impasse? Are its assumptions correct? On these two questions the future of India—the immediate future especially—will depend. To say that Dominion Status of the Westminster type is inapplicable to India and that no permanent solution is possible except through a constituent assembly, is not to advance the chances of a settlement to any extent. The following message from its special representative at New Delhi to the *Hindu* (which has been very sympathetic to the Congress point of view) is very revealing, and should be helpful in clarifying the issues:

Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru's suggestion that Dominion Status under the Statute of Westminster implies any sort of association with imperialism is vigorously contested here as *contrary to facts*. His criticism that India, even if she is a full-fledged Dominion, would be bound to the imperial economic system, *ignores, it is felt, basic realities*.

The controversy regarding the relative merits of Dominion Status and complete independence strikes a number of observers here as *devoid of meaning*, since no one in authority, either in Britain or here, can visualise at this stage, post-war reconstruction of the world, against which background, the Indian problem will acquire an *entirely new*

meaning. While the world is in the melting pot and statesmen in different countries are applying their minds to the problems of reconstruction in order to avert recurring wars, *all that the British Government can do, it is suggested, is to offer India the highest status known to themselves under the existing circumstances.* (Italics mine).

Likewise, the demand for a constituent assembly is based on lack of appreciation of the realities of the situation in India, and however much the Congress may hug it to its spacious bosom, it cannot have its own way when the demand for it is not united. Should the Congress plunge into storm and strife for the realisation of these ends, it will be responsible for, aye guilty of, a tragedy of immense magnitude. The attitude of the princes, the voice of the Liberals, the reaction of the Muslims, cannot be simply brusquely dismissed as of no account when problems involving

the interests of all elements in the country have to be solved.

COMMENTATORS AND NEGOTIATORS

It is an impossible position bristling with difficulties. The Patna resolution, as *publicly* interpreted by Congress leaders, is a flamboyant declaration which has no market value in political parlours. But the Congress does not lack commentators who *privately* admit that the Mahatma's conditions are not inelastic and that the resolution has enough loopholes. It is at this stage that we come to real politics and inside stories which must necessarily be reserved to separate treatment in the next section. Let the readers meanwhile bear in mind that Mr. Rajagopalachari whose stock is equally high in Government and Congress circles and whose reputation as a skilful negotiator is established, has already reached Delhi.

III

Ramgarh neither clarified the issues of the day nor cleared the air of miasma. The only unequivocal answer it gave was to Gandhiji's straight question whether it would leave everything to him or leave him. The Congress had no difficulty in making the choice—and it made a right and wise choice. It knew that its entire strength lay in the Mahatma, and it had no illusions in

the matter. While at Ramgarh Sardar Vallabhbhai spoke of the possibility of a struggle and Pandit Jawaharlal of its inevitability, the Mahatma addressed the delegates with an open mind on the subject and, to be fair to him, with a tremendous sense of responsibility—particularly his own. His address was variously interpreted. Some felt that he made up his mind to launch

a movement, though he was not yet clear in his mind when he should give the signal; some thought that he was inclined towards a settlement and the conditions which he imposed on Congressmen were so incapable of fulfilment that a struggle now or any time was out of question. There were others who believed that Gandhiji would make a supreme effort for settlement and in all probability succeed, but otherwise would not hesitate to take the plunge, whatever might happen. It is not wrong to assume that, as things stand, nobody knows Gandhiji's mind and that, in fact, Gandhiji does not seem to know his own mind yet. The upshot is that while Ramgarh has left everything to him, the Mahatma has left everything to Providence.

THE MAHATMA'S APPROACH

One may, however, be certain of three outstanding features of Mahatma Gandhi's approach to the problem that confronts him. (1) He is not spoiling for a fight, however much he may have been goaded into it by Mr. Bose from outside and one or two others from inside. (2) He is anxious for a settlement, despite the obstacles put in his path by 'Qaide Azam' Jinnah. (3) He will explore every avenue for a settlement, with the greater confidence as he has hopes in the Viceroy's fair-mindedness and sincerity.

It is obvious that the Mahatma will confront the Viceroy this time, not in his individual capacity but as the acknowledged—and sole—leader of the Congress, and explain to him the implications of the Ramgarh mandate and invite his Excellency to look to it. It is almost certain that if the Mahatma only repeats his former demands and expects the Viceroy to purchase peace by merely carrying out the Ramgarh *hookum*, his representative capacity will not carry him farther than his individual capacity did. But if, on the other hand, he is willing—and prepared—to descend from abstract theories to concrete details, and to modulate his voice and modify his demands in the light of the realities of the situation, there is no reason why the Mahatma should return from the Viceregal Lodge empty-handed at all.

Perhaps there is no need to be scared away by the terms of the Patna resolution or by the unanimous stand of the Ramgarh session. Let us be candid. On the subject of Dominion Status *versus* complete independence, the views of Mr. Rajagopalachari are not perhaps the same as those of Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, nor are the views of Mr. Bhubabhai Desai exactly those of Maulana Azad. On the question of constituent assembly, the views of Vallabhbhai Patel are again perhaps not those of Mr.

Nehru, nor are the views of Mr. Satyamurti those of Acharya Narendra Deo. Yet, let us look at the mechanical loyalty with which these stalwarts swear by the Congress resolution and at the dreary sameness of their pronouncements. It is all part of the political game. But, that behind the facade of unanimity there is a volume of opinion in favour of alternatives to impossible demands and that in the resolution itself there are ways out of intransigence, there is no doubt. It should not, therefore, be difficult for Mr. Rajagopalachari whose subtlety has, we are told, unfathomable depths, to evolve a formula which will eliminate points of difference and enhance the chances of an understanding—and break his journey at Wardha on return home. Further, it seems to be unreal that the Congress which was very recently reconciled to provincial autonomy should now seek to break over Dominion Status. When once Gandhi is convinced that at this juncture any wrangling over the relative merits of the Dominion Status of Westminster Statute type and independence is 'devoid of meaning', he may not be a stickler. And when there is no quarrel over the end, there should be less over the means to the end. The general should play the role of the statesman, and the idealist should have adequate regard for the solid realities of life.

MR. BOSE AND MR. JINNAH

If Mr. Subhas Bose has a tendency to go up like a rocket, he has also a fatal tendency to come down like a stick, after a little spectacular splutter above. The influence he commands is not proportionate to the hearing he gets. His following today is just a miscellaneous crowd. While he draws fire and returns it, he is no more than a fire-eater. He has drive but no direction. Though the clap-trap at his conference has in it the hint of conflict, he is not taken seriously, and it would be unwise to exaggerate the value of his role and revolt. His own utterances and moves are responsible for the impression that just at present he is less concerned with British imperialism than with its 'Indian allies'.

But Mr. Jinnah is a different—and by no means an indifferent—proposition. At least in one respect he is paying a great tribute to the Congress. He has begun to adopt its own technique with perfection and mobilise his movement on the same lines. Before the echoes of Ramgarh have died down, he has delivered, from the pulpit of the League, an address which has in it the elements of a deadly menace to the Motherland. The erstwhile 'ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity' has become the architect of a Muslim state—and his talk of two nations and official pronouncement

ment in favour of the creation of autonomous states is the merest fudge. Disintegration, dismemberment and destruction—these are now the watchwords of his new ideology.

A born debater, he has no constructive mind. He is incapable of statesmanship. It is unthinkable that he should propound such theories except as mere counter-cries.

BRITISH RESPONSIBILITY

One should for a moment pause and reflect what will happen to India if the Congress and the League pull to the extremest point on either side. Each passing day makes it also clearer that the muddle now created is not a little due to British imperviousness. Never have the British realised that in their dealings with India, time is of the essence. Their unwillingness or incapacity to do the right thing at the right time reveals signs of pathology. They dare not *drift* any longer: they must *do* something to convince the people of India of their earnestness to part with power and transfer it where it is due. A *fresh declaration* which will disarm suspicion and remove doubts on the burning issues of the day—and a *readiness to implement it forthwith* within the terms of such a declaration, may alone ease the tension.

Ramgarh has created a situation—and so has Lahore—which should be

tackled with what may be called a certain urgency of mind. Each minute, each second, counts. Let the three men who, in this crisis and in this atmosphere of discord, distrust and dispute, have the supreme opportunity of giving security and peace to millions and setting India on her feet with her head erect and high, bear in mind Maulana Azad's wise words in another context:

It is very probable that a correct step may bring us very near our goal, and on the other hand, a false step may land us in fresh trouble and difficulties.

A false step may even lead to disaster, for India is already, thanks to the *combined unwisdom* of the parties, on the edge of the precipice. Let Lord Linlithgow, Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah realise that the harmony of adjustment to realities can alone save India from the fatal declivity down which others have fallen, and let them get together and work out on a common basis and let the country awake to the drum-beats of a new destiny.

DAWN OR DARKNESS?

Ramgarh is so much suggestive of the twilight hour in our history. Will it prove to be the hour that precedes the dawn or the darkness? Let the gods decide.

NON-PARTY EXECUTIVES OR THE PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEM?

By PROF. N. SRINIVASAN

I.

Under the present system of Provincial Government the Governor of a Province is required by the Instrument of Instructions issued to him, to constitute his Council of Ministers in a manner that the latter is able to command a majority in the Legislature. He is at the same time enjoined to assure that the important minorities in the Province receive their due share of representation on it. His first duty is to secure a homogeneous Council which will be able to act as a unit and will be collectively responsible to the Legislature. This means in effect that he must summon the leader of the majority party or of the largest single party in the Legislature to assist him in the formation of a ministry. To see that the minorities receive their due share in the Executive is only a secondary duty. In any case this does not mean that the member of the minority community included in his Council should be the choice of the members of the particular community in the Legislature, who act as a political party in opposition to the majority in it. The representation guaranteed to the minority is conditioned by the allegiance to the programme of the majority in the Legislature. The attempt has been made to reproduce as nearly as possible the British system of Parliamentary or Cabinet Government in the Provincial field. Most of the Ministries constituted since the Government of India Act came into force were based on the two principles of collective responsibility and minority representation within the limits of the homogeneity of the Cabinet.

The system has had a very brief trial, for it is hardly three years since it was introduced. But already several

distinguished publicists and political leaders have begun, rather hastily it would appear, to condemn it as a failure and as totally unsuited to our conditions. It has been suggested that it should be replaced by a more suitable system. The alternatives proposed are of two kinds, one involving the abandonment of the Parliamentary system altogether in favour of an irremovable type of composite and multi-party executive and the other involving merely a modification of the Parliamentary system to permit of an all-party or the so-called non-party executive. Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar has suggested the Swiss Council system as the alternative form best suited to us. He proposes that the Provincial Executive should be elected by the people at large or by the Legislature by a system of proportional representation. The term of the Executive is to be rendered more secure and it is to be removable only by a specific vote of no-confidence passed by a special majority of the Legislature.¹ Dr. C. R. Reddy has suggested that the present executive must be replaced by what he has termed a composite executive elected by a Legislature, presumably on the basis of the separate voting in communal compartments just as the members of the Legislature are themselves elected by a system of separate electorates. His argument is that the rationale of separate electorates, as a safeguard for the minorities, is destroyed if separate representation is not guaranteed to them in the Executive also. It is so to speak, the logic of separate electorates that the place reserved for the particular community on the Council of Ministers should be filled by the members elected by such electorates, acting independently.² The argument has been very ably presented and in arresting language that on first thoughts one is tempted to agree with it. But the problem of the Executive must be examined with some care before one decides to vote for the non-party or composite executive for

1. S. Srinivasa Iyengar : Problems of Democracy in India.

2. Dr. C. R. Reddy : In several speeches and articles in the 'Twentieth Century'.

which these two distinguished publicists have put forward so vigorous a plea.

A less whole-hearted plea for coalitions under the present system has also been voiced. Mr. Jinnah has expressed his displeasure at the working of Parliamentary system in the Congress-governed Provinces. He has, it should be noted, expressed not a word of criticism about the working of the system in the non-Congress Provinces. Before Mr. Jinnah invented the theory of the two nations with its corollaries of the absolute right to self-determination and to extra-territorial rights in the non-Muslim States of the future India of his vision, he might have been glad to accept an irremovable executive with a power of absolute veto for the representatives of the minorities on all the actions of a Ministry. His present attitude seems to be uncertain. The Hon'ble Mr. Fazlul Huq, the Prime Minister of Bengal, has recently pronounced in favour of a coalition as the way out of the present communal tangle. Sir Sikander Hyat Khan has given the idea of a coalition his qualified approval. He has promised to consider a coalition in the Punjab as part of a general scheme for the liquidation of the communal problem all over India. The Congress has not shown itself opposed to the scheme and would presumably be inclined to accept coalitions on the same terms as Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, i.e., temporary coalitions which would calm the political atmosphere in the country and would not prove a serious obstacle to its policies of economic and social reconstruction and its political struggle.

The case for a change in the constitution of our Provincial Executives as well as for coalitions has been built upon a number of hypotheses which need to be critically examined. These are firstly, that the present system of cabinet Government in the Provinces has failed. The social and political conditions necessary for the functioning of a Parliamentary executive do not exist. The spirit in which the Executive has

functioned during the last two and a half years in the Congress-governed Provinces has been the opposite of the spirit that ought to prevail. It has lacked that touch of compromise and courtesy to the opposition that is characteristic of British politics. We have had, it is said, not a responsible system of government but a totalitarian regime by a caucus. Secondly, the safeguards in the constitution in the interests of the minorities have been "inoperative and are inoperable"¹ under the unitary type of the Provincial Executive. Thirdly, there is an incompatibility between the homogeneous cabinet and the heterogeneous or composite legislature. Logically it is alleged that a composite executive is the counterpart of a composite Legislature. Fourthly, it is argued that the existence of two nations in India bars out the idea of a unitary system of government altogether. Fifthly, this is not a hypothesis, but purports to be the statement of a fact which must be verified before it is accepted, that the communal situation in India has worsened since the introduction of Provincial autonomy in 1937. Finally, there is the assumption that the Swiss or some other system of a relatively permanent executive is more suited to our peculiar conditions than the Parliamentary system. These conditions are often vaguely hinted at, rather than clearly analysed, in the arguments for a change in the system of Provincial Executives.

II.

We shall examine the last hypothesis first. As experience must be our guide, we may turn to the working of the permanent or semi-permanent executives that are to be found in democratic countries abroad to discover if it is a workable system and if it could be transplanted in India. The examples of such executives are few and are to be found in the United States, Switzerland and the Provinces of the South African Union.

¹ Dr. C. R. Reddy,

THE AMERICAN EXECUTIVE

Of irremovable executives, the most conspicuous examples are the President of the United States and the Governors of the States of the Union. The President as well as the Governors were made independent of the Legislatures on the principle of the complete separation of powers and of checks and balances, which have been more rigidly, and even disastrously, applied here than anywhere else. The President is elected every four years practically by popular vote, while the Governors are elected by direct popular vote without the intermediary fiction of an electoral college, as in the case of the President. A stable, and in some ways an extra-ordinarily powerful, executive has been created and has been functioning tolerably well for well over a century and a half. Its most important characteristics are that it is a single executive, non-responsible and independent of the Legislature.

In the discussions in our country, it has not been suggested that we should consider the Presidential type of an irremovable executive as a suitable substitute for the present system. But some years ago, Mr. Garvin made the suggestion in the columns of the *London Observer*, that the executive power in India should be modelled on that of the United States to counteract the centrifugal tendencies in our country and compensate for the lack of cohesiveness and discipline exhibited by our political parties and to assure strength and stability of the Government.

The relevancy of dragging the Presidential Executive into a discussion, in which it has not so far been even mentioned once, is, in fact, that any irremovable executive is sure to exhibit the characteristics of the United States ; executive, both in its strength and in its weaknesses, and more particularly the latter. In the American system the chief executive is a single individual and there are no divided counsels. Any executive in India would necessarily have to be a plural executive with divided opinions. The popular basis of the American Executive has

assured it strength and stability. But in initiating and carrying out policies, it has been a failure. Executive schemes have never emerged unmutated from the Legislatures, while the existence of the Presidential or gubernatorial veto has itself been a damper on the Legislatures' schemes. Harmony has often been absent between the aims of the Legislature and those of the Executive, and progressive politics have been rendered immensely difficult, if not altogether impossible.

The U. S. Executive is emphatically a party executive and is irresponsible to the only body that can effectively enforce responsibility in the modern state, namely, the Legislature. Its policies lack coherence—an inevitable result of the lack of the closest co-operation between the Legislature and the Executive. Only when the President and the majority in the Legislature belong to the same party does this obtain. But this is not always the case.

Admittedly, the U. S. system is difficult to operate. It needs a great deal of political ability and experience. When we find it difficult enough to adapt ourselves to the much simpler parliamentary system, we shall certainly find it an infinitely harder task to make a success of the American system, were we adopt it even in a modified form.

THE SWISS FEDERAL COUNCIL (1)

It is the Swiss Federal Executive by Commission that has been held out as the ideal to be reproduced in our Provinces. There has been a certain amount of misconception of its nature and functions and of the place it occupies in the Swiss governmental system. It is not, as is assumed by the advocates of this form of the executive in our country, a non-party executive or even an all-party executive. It is a composite executive, no doubt, but it does not represent all the different groups in the Legislature. The Socialists who form a fairly large group in the Legislature have been unable to obtain a place on the Executive. The members of the Federal Council are active party men and continue to be so even after their election to

the Council. There is an exceedingly well-organised party system in the country and in the Legislature, a fact which seems to have been missed by the advocates of the collegiate executive in our provinces.

We do not get a complete picture of the Federal Council from its bare outlines set out in the Laws. We must look at the actual manner in which it has functioned. Though it is permissible to elect any Swiss citizen to the Federal Council, only members of the two Houses of the Federal Assembly are chosen. The largest Cantons in Switzerland, Bern and Zurich, are always represented on the Council, while one or two seats are allotted to the French or Italian speaking Cantons. The Council is integrally renewed every three years after the elections to the National Council, but it has become customary to re-elect the same members as long as they are willing to serve. This has had the result of giving the Council the character of a permanent executive. Membership of 37 and 25 years are on record.

The Executive is most definitely a collegiate executive. The President is merely a presiding officer and his functions are such as are best performed on behalf of the Council, rather than over the Council. The President of the Council is the President of the Federation and the formal head of the State. Second terms are prohibited but second terms have been conferred. It has become customary to promote the Vice-President to the Presidency by custom. As a result, the question who shall be the Vice-President, attracts greater attention than the question, who shall be the President.

The President is usually a man of very wide experience and is the leader of a very large party in the Legislature. He is the Foreign Minister of the Federation. If he is not like Prime Minister under the Parliamentary system, his office is something like that of the President and a permanent chief executive.

The Federal Council is the supreme executive of the State. Some of its powers are specifically enumerated in Article 102. But it is to be noted that where the Federal Constitution or the Legislature have not expressly provided otherwise, the Federal Council is exclusively authorised to take administrative action. The cantonal governments execute Federal laws to a large extent and this makes the Federal Executive Council a supervising executive rather than a direct administrator.

Legally, the Federal Council is the servant of the Legislature by which it is elected. It has to give an account of its administration at every session of the Assembly. It has to answer interpellations which are almost exactly like the questions in the British Parliament. The Assembly can and does issue directions. These are known as *Postulates*. The Assembly may also invite the Council to prepare legislative proposals on any matter it chooses through *Postulates*. But these are not absolutely binding upon Federal Council and are analogous to the Resolutions in the Parliamentary system. But the Resolutions so-called of the Swiss Assembly, unlike resolutions under the Parliamentary system, are absolutely binding upon the Council of Ministers who have no choice left but to obey, since they cannot resign.

But the practice makes the Council very often the master of the Legislative body. This is so for several reasons. The members of the Council are leading party men. They have in their hands the only patronage to be dispensed in Switzerland. They are a small body. These causes have tended to increase the powers of the Executive and during the last fifty years it has become the preponderant factor in Swiss Governmental system. During the war of 1914-18 and again during the last year the Federal Council has been invested with full powers. (Unbeschränkte Vollmacht)

The legislative functions of the Council are of great importance. As in the case of a Parliamentary executive, the Members of the Federal Council can sit in both Houses

and speak, but unlike them, they cannot vote. They have the right to move resolutions on any matter under consideration in the Assembly; they can introduce bills in either House; they answer questions; and they regularly make a report of the administration at every session and special reports when requested to do so by the Assembly. The bills initiated by members of the legislature first go before the Federal Council for its opinion, and without prior consultation with the Council, no bill is ever enacted by the Federal Assembly. The Council has, besides, a very wide power of making ordinances.

The Council had judicial powers as well till 1914 when these were transferred to the Federal Supreme Court and Administrative Tribunals.

The Federal Council acts as a body. The decisions are made by a majority and the quorum is four. The members may and do some times differ and speak on opposite sides of a question on the floor of the Assembly.

A word is necessary on the Executive Councils in the Cantons. These are also collegiate in their composition. These were originally elected by the cantonal legislatures, but with the two exceptions of Ticino and Valais, these are now elected by the people directly in all the cantons. The size varies from five to seven. The Executive acts as a board. It administers the laws, prepares the legislation at the request of the Legislature, and answers interpellations. The individual members are in charge of different departments of the State. On a smaller scale these reproduce the essential characteristics of the Federal Council.

It is difficult to classify the Swiss Executive. Its unity in administrative action, its initiative in legislation, its place in the Legislatures where it sits and speaks and answers questions, its obligation to report to it on the administration, and in general its leadership of the Legislature makes it almost a Parliamentary system. But its multi-party character, its permanence of tenure, its legal obligation of obedience to the

Legislature without the option of resignation, the absence of a commanding personality in it such as the Prime Minister who is the "keystone of the Cabinet arch", distinguish it from it. It is very far removed from the irremovable and non-responsible Presidential system.

The system has been admittedly a conspicuous success in a government which has been full of triumphs in the art of government all round. It has succeeded in combining "responsibility with permanence". "It provides a plural executive with all the merits of a unified executive."* The best men are enabled to continue in office without reference to changes in the fortunes of the political parties to which they may owe allegiance. A continuity of policy is secured, perhaps greater than in England or France.

A danger present in the system must be noticed to make the picture complete. Professor Munro writes :

The Swiss system has the potential defect of tending to professionalize the whole administrative branch of the government from top to bottom. Thus far it has not created a bureaucracy of serious proportions: but the danger is assuredly there. When everybody connected with the Executive branch of the Government (from the highest official to the lowest) is assured of a relatively permanent tenure, the inclination of the whole machine is to run in an established groove. To make sure that an administration will adapt itself quickly to changed conditions there should be provision for a periodical infusion of new administrators especially at the top. Switzerland, as it happens, has managed to combine permanence with progressiveness in its federal administration, but it is by no means certain that other countries could adopt the Swiss system and count upon achieving the same results.†

What are the conditions that have contributed to the remarkable success of the Swiss Executive? Firstly, the smallness of the size of the State and the consequent absence of serious economic, political and even social problems, which necessarily result from a larger unit; secondly, the vast experience of self-governing institutions which the Swiss have practised during several centuries with brief interruptions; thirdly,

* Munro: *The Governments of Europe*, p. 711.

† W. B. Munro: *Governments of Europe*. P. 712.

the remarkable public spirit and the absence of corruption that Swiss politicians have shown; fourthly, the active interest of the people of Switzerland in their politics and their political capacity. There is more active participation of the people in Government and there is a great deal more supervision of the work of the Government by the people here than anywhere else. But of all these, the most important is the smallness of the State and the absence as yet of problems that divide the people into irreconcilable camps.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN PROVINCIAL SYSTEM

The South African Provincial Executive is the only other example of an irremovable executive that is to be found in democracies. The Provincial system set up in 1910 was partly an adaptation from the constitutions of the Dutch Colonies of the Orange River Free State and the South African Republic, but chiefly the result of the conscious effort to imitate the Swiss Executive. Because of the latter characteristic of the Constitution, it deserves to be studied closely.

During the days of their quasi-independence from about the middle of the last century till their absorption in the British Empire, the two Dutch Republics were under their own Constitutions. The *Grondwet* of Fundamental Law of the Orange River Free State had been made in 1868 and that of the South African Republic in 1858. These were remarkably democratic constitutions and had been in their turn modelled on the constitutions of the United States. The Executive of the Free State was made up of a President, elected by direct popular suffrage for a period of five years, and an Executive Committee of five members, two of whom were permanent officials and the other three were elected by the *Volkraad* or the Legislature for a definite period. Both the President and Committee were completely responsible for all their actions to the *Volkraad* and could be dismissed by it at any time. The supremacy of the Legislature was unquestioned. The Executive of the South African Republic was also likewise composed of a President

directly elected by the voters and an Executive Committee of four of whom two were permanent officials and the other two were elected by the Legislature. The Executive Committees were presided over by the President who had a deliberative as well as a casting vote. The President and the Executive Committee could participate in the Legislature's proceedings, but could (?) vote therein. All legislative proposals had to be made by the President or his deputy. The entire Executive body was held strictly responsible to the legislature and could be dismissed by it at any time. These institutions had worked successfully in the hands of the representatives of the homogeneous Dutch population. A popularly elected executive had functioned side by side with a popularly elected legislature smoothly because of the absolute power possessed by the latter over the former.

The Provincial system set up in 1910 must be studied in the context of the entire system of government set up for the Union as a whole of which it forms a part. The Government of the Union is unitary. The legislative supremacy of the Union Parliament is established under Section 86 of the Constitution Act.* The powers of the Provincial Council are few, precisely defined, and in all cases subject to the control of the Union Government. The acts of the Provincial Government are known as ordinances which is a testimony to the inferior position of the Provincial Council.

The important and actual powers of the Provincial Councils have been education, excluding higher education, which in practice has meant little more than primary education and in some Provinces secondary education, hospitals and charitable institutions, roads and bridges which were exclusively Provincial, markets, game preservation and local government institutions. Certain other powers could be devolved upon the

*Sect 86 : Any ordinance made by a Provincial Council shall have effect in and for the Province as long and as far only as it is not repugnant to any Act of Parliament.

Provincial Councils by the Union Government, but none have been so turned over to the Provinces. The taxation powers included certain specific items of direct taxation. But these powers have been considerably limited and borrowing powers have been completely removed from them since 1934.

The Provincial Councils are very tiny legislative bodies. In the case of the smaller Colonies the minimum strength is fixed at 25.

As neither the executive committee nor the administrator is responsible to the Council, the latter body's power consists mainly of the negative one of refusing to pass legislation introduced by the Executive or refusing to consent to appropriations recommended by the administrator; positively, it can initiate legislation other than financial and it can amend draft ordinances introduced by the executive.*

It should be noticed that the Provincial system, though it covers a very wide area, concerns only small populations. The powers of the Provinces are all of a minor character. They are entirely subordinate. In status and powers, they are a little more than mere local authorities, and not by any stretch to be compared with the Provinces of India.

The Executive of the Province is an irremovable executive—irremovable in the most complete sense of the term. It is also a composite executive. It comprises of an Administrator and an Executive Committee of four members elected by the Provincial Councils. The Administrator is in many, many ways the prototype of the Governor of a Province in India under the system of Provincial Autonomy. He is appointed by the Union Government for a period of five years and apparently responsible to that body, but within the Province, he is responsible to no one. He is the pivot of the Provincial administration. He is both the formal and the effective chief executive of the Province; he is its Governor-General as well as its Prime Minister. It is in his name that all acts of the administration are carried on. He presides over the meetings of the Executive Committee and has a casting vote. The Executive Committee

* W. P. M. Kennedy and Schlesberg : The Law and Custom of the S. African Constitution, P. 313.

is powerless to act without him or his deputy, similarly appointed by the Union Government. He is not responsible to the Committee and there are powers he exercises without reference to it, or to the Provincial Council. He summons and prorogues the Provincial Council, takes part in its proceedings without a vote and proposes ordinances in it. He is not responsible to that body. With or without it he can act and he does so. It has been said that the abolition of the Provincial Councils and of the Executive Committees would make no difference to the administration in the Province.

The Executive Committee assists the Administrator. It is elected by the Provincial Council by the single transferable system of proportional representation. It is elected for a period of three years which is also the duration of the Council. Once elected, it cannot be removed by any power on earth. It cannot be removed by the Council. Neither the Union Government nor the Administrator can dismiss it. It is responsible to none at all.*

*The Sections of the Union Act which relate to the Provincial Executive Committee are as follows:

Section 78. (1) Each Provincial Council shall at its first meeting after any general election, elect from among its members, or otherwise, four persons to form with the administrator, who shall be chairman, an executive committee for the Province. The members of the Executive Committee other than the Administrator, shall hold office until the election of their successors in the same manner.

(2) Such members shall receive such remuneration as the Provincial Council, with the approval of the Governor-General-in-Council, shall determine.

(3) A member of the Provincial Council shall not be disqualified from sitting as a member by reason of his having been elected as a member of the Executive Committee.

(4) Any casual vacancy arising in the executive committee shall be filled by election by the Provincial Council if then in session, or if the Council is not in session, by a person appointed by the Executive Committee to hold office temporarily pending an election by the Council.

Section 79. The administrator or any member of the Executive Committee, not being a member of the Provincial Council, shall have the right to take part in the proceedings of the Council, but shall not have the right to vote.

The members of the Executive Committee may be chosen from among all the South African citizens. But in practice, only members of the Council have been chosen. The members continue to be members of the Assembly after their election and have a vote in it. The Executive Committee was intended

Note from previous page continued:

Section 80: "The Executive Committee shall on behalf of the Provincial Council carry on the administration of Provincial affairs. Until the first election of the members to serve on the executive committee, such administration shall be carried on by the administrator. Whenever there are not sufficient members of the Executive Committee to form a quorum according to the rules of the Committee, the administrator shall as soon as practicable, convene a meeting of the Provincial Council for the purpose of electing members to fill the vacancies, and until such election, the administrator shall carry on the administration of provincial affairs.

Section 81: Subject to the provisions of this Act, all powers, authorities and functions which at the establishment of the Union are in any of the Colonies vested in and exercised by the Governor or Governor-in-Council or any Minister of the Colony, shall after such establishment be vested in the Executive Committee of the Province so far as such powers, authorities and functions relate to matters in respect to which the Provincial Council is competent to make ordinances.

Section 82: Questions arising in the Executive Committee shall be determined by a majority of votes of the members present, and in case of an equality of votes, the administrator shall have also a casting vote. Subject to the approval of the Governor-General-in-Council, the Executive Committee may make rules for the conduct of its proceedings,

Section 83: Subject to the provisions of any law passed by Parliament regulating the conditions of appointment, tenure of office, retirement and superannuation of public officers, the Executive Committee shall have power to appoint such officers as may be necessary, in addition to officers assigned to the Province by the Governor-General-in-Council under the provisions of this Act, to carry out the services entrusted to them and to make and enforce regulations for the organisation and discipline of such officers.

Section 84: In regard to all matters in respect of which no powers are reserved or delegated to the Provincial Council, the administrator shall act on behalf of the Governor-General-in-Council when required to do so, and in such matters the administrator may be act without reference to the other members of the Executive Committee.

The Constitutions of All Countries, Vol. 1. The British Empire, pp. 158, 159.

to be a non-party body by the framers of the Constitution. In practice, it has been filled by active party men. The system of proportional representation has rendered its heterogeneity certain. The lack of homogeneity made it almost useless for any function. The attempt to keep party and politics out of Provincial affairs has proved a miserable failure. These developments had not been un-anticipated by the framers of the constitution, but their seriousness was not adequately realised. The effect of putting men belonging to opposite parties has been "like mixing oil with water". What has resulted is not the hoped-for compromise but deadlock. The endeavours of the Executive Committee to act as a body have not been successful.

The Hon'ble Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr who speaks with authority on the working of the Provincial system because of his vast experience of it, writes of it as follows : —

First among the difficulties is the probable absence of homogeneity in the Executive Committee, with the resultant lack of collective responsibility. It happens constantly that a member of the Executive may be in full accord with a policy agreed upon by the Executive, but in the Council he will vote with his party against that policy, having retained his right to do so. Next, there is the fact that the Executive is not responsible to the legislature, and cannot enforce the adoption of a policy by threat of resignation. It has happened before now that a unanimous Executive has agreed to submit a financial proposal to the Council, which has rejected it by an equally unanimous vote, including the members of the Executive voting with their respective parties. This difficulty is accentuated when it becomes necessary to impose taxation, and when as has often been the case in the Transvaal, there are three or four parties in the Council, no one of which has a majority, the imposition of a tax becomes a task of tremendous difficulty. Lastly, there is the position of the Administrator who has been appointed by the Union Government, but it has to work with the Provincial Council. It has happened frequently that the elected members of the Executive are equally divided in respect of party affiliations. In that event the Administrator has the deciding voice and vote*.

The fact is that the Provincial system has not worked, or what is worse, has worked badly. It has certainly not given the people responsible government. The government has

*J. H. Hofmeyr : in *Coming of Age, Studies in S. African Citizenship*.

been deadlocked on a number of occasions in both the larger Provinces and more especially in the Transvaal where in 1914, 1917, 1924, and 1934 there were serious crises. The composite character of the Executive necessitates an impartial arbitrator, and places the ultimate decision in his hands. The Executive being dis-jointed from the Legislature makes for lack of a policy on the part of the Executive and the powerlessness of the Legislature to fulfil the mandate of the electorate. The Provincial system has, in practice, made for an irresponsible and almost a useless executive. The Legislature has often been reduced to the position of a rubber stamp for the Administrator. The system has failed by every test of popular or of efficient government. Messrs. W. P. M. Kennendy and Schlosberg write of it in their "The Law and Custom of the South African Constitution", as follows:

"A good constitution should be easily amenable to the will of the people. It should avoid the deadlocks which are created whenever there is no machinery available to put into action the expressed will of the people. If the people want a law, if the people wish to be rid of an executive, if the people desire a particular policy, the constitution should provide a smooth machinery to give them that law, to rid them of that executive, or to enforce that policy. If the constitution is too rigid, deadlock may result; if it has too many checks, or if parts of it are out of harmony with the whole, it tends of itself to create political crises. The provincial constitutions are out of harmony with the constitution of the Union, and they have nearly all the above-mentioned weaknesses." P. 333.

There is general dissatisfaction with the system. Proposals for reform have been put forward and nearly all of them are in the direction of creating a parliamentary system of responsible government. It is only a matter of time for the present system to be reformed out of shape, or for its total abolition. One point in the reform proposals may be particularly noted because of its immediate interest to us. It is recognised in South Africa that the system of proportional representation should be abolished in the election of the Provincial executives. Again we would quote from the authors cited above :

"In order to have harmony within the Executive, there should be no election of the Executive Committee men by the proportional representation

system of voting. Proportional representation on the Executive has not been a success, and the provision should not be retained as it is out of harmony with the general scheme and principle of responsible government." (P. 339).

We may sum up the lessons of the South African experiment in "non-party" and the irremovable executives. The first is that responsible government and the irremovable executive, however set up, whether by direct popular election or election by the Legislature or simply appointed by an external authority, are absolutely incompatible. The second is that Composite Cabinets of multiple parties are ineffective instruments of government, one can even say impotent for good and capable of any amount of mischief. The homogeneity and collective responsibility of the Executive are the essentials of any effective scheme of government. The third lesson is that it is impossible to keep out party and politics from any but the most insignificant of government institutions. Whatever the pious intentions of the framers of a constitution with regard to the banishing of the party may have been, their intentions have always been defeated. The fourth lesson is that there should be a harmony of design between the different parts of a government and between its different levels. One cannot very well have the Presidential system at the top, the Parliamentary at the second level and the Swiss at the lowest or any other such combination. This is particularly important to remember in India. Hybrids and conglomerates in government do not prosper. They lead to disaster. Finally, the South African experiment demonstrates the enormous difficulty of transplanting Swiss institutions in other places.

III

The examples of the irremovable executive here surveyed demonstrate the utter impossibility of transplanting them in India. The American system would not commend itself to the people and is too difficult to operate, besides being clumsy. It is not responsible government. The Swiss system is admittedly good. But can we hope successfully to transplant it?

The attempt of South Africa shows the difficulties of the task. Much of the Swiss system is based not on written law but on custom. We can copy out the statute as the South African Convention did; but we cannot create the spirit in which the institutions are worked in Switzerland. Nor are the material conditions in India so simple. The enormous size of the population and the numerous social and economic problems of our Provinces the like of which Switzerland has never had to handle makes the venture hopeless. We cannot hope to establish the extent of popular participation in Government that seems normal to the Swiss. Without that material and moral background we cannot successfully operate the Swiss Executive. There is a last difficulty to be mentioned. The introduction of any form of the irremovable executive involves fundamental structural changes in the present system that are not immediately possible. We have, therefore, to turn to other ways of solving the immediate problem of the Executive.

If our conditions can be said to be fit for receiving any form of democracy, they can be said to be favourable only to the simplest of its forms, namely, parliamentary democracy. Besides, we have been accustomed in some measure to the Parliamentary system whereas any other system is entirely novel to us. Our association with Britain, the slight experiment in its forms in our local bodies, provincial councils and the Central Legislature, and the fact that Britain is committed to the ultimate establishment of this form of government in India, have made us familiar with it. To that extent at least it must be admitted that our environment is prepared for its reception. This is not the case with the alternatives proposed.

Originality in government is rather a rare thing and most of the common devices and techniques in the realm of political organisation have not always been native to the countries in which one might find them to-day. In most cases outside of England and United States they have been derived from an external source and with a few adjustments due to local

circumstances, have been successful in their new habitations. Some institutions lend themselves to adaptation more easily than others. Among the different types of executives the parliamentary executive is certainly the system that has been adapted with greater facility than the irremovable executive. The environment to which the institution is transplanted must also be more or less prepared to receive it. The Parliamentary system in this country may be considered an innovation for which we are in a way prepared. We certainly are not prepared for other schemes, however good they may be in themselves.

Any scheme that is adopted must be adopted as a totality, and not in parts. In India the system of separate electorates has vitiated and prejudiced the idea of parliamentary government. If on the basis of the separate electorate the system has proved unsatisfactory, the blame should not be laid on the system itself; its aberrations are due to the modifications introduced into the system, intended, it would appear, to sabotage it from within rather than help it forward. Further any judgment on its working now must be considered premature. Parliamentary Government has just begun its career—if indeed it could be said so—for, under the present system the powers of the representatives of the people are severely restricted.

When it is said that the failure of the system is to be seen only in the Congress-governed provinces, the statement cannot be taken at its face value. The fact is either we have worked the Parliamentary system with some measure of success or alternatively we have failed to make good use of it everywhere in all the the Provinces of India. Again it serves no purpose to exaggerate our criticism. Neither the cry of Totalitarianism nor that of the party dictatorship appear to be in point. We must admit whether we choose the Parliamentary system or another, we are bound to have parties; the more disciplined they are, the better. But the

communal basis of parties must be ended for all time. We cannot end the distempers of the body politic by the vain search for a non-party regime or by structural changes in the scheme of government. The former is impossible; the latter is disastrous. We shall probably be wasting our efforts.

One of the criticisms seems to be well-founded, at least in regard to the Province known to the present writer. The opposition parties have not been able to function as effective parliamentary oppositions. There are several reasons for this. So long as the over-riding issue of the freedom of the country is unsettled a certain unanimity is natural in a country situated as ours is. But there are other less commendary reasons also. The failure of the opposition is not entirely due to the attitude of the party in power and its arrogance and lack of courtesy, as is alleged. This is only partially true. It is more due to the fact that the opposition parties are based on communities and sects and their appeal has been sectional. An opposition must fight on the plane of economic and social programmes affecting all the people alike. There is a good deal of ammunition in this field, certainly more than on the purely communal side. It is not helpful to raise communal bogies and then attempt to combat them. These opposition tactics have been the cause of its futility and failure to win sympathy in the country. An opposition, let it be remembered, is addressing primarily the country and not the Government. Exaggeration is not in the long run effective as propaganda; facts tell even against the Congress.

On the other hand, the party with the majority should remember parliamentary manners. Lapses here may be ascribed to the fact that those in office had no experience of office before. But some hard knocks ought to suffice to reintroduce the required urbanity. An opposition appeal based on facts of an economic and social order addressed to the people will help very much to bring about this result. Both majorities and minorities alike certainly need to cultivate that "morality

of public discussion" of which Mill spoke, if we intend to establish a government by discussion.

Let us turn to the alleged nullity of the safeguards under the unitary parliamentary system, the second of the hypotheses. The argument assumes that when the Congress extracted assurances from the Provincial Governors, it virtually stepped into the shoes of the British Government in India and became the absolute master of the destinies of the Province, an assumption for which there does not appear to be any warrant in fact. Mr. Jinnah's charge of the complicity of the Governors in the commission of "atrocities" on Muslims in the Congress-governed Provinces also assumes this. The facts seem to be altogether different. The position of the Governor under the Act of 1935, both before and after the assurances¹, has not been one of helplessness for the enforcement of his statutory duties. The Governor is, in fact, the real executive head of the Province with the entire administrative machinery under his orders. Every act of the Governor is now done in the name of the Governor even as a matter of legal form since 1937. One must not forget the salutary lesson that nine-tenths of government is really in the hands of the permanent services almost everywhere. This nine-tenths is under the direct orders of the Governor and it would be a miracle if he could not use his powers to enforce the safeguards. Recently in an article entitled "Men and Memories" in the columns of the *Twentieth Century*, Mr. Pothan Joseph of the Indian Express has shown how our Ministries under the system of Provincial autonomy shouldered the responsibility for the government of the Provinces while the actual governance was done by the Civil Services in unobtrusive fashion. The fiat of the Secretary of State, actual or anticipated, served the Administration for having its way with the Ministries. The Ministers had the dignity; the Civil Services had the power, and the Governor the supreme

dignity and direction of power in the last resort as well in the first in many cases. The safeguards were uncomfortably real, real to an extent that made self-government shadowy. It is on the basis of the undiminished powers of the Civil Administration whose legal head is the Governor of the Province that Sir Samuel Hoare defended the Act in Parliament in 1935 and pleaded the effectiveness of the safeguards to prevent commercial discrimination and to ensure the rights and privileges of the minorities. If indeed the powers of the Governor are adequate to secure the one system of safeguards—there has been no complaint on this score—it is but reasonable to suppose that they were adequate to the much easier task of protecting the interests of the minorities. The effectiveness of the administrative machine did not surely vanish overnight on the day that Provincial autonomy was set up. The Administration continued unaffected in its powers as the ease and smoothness with which the Government was "transferred" to the Governor on the resignation of the ministries in the Provinces, testifies.

In any case, the remedy of the Composite Cabinet appears to be a remedy worse than the disease complained of, if by a Composite Cabinet is meant an irremovable executive. It is the surest way of creating deadlock in government, blocking all progressive action and of rendering the Governor the *deus ex machina* of the Provincial scheme of Government. This way does not lie reform or progress but only deadlock and division. If a coalition of parties is what is meant, it must be allowed that it has certain psychological advantages. Further, if a programme of action could be agreed on and the coalition stands by the agreed policy, this may be successful. But not, when the parties do not agree on any policy. If they wish only to register disagreement in the Cabinet as they are bound to do, if they do not assume office on an agreed policy, they would only end by abdicating the powers to the Governor as arbitrator. The inherent weaknesses of a coalition can only

¹ The assurances were not as a matter of fact in the form desired by Congress.

be counteracted by an agreed policy and in our case this ought to be the first requisite for the acceptance of a coalition.

It is not clear, however, how coalitions or Composite Cabinets can render the system of safeguards more effective than they have been. One may ask a few questions. Will the representative of the minority community who is given a statutory place irrespective of his political allegiance be in charge of a department of State? Or will he be given the sole function of operating the safeguards for his community in regard to the work of all the departments of the State? If the former, he will not be in a position to operate the safeguards effectively, for he will be engrossed in the task of administering his department and will be unable to prevent the sort of "atrocities" complained of. If the latter, it will mean two things. In the first place, the minister will find his position derogatory to his importance. Paradoxically, he will come to possess an unlimited power of interference in the work of all the departments of the State. He will have a suspensive veto on the actions of his colleague subject to the ruling powers of the Governor. It is not open to doubt that by this means we cannot obtain either good government or democratic government. Certainly, we shall be unable to direct our politics into those secular channels where alone we can avoid both friction and make progress.

At best, the composite or non-party cabinet is a clumsy piece of machinery, dubious as a safeguard for the safeguards that it is intended to be, but necessarily and always, generating friction by keeping alive communal perspectives and issues. In the one country where it has been tried outside of Switzerland, it has been a sorry failure. The safeguards for the safeguards must be sought elsewhere than in machinery designed to clog the wheel of democracy, but in a hearty understanding between the communities. An agreement of the communities and their goodwill can alone be an effective safeguard. A system of fundamental rights in the constitution which safeguard the individual as an individual from the

encroachments of the government, is one of the elements of a settlement. The other, which is the immediate problem, is a gentleman's agreement on the loaves and fishes which are the cause of the quarrel. The leaders of the several communities may make this. The agreement need not be immutable and may be varied to the advantage of the minorities. Such an agreement may well operate within the framework of Parliamentary government. It will most certainly mean the smoother working of that system. The minorities in the country while they are clearly within their rights in claiming their shares in an inheritance that is yet to come, must, in their own interests as well as those of the country, seek an understanding with the majorities within the country. It would appear to be a dangerous policy for the leaders of the minority communities to belittle the assurances that representative political parties can give and to put their faith neither in their own strength nor in the trust and confidence of their neighbours but in somebody else.

The third and fourth hypotheses are of the same order. To say that composite legislatures demand composite cabinets though stated in strictly political terms, in truth, is only a generalised statement of the corollaries of the theory of the two nations of Mr. Jinnah. It is quite unnecessary to argue whether we are a nation. The question is best answered by the vast majority of the people of this country in their professions and practice and their aspirations. But the thesis that composite cabinets, as a matter of course, involve composite cabinets, deserves examination. We ought to distinguish between the two entirely different principles of representation in the Legislature and on the Executive respectively. The main business of the Legislature is the interpretation of the desires of the electorate, the ventilation of its grievances and the supervision and control of the Executive on behalf of the people. As a consequence, diversity is characteristic of legislatures even where they are not based on separate electorates but on a system of homogeneous electorates and even when they are

organised in disciplined parties. One can even find a reason for assuring this diversity where political consciousness is not widespread in a country as in ours. But it is quite otherwise with the Executive body. In its case unity is the first essential. It is necessarily a small body. If it is not strict logic, it is at least the lesson of experience and of prudence that the representation of religions, races, languages and territories *as such* cannot be assured a place on the Executive body. To assure this would be to break up the unity of action that is indispensable to the Executive. It would be, besides, to place a premium on the fissiparousness of groups in this country. The rapid growth of the minority problem in dimensions and intensity has been the direct consequence of the ingenious Minto-Morley scheme of separate electorates. Political and economic issues have been thrown into the background and there has been a luxuriant growth of separate "nationalities" in the country where (yesterday) there was only one*. To establish the composite cabinet as the natural corollary of the composite legislature is, indeed, to carry to its logical limits the principle of dissolving the country into its several parts with the certainty of its atomisation in the near future. It is to make self-government as well as progressive government impossible

*Here is what a distinguished British writer says on the effects of communal representation in Ceylon :

"Instead of moderating communal interests and passions, communal representation had aggravated them. Its result had been to freeze into immobility the divisions which Ceylon inherited from the past, and to thwart the vigorous action of those present forces whose natural tendency it was to dissolve the old divisions. So far from attenuating communal self-consciousness, communal representation was intensifying it to such an extent that new communities were discovering their need for political recognition.

"We have come unhesitatingly to the conclusion (the Commission declared) that communal representation is, as it were a canker on the body politic, eating deeper and deeper into the vital energies of the people, breeding self-interest poisoning the new growth of political consciousness, and effectively preventing the development of a national or corporate spirit" The Donoughmore Commission's Report on Ceylon summarised by Prof. Hancock : Survey of British Commonwealth Affairs, 1937 p. 394—395.

Every one who cares for the development of a united nation and the setting up of a political scheme which enables progressive and social politics—the writer is aware that the distinguished publicists who made the suggestions for a composite cabinet are behind no one else in desiring a perfect unity of the country—must reject this solution, even if there is logical truth on its side. Any device that tends to stereotype minority groups on the basis of religion and community has no place in a democracy. We have to throw out denominational politics, lock, stock and barrel. We must destroy parties based on sect, race and caste and colour and turn to the decencies of a struggle on the political plane and to the stark economic realities of the country which affect us all alike. The separate electoral system, the preferential treatment of small classes, in a word, everything that savours of privilege and is opposed to democratic principles, must go. We must seek to reconstruct our politics on true democratic principles and on the secular field.

We now come to the most important of the reasons for the advocacy of a different system of executive in the Provinces, the worsening of the communal situation. It is very difficult to apply an objective test to this problem. The writer does not pretend to have made any statistical study of the incidents that are fairly frequent in our recent history of communal rioting. Perhaps it is not worth while making one. The situation, judged not so much by material evidence of "atrocities" and the like but by the tone of the debate of the subject in the country, has certainly deteriorated. There is a far greater degree of extremism in talk now than was the case a few years ago. There appears to be a sad lack of a sense of proportion in charge and counter-charge and a disregard for fundamental realities. This can only end in calamity. For the bad blood that is evident certainly a remedy should be sought and the sooner the better. The sore must be healed.

The essence of the problem has been stated by Sir Sikander Hyat Khan in the following words :

My analysis of the communal problem is that it is a question of ~~leaves~~ and fishes and political adjustments, that is, our shares in administrative spheres, and representation on the legislative bodies including the local bodies; the communal problem is not a religious problem, but is really a mundane materialistic problem.*

If this is the problem, it ought surely be easy of settlement. What is needed is reasonableness on either side.

Even if one were to admit the thesis of Mr. Jinnah for the moment, the leaders belonging to the two major "religious nations" must realise that neither of them alone can hope for a monopoly of power without the consent of the other. The entire history of this country since the time of Baber till the British Conquest is merely the tragedy of the domination by one religion and then another enacted on the Indian scene. Shall we forget the lesson? The right of self-determination cannot be an absolute right for either "nation" within a compact territory like ours and our populations spread out all over the country without regard to our pet theory of territorial compactness for each of the "nations". There are many affinities of language and culture, which tend to grow everyday. The economic ties that bind the two are of the most vital character. Nor is it true that we have shown ourselves incapable of living together or trusting each other. Mr. Jinnah has made the startling proposition that neither the Hindu nor the Muslim will vote for any but his co-religionist. May not one turn back and ask, where has this been tried? Under the Minto-Morely scheme of separate electorates? In the case of local bodies as well as under a former Provincial regime, instances are not wanting which prove the contrary thesis. We must try the joint scheme before we can speak with authority. With Mr. Jinnah the wish appears to be the father of the thought.

What is the solution? Most definitely it is not in the irremovable executive. But certainly the coalition may be

given a trial. The leaders of the communities must seek an agreement in all faith and honesty. A coalition may be part of the agreement. They may agree to set up national and provincial planning committees of experts to suggest a plan of action in the economic sphere and on this the coalitions may concentrate. A tentative agreement on representation on the services, and in representative bodies may be arrived at. An agreement may be sought on the procedure of making the new constitution, for it must in any case be made *de novo*. On the immediate political objective again we may agree. We might agree to the abandonment of the separate electoral system and give democratic institutions a real beginning. This is suggested not because it is sought to minimise the importance of the minorities in the new scheme of things, but because it is desirable in the interests of the creation of a homogeneous and progressive modern community, by the elimination of the communal basis in politics.

An agreement of parties on the programme to be followed by us—this alone can be the meaning of any honourable agreement between the leaders of the two major communities—must be made. A coalition may be made a part of it. It might very well lead to the disappearance of the present party system altogether and the softening of the antagonisms it has aroused, and to a newer party system based on social and economic plans. The younger generation in India is certainly thinking in those terms. A coalition might help in realizing our immediate as well as our ultimate unity. It can bridge the psychological gulf that has been created. If the leading men of the communities cannot come to an agreement at this critical stage in our history and present a united front, they would stand condemned before posterity as having betrayed their trust and of a bankruptcy of statesmanship hardly paralleled even in our history, much less in the history of other nations. Let us wish the great men who are striving for the fundamental agreement of hearts, all success.

THE PROGRESS OF THE WAR

By B. N. VARMA

So long as the sovereign independence of national states and the systematic teaching of racial falsehoods and national and cultural prejudices endure, so long will our present instabilities increase and so long will human life and thought be consecrated more and more intensively to the disciplines, servitudes, fears and passions of ever more destructive war. A great mental renaissance *must* precede any effectual reorganisation of the world.

—H. G. WELLS

I

The war has gone on for well nigh seven months. Events have moved with lightning rapidity during this brief period. Poland has disappeared from the map of Europ. Two powerful totalitarian states have made short work of it and divided it between themselves. The Soviet-Nazi alliance was the first step Russia took to work out her plan of aggression. It enabled her to grab the major portion of Poland and to go ahead. The Baltic territories, which were formerly under the dominion of the Czars, were the choice morsel which Stalin was next eager to gulp down. The opportunity of building naval bases, the command of the Baltic seas, Finland's winter ports and nickel mines—all presented such a rosy prospect that Stalin lost no time in making an effort to bring the weak Baltic powers under his heels. So far as Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania were concerned, he had an easy walk-over. They were quickly absorbed and became Russia's 'spheres of influence' but Finland stuck in his throat. To his surprise and chagrin he found her challenging his might. She would not go down the way of her neighbours. She decided to give battle before surrendering. Stalin was caught into a maelstrom. Result—Soviet-Finnish war. Even then Stalin hoped the Finnish lamb would be mincemeated, pulped and powdered in no time, but, stran-

gely enough, she proved a hard nut to crack. Russia had to draw upon all her enormous resources to dispose of the Finnish incident. Finland put up a gallant fight and most stubbornly resisted the onslaughts of the invaders. With such help as she could get from other powers sympathetic to her she managed to inflict great losses on her enemies and revealed that Russia's military strength was by no means equal to the reputation she had enjoyed. The result of the Soviet-Finnish war was, of course, a foregone conclusion and there is no occasion for surprise that the Finnish pigmy has been worsted in its encounter with the Soviet giant. The war has ended and Finland has been compelled to part with an important part of her territory of great strategic value.

In her fight with Russia Finland got substantial help from Britain, France, U. S. A. and Italy, but the two neighbouring states of Norway and Sweden, who could be expected to show greater sympathy to Finland, both out of selfish and altruistic motives, were so much obsessed with the idea of maintaining strict neutrality and so much terrified by German threats that they would not even facilitate the transport of war materials through their territories to Finland and resolutely refused to permit the passage of armed forces from Britain and France. In adopting this attitude the two Scandinavian Powers showed an utter lack of an intelligent grasp of the realities of the situation. It was not even enlightened selfishness. Their desire not to be made pawns in the game of power politics is quite understandable but their own interests should have led them to adopt a bolder attitude. If all the Baltic and Scandinavian Powers had combined and entered into a defensive alliance, Russia, or for that matter, any other country, would have thought twice before venturing to encroach upon their territories; but each state in trying to save its own skin allowed the others to fall easy victims to aggression and brought it nearer its own doors. The small states of Europe are at the mercy of their powerful and unscrupulous neighbours and their only safety lies in forming

defensive alliances. If the Scandinavian and Baltic powers in the north and Balkan Powers in the south of Europe from an entente, they can yet be saved from further aggression. Such a move is already afoot and, as could be expected, has been taken exception to by Russia. Otherwise, each one of these small states will, one after the other, meet a similar fate. The only question will be: Whose turn next? There are already persistent reports that the Soviet Union, with a view to obtaining an outlet on the north Atlantic, has demanded a free port on Sweden's west coast and a similar demand will also be presented to Norway.

II

When Hitler arrived at an understanding with Russia, little did he realise what a heavy price he would have to pay for Moscow's grisly friendship, and still less had he bargained for all the subsequent developments. He thought he could in the first place bank on the prospect of getting food and raw materials from Russia to carry on his fight against Poland and the western countries and, secondly, he could concentrate on the western front without any fear of disturbance at her north-eastern frontiers. But, for one, when the task of conquest of Poland was all but completed by the German forces, Russia stepped in to demand not only a share in the spoils but went away with the lion's share of it and the better one at that, and, for another, Russia was herself entangled in a conflict with Finland and could not help Germany with war materials. Lack of adequate support from Russia and the advent of winter compelled Hitler to stay his hands and await more propitious times. Hence the comparative lull on the western front. Indeed, the war has not yet got into its stride except at sea. There have been plenty of local raids and skirmishes, artillery duels and reconnaissance flights but nothing much beyond that.

But Hitler has not been wasting all these months. What has been a period of relative passiveness of arms has also been a period of production of war materials in Germany —sub-

marines, aircrafts (bombers and fighters), mines etc.—on a tremendous scale. Both sides are piling up armaments at a colossal rate and one reading of the war conditions and the comparative strength of the rival parties is that 'it is the battle of industry which will settle this war, the gigantic industrial duel between British democratic capacity and German totalitarian output'. For various reasons Germany has hitherto made no serious attempts to break through the western front —the impregnability of the Maginot Line, the severity of cold, the inadequacy of preparations at home and support from Russia. But now that the ideas of March has brought winter to a close and heralded the dawn of spring, the Soviet-Finnish hostilities have ended and the necessary preparations have been made, a fresh offensive on an unprecedented scale seems to be imminent.

III

At sea, however, there has been continued activity and Germany has attempted to inflict as severe a loss on Britain as possible; for of the Allied Powers Britain being more powerful and resourceful, Hitler is concentrating all his efforts against her and a war with Britain can only mean encounter either at sea or in the air. Hitler has not so far been able to draw upon the required quantity of oil either from Russia or from Rumania and could not launch an aerial attack despite his reported superiority over Britain in the air-arm. He has, however, not succeeded in inflicting any very severe losses on British shipping either. Germany's attempt to cut off British supplies by submarine war and indiscriminate sowing of mines has been a failure; the British navy is 'holding the seas free'; the British commerce is safe; and even the mine menace has been very nearly overcome by the device of non-magnetic 'belts' with which the British merchant vessels have been fitted. On the other hand, Britain has succeeded in virtually extinguishing German's overseas trade and is confiscating German exports to neutral countries. Germany has also attacked neutral shipping with a view to establishing a continental blockade but

Britain has offered to give neutral sea-borne trade the benefit of protection by British convoy and the neutral shipping shows increasing desire to avail itself of this offer. An Admiralty communique issued some time ago stated that the British navy had lost out of its enormous total sea-going ships a barely one-tenth of the loss inflicted upon the German ships which ventured to ply the seas, that out of 10,782 British, Allied and Neutral vessels safely escorted to their destination in convoy during the last six months, only 25 ships were lost, and that 'the current rate, therefore is, 430 to one against a British ship in convoy being sunk and 537½ to one against a neutral ship suffering'.

IV

The war is being fought not only on the three—land, sea and air—fronts, but on two more—the economic and the diplomatic. Germany is weakest on the economic front. Her overseas trade has been cut off by the Allies. Her exports are being confiscated. There are certainly loopholes in the Allies' economic blockade and Germany can obtain supplies from Russia, Scandinavian countries and Italy which cannot be stopped. But so far as Russia is concerned, the difficulty of transport for want of swift means of communication is considerable. It is chiefly oil that Germany needs most and Russia is unable to supply it in any appreciable quantity and that is why the former is now wooing Rumania to ensure an adequate supply of that much-needed commodity before venturing an offensive on Britain. Besides, even the countries which are the reservoirs of Germany's sinews of war, unaffected by the blockade, are not prepared to allow her credit. They also insist upon the 'cash and carry' terms of the U. S. A. owing to their bitter experiences of frozen credits. Germany's economic strangulation, though it may be considerably delayed, is more or less certain.

V

For some time past there has been far greater activity on the diplomatic than on any other front. The entanglement of Russia in a conflict with Finland had jeopardised the prospect of Germany's getting her supplies from Russia and Hitler was naturally anxious to bring about a cessation of the Soviet-Finnish hostilities a day earlier than later. While the Allies were willing to offer, and did offer, support to Finland with men and materials, Hitler threatened the Scandinavian countries with dire consequences if they swerved so much as by a hair's breadth from the strict path of neutrality and they were so terrified that they would not even grant the Allies the necessary transport facilities nor allow the passage of troops through their territories and, it being impossible for the Allies to render sufficient aid without the co-operation of Norway and Sweden, hastened the defeat of Finland. The Soviet-Finnish war has ended and Russia may now be able to send to Germany some food and other materials but there is no prospect of Germany getting from her all the oil that she needs and so Hitler is now engaged in a great diplomatic game in south-east Europe. Rumania offers a fruitful field of exploitation and produces oil in large quantities. So she should somehow be won over. But Russia is also deeply interested in Rumania and she cannot be ignored. Russia wants a foothold in the Black Sea to safeguard her position in the south-east and has her designs on Rumania. If there is a Russo-Rumanian conflict the supply of oil to Germany will be altogether stopped from both the countries and Hitler is anxious to bring about an understanding between them for his own purposes. He is reported to have obtained Soviet assurances to the effect that whatever happens in the south-east of Europe, Rumania will remain inviolate. Hitler is also anxious to make Italy change her attitude towards Russia, if possible, and with this and other objects in view, the Fuehrer recently met the Duce at Brenner. There is a

good deal of speculation as to what transpired at this historic meeting and well-informed circles regard a combined declaration by Germany, Italy and Russia to maintain peace in the Balkans as one of its likely consequences, and another the maturing of a plan for 'a new Europe' under the leadership of these three Powers. The Brenner meeting is expected to be followed by 'another important diplomatic demonstration' and Molotov's impending visit to Berlin is in pursuance of that move.

Hitler is moving very cleverly. Having secured the northern flank against attack he is now seeking protection in south-east Europe by enlisting Italo-Russian support and guarding against the possibility of the Balkans becoming the theatre of war so that he may be able to concentrate on the attack on the Allies if and when the offensive begins. He is persuading the Scandinavian and Balkan powers to observe strict neutrality. Turkey is the only fly in the ointment, for she has entered into a mutual assistance pact with the Allies. But as a member of the Balkan Entente she is also a party to the decision of that group to preserve peace and exclude war from their part of Europe. Hitler is even trying to create differences between Britain and France by pressing into service the whole orchestra of Nazi journalism, although there is not the ghost of a chance of his efforts being attended with any success whatsoever. There is no limit to the ambitions of the three totalitarian states of Europe, and there should be no wonder if the Rome-Berlin axis develops into a Rome-Berlin-Moscow axis with a view to gradually bringing under their aegis the whole of Europe and divide it into as many 'spheres of interest' and possibly the entire world in partnership with, if necessary, and without, if possible, that other totalitarian state in the Far East—Japan—who is anxious to build 'a new world order in East Asia'. Whatever the internal system of Government, so far as foreign policy is concerned, there is little to choose between Italy, Germany, Russia and Japan. They all stand for unabashed aggression and are ready to encroach upon the territories of the weaker

powers in utter disregard of all canons of international law and morality. They believe only in the arbitrament of the sword.

VI

What have the Allies done and are doing to meet this growing menace of aggression of the totalitarian states? They have cut off the supplies of Germany through the high seas. They are confiscating German exports. They have entered into a mutual assistance pact with Turkey. They have stationed troops in Egypt and elsewhere to guard against any attempt to spread the war in the Near East. They are adding greatly to their armament, by themselves manufacturing and also placing large orders with America, for they are 'now (since the lifting of the ban on the export of arms) free to draw supplies of all kinds from the open and mighty market of the United States'. Germany is very strong in the air-arm and there is need for overwhelming British supremacy in the air. Since the rise of the winged arm the comparative immunity that Britain enjoyed from outside attack owing to her supreme naval strength is gone and she has to maintain sustained superiority in this weapon of warfare.

This is quite satisfactory so far as it goes but the point is whether the Allies should play a waiting game till the threatened offensive begins and be always on the defensive or it is time now for them to take the initiative. It is said a desperate offensive is the best defence. Opinion is gaining ground both in Britain and France that there is need for a more vigorous prosecution of the war and for taking the initiative by the democratic powers. If they have decided to liquidate Hitlerism and other kindred isms, why give more time to the enemy to mature his plans when he too is determined 'to end the eternal menaces of the plutocracies'. They must realise that Germany is a formidable enemy and whereas there is no doubt of the ultimate victory of the Allies, the defeat of the enemy will

by no means be easy. Democracy is in real peril and it is up to Britain, France, and U. S. A., the three great and powerful democracies in the world, to protect it from the onslaughts of the totalitarian states. If they want to establish lasting peace and security and to rid the world of the constant dangers of aggression, they have to pool their enormous resources and take active steps to hasten the downfall of the aggressor states. It is in the interests of America to throw her entire weight on the side of the Allies and not merely to remain content with showing righteous indignation and remaining a distant, though, interested, spectator of the developments in Europe. The role of 'preacher and profit-maker' that she is playing to-day by selling goods to Russia as well as to the Allies and taking care to do nothing to incur the displeasure of Germany, as is shown by the severe official reproof administered to an American Minister in Canada, who the other day committed the indiscretion of frankly praising the Allies' war aims and openly criticising Germany, may be of immediate gain to her but that would be taking too narrow and selfish a view of the whole affair. Let America not be too confident of her security and freedom from danger. The world is fast shrinking and developments in other parts of the globe cannot but have their repercussions in the U. S. A. The agents of the totalitarian states are already busy trying to bolster up trouble in the country. An Anglo-Franco-American defensive and offensive alliance is the surest guarantee of world peace and the quickest way of fulfilment of those aims for which the Allies are fighting

A SYMPOSIUM

of Tributes and Appreciations

IN HONOUR OF

SIR C. Y. CHINTAMANI

On the Occasion

Of his Shasti-purti

(April 10, 1940)

"While living
Give him the fame thou wouldst be giving:
So shall he hear, and feel, and know it—"

—BYRON.

To all those who have readily responded to my invitation and rallied together in voicing a splendid tribute to Sir C. Y. Chintamani on the occasion of his *Shasti-purti*, let me hasten to offer my grateful thanks. Theirs and mine is the supreme satisfaction of rendering unto him what are his due—admiration for his talents, respect for his character, gratitude to his services, and prayerful wishes for his future.

I. D.

H. E. Sir MAURICE HALLETT, K. C. S. I.,

Governor, United Provinces

I gladly comply with the request made to me to contribute to the *Twentieth Century* a tribute to Sir Yajneswara Chintamani on the occasion of his 61st birthday. I readily do so, for though I have only made the acquaintance of Sir Yajneswara in recent years, I have learnt what notable services he has rendered to the province of his adoption. His name will always be associated with the newspaper, the *Leader*, which has earned a wide reputation for its courageous and independent views. Sir Yajneswara Chintamani is a Liberal of the old school, a school now unfortunately much reduced in numbers; both as a Minister of the Provincial Government and as a member of the Opposition, he has always expressed his views with vigour and determination and his sturdy independence has won him the respect of all classes. I cordially wish him "many happy returns of the day".

* * * *

Sir MIRZA M. ISMAIL, K. C. I. E.,

Dewan of Mysore

It is with great interest and pleasure that I have learnt of the proposal of Mr. K. Iswara Dutt, Editor of the *Twentieth Century*, to publish in his journal a symposium of tributes to Sir C. Y. Chintamani to mark the completion of the sixtieth anniversary of his birthday on April 10.

The proposal, I am sure, will be warmly welcomed by the numerous friends and well-wishers of Sir C. Y. Chintamani among whom it is my privilege to count myself. I am grateful to Mr. Iswara Dutt, for the opportunity he has extended to me of expressing my warm admiration of the great personal worth and work of Sir Yajneswara Chintamani and of offering my sincerest felicitations to him on the happy occasion of his *Shashtibdapoorthi*.

India has long known Sir Yajneswara Chintamani as one of her foremost publicists. As Chief Editor of the *Leader*, he has not only made it one of the great newspapers of the country which has always used its influence in furthering the best interests of India, but he has also served indirectly to raise the standard of journalism as a whole.

But Sir Yajneswara Chintamani is something more than a distinguished and versatile journalist. He is an ardent patriot, a sincere public worker, and a front rank statesman who has raised his voice and used his pen in favour of the steady evolution of India's progress. We have, alas ! few public men in India who combine such high integrity of purpose and such unflinching courage of conviction with such a strong sense of realism as Sir Yajneswara Chintamani does.

It has been a source of no small anxiety to all his friends that Sir Yajneswara Chintamani has not been in the best of health for the past few months. The country needs to-day public men of his stamp even more than it did before, and it is the earnest wish and prayer of many a countryman of his that Sir Yajneswara Chintamani may be restored to health and strength, and that he may live and serve his Motherland for many years to come.

I wholeheartedly wish Sir C. Y. Chintamani many happy returns of the day.

* * * *

He is an extraordinarily intelligent man, and I think the cleverest Indian in debate I have yet seen.

—EDWIN SAMUEL MONTAGU
in 'An Indian Diary'.

MAHATMA GANDHI

I do not appreciate the idea of publishing tributes to great men on their reaching a certain age. They are often merely formal. But even the sincerest tributes add nothing to the greatness of the great. I suggest to the organisers of the symposium that they find out a better way of celebrating the sixtieth anniversary of Sir C. Y. Chintamani. Though of late we seem to be running away from each other, my admiration for the qualities of his head and heart remains unabated. I wish him many years of service to his country.

* * * *

PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

I gladly associate myself with the tributes that are being paid to Sir C. Y. Chintamani on the occasion of his completing his 60th year. It is a little difficult to think about him just as an Editor of a paper or as only a politician. Coming from the Andhra Desa, he made the U. P. his home and the scene of his labours. His unusual gifts and his capacity for extraordinarily hard work in the cause which he held dear made him soon a vital part of the public life of this province. He developed into almost an impersonal institution. The *Leader* of course was his dearly loved child to which he gave greatly. But he took part in many other public activities, leaving his impress on all of them. It has been my misfortune to disagree with him on many occasions on political grounds, but it has been my good fortune also to co-operate with him on many an occasion. Whether we agree or disagree with him, we have admired his gifts and his persistence in the causes he has espoused. It is a pleasure to me to give my tribute of admiration to him for his services to the nation. I trust that he will have many more years to continue this service.

Sri S. SATYAMURTI, M. L. A.,

Mayor of Madras

I am very glad to learn that our esteemed countryman, Sir C. Y. Chintamani, will complete his sixtieth year on the 10th April, 1940. I consider it a great privilege to be given an opportunity to pay my tribute of respect and admiration to the selfless dedication of his wonderful gifts to the cause of the motherland by my esteemed friend, Sir C. Y. Chintamani. I am glad the *Twentieth Century* is taking the step, very properly, to publish a special symposium of appreciations in his honour.

It has been said very rightly that Sir C. Y. Chintamani is an encyclopaedia of the political history of India. What he does not know about the political events in this country in the last nearly 40 years, is not worth knowing. He is a profound thinker, a keen student, and a robust politician. He and I worship in different political shrines. But that makes no difference in my appreciation of his wonderful gifts and his great services in the cause of India's freedom. I have no doubt in my mind that when India attains Poorna Swaraj—as I hope she will very soon—Sir C. Y. Chintamani will have a very distinguished part to play.

* * * * *

Chintamani exhibits in a fine style the vigorous type of a political worker of which England knows such an abundance but which in India has yet to grow up.

—RT. HON. V. S. S. SASTRI
(at the 3rd session of
Liberal Federation—1920).

Sir S. RADHAKRISHNAN,

Vice-Chancellor, Benares Hindu University.

Sir C. Y. Chintamani is well known as a great Liberal, an ardent social reformer and a veteran journalist. It is difficult to find another who is so well versed in the history of our national movement in recent times and his own contributions to it are not inconsiderable. I had the great pleasure of listening to his informative and illuminating lectures at Waltair some years ago. If only our journalists follow his great example of independence of thought and courage of conviction, I have no doubt that the tone of our press will be greatly raised.

* * * * *

DR. C. R. REDDY,

Vice-Chancellor, Andhra University

Sir C. Y. Chintamani will always be known as a master of facts and figures. He is a political engineer who would never build without first testing the strength of the materials available. A man of independent thought, and profound knowledge of data, he was incapable of sacrificing his judgment to the fashion of the moment. The journalism with which he has been associated is of the educative order, intent on convincing the public by reason, rather than impressing them by appeal to passion and prejudice. Like Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and the leaders of Indian Liberalism generally, he has always subordinated, psychological processes of winning a following, to the logical processes of intellectual education.

He is one of the most distinguished Andhras of contemporary India, an all-India figure of the first rank. May he be spared for many more years to give well-informed and well-reasoned lead to the country! Such men as he who reason fearlessly and excel in judgment are rare, and we could never do without their guidance.

Sir J. P. SRIVASTAVA

I am very glad to learn that the *Twentieth Century* is bringing out a special issue on the occasion of Sir Yajneswara Chintamani's sixty-first birthday. I venture to take this opportunity to send my respectful felicitations to Sir Yajneswara who has for nearly forty years been the pivot of all political activity in the United Provinces. As Editor of the foremost English daily of the Province, Sir Yajneswara has played the biggest part in bringing about political awakening among the educated classes. During my tenure of Ministership I had Sir Yajneswara ranged against me as Leader of the Opposition, and I do not mind confessing that his criticism had a very material influence on shaping my policy on numerous problems. It is a matter of genuine regret to most of us that Sir Yajneswara's health is none too good these days. I am sure the people of United Provinces will pray with me on this auspicious occasion that he may long be spared to continue the work of guiding aright the destinies of my great Province.

* * * *

If there is one man more than others who has worked steadfastly for Liberal cause, it is Chintamani.

—SIR CHIMANLAL SETALVAD
(at the 13th session of
Liberal Federation—1931).

Captain Sir MOHAMMAD AHMAD SAID KHAN SAHEB, K. C. S. I.,

Nawab of Chhatari

I am grateful to Mr. Iswara Dutt for giving me an opportunity of expressing my appreciation of a person who has rendered most invaluable services to the cause of the country, and particularly to this province, during the last 33 years of his public life—I mean Sir C. Y. Chintamani. And, I take this opportunity of offering my warmest congratulations to Sir Yajneswara Chintamani on his 61st birthday, and I hope and pray that he will live long to serve his country.

I have had the pleasure of knowing Sir C. Y. Chintamani personally since 1921. I met him first as Minister in the Montford Reforms, and we continued to work as colleagues in the Council till the inauguration of the Government of India Act, 1935, except for a period of three years when he was not a member of legislature. During this period, we always sat opposite to each other in the Council and often crossed swords on the floor of the House. But this very fact that we often attacked each other gave me an opportunity to know the man and to value his great qualities as a politician.

Sir C. Y. Chintamani is a public man of rare courage who would stick to his principles at all costs, unmindful of the consequences that may follow. When his conscience demanded, he resigned his office as Minister. And just as he did not care at the time of the resignation about the feelings of the Governor and the Bureaucracy, so when he differed with the policy of the Congress Government he did not mind the wrath and displeasure of Congress leaders and gave expression to his feelings boldly and in most unequivocal terms.

Sir Yajneswara is one of the most skilful debaters and effective speakers of his time. It is a pleasure to hear him and an education to read his speeches. He is always fair and just to his political opponents and has a great respect for everything which is said to him in confidence. He would

not take advantage of anything that has been said in confidence to him, even against his greatest opponent.

As journalist and politician, Sir C. Y. Chintamani has done more to educate public opinion in these provinces than many of his contemporaries; and the intelligentsia of the country, and particularly of U. P., owe him a good deal for enlightenment in public affairs.

I hope and pray that the Almighty will bless him with many more years of service to his country.

* * * *

Sir SHAFAT AHMAD KHAN

Ancient Greece and Rome, like their modern prototypes Nazi-ism and Communism, took possession of the whole man, without leaving him anything for his own private use. The man was absorbed into the State. Liberalism postulates a part of the person which is outside public jurisdiction. It believes that every human being ought to be free to fulfil his individual destiny. The totalitarian states are oblivious of the great intellectual and spiritual vibrations of the Liberal mind. Liberalism is not a creed, but an attitude of mind, and it lit up the shadows of the past when the early pioneers of Indian Nationalism threw into its vast echoing cavern the torch of this bold ideal. It is fundamentally opposed to autarchy and precisely demarcates limitations of State interference in private rights and lives.

Sir C. Y. Chintamani is one of our most outstanding Liberals. He is clad in a complete suit of armoured independence. He has purified public life in these Provinces, and has given an example of integrity of character and inflexibility of conviction, which we may well emulate.

It is the earnest wish of everyone in the U. P. that he may live long, and happily, with his energy undiminished and his spirit unchanged.

KUNWAR Sir MAHARAJ SINGH

I deem it a great privilege to have been asked by the Editor of the *Twentieth Century* to send a brief message on the occasion of the 61st birthday of my old and valued friend, Sir C. Y. Chintamani. I have had the honour of knowing Sir Yajneswara for nearly a quarter of a century. To know him is to like him and to respect him.

After several years' experience of Sir C. Y. Chintamani on the Opposition benches, both when I was Judicial Secretary to the United Provinces Government and as Home Member, I can say in all honesty that I have never seen his equal in debating ability either in the United Provinces or the Central Legislative Assembly where I have heard several eminent debaters such as Mr. Gokhale, Mr. Sastri and Lord Hailey. A remarkable memory and great industry have assisted our friend in that mastery of facts and figures which is essential to a parliamentarian of the first rank.

Further, Sir Yajneswara has exercised a profound and progressive influence on the political life of the United Provinces for almost thirty years not only through speeches but in the columns of the *Leader* newspaper of which he may be said to have been the creator, as well as guide, philosopher and friend. And it must be remembered to his credit that he and his newspaper have invariably supported the cause of the tenant as well as all phases of social reform.

Another quality in Sir C. Y. Chintamani which has appealed to me is his transparent sincerity. Never in my experience have I known him to go back on his word.

I fervently hope that in spite of the ill health from which he has suffered in recent years and which he has borne with fortitude, he will be spared for many years for the service of India and of the United Provinces which he loves so well.

Mr. J. N. BASU

Sir Yajneswara Chintamani has manifested his high qualities in so many spheres of public life that it is difficult to condense in a small compass the nature and extent of his achievements. He has been an outstanding figure in the public life of India for over a quarter of a century.

The long and distinguished service that he has rendered in the cause of his country's progress commenced in the field of journalism. In certain sections of the press there is unfortunately a tendency to attempt to win popularity and extend custom at the sacrifice of principles. Sir Yajneswara showed how the Press can be made a power without pandering to ill-digested ideas, which may for the time being be popular with large sections of the people. He put his foot down on the rule of slogans, however powerful the votaries of slogan rule that stood against him might be.

As a politician, he has been thoughtful, far-seeing and fearless. His has been the attitude of a genuine statesman, whose activities have been directed to the general uplift of the people, and not towards advantages to any particular party, class or community. He has been a tower of strength to his political associates because of the straightforwardness of his words and deeds and the absence in him of any craving for popularity or applause. He has met with misrepresentation, unpopularity and abuse, but he has gone forward without flinching or swerving.

As a member of the legislature and as a Minister, he distinguished himself by the clarity and vigour of his thought and words, by his sterling independence and by his sound judgment.

Sir Yajneswara Chintamani has throughout his public career distinguished himself as a great thinker and orator, as a fearless patriot, and as a great statesman.

It is a matter of regret that physical ailments have recently stood in the way of his taking an active part in public life. I earnestly desire his speedy restoration to health and vigour.

SIR C. Y. CHINTAMANI

A GENERAL ESTIMATE

I

By Rt. HON. SIR TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU, P. C., K. C. S. I.

My uppermost thought as I am dictating this short tribute to Sir C. Y. Chintamani is about his health. Since Oct. or Nov. 1938, excepting for very brief periods of time, he has been confined to bed, and there have been few days during this period except when I was myself confined to bed last year, when I have not seen him and talked to him. The flesh may have grown weak but his mind is as clear and as vigorous as ever before. His interest in public affairs continues to be unabated. I have no doubt that the best prayers of his numerous friends and admirers all over the country will be for his complete and speedy recovery.

It is difficult for the present generation of leaders and workers to realise what Chintamani meant to us all in these Provinces—say, some thirty-five years ago. He had not been here more than two or three years when men like Dr. Sinha, the late Dr. Satish Chandra Banerji and myself who in those days belonged to an intimate circle of friends, interested in common ideals and common objectives, very vividly realised that we had got in him a live wire. Our only fear was that he might not stay on in these Provinces. But he did decide to stay on, and made the U. P. his home so much so that while it is permissible for Madras to feel proud as the home of his origin, we of the U. P., at any rate men of my generation, are somewhat jealous and like to look upon him as our very own. Public life, thirty-five years ago in these Provinces, was a stagnant pool. Chintamani stirred up its still waters and it was he who made many of us feel the need in those days of a public organ which could fearlessly and

courageously give expression to our aspirations of those days. The result was the *Leader*. Barely had the *Leader* started, when he fell seriously ill, and he had to be sent back to Vizianagaram. For nearly a year his life hung by a thread. But then he conquered his disease, came back, took over again the editorship of the *Leader*, and made it what it is to-day. It was not his literary gifts or his strong and uncompromising views on certain questions, his indomitable courage or his vast knowledge of facts and figures which saved the *Leader* then from an untimely death. It was his wonderful gifts of organisation, his scrupulous honesty in dealing with the finances of the paper, and his determination to conquer all difficulties that saved the life of the *Leader* and enabled it to grow into a healthy, vigorous and powerful organ of public opinion in these Provinces. This is not the time for me to refer to certain incidents in the career of the *Leader* or of Chintamani. I must reserve all that for a future occasion. The broad fact must be recognised that nobody in India can think of the *Leader* without thinking at the same time of Chintamani, and nobody can think of Chintamani without at the same time thinking of the *Leader*.

He was something more than a mere Editor. He was, and has always been, the centre and focus of certain political ideas and certain activities. He was a familiar figure on public platform in those days. His torrential eloquence, his unsparing criticism which is all the more telling because it is so well-informed and so fair, won him the applause of all who heard him, even though they might differ from him. He then passed on to the Legislative Council of these Provinces and within a few weeks he made his presence felt there. Both the official and non-official members realised that he was not a man to be trifled with, and yet it is a fact that in spite of differences in opinion, no one has commanded more weight, more attention, or more personal popularity than he has done during his many years of life as a legislator. He then became a Minister, attacked others and was attacked by others. More

than the parliamentary gifts of speech which impressed every one, it was his capacity to deal with concrete problems of administration, to take a balanced view of things, to arrive at quick decisions and to stick to them, which gave him a place all his own in the old order of things.

Times have changed, and everything seems to be in the melting pot. It is possible to treat him as a die-hard, for everyone in these days can be easily put down as a die-hard who does not parrot-like repeat certain slogans or surrender his judgment to others. Chintamani will not, I am sure, resent being called a die-hard in that sense, for he has always reserved to himself independence of judgment in the fullest measure. Nor has he allowed his mind to be clouded by vague words and slippery phrases. He has his ideals but he is also a realist. Men like him may be misfits in the present order of things, but they have their own use. It is not to his great intellectual gifts as a writer, speaker, or controversialist that I should like to refer on this occasion. But I should like to emphasise the moral aspects of his public life. It is inconceivable to me that Chintamani can be purchased—purchased by money or office or cajolery, or flattery or anything else. He is, and has always been, a man of sterling honesty and independence of judgment. But for this illness which has overtaken him, he could still serve the country with vigour and courage for a number of years. It is my fondest hope—and I have no doubt it will be the hope of his numerous friends and admirers—that the commencement of the sixty-first year of his life may yet mean the opening of a new chapter.

II

By SIR P. S. SIVASWAMY AIYER, K. C. S. I.

It is a great pleasure to me to contribute to the symposium of tributes and appreciations which the editor of the *Twentieth Century* proposes to publish on the occasion of the sixty-first birthday of Sir C. Y. Chintamani. It is a matter of joy to all his friends and well-wishers that he has recovered from his prolonged illness, and we hope that he will be spared for many years more to render service to the country.

Chintamani is one of those public men of whom I can speak in terms of unqualified praise. He has risen to distinction by dint of sheer ability and force of character and not as the result of any adventitious advantages. He had a bent for public life and journalism almost from his teens, and I remember seeing him as a speaker on the Congress platform many, many years ago. Sir Phirozeshah Mehta was his hero and Mr. Gopala Krishna Gokhale was his *guru*.

His connection with journalism began very early in life and he drifted towards Northern India in the first decade of this century and has been the editor of the *Leader* of Allahabad for over thirty years, almost from its commencement. Indian public opinion in the United Provinces had no organ in the press worth mentioning before the *Leader* was started, and Chintamani is responsible for the position it has attained in the journalistic world. The function of a journal is twofold: (1) to guide and create public opinion, and (2) to reflect and voice public opinion. Journals which aim at commercial success prefer the latter role. But journalists like Chintamani attach a higher value to the former role. Independence of judgment, disregard for the favours and frowns of the authorities or the populace, fearless advocacy of what in their judgment they consider to be best in the interests of the country, are the traits of high class editors. The tone of the *Leader's* editorials commanded the respect and attention of the public and the authorities from the beginning.

Chintamani made his mark in the Legislative Council as soon as he entered it, and he became the acknowledged leader of the non-official element. He has parliamentary gifts of a high order. His speeches display careful study of subjects, clear grasp of facts, shrewd judgment, debating power of a high order, readiness of resource, caustic wit and humour and capacity for leadership. The style of his speeches has always been marked by directness and force, and his meaning has never been veiled under a cloud of words to provide, if need be, loopholes for escape. His oratory is not of the clap-trap type and is free from bombast and verbiage. In his criticism of measures he is merciless, and his opponents have often winced and quailed under the lash of his tongue. I imagine that his style of speaking has been largely influenced by the example of that prince of debaters, Sir Phirozeshah Mehta.

Chintamani is as ardent a patriot as anyone else and looks forward to an emancipated India, but he is a realist who keeps his feet on the ground and does not refuse to face facts. He has always been noted for the courage of his convictions, his adherence to principles and his political and moral rectitude. A desire for office is an accusation sometimes made by the Congress against the members of the Liberal Party. Chintamani's resignation of his ministership is a standing refutation of this libel. Chintamani has been a tower of strength to the Liberal Party from the very moment of its foundation and, although the party has fallen on evil times; his interest in it remains unabated.

The private lives of politicians and their public character are not in always in accord. Chintamani is even more distinguished for the integrity of his character than for his abilities. He hates cant, duplicity and humbug, and is indignant against wrongs, injustice and moral backslidings. A man of deeply religious nature, he has a proper sense of the values of human life. South India has been a reservoir of eminent Dewans and administrators, eminent journalists and excellent reporters. The honour of Knighthood could not have been bestowed upon

a more worthy representative of the best traditions of journalism. South Indian and the United Provinces have alike reason to be proud of Chintamani.

I heartily join in the felicitations which will be offered to Sir Yajneswara Chintamani by his innumerable friends and admirers all over India.

III

By DR. SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA

If it is difficult to appraise the work and worth of any public man without some knowledge of his character, it is almost impossible to do so in the case of Chintamani, since his public activities are the veriest reflex of his character. It is wholly due to his unique character that he has, in no small measure, contributed for now over three decades to the political, the economic and the educational advancement of the country, by means of his strenuous activities as a distinguished journalist, a capable publicist, a forceful politician, a patriotic and "strong" member of Government—he threw up the office of Minister, at the call of duty, long before the expiry of his term, when he felt that a question of principle was at stake—and a skilful parliamentary Leader of the Opposition, in the Legislature. There can be no mistaking his indomitable will, his unflinching independence, his courage of conviction, his tenacity to what he believed to be right, his sturdy strength of character which may neither break nor even bend, his pugnacity in maintaining what he holds to conscientiously, his staunch adherence to the principles which he regards conducive to the well-being of the country and the welfare of her people, his dogged perseverance, and, above all, his downright straightforwardness which stamps his speeches and writings with the hall-mark of sincerity and truth.

An intense dislike of demagogic catchwords and shibboleths, a deep-rooted distrust of mobocratic stunts and slogans, an innate repugnance to glittering and high-sounding generalities which at bottom are but blazing ubiquities, a firm, attachment to the principle of the right of the individual to think and act for himself, and never to barter or surrender his freedom of thought and action at the bidding of any one, be he ever so great, a clear perspective in fixing on stern realities against impracticable idealism and sloppy sentimentalism, are but some of the striking characteristics of

Chintamani, which are brought into prominent relief in his work in various spheres of activities. The cumulative effect of these enviable qualities has led him to carve for himself a distinct place in the Indian political world, and to attain a position of great influence in the public life of the country; while his valuable services have long since entitled him to be heard not only with attention but respect, even though one may not always agree with him. His career thus affords many important lessons to the younger generation, who will rise from its study with their mental horizon appreciably widened, and their outlook on life extensively enlarged....

Of very few, indeed, in my large circle of friends and contemporary workers in public life, can it be said with greater appositeness than of Chintamani that he represents the type so vividly depicted by Browning in the memorable lines in *Asolando* :

One who never turned his back but marched breast forward,
Never doubted clouds would break,
Never dreamed, though right were worsted, wrong would triumph,
Held we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better,
Sleep to wake.

(An excerpt from the *Hindustan Review*).

IV

By PANDIT KRISHNA RAM MEHTA

It must be a matter of deep gratitude to all friends and admirers of Sir C. Y. Chintamani throughout India and outside that he has survived a series of heart attacks to celebrate his sixty-first birthday. It will be their heartfelt wish and prayer that in these critical times, he may recover sufficiently to serve his Motherland, the progress of which on sane and sound lines is nearest his heart. The United Provinces particularly has reason to rejoice in the celebration. The contribution he has made to the building up of its public life through the columns of *Leader*, as a member of the Provincial Legislature, by organising political, social and industrial conferences at a time when there was widespread inertia and indifference towards problems with which they dealt, and by other public activities, cannot be surpassed. His vast and detailed knowledge of public questions, his astounding memory, his indefatigable energy, his single-hearted devotion to the cause of the country, his ceaseless public spirit, his outstanding debating talents, and his transparent honesty and sincerity, made him a front-rank publicist and leader and won him the high esteem of even those with whom he differed and whose actions and views were subjected to trenchant and sometime withering criticism. He did not spare even his nearest and dearest when public duty required criticism. He has maintained the highest standard of responsible and independent journalism and his fairness and honesty have been acknowledged even by those who have been hauled over the coals by his slashing pen. It may be said without exaggeration that among living Indian journalists he has no equal.

Sir C. Y. Chintamani's brief period of Ministership will remain memorable for the many administrative reforms he introduced in the departments under his charge and for the

independence and extraordinary ability, drive and initiative he displayed in the discharge of his duties. His poverty did not stand in the way of his resigning his office and sacrificing the handsome salary it carried when he felt that he could not stay in office without violating a principle which he considered vital to the constitutional dignity and responsibility of his office. It may be said that he always carried his resignation in his pocket.

As a member of the Provincial Legislature Sir C. Y. Chintamani was formidable as a leader of the Opposition. He inspired a wholesome awe in the Treasury Benches, owing to his encyclopaedic knowledge of public questions, ready and unfailing memory exceptional debating talents and his quick grasp of the fundamental issues involved. His speeches in the Legislature were an intellectual treat and were listened to with rapt attention. Few there were who ventured to cross swords with him, and those who had to do so soon came to grief. His high parliamentary qualities and his clean methods of fight evoked high appreciation from the officials and non-officials alike.

Sir C. Y. Chintamani has many magnetic qualities which endear him to a large number of those who have the privilege of knowing him. He is a brilliant conversationalist. He has got such a stupendous memory that an event, a fact, a date or a striking phrase, once recorded in his wonderful brain, is hardly ever obliterated, regardless of lapse of time. Being himself intensely sincere he abhors nothing more than insincerity in public life. He has no two sets of opinions and his private views are the same as those publicly expressed. On public questions he can take very quick decisions, and events have shown that they are generally right. They alone can truly appreciate his nobility of soul, richness of heart and his marvellous intellectual powers, which perform analytical and synthetic processes with surpassing quickness, who have worked, like the present writer, in close contact with him and know him intimately.

Sir C. Y. Chintamani is a convinced constitutionalist. He profoundly believes like all Congressmen of the old school that in the existing conditions, constitutional methods of action are the soundest and the most likely to yield abiding results. The Liberal party of which he is one of the strongest pillars, believes in this method. As one of the foremost leaders of this party he has steadfastly opposed the method of direct action. He is convinced that national unity and progress cannot be promoted or achieved by the preaching of class war or by starting subversive and lawless movements. The vindication of the policy and the principles which he, along with other leaders of the Liberal party, has preached, is to be found in the present woefully distracted condition of the country due, in no small measure, to attempts at short cuts to *Swaraj*.

SIR C. Y. CHINTAMANI AS A YOUNG MAN

By C. LAKSHMI NARAYANA SASTRI

ADVOCATE, VIZIANAGRAM

In these pages I am confining myself to the period from 1880 when Sir C. Y. Chintamani was born, to December 1902 when he left this province (Madras Presidency) for U. P. to seek service on the *Indian People* of Allahabad, as editor under Mr. (now Dr.) Sachchidananda Sinha, then at Allahabad, now of Patna.

Yajneswara Chintamani and the writer are the third and fourth sons of late Chirravoori Ramasomayajulu Garu, an orthodox Velnati Brahman, well versed in Hindu Dharma Sastras, having been born in 1880 (April) on the Telugu New Year's Day and 1883 (June) respectively at Vizianagram. Our father was a highly intellectual man, and he was closely in touch with the late Maharaja Sir Vijayarama Gajapati Raju, K. C. S. I. of Vizianagram, one of the model princes of South India of those days, advising him in matters relating to Hindu Sastras and observances. Latterly, he was guru to Sir Vijayarama Gajapati's son, late Maharaja Sir Ananda Gajapati Raju, G. C. I. E. The latter, of great prescience, advised our father to give us English education instead of training us in *Vedas* and *Sastras*. Chintamani, who had already been married (*i.e.*, really betrothed) by that time, (due to the wish of his wife's father who was in his last days at the time, to make an alliance with our family) was, under Maharaja Sir Ananda Gajapati Raju's directions, put into the first form in the local Maharaja's College in 1890. He was considered a very good student and he scored brilliant success in the matriculation examination of the Madras University in 1895 by passing in the first class. This was a surprise to his teachers as by that time Chintamani began appreciably to divert his attention to politics, in which field patriots

and orators of the type of the late Surendranath Banerjea were winning name and fame; in fact, Surendranath Banerjea's name was implanted in the mind of Chintamani and some of his associates as the ideal patriot and political leader of India. After passing the matriculation examination, Chintamani joined the F. A. class (the present Intermediate), in the local College, and studied for two years, *i. e.*, in 1896 and 1897, but failed in the University examination. His failure was not unexpected, due to his persistent ill-health during the two years and his increasing diversion in the direction of intense newspaper reading and of growing interest in politics and getting up political meetings. He had frequent opportunities of cultivating the art of speaking and writing by constant activity as a member and secretary of an association brought into being by some students called the Young Men's Association. He betook himself to a close study of Congress literature and the speeches of the late Sir Surendranath Banerjea and other political leaders of the day, and it is no exaggeration to say that, thanks to his prodigious memory, he could often quote them *verbatim*.

I may say that Chintamani's political predilections derived a fillip, as it were, from listening to the speeches of one Mr. S. K. Nair, then on the staff of *Madras Standard* edited by the late Mr. G. Parameswaran Pillai, who accompanied Maharaja Sir Ananda Gajapati Raju from Madras to Vizianagram for some stay here. This was in 1895. Mr. Nair's speeches were very eagerly listened to by crowded audiences and he was considered an epitome of the late Sir Surendranath Banerjea in the manner of his delivery. His speeches roused the instinct of patriotism in his audiences; one of them who enthused over Mr. Nair's utterances was my brother and his eloquence cast a spell on him. I can recall a public meeting over which Mr. Nair presided when my brother read a lengthy paper on "The Present State of India". The chairman in winding up characterized Chintamani, then only in the entrance class, as an acute political student and critic. But other elders warned him that pursuit of politics at the pace

at which he was proceeding might tell on his studies. And so it did. But Chintamani went on unheeding.

He was not active merely as a student but was cultivating the art of speaking and debate. I remember he began to write articles to the press. He could only think of a local paper called the *Telugu Harp* under the editorship of one Mr. F. S. J. Stricke, an assistant of the late Dewan Bahadur K. Ramanujachari, Principal of the Maharaja's College. Some of his articles were not accepted by the editor as they dealt with controversial politics, and I remember Chintamani being nettled by the editor's admonitory remark: "Don't rush to the press so soon." From 1895 to 1897 he was a close reader of the *Hindu* edited by Mr. G. Subramania Iyer, and the *Madras Standard* to which the late Mr. Eardley Norton was often contributing learned and spicy articles on men and matters in noble and manly English, as a matter of an indispensable religious observance each day.

After his failure in the F. A. examination in 1897, he had to stay at Vizagapatam for medical treatment and he was fully occupying himself with politics and was gradually coming into contact with those citizens of Vizagapatam who were interested in a weekly paper called the *Vizag Spectator*. He managed to get some criticisms of Lord Elgin's Viceroyalty published in the paper as leading articles under the heading "Failure of Lord Elgin". The persons responsible for this paper soon after appointed him its editor and manager on a salary of Rs. 30 per mensem. And so he was a full-fledged professional journalist and legally responsible editor at the age of 18! But he had to leave Vizag for Vizianagram, his native place, eight months later. The family was in bad straits and he was leading a married life, owing to his early marriage. He had to abandon all thought of further studies and had to resign himself to fight the battle of life with the matriculation certificate as his passport. It must be acknowledged in the light of

his later achievements that he possessed other talents to enable him to go full steam ahead; he had keen intelligence, capacity for industry, a passionate desire to attain excellence in what he did or say, as also intense love of country. He spurned, greatly to the chagrin of his elders, all suggestions for seeking service in the Maharaja's Samasthanam,—the Samasthanam on the patronage of whose successive Maharajas our family has been nurtured from early in the 19th century. No wonder he did so in view of what was in store for him in life.

Soon after he left Vizagapatam, Chintamani purchased for a sum of Rs. 300 the goodwill of the weekly he had edited and became its editor, proprietor and publisher under the name of the *Indian Herald*, issued from Vizianagram. He was receiving assistance in the management of this paper from his valued friend, Mr. M. Venkanna Pantulu, a teacher in the local College, a learned scholar with great knowledge of English and honoured latterly with a membership of the Royal Society of Literature in England. No mofussil paper could hope to succeed at the time if it dealt with any but exciting local topics. Chintamani with his little resources could not command the necessary sources of information which might interest the ordinary run of readers and his paper was full of discussions of imperial and provincial politics. His writings were full of earnestness and information; but now and then, these writings were characterized by some hypercritical persons as the effusions of a half-fledged, amateur politician. But he used to derive comfort from appreciative epistles from eminent men like the late Dadabhai Naoroji and W. C. Bonnerjee, the latter of whom particularly complimented him on a leading article headed 'the annual farce in Parliament'—in which Chintamani vehemently criticised the Indian Budget debate as was conducted at the time. The late Lord George Hamilton, the then Secretary of State for India, came in for particularly vigorous criticism. The late Rai Bahadur Narendra Nath Sen, editor of the *Indian Mirror*, Calcutta, observed that he mistook him (Chintamani) for a Bengali, judging from his constant and searching criticisms of Sir Alexander Mackenzie's Calcutta Municipal Bill.

Before leaving the *Indian Herald*, I should mention that it was directly responsible for his coming into constant, friendly, intimate, and affectionate contact with the leader of the Vizianagram bar of those days, Mr. K. Venkanna Pantulu, who was, besides being a leading vakil, greatly interested in public activities. He had been chairman and was a member of the Vizianagram municipal council. He was greatly interested in the paper which was a continuation of the old *Vizag Spectator* in which he had been interested. He was the most frequent and valued contributor to the paper and was in every way of the greatest help to Chintamani. A local dramatic company was formed with some prostitutes as actresses. Chintamani was wroth against what he considered an outrage on the standards of decency and public morality and agitated against the company and for the cancellation of the licence accorded to it by the local municipal council. The licence was actually cancelled eventually. This agitation against the composition of the dramatic company roused the ire of certain local officials. He was threatened with legal proceedings. He was actually beaten by a rowdy set up by certain aggrieved personages who must have had a soft corner for some of the female dramatic characters. One night human excreta was thrown into his office. In all these trials Chintamani's intrinsic courage was sustained by the encouragement of his worthy and eminent lawyer friend, Mr. Venkanna Pantulu. It was in this connection that he first wrote to Mr. Justice Ranade and that great man wrote back approvingly and encouragingly. He was also supported by our great reformer Mr. Viresalingam Pantulu, whom Chintamani met for the first time at Rajahmundry in 1900. They later became great friends at Madras. He continued the *Herald* for nearly two years (1899—1900) and it had then to be stopped for want of funds. With the approval of his valued friend Mr. Venkanna Pantulu, Chintamani next left for Madras to try his hand at journalism in the capital city. He there secured the sympathy of the veteran Madras journalist, Mr. G. Subramania Iyer, who knew

him by this time. I was a student myself and my family was in straitened circumstances. It must be also said that Chintamani lost his first wife in 1899 leaving an infant son a few days old.

By the time Chintamani went to Madras in 1901, Mr. Subramania Iyer left the *Hindu*. Chintamani's hope of issuing his paper the *Indian Herald* from Madras had to be abandoned. He however succeeded in getting a place on the *Madras Standard* for three months in 1901 and again in 1902, when Mr. Subramania Iyer became its editor. It was common knowledge that his work was receiving commendation from his master day by day. He left the paper and the Madras presidency in December 1902.

Chintamani's interest in the Indian National Congress was growing by leaps and bounds. He was not content during the years 1895 to 1897 with merely studying Congress reports, but he was fired with zeal to present the proceedings of the Poona Congress of 1895 presided over by Babu Surendra Nath Banerjea in a concrete shape before his friends of the Young Men's Association referred to before; what was called a Paddington Congress session was held for two days in this town, and Chintamani filled the roles of Mr. Manmohan Ghose, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and four others. Surendranath Banerjea and Madan Mohan Malaviya were the two names most beloved of the students. In 1898 he attended the Madras Congress as a delegate; in 1899 he made his maiden speech from the Congress platform at Lucknow, and not daunted by distance or lack of adequate means he attended the Congress at Lahore in 1900. The attendance at these Congress sessions was simply invaluable to Chintamani in that he could come into personal contact with the great leaders. The influence of these personal contacts could be seen from later events in Chintamani's life. But it entailed on him a terrible financial sacrifice.

I have referred above to the great help rendered by the late Mr. K. Venkanna Pantulu in these formative days of his life as journalist and politician. His interest in the study of social reform questions was no less intense than of political problems and literature. He was of opinion that in those less advanced days it was necessary to mobilise and present to the public all current views on social reform, and with that end he brought out a compilation called *Indian Social Reform* consisting of many thoughtful papers on various aspects of social reform from eminent personages like the late Sir R. G. Bhandarkar and Rai Bahadur P. Ananda Charlu. As an appendix, all the invaluable utterances from the Social Conference platform of the late Mr. Justice Ranade were printed. This should be enough to impress on the readers what preparation by way of study preceded the active preaching and practice of social reform in his later days. It should be mentioned in this connection that Chintamani's ever kind friend Mr. K. Venkanna Pantulu readily advanced all the money needed for the printing of this volume.

Thus can be seen how Sir Chirravoori Yajneswara Chintamani's activities in his early days contributed in some measure to his evolution as a great journalist, a fearless public man, a gifted parliamentarian and an ardent and practical social reformer. These were, indeed, only some of the struggles and efforts of an aspiring soul battling for opportunities of service in life in its chosen spheres.

SIR C. Y. CHINTAMANI AS A PUBLIC MAN

By THE HON. PANDIT PRAKASH NARAIN SAPRU

Mr. Iswara Dutt is to be congratulated on bringing out a symposium to celebrate the 'Shasti-purti' of our revered leader, Sir Chirravoori Yajneswara Chintamani. It has been my privilege to know him since my early boyhood, and for me it has been an honour and pleasure to work under his leadership in the Liberal party, of which he is one of the founders. Close association has given me an insight into his character which the average man in the country does not possess, and I would like to say in a few words what I think are the traits which mark him as a public man.

Sir Yajneswara has been in public life for well over 40 years. He has played an important part in shaping the course of events in these years. His has been a crowded life. Truly may it be said of him that politics is an all-absorbing passion with him. He has been thus a full-time worker in the national cause, and to it he has given the best that is in him.

God has endowed him with intellectual gifts of an exceptionally high order. Possessed of an amazing memory, a capacity to comprehend things and situations quickly, an almost mathematical precision in stating conclusions, remarkable powers of argument and a gift of presenting his point of view with clarity and vigour, Sir Yajneswara has been a force to reckon with in the public life of this country. With the exception of our illustrious leader, Pandit Madan Malaviya, no one has done more to guide and form public opinion than Sir Yajneswara in these provinces. When the history of this province during the last 35 years comes to be written, it will be found that he has been one of the men who have guided and influenced public opinion in this province to an extent which is truly remarkable.

A staunch nationalist, he has been an uncompromising opponent of all sectional and communal interests, and often at the risk of being misunderstood and branded as a communalist, he has stood up courageously for solutions and policies which, had they been accepted, would have made national progress possibly easier to-day. No one has been more consistently opposed to communal electorates than Sir Yajneswara. As a realist, he has never denied the existence of a communal problem and his speeches and writings show that he has never been opposed to just and legitimate protection of the minorities. But he has throughout insisted that the solution accepted by the Indian nationalists should be such as will make for the unification of India and the Indian people. It would therefore be a travesty of language to describe his attitude towards the minority problem as communal.

As a Parliamentarian there is hardly any one to equal him in debate. Argument follows argument in speeches invariably characterised by knowledge, incisive criticism of the opponent's point of view, vigorous advocacy of his own standpoint, complete mastery of detail and eloquence of a high order. It is always pleasing to hear him speak from the platform and he has a gift of being neither too short nor too long in debate.

As a journalist, he is easily India's No. 1. Starting life in a humble capacity, he has risen to be the Chief Editor of one of the leading dailies in the country, and the *Leader* owes every thing to him. Always outspoken and fearless in his criticisms, it is nevertheless his endeavour to be just to his opponents, and he never grudges praise when and where it is due. There is never any malice in his criticisms and one feels that they are made with the sole and single desire of furthering the causes that he has at heart.

High as his intellectual gifts are, his moral gifts are even higher. His public life has been characterised by complete *disinterestedness*. There is no one who can boast of a cleaner public life than Sir Yajneswara. The thought of self never enters

his calculations. If he believes in a cause, he will fight for it, regardless of the frowns of officials or the displeasure of his own countrymen. His method of saying things is downright. Often this method of downright expression has brought him unpopularity with his own countrymen, and many have been the occasions when official India has resented his trenchant criticisms. But neither popular applause nor official favour can make him swerve from the path which he believes to be right and just, and once he takes up an attitude, he will stick to it with tenacity and courage. There is earnestness, sincerity and deep conviction behind every utterance and every act of his. It is these qualities of courage, disinterestedness and sincerity which distinguish him from many other public men and entitle him to a high place in the public life of this country.

Early in life he came under the influence of the founders of the Indian National Congress and he has never wavered in the belief that the methods and principles for which they stood were the only methods which would yield good results in the circumstances in which we find ourselves in this country. To uphold those methods has been the constant aim of Sir Yajneswara.

He has a precise and ordered mind, a great dislike for abstract reasoning and *doctrinaire* attitudes in politics. Politics for him is the art of methods and results, and often, after having fought strenuously for solutions of a more radical nature he will compromise with his opponent on the basis of the maxim that in politics one has sometimes to be content with the second best. Saturated with the principles of British Liberalism, his outlook on social and economic questions is broad, progressive and humanitarian. It is a principle with him that men in office should be just to all classes and sections of the community and governments should hold the scales even between the conflicting interests that they have to serve. He has fought vigorously for all progressive causes and he has also befriended, when occasion and justice required, the zamindar and the employer.

For nearly three years he was Minister under the Montagu Reforms and surely the country has never known an abler or or a more vigorous one. He had solid achievement as Minister to his credit. There was a progressive spirit which characterised all his activities in the spheres of educational, excise and industrial policies. And when finally he found himself in disagreement with the Governor on a question of principle, he did not hesitate to give up his high office.

Until 1918 he was closely associated with the Congress. In that year along with some older leaders then living, he seceded from the Congress and founded the Liberal Federation. To the Liberal party he has given what was best in him. He has nursed it with a care and devotion which must elicit the admiration of those who have seen his work from close quarters. For the Liberal party he is indispensable and if he has not been able to put more vigour and life into the Liberal organizations, it is not his fault. Times have been unpropitious for a group that stands for reason, argument and rational methods in politics.

He has been a consistent friend of the movement for the uplift of the depressed classes, the breaking down of caste barriers and the emancipation of women. Deeply reverential as he is of the culture which this country has inherited, he has nevertheless recognised that if India is to advance, she must adapt her social environment to the changing conditions of the modern world; and social reform has always found in him a warm friend and supporter.

Sir Chirravoori Yajneswara Chintamani is a warm and affectionate friend and a good conversationalist. He is full of anecdotes and stories and he enjoys company. He is not lacking in humour and his speeches and writings bear witness to this. He can tell you the dates of birth and death of all the leading figures in Indian politics and even those of his friends' families are not unknown to him. He can reproduce a conversation with marvellous accuracy and

he is a most attentive listener. The more one listens to Sir Yajneswara, the more one would like to hear him. In his company one never feels bored or tired and he has a *varied* manner on the platform. He can adapt his speech to his audience, never falters for a word or keeps any notes before him. Rightly was it said of him by Mr. B. C. Pal that he is a 'moving encyclopaedia'.

In my student days at Oxford I had occasion to listen to some of the great speakers in the British Parliament, and the one man who, I felt, was as a speaker the nearest approach to Sir C. Y. Chintamani, was the late Mr. Bonar Law. One of the fundamental principles of Sir C. Y. Chintamani's political creed is that righteousness alone exalteth a nation. It would be very true of him to say that ethical considerations in politics are paramount with him. And once convinced of the rightness of a course, there is nothing in the world which can dissuade him from pursuing courageously the policy that he has chalked out for himself.

He is a man of wonderful industry. There have been times when he worked as hard as 16 or 17 hours a day. One of his principal troubles is that he has never known any relaxation

It is distressing to think that he has been in failing health during the last three years. But he has borne his illness with a cheerfulness and calm resignation which must command our respect.

SIR C. Y. CHINTAMANI AS A MINISTER

By PANDIT IQBAL NARAIN GURTU

It has been my great privilege to have known Sir C. Y. Chintamani ever since he came to Allahabad to work on the editorial staff of the *Indian People* which was started as a semi-weekly newspaper by my friend, Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha. The *India People* was afterwards incorporated with the well known daily the *Leader* which owes its influence and popularity in our country entirely to the great talent of its Chief Editor. Young Chintamani completely identified himself with the surroundings in which his lot was cast, and with characteristic energy and sincerity of purpose he dedicated himself to the service of these Provinces. During all these years he has played a large and conspicuous part in the public life of his city, province and country.

I have been asked to write about Sir C. Y. Chintamani as a Minister. But in order to appreciate his work as Minister, it is first necessary to dwell briefly on the many qualities of head and heart which he has uniformly displayed in his many-sided activities as a public man or a journalist or as a Member of the Legislative Assembly. Endowed with great natural ability, he possesses unrivalled knowledge of facts. Merit, industry and earnestness are the unfailing passports to success, and when they are combined with vigour, energy and courage, they at once make one an irresistible force as a leader. Therein lies the secret of the remarkable success he has achieved as a public man and of the great influence he has been able to wield in the Province of his adoption to which in his youth he had come as an unknown stranger. On every work that he has undertaken he has invariably brought to bear a purity of motive, a singleness of purpose and a high standard of duty. He has essentially been a man of convictions and has the rare gift of fearlessly asserting them in face

of all opposition. When occasion has demanded he has never hesitated to stand against his own people as he has never been afraid to stand against Government. Having once formed his conclusions he has expressed them with a vigour and strength all his own, and has never allowed personal considerations of friendship to stand in the way of discharging his public duty as he conceived it. This has not unoften displeased his many friends and created deep resentment in different quarters, but he has never stooped to palter with his own convictions in order to win popular applause. He has fearlessly fought for the right as he honestly believed it and has often suffered for it. An alert and strenuous antagonist, he has returned argument for argument and has often used his powerful weapon of trenchant criticism interspersed with banter in return for invective, contempt and abuse.

In the Legislative Council and the various Committees on which he has served he has been universally admitted as a forceful debater. Gifted with a wonderful memory and clarity of thought, and equipped with dialectical skill and resourcefulness in debate, his speeches have always been marked with spontaneity and lucidity and with remarkable accuracy of facts and exposition of arguments. With a large command of quotations and illustrations and apposite anecdotes and telling comparisons enlivened with gentle satire, his speeches in the Council used to be listened to with great interest and delight by his political friends and with no little trepidation and searchings of heart by his adversaries. No wonder that as he spoke with a verve and nerve peculiar to his mental constitution, he unfailingly lifted the debates in the Council from the level of dead mediocrity and magnetically attracted his audience.

With such rare combination of the qualities described above we can easily picture to our mind the strong and dominating personality of Chintamani as Minister. With penetrating intellect and ready grasp of facts he would disentangle the most intricate problems and quickly dispose of the huge pile of files he used to receive day in and day out.

Clever and experienced secretaries well versed in the traditions of the Secretariat soon found in him an administrator to the manner born who could not be trifled with or easily tripped. To such officers who in their heart resented having to serve under an Indian and a non-official, he undoubtedly proved a thorn in the flesh but they had to yield to his masterful personality albeit grudgingly.

It is not necessary to give any detailed account of the important improvements that during the short period of 28 months he was able to make in the different departments that were placed in his charge as Minister. Suffice it to say that there was no department that did not bear the impress of his zeal for reform or did not feel the force of his driving power. Excise and education may, however, be particularly mentioned. Soon after he became Minister, he appointed a Committee with comprehensive terms of reference to go into the whole question of excise policy and administration and clearly indicated his own views in the following terms :

I should work for an excise policy and administration.....which will unswervingly aim at a reduction of the drink evil; and while not throwing away revenue needlessly, will always subordinate this consideration to the claims of temperance reform.....I hope it will be possible for Government to introduce such reforms.....as will bring about a larger and speedier reduction of consumption; whether in the process revenue will suffer or will not, is immaterial.

A year after he abolished the auction system throughout the Province and introduced the fixed fee system. The number of hours during which shops could purchase an intoxicant was curtailed. The minimum age at which a young person could purchase an intoxicant was also raised. He was, and is still, definitely of the opinion that the policy of total prohibition was impracticable and in the long run doomed to failure, but he was strongly opposed to enhancing revenue at the cost of demoralising the people.

Secondary and higher education which were in his charge received great impetus during his time, and in this he received

the fullest support of Sir Harcourt Butler. With the passing of the Intermediate Education Act and the Allahabad University Act, the entire organisation of secondary and university education was rehailed. The increase in the salary of teachers and the improvement in their prospects and status and the grant of liberal financial assistance to the Universities gave a fresh impetus to education in these Provinces.

In assessing the value of the solid work done by him during the brief period that he remained in office, it is necessary to bear in mind certain important facts. The powers of Ministers under the Act of 1919 were very limited as compared to the powers which they now have under the Act of 1935. The homogeneity of the Cabinet on the basis of joint responsibility to the Legislature was not possible, with the existence of the reserved and transferred sections. It was still more difficult when the selection of Ministers and executive councillors rested entirely with the Governor. The complexion of the Legislatures to which elected members were returned on a much more restricted franchise was so very different from what it is now, and government on party lines with the support of a clear and well defined majority was hardly possible. It required much greater tact and parliamentary skill in a Minister to carry through his schemes successfully when the forces of the so-called Opposition were altogether an ever-changing and uncertain quantity and were not defined on party lines. It is true they could get the support of the official bloc which in fact derived its inspiration from the Governor and his Executive Councillors. But no Minister who was not strong and did not possess considerable powers of persuasion could even partially succeed in carrying out his own policy unless he was able to win the moral support of the Governor and of his colleagues in charge of the Reserved Departments. Regard being had to the conditions as they prevailed then, it stands to the great credit of Chintamani that with his strong personality, wide knowledge and fearless independence, he proved himself an irresistible force in the inner circle of the

Government. As long as he was a Minister he never allowed that office to occupy him and hold him in bondage. If any proof were needed, there stands the undisputed fact that the moment he found that his position and dignity as Minister was disregarded by the Governor, he immediately tendered his resignation.

Sir C. Y. Chintamani rightly occupies a foremost position to-day among our public men by his disinterested patriotism, unflinching courage and fearless independence. He has served the Motherland ably and faithfully for the best part of a life-time and has his reward in the respect and affection with which he is looked upon by his countrymen. Truly next after the approbation of one's own conscience, this is the greatest reward to which any public man could legitimately aspire.

* * * *

As a politician, Chintamani makes himself felt wherever he is. He has always made himself felt in the United Provinces Legislative Council. He is not only an exceptionally self-confident, lucid and fluent speaker, despite his "johnsonian prose", but he also displays unique talent, surpassed only by the late Mr. Gokhale, for marshalling facts and figures from a well-gifted and equally well-instructed memory, in support of his case. To bureaucrats of the old school he has always been an eyesore. Even when he became a Minister, he never compromised his individuality and he established a tradition of honour and self-respect which has not been easy to maintain for his successors in office and which must be an example to Ministers in all Provinces. (Extract from an article).

SIR C. Y. CHINTAMANI .

AS A PARLIAMENTARIAN

By SIR SITA RAM

The Editor of the *Twentieth Century* has done me the honour of asking me to write about Sir C. Y. Chintamani as a parliamentarian. There are others much better qualified to write about this aspect of Chintamani's versatile career. But if I write at all, it is only to contribute my humble quota of tribute to an old and valued friend. Curiously, I have not had the good fortune of sitting with him on the same side of the House, for when he was a Minister, I sat on the Opposition benches and when after an interregnum of 3 years he returned to the Legislative Council in 1927, I had been consigned to the Chair.

It was sometime between November, 1904, and May, 1905, perhaps that I made the first personal acquaintance with C. Y. Chintamani. I was then a student of M. A. and LL.B. classes in the Muir Central College and he was the Editor of the *Indian People*. I was already a bit familiar with his Congress activities and had read a part of his admirable collection of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta's speeches.

Chintamani was in those days a name to conjure with in the world of young men who swore by him and his paper. Later, I met him at Meerut when he went there to canvass for shares for the "Leader" and used to meet him occasionally in the Provincial Conferences—political, social and industrial—where he, along with a few stalwarts like the revered Pt. Madan Mohan Malaviya, the respected Dr. Sapru and the late lamented Ganga Prasad Verma dominated, inspired and led these gatherings. Still later, besides being a regular reader of the *Leader*, I was a distant observer of his activities in the old Legislative Council of the Morley-Minto reforms. How formidable and

acute a critic of the Government he was and how informed and trenchant were his criticisms of Government measures is evident from the volumes of the then proceedings of the Council. In fact, it was owing to this that in one of the then *Pioneer* notes he was caricatured as a "Chintaviya."

In 1921-23 Chintamani was a member of the Legislative Council first constituted under the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms and was one of the two first Ministers. He resigned his Ministership in 1923. He was not in the Legislative Council from 1924 to 1926 but was a member from 1927 to 1937. By this time our acquaintance had grown into friendship which I consider a great privilege to enjoy. It has grown deeper with the efflux of time and naturally I rejoice at his completion of the 60th year and pray to the Almighty to vouchsafe to him a long life full of health and activity.

Chintamani's supreme advantages are (1) his monumental memory, (2) his powers of exposition and (3) his absolute fearlessness. These make him a feared opponent and a coveted supporter. Everything he sees, every word he hears, every sentence he reads is inscribed indelibly on the tablets of his memory and one is astounded at hearing from him, even after a lapse of a number of years, the most trivial gestures or occasional words which passed then. That is why Chintamani is a veritable storehouse of information and knowledge of public questions and the private lives, sayings and doings of a number of people with whom he might have come into contact. These he invariably brought out whenever proper or necessary, much to the chagrin, at times of the person concerned.

A master of facts and figures as Chintamani is, he has also the gift of eloquence. He wields a fluent tongue and a facile pen. It was a treat to hear him setting forth his case, either in defence or attack. No advocate could put his case before a court of law with greater force or cogency, persuasiveness or lucidity. Even when he had a weak cause to uphold, it was not easy to meet his arguments. His opponents he would tear to smithereens and to his friends he

would afford strong protection. Thus, in the Council, every one did his best to keep him on his right side and not to incur his displeasure as far as possible. I remember once how a high official of the Government, smarting under Chintamani's devastating attack, privately expressed his determination to avoid speaking in future prior to Chintamani.

In office, Chintamani tried to meet the opposition half-way. Unless provoked, as a Minister he was persuasive and accommodating, but not at the cost of his cherished principles or programme. I had the temerity of differing from him to a certain extent; specially over his educational reforms and over the Agra University it meant an open rupture between us. But though momentarily strained, our relations never snapped and we have always been the best of friends, even better, after his honest difference of opinion, honestly held and honestly expressed. In public life it is not always easy for people to see eye to eye with one another and in a crowded life such as Chintamani's, he has violently differed even from men like Pt. Madan Mohan Malaviya and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. With that, however, I am not concerned in the present contribution. As Minister, Chintamani parried the strokes of his adversaries with skill. He was some times requisitioned by a member of the reserved half to come to his aid in trouble. Chintamani then used all the tact of an advocate. In doing so, he was at times brilliant and always suave.

Chintamani was not in the Legislative Council from 1924 to 1926 when the Opposition was constituted by the Swaraj Party led by Pt. Govind Ballabh Pant. Perhaps the most exciting period of the Legislative Council, however, was from 1927 to 1930 when the Opposition consisted of two wings, one led by Chintamani and the other by Mr. Pant. To all intents and purposes, these allies worked mostly as a team, except when the Swarajists withdrew under the mandate of their high command. Things inside the Council hummed then and there were some close votings. Those were the strenuous times of

the Simon Commission and the aftermath. Chintamani played a very large part in those eventful years. In the Legislative Council of 1930-37, Chintamani was the Leader of the Opposition and, speaking without offence, whenever he was absent during this period, the Council was a tame affair, comparatively speaking.

The supplementaries to questions put by Chintamani were always searching. His comments were both caustic and impressive. He spared nobody. A member of Government, desirous of smooth passage for his schemes, would try to square Chintamani up privately by a mutual give and take. A less tactful or a little obdurate member of Government would, however, give no quarter and received none; it was at such a time that things were really lively from an onlooker's view point. For, let it be remembered that Chintamani was a relentless foe and a dependable ally and that though he was a formidable critic of the Government, specially owing to his inner knowledge of the administration both as an ex-Minister and as the editor of a daily paper, he was ready to yield over what he considered were non-essentials. At least, after such attempts at private compromises—which he had so successfully tried as a Minister—the pungency of the criticisms was somewhat reduced and each looked at the other with understanding. Still, the national cause, as he understood it, was never betrayed. He was several times twitted on this attitude by some of his critics in the Council but he quoted, in justification, the role which His Majesty's Opposition filled in the British Parliament, *viz.*, of responsive co-operation or responsive non-cooperation and never of wholesale opposition irrespective of the merits of the question or the realities of the situation.

Throughout in the Council Chintamani shone in debates and was always heard with rapt attention. The House generally filled in when he was on his feet. His criticisms of the budgets and official policies were masterful. His marshalling of figures was seldom dull and his analysis showed industry as well as acumen of a high order. The odds against him never

dismayed him. In fact, some of his brilliant orations which adorn the Council proceedings of that period were made while he was painfully conscious of the thin ranks on his side. Chintamani always quoted with deadly effect from the books which he had read or happened to be reading at the moment. His quotations from the biographies of British statesmen were apt and instructive. He always drew an inspiration from the doings and sayings of eminent Liberal statesmen and parliamentarians like Burke, Cobden, Morley, Gladstone and William Harcourt. Whenever necessary, he used to quote the late G. K. Gokhale of blessed memory with reverence. Chintamani even based the text of some of his speeches on the cinema films which he had seen and his comparison of some of the actors in those films with some of his colleagues in the Council was witty—nay, even biting.

Chintamani used anecdotes with great effect. "Methinks, my lady protesteth too much" was one of his favourite repartees to fervent protestations of innocence. The plea for a soft judgment brought forth from him the remark of the woman who, when criticised for her conduct, observed "What a wee little baby!" It was with withering sarcasm that once he characterised three Ministers of the U. P. Government as 'he', 'she' and 'it' respectively. On another occasion he poured ridicule over a Minister by recalling an anecdote in which the late Pt. Bishan Narain Dar of happy memory figured. The late Pandit was in England and was walking about in the streets with an Indian cap which drew a band of urchins round him, howling and shouting. Annoyed at this Mr. Dar eventually threw away his cap and said something, whereupon the children said, "It speaks", "it speaks". Alluding to the imperviousness of Government to public opinion, yet another historical incident of a German Emperor was once mentioned: the Emperor was reported to have said that there was perfect understanding between him and his subjects: he did what he liked and they said what they liked. A number of such little anecdotes can be multiplied from the speeches of Chintamani.

Chintamani was never slow at the tactics of the debates and led his party with consummate skill and patience. Latterly, he had to make the best of the material at his disposal and that he did so with success, there can never be two opinions about.

Unfortunately, Chintamani made bitter opponents just as he made staunch friends. But this is always the case with men of strong likes and dislikes which Chintamani is. That Chintamani, as a legislator, was a host in himself cannot be denied. For me, personally, it was a great privilege to have been his colleague in the Council and to have observed him working in successive Councils. To me he has always, unfailingly, given confidence and counsel. I cherish memories of the Council when he was there and miss him considerably from the legislature. Many others do so likewise. Sheer gratefulness compels us to feel like this.

Will Sir C. Y. Chintamani, an invaluable asset to any legislature, have another opportunity of displaying his remarkable qualities as a parliamentarian in future? Will he? Let God and the gods answer.

Sir C. Y. CHINTAMANI AS A JOURNALIST

THE HAPPY WARRIOR

By POTHAN JOSEPH

(Editor, *Indian Express*)

The first time I met C. Y. Chintamani (I drop the Sir) was in 1916, armed with a letter of introduction from C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer. I wanted a job, and C. P. was, as ever, helpful to aspiring talent, but he told me that while Chintamani was a great journalist, the *Leader* was slightly "shaky"; a fair warning because Pandit Motilal Nehru was then, fitfully contemplating a new daily journal in Allahabad (later known as *Independent* partly because Chintamani wouldn't toe the line of Anand Bhavan politics. Chintamani, youthful and solid-looking, received me, and I was overawed by his style of rolling out perfect sentences in his conversation. His training had been under R. N. Mudholkar and he was known to be a blue-book fiend with Gokhale as the god of his idolatry. He had a magisterial air and he was famous for his colossal memory in the marshalling of argument. I could not show myself off, before his impressive bearing. There was no vacancy, and so I proceeded adventuring to Bombay where an article written by me adjuring the country to back up Montagu, attracted the attention of the late Mr. N. M. Samarth who, though himself an encyclopaedia of political wisdom, was an admiring advertiser of Chintamani's grasp of facts and his gifts of exposition. A few months later, I was back in Allahabad (without Mr. Samarth's blessings) to assist in the production of the Allahabad *Independent* which appeared blazing the meretricious trail of new dispensation. Chintamani was unperturbed at our challenge, and he rather liked me. The new paper was a wastefully bahadurish affair, and I soon trotted back to Bombay. Mr. Samarth was still well-disposed, and he had it in his mind that I should be the Bombay

correspondent of *Leader*, adding a little to my meagre income. I met Mr. Krishna Ram Mehta at the Taj Mahal Hotel, but then I was negotiating with Pat Lovett, the famous editor of *Capital*, for a grand experience under him. Before I could write a line for the *Leader*, I had again drifted to Calcutta. Chintamani wrote me down as "a rolling stone". That I believe is his opinion still. My mental make-up always was largely that of a Liberal and he knew it. A rolling stone gathers no moss, it is true; but of what use is moss to any stone? A sticky encumbrance; whereas rolling keeps up polish, and I went my way, but I could never forget the masterfulness and individuality of Chintamani as a journalist.

His *forte* is knowledge, and intellectual integrity; a tremendous faith in English education without irreverence to the past. He was Minister; but he proved himself still more successful as the best Leader of the Opposition in any Montford Legislature. He could be aggressive in diction without being vulgar. He was a formidable witness before Committees and Montagu asked him to be a member of the Secretary of State's Council, a great prize in those days, but Chintamani proceeded to Bristol to bow before the shrine of Raja Ram Mohan Roy and returned to India, a free man. He was always in request on the eve of any fresh journalistic enterprise. Sir Pherozeshah Mehta wanted him before he adroitly seized upon B. G. Horiman for the *Bombay Chronicle*. Chintamani always stood on his terms, fully soaked in the tradition of Victorian independence in Liberal politics. Only once did he, as a journalist, find himself like a fish out of water. He acted as Editor of the *Indian Daily Mail*. There was factory-trouble in the Bombay mills, and within a month, he quitted Bombay after a curious spell of service under Mr. Jehanghir Petit, the imperious proprietor of the *Indian Daily Mail*. Chintamani was happier in Allahabad and he has been an abiding influence in Indian politics. Though in the last decade he developed a profoundly

religious temper, he retained his secular outlook in politics. He could always show a clean pair of hands. He could write copiously; he was willing to take risks against the bureaucracy and defy Lord Meston. He was ready with facts and figures, with quick trimmings out of Mill and Morley, which astonished the public. Nor was he afraid of displeasing the popular party. There could be no flippancy in his writings, because he had the steam-roller manner of establishing his case. As a journalist, he has abhorred the tricks of sensationalism. The "rolling stone" was found at Lucknow in 1926 editing the *Indian Daily Telegraph* and attacking his candidature to the U. P. Assembly at a famous election. Chintamani took it in good part and never gave vent to a venomous grouse, because it was against his grain to betray the trace of ill-will in political controversy. Mr. D. G. Dalvi, a great friend of us both, could not understand my role, but he could.

Gandhian politics in his judgment was a process of disintegration in the tradition of the Congress. He has held to his views, four-square. And then observe his courage. When the question of Prohibition by compulsory legislation came to the fore, he alone among Indian editors had the pluck to say that it would not work as a permanent remedy for the problem of drink. A colleague of Caine and an enthusiast in the Temperance cause, he had a great responsibility in making up his mind and expounding the policy of the *Leader*. Anglo-Indian papers could afford to be sceptical, but for a commonplace Indian editor it was doom to appear hesitant over the second item in the constructive programme of Mahatma Gandhi and one of the basic planks of India's Fundamental Rights formulated by good people at Karachi. There was no lack of abstinence-fervour in Chintamani, but as a student of sociology, statistics and administration, he decided it was an over-call. He stood his ground, because he had that tremendous asset, character; he could afford to withstand the pernicious spirit of personal allegations in Indian politics latterly popularized in order to silence independent judgment.

Chintamani is now sixty, weary but serene in the pursuit of great causes. He has fought against big men, but there is no heart-stain on his blade. Opportunism and chicanery were never in his being, for he has not been a careerist. Ranade, Mudholkar, Gokhale, Spender, Stead, Morley, Gardiner, Nevins—these thoughts of such men furnish the texture of his mind. A man of resolute principles in journalism is rare in the hectic days that have visited the profession, but Chintamani is still there as a landmark and a lodestar which his juniors still salute in reverence.

It is easy enough to pick holes in Chintamani's style of speech. Modulation of voice is unknown to him, word follows word in an endless procession of monotony; there are no purple patches of oratory arresting attention and the sense of humour is not very much in evidence; but the great qualities of clarity of thought, careful arrangement and pointed force win for him well-deserved appreciation, from those whose attention is not confined to the mere external "graces" of oratory. Clearness of exposition is one of his striking features and, as he expounds his themes on the political platform, one has a feeling that he would have made an admirable teacher of the young. We presume Chintamani is innocent of French, but he has imbibed some of the most valuable qualities of the great masters of French prose. (From an article in the *Pioneer*).

SIR C. Y. CHINTAMANI

AS A CONVERSATIONALIST

By PANDIT AMARANATHA JHA

It has been my privilege to know some good talkers and I have a lively recollection of many a good talk. I have enjoyed the conversations at 19, Albert Road—bright and gay and reflecting the rich, genial and many-sided personality of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. At 7, Elgin Road, and Solan and Patna, Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha has kept his listeners enthralled and they have marvelled at his eternal youth and his unlimited fund of anecdote. At Ananda Bhavan I had listened to Pandit Motilal Nehru, full of laughter and sunshine and a wit as sharp as it was unfailing, and to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, at his best when discussing art and literature and topics far removed from the affairs that engage most of his attention. I have heard Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and her talks, so lightly skipping from personalities to poetry, from politics to cookery, shedding over them all a light and a grace that lingers long after the talk is over. I have heard Sir Asutosh Mukherji, dominant and intellectual and over-powering. I recall Dr. Rabindranath Tagore's talks, pensive, sweet and mildly luminous, leaving behind echoes as from an enchanted isle. The vibrant energy that characterises the talk of Mr. H. G. Wells; the skill with which Mr. Walter de la Mare draws out his companion and makes him open himself out and his surpassing courtesy and urbanity; the old-world charm and wisdom that mark Sir Michael Sadler's talk; the youthful zest in life that bubbles like a fountain in the conversation of Mr. Edmund Blunden; the mingled seriousness and gaiety of Vera Brittain; the Latin impetuosity and generosity so unmistakable in the talk of Senor Castillego—these also I remember. And I remember with special interest and gratitude my conversations with Prof. Gilbert Murray—an intellectual giant who has the innate

modesty of the true scholar, intent on seeing only the better side of human nature, burning with devotion to the cause of peace and goodwill, a profound Hellenist with generous appreciation of the cultural movements of to-day.

But if I were asked to choose a single companion on a desert island, my preference would be for Sir Yajneswara Chintamani. He is an excellent companion for all moods. He can be playful—in a unique manner, and can talk about tremendous trifles for hours, of men and women and their lapses, of their frailties, of incidents and accidents, of follies and of gentle deeds of mercy. He will talk of those he has met and their characteristics, their eccentricities, their achievements. He will overwhelm one with details and dates and documentary references. His short sketches of persons whom he knows will be pointed and just : in a phrase he will sum up a character. He has a weakness—as which genial has not?—for mild scandal. He will remind one of one's past. But he has understanding and can forgive. One can find in him a certain inability to appreciate a point of view different from his own, but that adds spice to his comments and makes them pungent and incisive. When you leave him and recall what makes his conversation so attractive, you think of the sparkle of the eyes, the movement of the lips, the eloquent gestures ; of the marvellous gift of story-telling ; of the ease with which he can reproduce a passage from a classic political utterance, and mention in exact detail the occasion and the date ; of the wide grasp of essentials and non-essentials alike ; of an alert mind ranging over men and matters and extracting from them food for meditation and inspiration for action.

SIR C. Y. CHINTAMANI

—AS I HAVE KNOWN HIM—

By PANDIT MANOHAR LAL ZUTSHI

I saw Chintamani for the first time in the Christmas week of 1899, when he came to Lucknow from his native town Vizianagram, where he was then editing the weekly *Indian Herald*, to attend the first session of the Indian National Congress held in that city. I saw him but I did not know him at the time. He came North again in 1901 and visited Benares and Lucknow, and it was at that time that I met him, first at the house of Ganga Prasad Varma and later on at the house of Bishan Narayan Dar. A few months later I wrote to him my first letter in connection with his volume on *Indian Social Reform*, what he planned and published in 1901 and what deserves to be reprinted. Among the original articles there are some notable contributions. But to my mind even more important than these original contributions is the collection of the inaugural addresses of that wise and sagacious thinker, that sage and counsellor in the antique mould, Mahadev Govind Ranade. I well remember his inaugural address at Lucknow, which he began with the grand text of Nanak : "I am neither a Hindu nor a Mohamedan", which might be read with profit in this age of *Charkhas* and *Belchas*.

At the end of 1902 Chintamani came to Delhi and from Delhi he came to Allahabad at the commencement of 1903 to take the editorial charge of the *Indian People*, started by Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha. I was working as a teacher in the Allahabad Training College at that time and I used to visit Chintamani almost every other afternoon after college hours. Our acquaintance soon ripened into friendship, a friendship which, as Chintamani himself wrote in 1932 in his Foreword to

my volume of *Gleanings* "had subsisted without a solitary misunderstanding and with uncommonly few differences".

I have known my friend in prosperity and adversity, in joy and in sorrow, in success and in failure, and one thing which has always struck me is the integrity of his intellectual and moral texture. Mistakes he might make, mistakes, I believe, he has made, but he never leaves you in doubt about his views and opinions. You may agree with him or you may disagree with him but you have to acknowledge his honesty of purpose and the sincerity of his belief. There are people who do not like this and who blame him for his over-sensitiveness and his bluntness. But whether you like him or dislike him, there he is, honest as the sun, and stern as the multiplication table. He has a brilliant intellect, and he also possesses what is rarer, mature wisdom and measured judgment. And with these gifts is combined, what to my mind is of supreme importance both in public and private life, character. He came to Allahabad as a stranger from the South in 1903, and today he occupies a unique place in the public life of the United Provinces. He owes his position greatly to his brilliant, withal solid, intellectual gifts, but I believe that he owes it even more to his character, to the belief both among the rulers and the ruled that you may break him but you cannot bend him. He has no use for electroplated politics, and a virile note sounds through every line he writes. It has been truly said that as in the days of autocracy most statesmen are also courtiers, so under a democracy most public men are also demagogues. Demagogues we too have in plenty but Chintamani is essentially not a demagogue. Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar once remarked that the advocacy of unpopular causes acts as a mental tonic. Chintamani has the courage to be unpopular. There are greater things in life than success, success even in a Democracy, there is duty and there is honour. Chintamani knows this and acts upto it.

I have spoken of the old days, of his early years in this city when both of us were young. For many of us those were

the days of faith and hope when we believed in the future of our country and in the ideal of an India, free, sane and united, before public life has betrayed to our disillusioned eyes its feet of clay and before the radiance of the morning had faded into the light of common day. Chintamani continues to believe in the ideals of his youth, he had fought for them, with courage undefeated and with faith undefiled, against the Government, and what is much harder against his own people when he thought they were going wrong. He believes in those ideals still, even in these days of half-baked economic theories, of Pakistan and Napakistan, when insensate and disastrous intestine strife is recklessly and ruthlessly breaking the country into pieces in obedience to crude and gaudy formulas.

Chintamani is deeply religious and has profound faith in the spiritual heritage of his fathers. I cannot say that I share all his religious beliefs but I know that one belief we hold in common, a deep and unshakable, though perhaps unprovable, faith in the essentially Indian doctrine of *karma*. This may sound strange to the emancipated young men and young women of today, but is it too much to expect that some allowance will be made for men who belong to an older world. It has been remarked that the ideal of the Ancient Times was the sage, the Rishi, that of the Medieval Ages the saint, the Bhakta, while the ideal of the moderns in this Age of Youth is the chauffeur—violent, arrogant, full of vitality and void of scruple—man becomes primitive again but in command of all the devices of civilization. Sexagenarians may be pardoned if they cling to the older faith and decline to undergo the aches of modernism.

The various aspects of Sir Yagneshwara Chintamani's public life will be treated by much abler hands than mine. The few lines that I have written are almost purely personal. I have written of him as I have known him in the intimacy of private life, as a dear and beloved brother, whose friendship I have worn for more than seven and thirty years like a jewel of wealth untold.

SIR C. Y. CHINTAMANI

"IT LOOKS BUT YESTERDAY. . . ."

By MR. N. SUBBARAU PANTULU

G. O. M. OF ANDHRA

I offer my hearty congratulations to Sir C. Y. Chintamani on his completing sixty years of age and over forty years of arduous and meritorious service to the country. He is essentially a self-made man without the stamp of any university education, whose independence, transparent sincerity and high character have earned for him a reputation unique in itself.

It looks but yesterday, when forty years ago he called at my house at Rajahmundry to seek for help for his paper. Previously from the age of fourteen, while he was still a boy, he was writing to the *Telugu Harp*, an English weekly published at Vizianaram, and latterly to the *Vizag Spectator* published at Vizagapatam by Mr. O. Jagannadha Sastri. Owing to his able contributions the management in 1898 appointed him as the editor of the latter when he was only eighteen. He continued to be its editor under its changed name of the *Indian Herald* at Vizianagram, till he left for Madras two years later. In those days the journal was reviewing the proceedings of the Legislative Council and naturally I had my share of criticism, as a member of the Madras Legislative Council. He then joined the staff of the *Madras Standard* and worked there for over ten months under the distinguished editorship of the late lamented Mr. G. Subramania Iyer. Finally he was called to Allahabad, the city of his destiny, to edit the *Indian People* which was first published as a weekly and then as a semi-weekly. He did this from Jan. 1903 to Sep. 1905.

He took an important part in the foundation of the Indian Industrial Conference and he was appointed as the assistant secretary under the guidance of the late Hon. Mr.

Mudholkar. During his assistant secretaryship he toured the different parts of the Madras Presidency explaining the objects of the Industrial Conference, when it was my privilege to go round with him to various towns in the Northern Circars and listen to his exhortations to the public to wake up and work for industrial regeneration. His grasp of the economic questions was so well known that he was called by H. E. the Governor of Madras to help in the deliberations of the Industrial Conference convened by him in 1908.

It was during this period that in 1907 the Madras Provincial Conference was held at Vizagapatam, of which I was the President. Those were troublesome times in Indian politics; Lala Lajpat Rai and one other were deported : and a new spirit began to spread among the people with cries of national education, *swadeshi*, boycott and *Swaraj*. In such an electrified atmosphere was the session at Vizag held, when a section of delegates furiously protested against the resolutions finally passed thereat. I may say, as I said then, that the Conference was deeply indebted to Chintamani for the great and invaluable services rendered by him day and night to make it a signal success. His early bent to work on constitutional lines was revealed in a great degree even then.

With such fine credentials he was called upon to be the editor of the *Leader*, an English daily, when it was started in October, 1909 by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and other leading men in Allahabad and as an editor for the last thirty-one years he has conducted the paper with characteristic independence, integrity and ability unrivalled among Indian journalists. Chintamani and the *Leader* have become so identified with each other that they have become institutions by themselves, respected by friend and foe alike. The conferment of knighthood is, indeed, a well-merited distinction which Chintamani richly deserves.

In private life he is an enjoyable companion with his cigarettes and *pan*, his wonderful memory for dates and figures,

wit and humour and his anecdotes of the leading men in then country. Faithful to his friends and considerate to his opponents, ever hospitable, generous and deeply religious, his life is full of lessons and inspiration to young men.

May God shower His choicest blessings on Sir C. Y. Chintamani with long life, health and happiness !

NAWAB SIR MUHAMMAD YUSUF

I rejoice in taking part in the celebrations of the 61st birthday of Sir C. Y. Chintamani. It is no exaggeration to say that there is no Indian editor whose career has been so distinguished as Sir Yajneswara's. He has been responsible for building right public opinion in India. He has never hesitated to criticise where criticism has been called for and has upheld the righteous cause of all classes and communities. As a distinguished member of the Liberal Party and as a journalist, his name will go down as one of the most illustrious figures in the political history of India. I am happy to think that his services have been recognised by the Government by conferring knighthood on him. It is a matter of supreme regret to me, as it must be to others, that he has not been keeping good health of late, and I pray that he may be restored to health so that he may continue by his talent, judgment, ability and experience as a journalist to lead the people of India in the right direction and steer them clear of the rocks of false aims and ideologies and philosophies of life and help them in building a united India, destined to play an honourable part in the new world order on the side of freedom and justice against aggression and unreasoning force. I wish Sir Yajneswara a long and successful life in the service of this country and humanity.

[Nawab Saheb's message appears in this section as it was received too late for incorporation in its right place.—Ed. T. C.]

SIR C. Y. CHINTAMANI

—AN APPRAISEMENT AND APPRECIATION—

By I. D.

To the many glowing tributes paid to Sir C. Y. Chintamani in the pages of the *Twentieth Century* by men of name and fame, at my request, on the happy occasion of his Shashti-purthi, I feel impelled to add my own, and too, on a broader canvas, both on public and personal grounds. To me, he was first a *hero*, when at the beginning of my journalistic career, two of the foremost leaders of the South, Mr. N. Subba Rau Pantulu, the G. O. M. of Andhra, and the late Dewan Bahadur (later Sir) M. Ramachandra Rao, (with too generous an impulse which however caused me much embarrassment) recommended me as "a second Chintamani" to the Editors of Madras dailies ; then a *chief*, when on the eve of 1931 the winds wafted me to Allahabad which has since been my home ; and he has been a *friend, philosopher and guide* since I exchanged the beaten tracks of daily newspaper work for 'fresh woods and pastures new' in periodical journalism. While it has been my good fortune and proud privilege to come into contact (sometimes close) with some leading public men of India, to few have I felt myself drawn more closely than to Sir Yajneswara Chintamani. His influence on my thought and work has been decisive, and nothing gives me greater gratification than to find that Time has but strengthened the tie which began betwixt us, with generosity on his side and gratitude on mine.

I

Chintamani is, in the fullest sense of the term, a self-made man : he is the conductor of his own explorations and the architect of his own destiny. In India he is the greatest living illustration of the dictum that, for one who has journalism

in one's blood, a pen and a sheet of paper are all the investment needed for a career. With little hereditary fortune and no University qualifications, he fought his way to the front, and the long Roman road he built from Vizagapatam to Allahabad (since extended at the southern end upto Rajahmundry, by the writer) is a lasting monument to his gifts and perseverance.

As a student Chintamani was a puzzle to his teachers. They felt rather exasperated when he confronted them with the entire personnel of the British Cabinet and the portfolio each member held, and frankly smelt danger in such an unusual store of miscellaneous reading. The newspaper was banned but in vain, for Chintamani flourished on the forbidden stuff with an air of defiance. Mastery of detail and thoroughness have been his forte from the very outset. Much is not known of his earlier activities and struggles in the journalistic line, but older men in Andhra perhaps still remember that Vizagapatam had once to its credit a 'Spectator' of which young Chintamani was for some time the Addison. And research may one day reveal that one entire issue of this typical local venture was devoted to an exhaustive and searching criticism of the British budget. Aspirants to journalistic honours will certainly feel encouraged—and others amused—to hear that Chintamani started his career on the old *Madras Standard* on Rs. 30 per month, that the salary was further reduced to Rs. 20 in the second month of service, and that he was actually written down as 'careless, indolent, and incompetent'. Nothing perhaps very strange in a profession in which Spender was seriously made to believe that he had mistaken his vocation! It is out of such rebuffs that reputations are sometimes made.

Then there were Chintamani's visits to Congress sessions 'with the help of borrowed money', his dazzling memory feats by way of non-stop recitations from the speeches and writings of public men in India and in England, and his

brilliant intellectual performances on the platform and in the press which attracted attention and won recognition. The year of Chintamani's advent in public life was the year of Gladstone's death—1898, the same year when, his later great friend, Mr. N. Subba Rau Pantulu, in his capacity as Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Congress held at Madras, nearly denied him admission as he considered the unbearded youth's claim to understand high politics simply presumptuous. It was in my presence that this episode provoked merriment on both sides when Subba Rau Pantulu and Chintamani traversed old themes in recent years. It is interesting to recall that Garvin had not taken the risk of seeing an Editor who was impressed with his articles, lest he should be scared away by the presence of a boy of eighteen!

II

It is significant that Chintamani made a mark in the days of the giants when political India was under Mehta's sway and Gokhale's spell. He grew, and persisted in growing, in what is called 'an atmosphere of tradition'. And to him there was, and has been, no more perfect a figure on the political stage than Gokhale, of whom he would like to say what Morley said of Mill:

There he was, a great and benign lamp of wisdom and humanity, and I and others kindled our modest rush-lights at that lamp.

If Morley's 'modest rush-light' became in course of time 'a very bright ray', so has Chintamani's, and nothing could have filled him with greater sense of pride than the master's good opinion of him. There was one such exalted moment when the Mahatma in 1931 sent for him at Allahabad, to explain the implications of the R. T. C. proceedings, and when Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel was also present at the talk. On hearing Chintamani, Gandhiji told him in appreciation of his exposition of issues, how years ago Gokhale compared his intellect, particularly in view of its love for precision, to a tailor's shop where each piece of cloth is measured by the tape, and cut and reduced to its proper requirements!

To such qualities of the mind and gift of eloquence and acquisition of knowledge, is allied a memory almost phenomenal. It is a treasure-trove where everything precious is hoarded. The moment it is tapped, there tumble down facts and figures in an amazing heap, and of a most diverse quality. I vividly remember how on one occasion recently, with a bias for my own proclivities, he asked me if I could tell him the average age of Congress Presidents, and startled me by giving out, besides the year, the place, the name of the President of each session right from 1885, the age at which he presided, and by striking the average. Next he proceeded to the Liberal Federation. The dates of birth (and of death if warranted) of the great men of India are at his fingers' tips. And last year when I went to facilitate him on the occasion of his 60th year, he started telling me that Mahadev Govinda Ranade passed away six days before he entered his sixtieth year. This is typical of Chintamani, and memory, among other things, has made him in political argument unassailable.

Bepin Chandra Pal called him a political encyclopaedia, and Muhammad Ali, with a gift of phrase, characterised his mind as the card index system of Indian politics. And was it not Ramsay MacDonald that referred to him at the R. T. C. as 'my well-armed friend, Mr. Chintamani'? His is, indeed, a memory like the one described by Disraeli in 'Conningsby'—

a memory which never had twilight hours, but always reflected a noon-day clearness, and seemed to magnify his acquisitions of learning by the promptness with which they could be reproduced and applied.

III

Chintamani's intellectual gifts are only matched by his moral qualities. He is sincere, independent, fearless, and incorruptible. I have never come across a single politician even among his opponents, who has at any time questioned his probity or doubted his motives or denied his capacity to stand up like a man, four-square. His famous ministerial resignation which caused a consternation in the ranks of the

mighty, is only a more glaring and outstanding example of his sense of honour and independence, and political rectitude. He not only says what he feels, and does what he says, but is prepared for the logical consequences of the feeling he entertains, the word he utters, and the action he takes. Governors and higher dignitaries have found to their cost that Chintamani could neither be coaxed nor bullied. 'Naughty' and 'troublesome' were the euphemistic epithets flung at him by British statesmen while, of course, worse things were meant, and there could be no higher tribute to his uncompromising nature and unrelenting attitude to vital questions than that Whitehall unabashedly preferred a Congressman to Chintamani at the third R. T. C. It is well known that when once Chintamani takes a certain stand, even if earth and heaven are moved, the failure of the planetary conjunction is a certainty. Right or wrong, wise or otherwise, he will stick to his guns and never budge an inch or even a fraction of an inch. Never can he be influenced and dislodged from the position he takes up—no matter whether it is the ire of the Congress or of the British Government that is provoked. He has no patience with men who cannot make up their minds while for those who change them every second day he has an open contempt. Nor has he any softness even for his own party men who are prone to prefer evasion to adversity in the rough and tumble of politics. When once he thought aloud, I recorded his words in my scrap-book after we parted, and I am now taking the liberty of putting them in print if only to show how candid and straight he is as a public man, and how much he resists the tendency to wear a mask on the political stage. He said :

I am placed in a peculiarly false position. We think alike, we speak alike in private, occasionally we speak alike in public. But what they do is contrary to all what they say in private, and to much of what they say in public. And when I say in public what we think and say in private, they are alarmed.

The fact is that Chintamani has no two sets of opinions—one for the Government and one for the people, and one public and one private. He has 'settled convictions' and 'set opinions'

—and the opinions he holds are so strong and definite that they are least susceptible to modification. Of Asquith it was said that 'his opinions were cut in bronze' and that 'if one is to select his greatest characteristic, this massive finality stands forth, for good or ill, and beyond all others'. While in this respect Chintamani reminds us of the great British statesman, the way in which he first expresses his opinions and then seeks to maintain them are reminiscent of Dr. Johnson's diction and his partiality for the butt-end of the gun. His individuality in his utterances and assertions is so marked that in his presence, one is apt to realise that neither dogmatism is the prerogative of the youth nor Liberalism the refuge of the weak.

IV

Chintamani belongs to the school of Phirozeshah Mehta and Gopal Krishan Gokhale—the school of which Mahadev Govind Ranade was the *guru*. (Incidentally, it is interesting to note that according to the devoted pupil, Ranade is the greatest thinker, Mehta the greatest political leader, and Gokhale the greatest statesman). Chintamani is a Liberal, steeped in the teachings of Mill and swayed by 'the venerable inspiration of Gladstonian memories'. With him Liberalism is not a mere political creed but a code of conduct and a faith. He is so perfervid a Liberal that one should not be in the least surprised if he divides mankind into two sections—Liberals and others. In his own time he has witnessed the almost complete extinction of Liberalism, but it has made no difference to his robust faith. He remains a Liberal—unswerving and unrepentant, and on the burning deck of Liberalism he stands like a true Casabianca. And for him, whatever changes the world may witness, 'Liberalism for ever'!

In politics he represents a tradition and a type, nowhere better described than by the *Manchester Guardian* on the occasion of the death of its greatest Editor, C. P. Scott :

When a question had to be answered he was only concerned to find the right answer, and when once he had found it he was only concerned that it

should be given to the world as effectively and persuasively as possible. The less popular the answer, the greater the difficulties it involved, the more resolute he was not to shrink from giving it. His courage was in a sense effortless, for it was the courage of a man to whom no strain caused by external trouble or danger would have been so great as the strain of disharmony in his mind.

Herein lies the secret of Chintamani's strength as a mentor of politics. In every sphere where it has been given to him to play a part, he has occupied a position of pre-eminence : he has even established a personal ascendancy. Is it journalism ?—he is the 'Leader'. Is it public life ?—he is the Liberal Party. Is it the Legislature ?—no one failed to realise that 'his presence is worth a party and his coming changes the face of debate'. To-day, the loss is not his but that of the U. P. that after a score of years of solid work and selfless service he was sent into the wilderness. There is nothing like gratitude in politics. As he once put it : 'politics is a curse'. But whether in the Legislature or outside, Chintamani is a force to reckon with. Chintamani was born to lead and dominate, and like Phirozeshah Mehta, he could also say, in reply to his critics, 'Gentlemen, how can I help my personality ?'

V

However much Chintamani's front-rank position as a Liberal leader and a Parliamentarian, and as a speaker and a publicist is undisputed, it is as a journalist and an editor that posterity will remember him best and applaud him most, for, while on the political front he is one of the foremost, in journalism he has few equals and no superiors. First, there is his extraordinarily privileged position. Since 1909, but for a negligible break or two, he has been with one paper, and as its Chief, and too, as the one man who could lay down and control its policy. No journalist could have asked for more. It is bare truth that he has made the best use of his opportunities, and in so doing, he has raised the *Leader* as an *organ of opinion* to great heights. He is never known to trim its sails to the passing wind or to appeal to the gallery.

Circulation may dwindle, advertisement revenue may shrink, the fortunes of the paper may be at the lowest ebb, heavens may fall, but Chintamani is not the man to change either his views or the policy of the paper. As said of Joseph Pulitzer, the great American journalist, Chintamani 'would not pander, he would not compromise, and he made himself heard'. He knows no wobbling, and to 'the mealy-mouthed, the mugwumps and the unco guid' he gives the cold shoulder. It is one of his supreme triumphs that, without giving the public what it wanted, he gave it what he wanted, and what he thought it should receive.

His knowledge, his memory, his intellectual equipment, his political experience, his deep insight into problems, his utter imperviousness to worldly considerations, his equal swiftness in taking a decision and producing copy, account for his supremacy as an editor. He is not reconciled to merely reflecting public opinion: he seeks to mould and shape it. He has no regrets if he is fighting a lost cause. The greater the odds against him, the greater is the evidence we have of his courage. In pursuing a campaign which he launches he is at his best. Even in defence he can take the offensive. His high spirits soar when he brandishes the big stick, and anyone who comes in the way must be prepared to be bludgeoned and blown into smithereens. Sewagram or Simla—it is all the same, and it will be stormed by reason and rhetoric. Whose susceptibilities are wounded, whose reputation is at stake, it matters not. Opponents receive no quarter—and can ask for none. In controversy he suffers from no softness. Nor does he tolerate neutrality. In his presence 'it is impossible to be indeterminate or to preserve a foot in both camps' as he has the amazing capacity of bringing 'all the balancings of the timid and the discretions of all the diplomatic to the sharp tests of yea or nay'. In this respect he is like Stead. Perhaps it is because of the Jovian authority with which he deals with men and measures that Mr. Sastri once called him 'the Pope of Indian Journalism'.

In any estimate of Chintamani as an Editor, no reference can be omitted to his wonderful command of the English language. With Pope he might complain: 'I lisped in numbers, for the numbers came'. His sentences, reeled off with effortless ease and cast in true Johnsonian mould, are vigorous yet lucid. For refined elegance and subtler shades he reveals no bias, but there is in his prose a sturdy masculinity, a brazen resonance. In correct perspective one finds that the pen in his hand is 'no aesthetic instrument' but 'a mode of action', for he is no man of letters, but essentially a journalist who has to conduct a day-to-day campaign and plunge into the hour's debate with a definite aim. Let us hail him as 'a robust warrior with the pen' in the cause of human progress, for we should bear in mind Spender's caution that a journalist should be finally judged not by the quantity or quality of his writing, but by the one fact whether he has contributed to the wisdom or folly of the times. Chintamani can be confident of the verdict of history decisively in his favour. To the Fourth Estate he has brought the quality of judgment and the spirit of crusaders.

VI

While he is an all-India man both as a public man and journalist, it is to U. P. that he has given the best in him. He has made it his home-province, and the scene of his immediate activities. He made its legislature the sounding-board of his political doctrine, and strode its floor like a Colossus; he built its public life; he gave it a voice. None will make it a point of grievance that of all the places in U. P., it is Allahabad that he loves most dearly. At the R. T. C. he claimed it as 'the best city in India'. Never has he allowed anyone to belittle its importance or ignore its claims for primacy. In all the literature that has sprung on the rival merits of Lucknow and Allahabad as the capital of the U. P., there is not a more striking vignette than Chintamani's casual but characteristic remark to the then Governor of U. P., Sir Harcourt Butler, the maker of modern Lucknow. That sentence

of his which I heard from him eight years ago still lingers in my mind with a dewy freshness. 'Finally, Sir Harcourt' said Chintamani warming up to the theme that led to an animated discussion, 'let me tell you this: What the Allahabad High Court is to the Oudh Chief Court, what the 'Leader' is to the 'Indian Daily Telegraph', what Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya is to Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra, and what the Ganges is to the Gomti, Allahabad is to Lucknow'. This is of the true Chintamani vintage.

It incidentally reminds me of his conversational acumen, besides charm, which is one more weapon in his armoury. His conversation is a rare delight. It is an intellectual treat; it is liberal education. It ranges 'from grave to gay, from lively to serene', and he is at his best when he draws on the inexhaustible store of reminiscence. As a conversationalist, he recalls great models (while he personally thinks that Mrs. Sarojini Naidu is the greatest living exponent of the art in India).

VII

Before closing this rambling sketch, I would like to refer to one or two aspects of Chintamani which are often missed, if only because they are overshadowed by the weightier or the more glaring. Those who judge him by his grave exterior or by the gravity of his utterance either do not know their Chintamani, or do him an injustice. There is another side of the man which is so agreeable to dwell on. Amidst all his pre-occupations he does not fail to have a sense of enjoyment which alone makes life's burdens lighter. True, his mornings are generally devoted to 'puja' which, as everything else with him, is no niggardly affair. It admits of no abridgement of the scriptures or curtailment of the ritual. He allows none to come between him and his Maker, and in the morning hours he is visible only to the Invisible, and no other. But the deeply religious man of the morning does not obtrude himself upon the rest of the day which is clearly time-tab'ed. After

rest—it is again complete—he goes to the *Leader*, and during the two or three hours he is there, one finds him granting interviews, dictating letters, glancing through papers, rushing through proofs, and racing against time with the morrow's leader—all done amidst intervals of smoking. And then, to the pictures—invariably. The day means to him, in his own words, 'religion in the morning, occupation in the afternoon, and fun in the evening'.

This gives an idea of the vast contours of his many-sided personality, and to his capacity for taking out of life all that it has to offer—and nothing in small doses. His consumption of tobacco, for instance, 'like so much else about him, is gargantuan', and like Harcourt whom he resembles in several respects, 'he is an industrious smoker'. And he does not smoke two cigarettes of the same brand consecutively—and his cigarette case (which he ungrudgingly places along with his 'pan dabbi', at the disposal of all the visitors) contains as many brands as the cigarettes. Only like his esteemed friend, Sir Tej, his smoking does not range from the cigarette to the hookah, and one may wonder why he has missed the mild luxury of a good cigar and a better pipe. That he loves variety is undoubted. The story goes that to avoid monotony while at London as a delegate to the R. T. C., he visited over 80 hotels and restaurants in 3 months.

In his political instincts and parliamentary gifts, in his oratorical performances and gallant fights, in his wit and anecdotal faculty, in 'his profound reverence for the authority of history and for the wisdom of the fathers that begot us', and above all, in his sense of enjoyment of life, he is like Harcourt of whom Balfour said that 'whether Sir William spoke or was silent, no one could forget for a moment that he was present', and of whom his biographer (A. G. Gardiner) wrote that 'he was not a pool of still waters; but a roaring torrent of a man, fed by inexhaustible springs of energy and overwhelming its banks with careless profusion.' In his disappointments as well, Chintamani is like Harcourt, and in his case too it can be claimed

that 'no office could add distinction to a career so many-sided or to a personality so vital and so commanding'. But unlike Harcourt, he has cast his spell on Fleet Street and added to 'the record of his service to his country'.

VIII

This is how I would like to size up Chintamani in the ultimate analysis :

Possessing no alphabetical annexations, inheriting no fortune, belonging to no dynasty ; self-educated and self-made ; Chintamani has dedicated his wonderful gifts and rare qualities in the cause of the Motherland and played a conspicuous and decisive part in Indian public life. He has missed the all-India stage, but he has acquired an all-India prestige and built for himself an all-India position. Into public life he came with a flash of revelation, into the legislature with a sense of ascendancy, and into journalism with an air of authority.

He has fought the battles of the poor against the rich, and of the rich against the raiders on the existing order of things. On behalf of the people he has ranged himself against the bureaucracy, and with equal zest and courage on the side of constitutional progress against the law-breakers and subversive elements. Some complained of his moderation and some of his extremism, but the secret is that in him there is a happy blending of moderate caution and extremist ardour.

If he upheld the Montford Reforms, he threw up a Ministership and tore Dyarchy. If he opposed the non-cooperation movement tooth and nail, he also went for Government's repressive policy hammer and tongs. While he loved Gandhiji, he loathed his politics. While he believed in British connection, he bludgeoned British policy. And he was found inconvenient and difficult both by friends and opponents, since he would never sacrifice private convictions for public convenience.

Office neither tempted nor tamed him. In or out of harness, he was the same, stern, unbending patriot. While controversies ranged round him and storms swept over his head, he was undaunted. He attacked his opponents with vehemence but without malice, and parted from friends with resentment but without rancour. Quick to resent and slow to forget, he provoked antagonism, roused hostility and suffered eclipse and adversity, but was unrepentant when once he trod the path he chose after due deliberation.

He is one of India's great Liberals and great Editors. Among Liberals, Sivaswamy Aiyer excels him in profundity, Sastri in austerity and Setalvad in keenness, but they are much behind him in tenacity and drive. He is the main asset of the Liberal party, its mentor and its best working instrument. Among Editors, he lacks Rangaswami Iyengar's subtlety and skill, Natarajan's originality and deftness, Kalinath Ray's analytical acumen and dispassionateness, but he towers above them in the supreme qualities of consistency, candour and courage, and in 'the dynamics of democratic agitation'.

Sturdy, massive and challenging, in politics he is nearer Harcourt; wise in judgment, balanced in outlook and 'magisterial' in pronouncement, in journalism he is nearer Spender. He has conferred distinction on public life and journalism, and set in both an example which will long endure. Knowing no end other than the good of his country, and acknowledging no master other than his conscience, he has won universal esteem, irrespective of party, race or creed. All that he stands for and all that he has done are part of a great tradition—the Gladstonian tradition, which has illumined many a path and well may fortify many a generation.

IX

To-day, friends of all schools of thought rejoice in his recovery and join in the general chorus of felicitations on an auspicious occasion. This symposium in the *Twentieth*

Century is but a token of so widespread an esteem for the man and his work. It is like 'a small window that opens a large landscape' of affectionate memories. "Chintamani's has been a life of success against adverse circumstances. I hope its lessons of courage, persistence and steadfastness will be brought out in a biography"—so writes to me the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri. The time for Chintamani's biography is happily not yet. If, however, in these few pages are found the beginnings of a future biography, I can ask for no higher reward for a labour of love.

The Twentieth Century

THE TWO J.'s

By I. D.

If all is not quiet on the Western Front, here in India everything is out of gear. The atmosphere is full of tension and threats. To tumult and shouting there is no end. Since the March rallies, things have been going from bad to worse. If Ramgarh had no regard for realities, Lahore had no use for logic. One rivalled the other in sowing dragon's teeth. A reign of slogans has been inaugurated. The 'war of nerves' continues unabated. To mince no words, to utter the blunt truth, the present chaos in Indian politics is largely due to the two J.'s—JAWAHARLAL and JINNAH. Nor can one completely acquit MAHATMA GANDHI and LORD ZETLAND. If there is nothing much cosmic in the MAHATMA's conception of politics, there is little imagination in the Secretary of State's approach to the Indian problem.

I

In politics it is not always what is right that matters, but what is expedient. The Congress, however, continues to press for Complete Independence, irrespective of the fact that its realisation may expose the country to external aggression or internal strife. In the same spirit in which JINNAH has avowed that Democracy is unsuited to India, the Congress Pundits declare that Dominion Status is unsuited to India. Again, what Congress rule is said to be to the Muslim League, we are told that British Imperialism is to the Congress. "None of it", say both, with about the same substance in their respective charges. If the Constituent Assembly alone has the right to say what the country wants, be it Complete Independence or Dominion Status or even *Pakistan*, one wonders why the Congress

demands at all Complete Independence and rejects Dominion Status in advance, without waiting for the verdict of the Constituent Assembly. Having asked Britain to declare her war aims, the Congress has not deigned to declare its ultimate aims, and one again wonders if the MAHATMA's conception of the new order is precisely the same as the PANDIT'S. It is significant that JAWAHARLAL NEHRU speaks of 'the establishment of a socialist order' while the MAHATMA has not at any rate become a convert to his *chelas's* cult and begun to look to Moscow for inspiration. Nor has the Congress done anything to remove the growing impression in the public mind that while it ostensibly wants India's self-rule, it is really aiming at the rule of India by the Congress.

The Congress has its own way of doing things and its peculiar technique. While every Congressman has rushed to criticise and condemn the 'Two Nations Theory' propounded by Mr. JINNAH at Lahore, the Working Committee which met at Wardha recently, for reasons best known to itself, kept mum. This official silence on the part of the Congress is intriguing, and recalls its equivocal attitude to the Communal Award. And yet a few days after the Wardha meeting, Mr. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR had the temerity to chide others of 'mental reservations'! This most adroit of Congress spokesmen and commentators, in his Bombay speech, asked the world to believe that MAHATMA GANDHI was a true friend of *Pakistan* inasmuch as he avowed that he would abide by the verdict of the Constituent Assembly, if it plumped for it. This is a most astounding theory. If *Pakistan* is bad, objectionable and unthinkable, how on earth can it become good, acceptable and honourable if only the Constituent Assembly demands it? At this rate, can it be assumed that the MAHATMA will give up non-violence if the Constituent Assembly decides in favour of violence? The only inference that can be deduced from this argument is that the Congress cares less for Complete Independence than for Constituent Assembly and that the means is more important than the end. If everything else is of secon-

dary importance, and the Constituent Assembly alone matters, the Congress should stake its all on that, and not allow its spokesmen to give varied interpretations of its content. Mr. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR who has, with scriptural solemnity and superstitious loyalty, reiterated the demand for a Constituent Assembly, has in the same breath admitted that 'such an assembly need not necessarily be an unwieldy body....and that 'it could be a tight or handy body'. Two questions arise: Is such a body which comes in 'handy' for RAJAGOPALACHARIAR, of the pattern approved by JAWAHARLAL NEHRU? If the Congress is satisfied with this 'tight' or truncated body, why equate it to the level, or give it the grandiloquent name, of a Constituent Assembly, and create confusion and disorder? While Mr. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR was shedding light on the Congress mind at Bombay, his colleague, Mr. PRAKASAM, was asking the Congress to convene the Constituent Assembly on its own initiative and confront the British with its verdict!

II

Meanwhile Mr. SUBHAS BOSE and his Forward Bloc have faded out. He has fallen on evil days and reached the level of his rump and its pitiable antics. His politics have become 'dangerous—dangerous to his enemies, dangerous to his friends, and dangerous to himself.' This once intrepid fighter of Bengal is now no more than a charlatan and an adventurer. His is a gambler's throw. His alliances, offensive and defensive, reek with opportunism and reveal him as a politician, utterly devoid of principles and scruples. His recent career is one of the most tragic episodes in contemporary Indian politics.

Mr. JINNAH cannot be so easily dispensed with. He is a formidable factor. He has survived Congress ridicule and wrath. To-day he has retaliated against the Congress with such force and skill that there is something like panic in its ranks. The biggest of Congressmen are feeling exasperated. This astute politician—the astutest politician alive in India—has literally turned the Congressman inside out. He has

deprived him of the monopoly of celebrating days, collecting crowds and injecting the people with the ideological virus that seizes them with frenzy and stirs up their blood. To JAWAHAR LAL he is a wonderful counter-part. In their love of ego, in their high opinion of themselves and low opinion of others, in their drive and daring, in their capacity to rouse the people and rally them for an adventure on the high seas, they are very brothers. If he lacks the nobler instincts and finer graces of JAWAHARLAL, JINNAH is no doctrinaire like him. He is a practical man—and he will not topple down at the time of action!

III

It was a good day for JINNAH when JAWAHARLAL launched the Muslim mass contact movement, for virtually JAWAHARLAL drove the Muslim masses into JINNAH's arms. It was a better day for JINNAH when JAWAHARLAL pulled the Congress Ministers out of their shaky saddles and sent them into the wilderness. JINNAH saw to it that they would not be restored to office without arriving at an understanding with the League. It was the best day for JINNAH when JAWAHARLAL got the Congress committed to the Constituent Assembly and won over GANDHI. JINNAH was not wanting in resourcefulness. He made a gift to the world of his 'Two Nations Theory,' and threw JAWAHARLAL and his ideology into the background. To-day he seeks comfort in LADY OXFORD's famous dictum that it matters little whether one is praised or abused so long as one is discussed. He is the most discussed Indian of the day—more discussed than GANDHI, and much more than JAWAHARLAL. Neither Wardha nor Whitehall knows how to dispose him of. Whatever views one holds, one must beware of JINNAH as much as of JAWAHARLAL.

Much powder and shot is being used to expose the utter hollowness of MR. JINNAH's latest demand. The 'Two Nations Theory' is so manifestly absurd that no argument is needed to prove its utter absurdity. Even MR. JINNAH, however formidable he is, cannot reverse the engines of history. His theory

is politically unwise and morally perverse. To put it pithily, it is, 'one more insult to man and one more offence to God.'

IV

MR. JINNAH, one regrets to note, has a terrific climb-down from the high pedestal that he once occupied with dignity and distinction, as a Nationalist, true and good. Let us recall some of his earlier *obiter dicta*:

I, Sir, stand here with a clear conscience, and I say that I am a Nationalist first, a Nationalist second, and a Nationalist last.

(Assembly—1925)

Sir, the only lesson I feel that we might draw from the careers of these two great men (Surendranath Banerji and C. R. Das) is this: that *in unity lies salvation*.

(Assembly—1925.)

Hindus and Mohammadans, united and firm, the voice of three hundred millions of people vibrating through the length and breadth of the country, will produce a force which no power on earth can resist.

(Bombay Provincial Conference)

And let us listen to what he is preaching to-day. His neo-ideolgy cannot be better summed up than in the following passage from DISRAELI's *Sybil: or the Two Nations* (a quotation which I owe to the *Guardian*, a Christian Weekly of Madras):

Two nations between whom there is no intercourse and no sympathy, who are ignorant of each other's habits, thoughts and feelings as if they were dwellers in different zones, or inhabitants of different planets; who are formed by different breeding, or fed by different food, or ordered by different manners, and are not governed by the same laws.

What a descent! What a fall!

How refreshing it is to turn from these vapid and vicious vapourings to the robust philosophy preached by Muslims of eminence from time to time, in the great cause of Hindu-Muslim unity! How soul-stirring it is, for instance, to hear the Rt. HON. SIR AKBAR HYDARI, a statesman of the finest calibre, and the Premier of the leading Muslim State!

It will not be the growth but the death of Indian nationalism if the Mussalmans of India fail to be impressed by the greatness of Asoka and Chandragupta, or filled with pride and joy at the immortal frescoes of

Ajanta and the sculptured monuments of Ellora, or fail to derive fresh inspiration from the glorious songs of Jai Dev and Tukaram, or find food for deep and satisfying thought in the discourses of Sri Krishna and Gautama the Buddha. *It will not be the growth but the death of Indian nationalism* if the Hindus are not filled with pride at the architectural splendours of the Moghals and the Adil Shahies, at the political achievements of great rulers like Sher Shah and Akbar, at the fine heroism of noble queens like Chand, Sultana and Nur Jahan, at the liberal statesmanship of devoted ministers like Mohammad Gowan and Abul Fazl, at the wide learning of scholars like Alburuni and Faizi or at the inspiration of poets like Amir Khusru and Ghalib. *It will be a sad day* indeed if the minds of Hindus and Mussalmans alike are not stirred with the high and noble aims of Viceroys like Mayo and Ripon, of administrators like Munro and Elphinstone, of friends of India like Fawcett and Bright, of missionaries like Hare and Miller. For, all these and many more, whether Hindu, Mussalman or Christian, loved India and worked for her.

V

It is to the absence of the spirit which animated the noble eloquence of SIR AKBAR that the Indian political scene to-day is being fast converted into one of shambles. Thirty-five years ago when CURZON, in a fit of imperious unconcern, cut Bengal in twain, the whole of India was stung to the quick, and the tidal wave of Nationalism in all its pristine glory swept the land from end to end, and released forces which have upto this day given the greatest impetus to the building up of the Indian nation. To-day when attempts are sought to be made to tear India into pieces in the name of self-determination, the country lies paralysed and panic-stricken, and the best of our leaders are at their wits' end. It is a tragedy too deep for tears.

Is this picture of India a credit to Britain—the greatest democratic agency in the affairs of man? If this is the outcome of over one and a half centuries of British rule, the fact has its own moral. Has the duty of great Britain ended in merely discountenancing the demands of the Congress and the League? Is she bankrupt of constructive statesmanship? She is mistaken if she thinks that 'the open door' policy and 'agreed statements' or mere sentimental appeals will solve the Indian problem. It is far too serious to be so

summarily tackled. Having first given a start to fissiparous tendencies and then all along persisted in fostering them, her appeals for communal concord will carry little weight unless she takes positive steps in creating the atmosphere in which alone the communities can co-operate with each other and coalesce. In the matter of her friends too, her record is not free from reproach. Wherein lies the justification for British imperviousness to moderate counsel, let alone extremist demand? She should realise that if she will not make amends in time—it is perhaps already too late—she will find, along with the foundations of Indian nationalism, the very foundations of her Eastern Empire, gradually dissolving. She must put off the blinkers and come out with a bold act of statesmanship. If she means business, she must forthwith declare India a Dominion and also implement that declaration in as large a measure as possible. It was because of their faith in MONTAGU and of their firm conviction that the Montford Reforms were an advance in the right direction, that men of the calibre and eminence of MR. SRINIVASA SASTRI went about the country with something of an evangelic zeal and preached the gospel of co-operation in the teeth of extremist opposition. To-day, if a state of inertia has come on all of them, it is not for want of faith in democratic freedom but for lack of faith in British pledge and purpose. "Painted grapes" won't do the trick: it is genuine fruit that will evoke enthusiasm.

VII

Bad as the situation is, it is not altogether without relieving features. There is room for consolation that while the League under Jinnah's powerful leadership has officially upheld the *Pakistan* scheme, some Muslim Ministers who carry great weight in their provinces and in political circles outside, have not been enthusiastic in participating in MR. JINNAH's crusade. It is equally consoling that the MAHATMA has not taken the plunge despite 'provocation'. While the Muslims are just watching the reaction to their demand, Congressmen are indulging in the innocent pastime of cooking and cleaning

dishes in their camps, to the crooning melody of the *charkha*. This may be but a lull before the storm.

The vivisection of India is unthinkable: the Constituent Assembly is impracticable. They both reveal an appetite for sensationalism which has no more than a nuisance value in politics. The principle of self-determination is good: the principle of sanity is better still. The Congress and the League should talk sense and face realities, but there is little hope as long as the Congress is under the influence of JAWAHARLAL and the League is in the hands of JINNAH. Their doubtful leadership must be repudiated and their destructive ideologies rejected. Incorruptible politicians and indomitable fighters, they are, alas, singularly bereft of a constructive mind and thoroughly incapable of statesmanship. And the immediate future of India lies, not with impossible ideologists but with seasoned statesmen. Without either sacrificing the integrity of India, or summoning an assembly which may break up in confusion and disorder, the Viceroy should evolve a formula which has in it the elements of an honourable compromise, if not of an enduring settlement, and offer something *immediate, real and concrete*.

Is it too much to hope that neither Britain nor India has lost the breed of statesmen?

THE THEORY OF TWO NATIONS

By SIR WAZIR HASAN

The proposed division of India into two Indias is only a means to an end. So is the proposed Constituent Assembly. The end in the former case is freedom from the tyranny and domination of the indigenous majority, while in the latter case the end is freedom from the tyranny and domination of a foreign people. In either case, therefore, the objective is laudable. The majority party in one case and the foreign power in the other, both deny the charge of tyrannical domination with equal vehemence and persistence, and as in neither case a judgment has so far been obtained of an impartial tribunal, the charge as well as the denial thereof remains unproved. In those circumstances it is not easy to apportion madness with any degree of precision between the two schemes. Each plan therefore must be examined on its intrinsic merits and feasibility.

As to the merits of the plan of dividing India into Muslim India and Hindu India, on the assumed ground of Hindus and Muslims constituting two different nations, there are none. The assumption is as ill-founded as the conclusion, though it may readily be conceded, in a restricted sense, that Hindus and Muslims are not one and the same people. But why the two peoples cannot be merged, again, in a restricted sense and for particular purposes, into one nation, it is difficult to see. Indeed, the process of fusion began centuries ago and to-day it would seem to be absurd to suggest that Hindus and Muslims do not form one nation at least for political, economic and social purposes. But the greatest demerit of this plan is that it stultifies the very objective which it has in view. The exchange of populations not being within the ken, there must be a minority community in Muslim India as well as

in Hindu India, and the idea seems to be that the minority in each division should be protected by providing safeguards in the constitution of these States. But obviously, some protection can be provided for in the future constitution of India without dividing it into two hostile neighbouring States. In the Muslim India as well as in the Hindu India the sovereignty of numbers will still persist. But the central idea of the scheme of partition seems to be an escape from the domination of the majority party. Again, the religious passions must remain as active and hostile within each unit of the divided India as they are in the India of to-day. According to the Muslim League, the activities of the Congress Governments in the eight provinces of British India were always actuated by religious motives. Does there exist any valid reason for thinking that such motives will cease to operate in an exclusively religious State of the future or should the minorities in those States be left to the tender mercies of the religious fanatics? What I consider to be true of the Hindu State must also be true of the Muslim State of the future. The answer to my reasoning may be that minorities in both these States will be protected by enacting safeguards in the constitution itself. This answer at once demolishes the case of partition altogether. Why not then be content with safeguards for minorities in the future constitution of India as a whole, instead of dividing it into two religious States?

In considering the merits of the proposed scheme of partition we must not overlook one circumstance of immense importance and significance. The Governments of Bengal and the Punjab have never been openly accused of religious bias. The question is, why is it so? My answer is that the Governments of those provinces are carried on the sure basis of coalition and compromise and neither of them has tried to rule the province by the force of numbers only.

Much has been said against the scheme of partition of India into Hindu and Muslim States on the ground of impracticability. There can be little doubt that the scheme as so

far explained and developed by the leaders of the League seems to be wholly impracticable from many points of view. I consider, however, that any criticism on those lines is premature for there is a promise of its being unfolded and developed in detail in the near future.

I am not prepared to believe that the propounders of the scheme of dividing India into two parts are ignorant of its inherent demerits and of its infeasibility. Both these defects are floating on the surface, and no *deus ex machina* is required to discover them. In these circumstances, I am driven to the conclusion that the plan is only intended to serve as a retort to the plea of Constituent Assembly put forth by the Congress as a condition precedent to any reconciliation between the Congress and the Muslim League on the one hand and between the Congress and the British Government on the other. The similarity of the two plans in many respects is striking. Both ignore the outstanding fact that the third party is engaged in a war the frontiers of which may any day be delineated on the territorial borders of India. Both ignore the inherent demerits of their respective plans; both plans are devoid of feasibility and the protagonists of both seem to be affected by exaggerated notions of political prestige. The obstinacy of idea and the rigidity of words is the common feature of both.

Let me examine the central idea of the plan of Constituent Assembly. There can be no two opinions that the demand for a Constituent Assembly elected on such a broad basis as adult franchise rests on the first part of the well-known picturesque phrase, "government of the people by the people and for the people." But can we conscientiously say that every vote cast will be indicative of a conscious and thoughtful preference? What are the existing conditions? Ninety-five per cent. of our people are illiterate. The argument that this condition has come to exist because of the criminal neglect of the imperialists ruling this country for nearly two centuries is entirely irrelevant. The

fact remains that it does exist. The bulk of our peoples, both Hindu and Muslim, are swayed by religious sympathies and antipathies in casting their individual votes. To these conditions everybody who has any experience of elections in this country must agree to add another condition, and that is corruption. I am definitely of opinion that in those circumstances and conditions the plan of Constituent Assembly is as unwise as the plan of dividing India into Hindu and Muslim India. But besides these objections, there is a more serious, and if I may say so, a sinister aspect of this plan than that appears on the surface. The sanction behind the proposed Constituent Assembly must rest on the numerical preponderance of votes. It is still questionable, in spite of what the supporters of unadulterated democracy may say, that a government by persons elected on the basis of numerical superiority of votes must also necessarily produce the desired result of a government for the people and by the people. Oftener than not, a government of the people constituted on mere numerical superiority deteriorates or develops into a government by an oligarchy. Not only that, but so long as the Hindus and the Muslims do not agree to annihilate communal differences and evolve a larger political unit, there is no hope in our distracted country of a Government and Opposition founded on non-religious and non-communal basis. I may say at once that safeguards for the minorities even when they constitute an integral part of the constitution must remain unreal unless and until there comes to exist a genuine desire and anxiety on the side of the majority party in power to give effect to those safeguards. No violation, however gross and heinous, of the provisions relating to safeguards can overthrow a government resting on majority of votes.

This theory of two nations, if I may respectfully say so, is not new, though the background is certainly different and surcharged with distrust. In my address at the

Bombay session of the All-India Muslim League in April, 1936, I said :

There is only one more matter which I wish to emphasise here. It should always be borne in mind that India is a continent; it should further be borne in mind that Hindus and Mussalmans inhabiting this vast continent are not two communities but should be considered two nations in many respects.....To describe them for political purposes as two communities is really creating an illusion. Are not the Hindus of today the inheritors of a glorious heritage of civilization, culture, literature, philosophy and even a lost empire? Even today there are Hindu Princes who are possessed of kingdoms of vast areas and large populations. Then again, look to their numbers and compare them with any group of people in Europe. What I have said of the Hindus can be said of the Mussalmans also.....The two peoples described above form one greater INDIAN NATION, and I have made it clear that the greater Indian Nation is of one voice in its claim for self-government for her common motherland.

In conclusion, I appeal to both the Congress and the Muslim League to compose their differences and thereby hasten the advent of the promised millennium in this poor country.

HAVE YOU READ THIS?

Acharya Kripalani recently wrote a skit proposing the creation of a Zananiasthan or Zanisthan for women. Coming events cast their shadows before. Mrs. Kripalani has taken charge of the new Women's Department.

—POTHAN JOSEPH in *Indian Express*.

INDIA'S MOST URGENT NEED:

A NON-PARTY DEMOCRACY

By R. BANGARUSWAMI

At present there are only two well-organized parties in India, the Congress and the Muslim League. The Justice Party of Madras is purely a local phenomenon. There are 'Independent' parties here and there, but they do not and cannot fuse into an all-India party. The Hindu Mahasabha does speak for a considerable section of the Hindus, but within the legislatures it is not very articulate; and moreover, Gandhiji is almost always identified with Hindu India, and hence the dissident voices of people like Savarkar and Moonje are usually silenced by the loud asseverations of the Gandhi-ites. The political scene is thus, for all practical purposes, dominated by Gandhi's Congress and Jinnah's Muslim League. It requires no great political acumen to see that unless these two parties agree upon essentials and decide to club together, the political future of India must be dubious in the extreme.

To take the Congress first: it is a great organization and has for over five decades laboured for the regeneration and rehabilitation of the country. But no amount of quibbling or reiteration will prove that it is the sole organization entitled to speak on behalf of India. Its own house is not apparently in order. Some of the outstanding ex-Congress Presidents are among its critics. Its deification of the *Charkha* has made it the laughing stock of many thinking people. Its blind hero-worship of Gandhiji degenerates often into an Indian version of the Nazi Fuehrer-Prinzip. Its attitude towards the Muslim League has been woefully inconsistent. Pandit Nehru's "Muslim mass contact" drive merely accentuated the differences between the two communities. Occasional 'peace offensives' have given the country a harvest of con-

troversial correspondence but have tended to ease the tension. And the present stalemate in the country is mostly the creation of the Congress. And the Congress leaders do not seem to be able to find a way out of it. Not even the magical slogan of Constituent Assembly has caught the imagination of the public.

The Muslim League is, on the other hand, a professedly communal organization. But this need not frighten us. Time was when the Ali Brothers could be members of the Muslim League as also of the Congress, respected leaders in both organizations; similarly Pandit Malaviyaji and Dr. Moonje could be members of the Hindu Mahasabha as also of the Congress, not the less respected or nationalistic on account of this dual membership. Of late a strange new doctrine has been put into practice that members of communal organizations could not be members of the Congress. The net result is that organizations like the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha which were formerly communal, mainly for safeguarding matters pertaining to their respective religions and cultures, have now also become political organizations. This fanatical exclusiveness on the part of the Congress has circumscribed it more and more till to-day it is even castigated by its own erstwhile supporters as a nation-wide organizations for carrying out the decisions (and not seldom the indecisions) of the *Gandhi Mutt*. Is it not a tragedy that this so-called drive against communalism should have reduced the Congress itself to a sort of religious cult?

The Congress brands the Muslim League a communal organization. Is Mr. Jinnah a communalist any more than the average Congressman? Both Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Fazl-ul-Haq have held important offices in the Congress organization. Mr. Khaliq-uz-zaman, the leader of the Muslim League in the U. P., was a Congress dictator at the time of the Civil Disobedience movement. The Ali Brothers, who were once names to conjure with in the Congress seceded from it and became Muslim

Leaguers towards the close of their lives. Human nature does not change so rapidly as the Congress would have us believe that in a trice a nationalist of the eminence of Mr. Jinnah could become a rank communalist any more than the Rashtrapathi Subhas Babu of to-day can become the Enemy No. 1 of the Congress to-morrow. Such things do not happen. The explanation for these re-alignments should be sought elsewhere.

The plain fact is that every political party is after power. Neither the Muslim League nor the Hindu Mahasabha is concerned very much about religion; nor is the Congress itself, for all its evocation of the Siamese twins of Truth and *Ahimsa*, really worried about spiritualizing the life of the nation. They are all after power—political power. And this power can be wielded more and more absolutely the less and less it is shared with others. Thus far the Congress and the Muslim League agree. But the Muslim League knows that, being after all a minority, and since, as Mr. Rajagopalachari remarked, arithmetic could never be cheated, it can by itself never dominate the politics of the country; on the other hand, it is afraid that the Congress is in a position to dominate and dictate to other parties in the country.

Three years of Provincial Autonomy have justified the worst fears of the Muslim Leaguers and other Minorities. The Congress had a majority in Bombay and in five other provinces. When the Congress formed a ministry in Bombay, the Congress party included no Muslim member. The Congress could then have started negotiations with the Muslim League and some other groups and formed a coalition government. After all, everybody in India wants *Swaraj*, prohibition, debt-relief legislation, educational reform, and so on. No sharp or fundamental differences in objective are discernible between the professed policies of the various parties. Where is the bar, then, to a coalition government? Perhaps, the pace may be a bit slackened, but will this sacrifice be not worth in view of the positive gain in the shape of communal harmony and unanimity in legislation? But the Congress Party was unwilling to share

the power with the other groups and hence decided to form a homogeneous cabinet. Nor was this all. To give the cabinet a non-communal character the first Muslim that agreed to sign the Congress pledge was offered a seat in the Cabinet. This was naturally looked upon by the Muslim League as adding insult to injury.

The same Congress was, however, willing to form coalition cabinets in Assam and the N.-W. F. Province. Obviously, the Congress had no objection to forming Coalition Governments on principle. It was always a question of parting with as little political power as possible. Power politics came first; the country's interests only afterwards. The result was the Pirpur Report, the Deliverance Day, and thousands of anti-Hindi prisoners in Madras.

Mr. Jinnah and Dr. Ambedkar realized that since in some of the Provinces the Hindus will be always in a majority, the Congress will always be in power; and the Muslim League and Independent Oppositions will always be deprived of a share in the government. They felt that democracy and the party system will always deprive them of such a share in the government. Hence they castigated the party system itself and declared that the British brand of democracy was unsuited to India.

Simultaneously, Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar of Madras, an ex-Congress President, also came to the conclusion that the party system should go if India wished to govern herself democratically. In his book on "Problems of Democracy in India" and his foundation lecture on "Stalemate and Re-organization," he has critically analysed the implications of party government and has expressed the opinion that it is more a travesty of democracy than a rational expression of the same. Party government can be tolerable only if "each party has in its turn a reasonable expectation of getting into office." In India, so long as our parties coincide with communal, religious or linguistic divisions, such a possibility has to be

ruled out. The majority is a permanent majority, and may not care to be always just and sensitive to public opinion. Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar hence advocated the formation of non-party governments in the Provinces and also at the Centre. Subsequently, Dr. C. R. Reddy and Sir R. K. Shunmukham Chetti have also endorsed Mr. Iyengar's opinions. Mr. Jinnah's latest statement, too, envisages the sharing of power in future India by the Congress and the Muslim League.

The party system has no particular sanctity attached to it. It was the creation of William III—a temporary expedient. But it persisted in spite of him. Still, the King chose his Ministers and presided over the meetings of the Cabinet. The accident of the first two Georges not knowing English made them refrain from attending the meetings of their Cabinets—and this later became a convention. But till the very close of the nineteenth century, parties did not prevail in England in the manner in which we understand their organization today. It was the late Joseph Chamberlain who first organized the party as a semi-military machine, with a thorough regimentation in rank and file, with a controlling caucus at the top. Henceforth, democratic forms but thinly veiled the autocratic methods controlling first the party and then the government itself. It is this type of autocratic government that the Congress swears by at the moment, largely because it is itself controlled by the little group of Gandhi-ites at the top.

In India the blind acceptance of the British model of democracy has already done much harm and a change must be effected without any further delay. Politicians should cease to look upon one another as traitors, to the country. Congressmen, the Liberals, Mr. Jinnah and his friends, Dr. Ambedkar and Mr. Savarkar, they are all true sons of India, and they should all be able to work together. It is dangerous to introduce a caste system in the realm of politics and develop a mentality that the Congress-wallah is *ipso facto* a member of a superior political caste. Appeasement

must be inaugurated by looking at political and economic questions on a non-communal and non-party basis. Non-party governments in the Provinces and at the Centre should be formed early, and these should be charged with the duty of working as a team, and they would be, not merely a guarantee of ability but also of harmony, within and without the legislature.

Papua is the least civilised place in the world. There isn't a single poison gas factory there yet.

—Looker On.

POLAND AND HER LYRIC POETRY

By M. KASHYAP

Both history and Hitlerism have made repeated attempts to efface Poland as a cultural and political existence. As a political existence we had ample testimony of its strength and chivalry during the Nazi invasion last year; while as a cultural existence, even in modern times it has produced philosophers and statesmen of the calibre of Pilsoudski. It is really a pity how little do we know of the magnificence of Polish literature and the grandeur of its lyric melody. In the realm of literature Poland had a glorious past. English literature owes its Conrad to the soil of Poland, and the scientific world will always cherish, with grateful remembrance, the memory of the mother of radium, Madame Curie, a Polish lady. These cultural links, which are only a few of the many, are too strong to be severed so long as literature and science and chivalry are recognized among the attributes of what is best human nature and human mind.

Curiously, Poland had the best moments of creative activity when she was sought to be wiped out the face of Europe. Oppression under three different alien governments had dreadfully threatened the extinction of Polish language and literature. In that century of Revolt, the nineteenth, Poland gave some of the greatest figures to the world, Mickiewicz to poetry, Chopin to music, and Matejko to painting, besides Marie Skłodowska and Conrad.

The three supreme poets of Poland, Mickiewicz, Slowacki and Krasinski, lived in the nineteenth century. Thus a potent and direct link between their highest creative inspirations and the ghastly tragedy of the mother country is remarkably evident. Their sweetest songs were those that sang of the saddest thought. They learnt in suffering what they taught in

song. When no means of national self-expression was available, literature expanded embracing all national activity and identifying itself with national sentiment. That is why the best of Polish literature, especially Polish poetry, is essentially and intrinsically patriotic; and this patriotism could find an adequate expression only in lyric outbursts and outpourings.

But were there not brave men before Agamemnon? And there were lyrists too in Poland before the violent Age of Revolt. Kochanowski, the prince of Polish poets, who represents the French influence in Polish poetry, who had come into personal contact with Ronsard wrote elegies and epigrams of exquisite charm. Sonnets came like a swarm of locusts everywhere in Europe and Polish poetry offers her own due share in this field. Classical poetry was widely read and translations were already undertaken, original poems were modelled on the classical lines of Tasso and Horace.

In the century of Revolt, Fredro arrived with the famous poem, 'Our Fatherland'; he fought as an officer in Napoleon's armies and wrote some of the best comedies in the tradition of Moliere. Fredro assures :

For as long as the soul of that race is alive,
They never shall rest but unceasingly strive,
As long as one sword-blade for freedom aspires.....
For Poland, our Poland, the land of our Sires.

Mickiewicz is a phenomenon second only to Pushkin in the whole Slavonic pantheon of the Muses. Undeniably, no greater poet enriched the poetry of Poland. Romanticism in Polish poetry dawned with Mickiewicz. Made captive and later banished by the Russian authorities in 1823 at the age of twenty-five, he never saw Poland again. He reminds us of Petrarch in exile. In Switzerland, France and Italy, he spent the last three decades of his life. He sang of "the pride and honour of the Polish past." For a martyr, as he himself was one, he claimed :

For his grave the sole memorial
Is the sere timber of the gallows-tree-
His only fame in woman's tears that fall
And long nocturnal talks by friends still free.

He has some lovely lines to say in the "Grave of the Potocka".

I, too, am fated to an exile's end.
Strangers will lay me here in alien earth.
But when some wandering poet shall attend
Your grave with tribute in the tongue of home,
Dreaming some lonely lyric into birth
My dust will wake and call to you to come.

Much of the exquisite lyric strain bubbled from many an exile's heart, and unlike Petrarch's Laura poems, they were invariably all patriotic poems.

Slowacki is another milestone in the splendour of Polish poetry. He is a luxurious blend of Shelley and Blake and represents the Spanish influence of the seventeenth century in Polish literature. He died of consumption. He celebrated the exiled and scattered Poles in his mystic muse, himself an exile. The boon of his desire is :

Give me that land on which I once did prove
The spirit of a patriot's free estate !

Krasinski, the last member of Poland's 'Romantic Trinity' was a Hamlet-like personality and was a general in Napoleon's armies. He wrote dramas and rhetorical and metaphysical poems too.

In this century appeared Poland's greatest poetess, Marja Konopnicka, who has the sociological seriousness of a George Eliot and who has extended her sympathies to the slums and the peasants. Her heart-beats sing in praise of democracy. "Miriam", the pseudonym of the Minister of Fine Arts, is a very familiar name in modern Polish poetry. He has done much in the cause of the advancement of Polish letters in our generation.

Leopold Staff is unquestionably the greatest living Polish poet. He has already suffered three years' internment in the interior of Russia. Staff is a craftsman *par excellence* and his sympathies are wide. His inborn patriotism has always sought to build a new Polish state before Hitler's callous outrage.

Marja Powlikowska is the youngest and the most gifted of the contemporary Polish poets. She has specialised and excelled in the Japanese style of tiny epigram, light and lovely. Here is one :

'Tis little, Lord, that I can see
In all the virtues men profess,
One virtue only I possess ;
I love my enemy.

Thus the pantheon of the Polish Muses is rich and splendid. It is believed that Poland has a growing number of poets who will ultimately raise Poland again as a free, glorious people.

* Note.—The translations of Polish lyrics quoted above have been taken from 'The Golden Treasury of Polish Lyrics' by Watson Kicronnell.

MARRIAGE

When Bernard Shaw finally married, someone asked him, "What do you think of marriage?"

"It is difficult to answer," the sage replied, "I might say it is like freemasonry : those who are received into the order cannot talk about it, and those who are members are pledged to eternal silence."

—Coronet, Chicago.

DESTINIES OF NATIONS

By "PANKAJ"

The prejudice of the modern scientific world against astrology has been engineered by some materialists who are not in a position to conceive the higher and more sublime manifestations of Divinity. Everything in the world and the universe cannot be rationally explained and yet we know that certain phenomena are so observed that they can be correctly predicted beforehand. Every day sunrise and sunset, for instance, can be predicted beforehand without anybody assigning any reason for the prediction except that one observed the previous day the same phenomena occurring at the same time. People ask how it is possible for planets at such a great distance to make or to unmake our destinies. The answer is quite simple. The bigger manifestations of the Divinity such as the sun and the moon reveal their effects on us in quite a perceivable way; the smaller units may do so quite unperceived. If a man stands in the sun in the hot months of June or July he gets ill, but the same man may welcome sunshine in the months of December or January. If the full moon can cause the flood tide and the waning moon can alter the timings of the tides, why should we not believe that other stars also can have some influence on us in varying degrees at their particular position relative to earth, just as the above two have a varying effect in different positions?

What is destiny? It is only a chart of events which are to play their part in the span of life of a man or a nation. We count our years of life by the movements of either the sun or the moon. Destiny also is chalked out in the same term of years. Just as in a year the sun is very hot in June and not so very hot in October and quite welcome in the month of December, we can deduce in a life the various good

and bad spans. Just as human beings differ from other living and animate beings and possess the sense of wisdom and knowledge, the finer effects of other planets also come into play with their destinies.

Leaving aside the question of individual destinies, let us look at the destinies of nations. Hindu astrologers of the past have assigned to different countries different signs which in turn are ruled by different planets. The twelve signs of the Zodiac, their nature, their lords and the countries governed by them are as under.

1. Mesha (Aries). It is ruled by Mars, the lord of warfare and military achievements. It rules England, Germany (in parts), Denmark, Palestine, etc.
(Fiery)
2. Vrishabha (Taurus). It is ruled by Venus who rules money and possessions. It rules Ireland, Persia, Poland, etc.
(Earthy)
3. Mithuna (Gemini). It is ruled by Mercury who rules over intelligence, wisdom, etc., in this sign. The countries governed by this sign are Belgium, Flanders, Wales, U. S. A., etc.
(Airy)
4. Karkata (Cancer). It is ruled by the moon, the lord of love, mines and places under earth. The countries governed by this sign are Scotland, Holland, Germany (parts), China, etc.
(Watery)
5. Sinha (Leo). It is ruled by the Sun and is called fiery sign. It rules pleasures, theatres, etc. The countries ruled by this sign are France, Italy, etc.
(Fiery)
6. Kanya (Virgo). It is ruled by Mercury who rules foreign business, trade and commerce in this sign. The countries ruled by this sign are Turkey, Switzerland, Assyria, etc.
(Earthy)
7. Tula (Libra). It is ruled by Venus and in this sign the sun is at its lowest position. The countries ruled by this sign are Austria, Japan, Indo-China, etc.
(Airy)
8. Vrischika (Scorpio). It is ruled by Mars. The countries governed by this sign are Algeria, Morocco, Transvaal, Queensland, etc.
(Watery)
9. Dhanu (Sagittarius). It is ruled by Jupiter who rules over social and religious thoughts, law and order, etc. The countries governed by this sign are Spain, Hungary, Arabia (parts), etc.
(Fiery)
10. Makara (Capricornus). It is ruled by Saturn, the lord of destruction and higher philosophy. The countries governed by this sign are INDIA, Punjab (specially), Afghanistan, parts of Persia, Greece, Thrace, Macedonia, etc.
(Earthy)

11. Kumbha (Aquarius). It is also ruled by Saturn but here its effect is more material than spiritual. Countries governed are Arabia, Abyssinia, Poland (parts), Russia, etc.
12. Meena (Pisces). It is ruled by Jupiter. Countries governed are Portugal, Sahara, etc.

It will be interesting to note that India and Afghanistan are both ruled by the sign Makara which is ruled by Saturn. Saturn is called Manda (Slow) and takes approximately 30 years to go round the complete circle of the Zodiac. Jupiter is another major planet and takes about 12 years to go round the sun. These planets of Jupiter and Saturn have their conjunction (i. e., coming together in the same sign in the same degree) every 20 years. These conjunctions have great effects on the destinies of nations. The effects last for 240 years and as they take a long period to come together in a particular sign from where they separated after one conjunction, the effects last till they come again in that particular in the same degree.

Now coming to India, the ruler is Saturn which is termed as slow and also a planet of destruction. It has been termed as the father who eats his own children. It is a planet which causes big spiritual upheavals and philosophic changes. It is responsible for the birth of big thinkers and sages. Its plane is more philosophical than material in the sign of Capricorn or Makara while in Kumbha or Aquarius its plane is more material. Russia is ruled by Kumbha and the materialistic outlook of Russians and the spiritual outlook of Indians form good contrast.

The vernal and autumnal equinoxes are also not fixed. It has been observed that they move backward in the signs of the Zodiac and this phenomenon is called the precession of equinoxes. Its motion is very slow but it exercises the biggest influence on the destinies of nations. About the year 380 A. D. the equinox (vernal) coincided with the first point of Mesha rashi. The exact date is not known as the fixed star which marked the first point of Mesha has disappeared. But it was somewhere about that year that this phenomenon

occurred. The complete precession of equinoxes takes about 25,800 years. This gives about 2,160 years for retrocession through one sign of the Zodiac. The Hindu astrologers further divided all signs in nine equal parts for finer calculations and these parts are called Navamansa.

Thus Mesha is divided as under :

1. Mesha, 2. Vrishabha, 3. Mithuna, 4. Karkata,
5. Sinha, 6. Kanya, 7. Tula, 8. Vrishchika, 9. Dhanu

Vrishabha is divided as—

1. Makara, 2. Kumbha, 3. Meena, 4. Mesha, 5. Vrishabha
6. Mithuna, 7. Karkata, 8. Sinha, 9. Kanya.

Mithuna is divided as—

1. Tula, 2. Vrishchika, 3. Dhanu, 4. Makara, 5. Kumbha,
6. Meena, 7. Mesha, 8. Vrishabha, 9. Mithuna.

Karkata is divided as—

1. Karkata, 2. Sinha, 3. Kanya, 4. Tula, 5. Vrishchika,
6. Dhanu, 7. Makara, 8. Kumbha, 9. Meena.

It will be seen that now the Sinha will start from Mesha in Navamansa division and so also Dhanu. Similarly earthy signs, e. g., Vrishabha, Kanya, Makara, will have similar divisions starting from Makara. Airy signs will start like Mithuna's divisions. Watery signs have the divisions as that of Karkata and the present retrocession of the equinox (vernal) is through Meena or the watery sign.

These divisions have $3\frac{1}{3}$ degrees at their disposal. The retrocession of the equinox through one sign can be also divided into nine parts and each part has a periodicity of 240 years approximately. This periodicity is an era of big changes in the world. This 240 years can also be divided into three parts of eighty years and the effects are also perceptible in different degrees in these small divisions. It will be interesting to note that the equinox gives benefits from first to sixth houses and contrary effects from 7th to 12th signs of the same chart. The countries governed by different

signs can be thus known in their progress or fall, knowing the Navamansa sign of the receding equinoxes.

In the year 380 A. D. the vernal equinox coincided with the first point of Mesha sign. It was in the Mesha Navamansa of Mesha sign for a period of 240 years before that. That means 140 A. D. It was in Vrishabha Navamansa of Mesha sign for a period of 240 years before that, i.e., it slipped into Vrishabha Navamansa in 100 B. C. Similarly it slipped into Mithuna Navamansa of Mesha sign in 340 B. C. It slipped in Karkata Navamansa of Mesha in 580 B. C. Before that it had been for 240 years in Sinha Navamansa. Now it is interesting to note that the present historical documents give the best period of India from Asoka's accession and the time is coinciding with the slipping of vernal equinox into Mithuna Navamansa of Mesha and counting from Makara it comes to the sixth house. In 100 B. C. it slipped into Vrishabha Navamansa and a new order of things came to India. Because of the favourable position of the equinox, the waves of invasions due to some bad conjunctions of stars could not make any permanent effect on India.

In the year 380 A. D. it slipped into Meena Navamansa of Meena sign. It was in a watery sign in the third house from Makara. It was the time when the Gupta empire was at its height and Greater India was emerging in the Far East by the enterprising Indian navigators and the naval supremacy of India was acknowledged by all powers. It was adversely affecting England, Germany, Italy, etc., and the chaos of the worst type was there in those countries.

About the year 620 A. D. the vernal equinox slipped into the Kumbha Navamansa of Meena. This period was also not bad for India. In this Navamansa a new order of religion was being made and the Holy Prophet of the Muslims had begun to preach his doctrines. Arabia, being ruled by the sign Kumbha, got the benefit of the birth of the Prophet on its soil. In India Buddhism began to lose ground and Hinduism

began to gain strength. This period gave the spiritual authority of the Popes over a large number of followers.

In the year 860 A. D. the equinox receded into Makara Navamansa of Meena. This was the time when India was having Ramanuja who was remodelling the *bhakti* cult. This was the last period of India's prosperity because after that the recession of the equinox was to take place in Dhanu Navamansa of Meena and that was falling in the twelfth house from Makara.

In the year 1100 A. D. the equinox receded in Dhanu Navamansa and India's evil days began. Before this period no outside invader could completely subjugate India and even though the armies of Islam had overrun the whole of Western Asia and Europe, India was holding its own against them. This period of 240 years was through the fiery sign and warfare was in full swing all over the world. The whole of India was overrun by Muslim armies.

In the year 1340 A. D. the equinox passed into Vrischika Navamansa of Meena. This sign is also a watery sign and the naval enterprise by nations was seen by the discovery of a new continent by Columbus and a new sea route to India by Vasco de Gama. The ruler of this sign is Mars and it was during this period that absolute and dictatorial monarchies were witnessed all over the world. The Moghul empire was consolidated in India and monarchal rule gave some passing relief. It was passing through the twelfth house of Spain and the defeat of the Spanish Armada saw the complete destruction of Spanish power in Europe.

In 1580 A. D. the equinox slipped into the sign of Tula Navamansa of Meena. In Tula the sun is detrimental and even the favourable equinox is not capable of giving full benefits and they are delayed to the succeeding sign, while, where it is badly aspected, the effects are the worst. It was passing through the tenth house of India and seventh house of England and the period that followed Akbar's death is

well known. As this Navamansa is of Venus, the lust for pride and possession was ignited in the hearts of ambitious rulers. The countries governed by the Sun had to suffer the most. Though its passage was favourable to France, the ruin which it brought to her by needless wars was very great. India passed through her worst period in this passage. England and Germany also could not resist the power of Napoleon. The third battle of Panipat completely destroyed the hopes of the establishment of Maratha empire.

In 1820 A. D. the equinox slipped into Kanya Navamansa of Meena. The ruler of this Navamansa is Mercury who rules trade, foreign business and industrial enterprise. It started with the death of Napoleon and the passage is very favourable to England and Germany. Its passage is responsible for the complete destruction of the maritime trade of India and the wholesale ruination of her industries and trade. As the countries which are governed by Mesha are benefited by its passage, the one who gets the first advantage will have to relinquish it in the second half of the period. The subsequent passages are favourable to England and Germany but little hopes can be given for Russia. The equinox will give some advantage to India but the link with the British Empire is not likely to break for some years to come.

Along with the passage of the equinox the conjunctions of the planets of Jupiter and Saturn if adversely affecting the countries might lessen some of the advantages of the favourable passage of the equinox and might enhance the benefits if it falls favourably along with the favourable equinox. If both happen to be unfavourable, it is to be surmised that the Divine wrath is on that particular country with full vengeance.

It is interesting to note that the passage of the equinox through earthy signs, i. e., Vrishabha, Kanya and Kumbha, or through the signs just opposite to them, i. e., Vrishchika, Meena or Sinha, always gives the greatest thinkers and

Prophets to the world. Just while it passed through the Sinha Navamansa of Mesha (600 B. C.) Lord Buddha was born. While it passed through Vrishabha Navamansa of Mesha, Jesus Christ was born; while it passed through Meena Kumbha Navamansa of Meena Mohammad was born; while it passed through Vrishchika Nanak and Kabir were born. The present passage is also favourable for a Prophet's birth and we have to wait and see. Finally, it will interest the Hindus to know that the approximate time of Lord Krishna, and which can be called the earliest possible time, comes to about 1500 B. C. The time taken is of Vrishchika Navamansa of Mesha as in that period the rivalry between the Yadavas and the Moors for the supremacy of the sea was going on.

As yet a large number of observations are required to be made with regard to the procession of equinoxes, and it is hoped that more light will be shed on the subject in future.

Every one complains of the badness of his memory, but nobody of his judgment.

—ROCHE FOUCAULD.

GOPINATH

THE WIZARD OF KATHAKALI DANCE

By "ART LOVER"

In connection with the wedding celebrations of the Bikaner Ruler's eldest grand-daughter, Gopinath, the Palace Dancer of Travancore, recently visited this place on invitation, accompanied by his famous troupe, and gave a series of performances of Indian Classical Dance. The troupe in the present itinerary consists of five male dancers, five female dancers and an orchestra of seven. The musical instruments in use are the veena, violin, flute, mridanga and tabla.

Needless to say, the performances here were an unprecedented success evoking the admiration of the spectators and attracting a large cultured audience, which included several Indian Rulers.

The Maharajah of Bikaner—the true lover of Art that he is—evinced keen interest in, and was highly appreciative of, Gopinath's Dances, which were supported by a select group of musicians, who formed the background orchestra.

Gopinath is a consummate artiste dancer, trained from childhood in *Kathakali* by the best experts. The tradition of his art has been handed down for four hundred years in his family.

"The genius of India is displayed in his art," says Mr. Frederick Leveaux (of the Bath Club, London). Verily so. With twelve years' rigorous training under experts, Gopinath has made his debut on the stage, when hardly thirty, as the finest exponent of *Kathakali*—perhaps 'the oldest dance in the world.' He has removed the dross, reviving Indian classical dance by modernising it and eschewing the sibyllic contortions, and making this "ancient art a living tradition in India."

What is this *Kathakali*, which is still in vogue in Malabar and what are its salient features? For convenience' sake it may

be dubbed as a sort of dumb show. Episodes from the Indian classics such as the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*, which command universal interest, will have to be interpreted to the audience by gestures, facial expressions, signs and symbols and *Mudras*. The dancers never speak or sing. It is surely no mean task. The orchestra interprets the theme of the play enacted. The music and the dance are very closely interlinked. The musicians' task is to recite the theme, while the dancers depict it vividly by their motions. Every sign, each slither and thud of the dancer's feet conveys a world of meaning. Religious instruction is thus imparted to the people through the medium of Art, which is *Kathakali*.

It is gratifying to note that Gopinath is determined to rescue Indian classical dance from the evil days on which it has fallen, due to centuries of neglect and lack of patronage and partly to popular apathy. He has already achieved much by way of spade work in this behalf but there is much leeway to be covered up.

With the permission of the Travancore Government he has started the *Sri Chitrodaya Nartakalayam* in Trivandrum, for imparting instruction in Indian Classical Dance based on *Natya Sastra* as practised in Kerala. It is no doubt an ambitious undertaking. Thanks to the munificent aid given by the State and that promptly, the institution is becoming popular, and visitors, both Indian and European, have showered encomiums on its efficient management. This augurs well for the future of this much-neglected art.

It must be confessed that he is not only a brilliant dancer, but he is equally great as a teacher. He has written a book in Malayalam, explaining and propounding the theory of his art and has also prepared charts for the guidance of his pupils. In seven months he has trained Keshav Das, now in his troupe, whose bewitching Nataraja Dance bespeaks the efficiency of both the master and the pupil. Ordinarily it takes six years to have a good grounding in dancing plus, of course, natural aptitude.

If Gopinath is renowned for his refined beauty, technical accomplishments and manliness, his talented wife and dancing aprtnr, Shrimati Thankamani, is no whit lagging behind him. She is an epitome of grace, gifted with an enchanting personality, revealing in her rhythmic actions and postures, a unique mastery of the art. To see the couple is to come under their charm, especially in their Gouree-Sankara Kreeḍa or Radha-Krishna Dance.

Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, an art-critic of no mean order, witnessing one of Gopinath's performances

experienced a thrill of delight at the assurance it has brought to us that the ancient art is still a living tradition in India, with its varied grace and vigour and subtleties of dramatic expression. [Dr. Tagore said] he is a real artist..... He brought to my mind glimpses of a great past, when dancing was one of the most treasured arts in India."

Gopinath, may it be said to his credit, never plays to the gallery. His appeal is limited to a coterie of genuine art lovers. He refuses to woo cheap popularity. In his performances, music, though of a high order, is relegated to the background, while the dancers monopolise the stage by their vigour, grace and charm. There is no meretricious display to beguile the idle hour, but a free, frank and natural expression of life in its richer aspects, through cent per cent. classical dances.

"When will Gopinath go and give his art to the world?" exclaimed Dr. Gaultherus H. Mess. May I, as a worshipper of art, underline the foregoing suggestion, wishing him god-speed!

INDIAN INDIA

CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS IN MYSORE

By RAJASABHABHUSHANA DEWAN BAHADUR K. R.
SRINIVASA IYENGAR

It has of late become usual for politicians of a certain class in British India to characterise the Indian States in general as being backward and tyrannically governed, with no security of either person or property for their subjects. Such sweeping generalisations do not take count of the fact that there are several hundreds of States in India conditions in which vary greatly from one another and that, while there may be States the administration of which rightly merit condemnation, there are others wherein the standard of administration compares most favourably in every respect with that of the best governed British Indian Provinces or even foreign countries. Mysore occupies a foremost place in the latter class. Mr. Kanhaya Lal Gauba who is no admirer of Indian States and who in his book "H. H. or the Pathology of Princes" published in 1930 makes a scathing attack on the Princes in general and their vagaries, speaks of Mysore as one of the exceptions to the general rule. To quote his words:

The Mysore State has the enviable reputation of being the best administered of Indian States. In the opinion of Miss Yvonne Fitzroy, who was for many years closely connected with the Viceregal Court, the Maharajah is the only Prince who has granted a genuine constitution to his people, and his rule is extra-ordinarily enlightened and progressive. [And again he says:] In 1831 the administration of the State was taken over by the British Government. Fifty years later, in 1881, the State was restored to the old dynasty under conditions and stipulations laid down in the instrument of transfer. Since then, Mysore has made rapid strides both in the development of its natural resources and in representative institutions. In many quarters it is the opinion that, in some aspects, the administrations of Mysore and Travancore are ahead of British India. This book is however concerned with the rule rather than the exception. Mysore, Travancore and some others are exceptions.

Since these words were written about nine years ago, Mysore has made further strides forward in all directions, so much so that every distinguished visitor to the State including eminent Congress leaders and ministers of British Indian Provinces have borne testimony to the benevolent rule of H. H. the Maharajah, his great solicitude for the welfare and happiness of his people, and the remarkable progress made in recent years in the State in the development of industries, the expansion of irrigation, rural improvement and reconstruction—in fact, in all matters calculated to promote the economic well-being and prosperity of the people. Notwithstanding all these blessings, combined with absolute security of person and property, enjoyed by the people of the State under the strictly constitutional rule of His Highness, there has been for some time past an insistent demand from a section of them for a change in the constitution and for the introduction of a form of responsible government on the lines of that recently brought into effect in British India. In consequence of this demand and in view of the long time that has elapsed since the constitution was last revised in 1923, a committee of 26 persons (of whom 2 were officials and the rest were experienced non-officials representing all interests and communities in the State) was appointed by Government in April 1938; and on the recommendation of the Committee, several far-reaching reforms, as will be detailed below, have been sanctioned and announced by His Highness in November last to liberalise the constitution, associate the people more largely with the Government and enable the legislature to exercise more effective influence and control over the administration.

Before proceeding to deal with the Reforms now sanctioned by His Highness, it may be useful to give a short history of the existing constitution, as it has gradually developed from stage to stage. As mentioned already, the administration of the State was in the hands of the British Government for 50 years from 1831 to 1881, when it was

restored to the Maharajah in the person of His Highness Sri Chamarajendra Wadiyar Bahadur. One of the first acts of His Highness on the rendition of the State to him was the establishment of the Representative Assembly, consisting of leading and representative landlords, merchants, &c., from all parts of the State with a view to making known to the people through them the measures adopted by Government for the administration of the State and to give them an opportunity of expressing their views on such measures and also of bringing to the notice of Government their wants and grievances in all departments of the administration. The Assembly which first used to meet once a year during the Dussarah season in the capital of the State was the first of its kind in India and its inauguration was hailed throughout the country as a very progressive and beneficial measure. The members of the Assembly were first nominated by Government; but, in course of time, the seats were all allowed to be filled by election, an additional session of the Assembly was held during the Maharajah's Birthday Session, the annual budgets of Government were placed before and explained to the Assembly and it was also given the privilege of being consulted on all measures of legislation and taxation proposed to be introduced by Government. This state of affairs continued till 1907 when the next step forward in the direction of constitutional development in the State was taken by the establishment in that year of the Legislative Council consisting of not more than 15 members (besides the Dewan and Members of the Executive Council) of whom not less than 2/3rds were to be non-officials. The function of the Council under the Act of 1907 was strictly limited to legislation and it had no power of calling for information or passing resolutions regarding the administration and the conduct of the Executive. Though some amount of advance was made in respect of electoral and other privileges of both the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council between the years 1907 and 1922, they were considered inadequate to meet the growing demands of the people and a

mixed committee of officials and non-officials under the chairmanship of Dr. Sir Brajendranath Seal, the then Vice-Chancellor of the Mysore University, was appointed in 1922 to work out the details of a full, comprehensive and up-to-date scheme of constitutional reforms suitable to the conditions of the State. On the report of the Committee, the Representative Assembly and Legislative Council Acts of 1923 were enacted embodying the reforms sanctioned by His Highness and a proclamation was also issued by His Highness announcing the reforms. These acts are still in force and the present constitution is based on them.

According to the above-mentioned Acts and the Rules issued thereunder as amended up-to-date, the strength of the Representative Assembly is fixed at a minimum of 250 and a maximum of 275 members. All the seats are to be filled by election, provided that, in respect of seats for which properly constituted electorates cannot be formed, they may be filled by nomination by Government. The members of the Assembly have the privilege of making representations to Government in respect of their wants and grievances relating to any department of the administration, asking for information by means of interpellations regarding the action of Government, passing resolutions on matters of public importance and discussing the State budget. The Assembly is also entitled and has the right to be consulted beforehand on every measure of legislation proposed to be undertaken by Government; but in cases of urgency when previous consultation with the Assembly may not be possible, it may be dispensed with. The Assembly thus serves at present as a popular body for the ventilation of the needs and grievances of the people in all spheres of Government and for the expression of public opinion on all matters of importance including legislation which are placed before them by Government or otherwise brought to their notice.

Turning next to the Legislative Council, its present strength is 53, (including the Dewan-President and the 2

Members of the Executive Council who are *ex-officio* Members thereof). Of these 23 are officials and 9 are nominated officials and the remaining 21 are elected non-officials who are thus in a considerable minority in the house. All legislative measures have to be placed before and passed by the Council and approved by the Maharajah. The members of the Council have the power of asking for information by means of interpellations and passing resolutions on matters relating to the actions of Government. The budget has to be placed by Government before the Council and all proposals for appropriation of Revenues under the several heads—(excepting a few excluded items such as those pertaining to the palace, military forces, pensions, &c.) are to be submitted to the House in the form of demands for grants. It will be open to the House to reject or reduce any demand; but the Government have power to incur the proposed expenditure notwithstanding its rejection or reduction by the Council, if they consider it necessary for discharging their responsibility or for carrying on the administration.

The Executive administration of the State is conducted, subject to the control of the Maharajah, by a Dewan and two or more Members of Council (the present number is 2) who may be appointed by His Highness either from officials or non-officials entirely at his pleasure and discretion. In practice, however, no non-official has been appointed to the Executive Council during the past 40 years and more; and the Members of Council have been appointed from among officials alone. The several departments of administration are distributed among the Dewan and Members of Council and each of them disposes of all ordinary matters relating to his portfolio. All important matters, however, of which a schedule or list approved by His Highness is maintained have to be placed before the entire Council including the Dewan and submitted with their opinion, whether it is unanimous or divided, for the orders of His Highness. The 'scheduled' subjects include

such matters as imposition of new or abolition of existing taxes, proposed measures of legislation, annual budgets and appropriation of revenues, appointment of all officers of and above certain grades, remissions of judicial sentences, memorials for mercy from persons condemned to death, material revision of establishment of any department, all estimates for works costing above a prescribed minimum amount, &c. In respect of all these matters which have to be submitted by the Dewan to His Highness with the opinion of the Council, it will be open to His Highness to accept their opinion or pass such other order as he may consider proper. As a constitutional ruler, His Highness is generally guided by the advice of his Council, though on occasions which are very rare, he has had to differ from their recommendations, in the discharge of his responsibility for the administration and for the welfare of his subjects.

II

Coming to the Reforms which have now been sanctioned on the report of the Constitutional Reforms Committee and announced by His Highness the Maharajah, the most important ones are those relating to the constitution of the Legislative Council and the Executive Council. Whereas the Legislative Council now consists, as already mentioned, of 53 members of whom only 21 are elected and the remaining 32 are nominated officials or non-officials, the reformed Council will have a strength of 68 members of whom 44 will be elected (24 by general territorial constituencies, 10 by minority communities, such as Mahom-madans, Depressed Classes, Indian Christians and Europeans, and 10 by special interests such as University, Trade and Commerce, Planting, Labour, etc.) and only 24 will be nominated by Government, of whom *not more than 12* can be officials including the ministers, all of whom will be *ex-officio* members of the council. The elected members who will be in a preponderating majority of about 2/3rds will thus be in a position to effectively influence the decisions of the Council and the actions and policies of the Government. It may

be observed that the Government have taken note of the recommendation of the Committee that though provision is made at present for the nomination of 24 members, this number should not be treated as fixed but should be considered as the maximum which should not be exceeded. It is hoped that it will be the policy of Government to gradually reduce the number and in course of time bring it down as low as possible, if not to dispense with nomination altogether.

Another important change will be that while at present the Dewan is the *ex-officio* President of the Legislative Council, the new reformed Council will be given the privilege of electing its own President and also a Deputy President from among its *non-official* members. For the first term, however, the President will be nominated by His Highness the Maharajah, as was done in the British Indian Provinces. The Dewan will not be a member of the Council but will have the right to attend meetings of the Council and address it whenever he wishes to do so. The elected non-official President as also the Vice-President will be removable on a vote of no-confidence passed by a 2/3rds majority of the Council. Their emoluments will be fixed by the Council itself subject to the approval of His Highness. Mysore will thus be the first Indian State to have the privilege of having an elected non-official President for its Legislative Council and also an elected non-official Deputy President.

I have already referred to the power now possessed by the Legislative Council to discuss the budget and vote on the demands for grants for the several departments of Government. It may be noted here that, while in most Indian States in which the budget is placed before the Legislative Council only discussion of the budget is allowed but no voting thereon and that, even in the few States like Travancore and Cochin wherein voting is allowed, it does not extend to the salaries of officers of and above a certain grade such as Tahsildar, District Munsiff, etc., in Mysore every item of

demand comprised in the budget and the salary of every officer however high—including the Dewan—is subject to the vote of the Council; so that in this respect the Legislative Council enjoys a higher privilege than that of any other Indian State. At present, however, though every demand for grant is subject to the vote of the Council, Government have power, in relation to any demand rejected or reduced by the the Council, to act as if it had been assented to, notwithstanding such rejection or reduction, if they consider the expenditure necessary for the carrying on of any department or for the discharge of their responsibility. Though, in the absence of full Responsible Government, the retention of such power in the hands of Government is essential for carrying on the administration, it will, under the new constitution, be exercised only on a formal certificate made by the Dewan about the necessity for the restoration of the demand. It is expected that such certificate will be made by the Dewan only if absolutely necessitated by circumstances and even then only with the approval of His Highness and after submitting to him the resolution of the Council, so as to enable him to give due consideration to the grounds on which the demand was rejected or reduced by the Council and have suitable action to redress any grievances or remove any defects in the administration brought to notice by the Council.

Another vital change and one of far-reaching importance—which will be made under the new constitution is in respect of the appointment of the Ministers, by which name the present members of the Executive Council will also be called hereafter. While there are at present only 2 members of the Executive Council, both of whom are members of the Civil Service, the Executive Council will hereafter consist of the Dewan and *not less than* 4 Ministers of whom 2 *at least* are to be selected from among the *elected* members of either the Representative Assembly or the Legislative Council. The selection and appointment of the Ministers will be at the pleasure of His Highness the Maharajah. It may be presumed

that His Highness will choose for his Ministers only persons who, besides possessing his confidence by reason of their character, capacity and experience, may also be expected to command the esteem and confidence of the public at large and that while he will be under no obligation to choose the leader or any other member of the majority party in the Council or the Assembly, he will in the ordinary course do so, if suitable persons can be found in the party, due consideration being given at the same time to the claims of the representatives of minority communities and of special interests in both the houses. It may also be observed that to restrict the selection of the Ministers to the leader and members of any one party will necessarily lead to party government which, in the opinion of many eminent men including ex-Presidents of the Indian National Congress, is unsuited to the conditions of British India and is all the more so to Indian States as it will militate against the responsibility of the Ruler for the good government of the State by forcing him to choose as his Ministers persons whom he may not consider quite fit for the place and in whom he cannot therefore repose full confidence.

The appointment of Dewan will be entirely at the pleasure of His Highness. He may be appointed from among officials or non-officials. While he will be the channel of official communication between His Highness and the Ministers, he will have no power to overrule the Ministers in any matter and any differences of opinion between him and the Ministers as also between the Ministers among themselves will be submitted by him for the orders of His Highness.

The new constitution does not contemplate a system of dyarchy, with its division of Reserve and Transferred subjects and a certain amount of disparity between the status and powers of the respective Ministers. All the Ministers under the reformed constitution will have equal pay, status and power and the several departments of administration will be distributed among them, no minister being under a disability to hold change of any portfolio on the ground of his having been appointed from among non-officials.

Doubts have been expressed in certain quarters about the successful working of a cabinet consisting of both official and non-official Ministers. Considering that, unlike in British India, there is no conflict of interests between the rulers and the ruled in Indian States, there is no reason why a combination of official and non-official Ministers therein should prove unsuccessful. The official Ministers with their varied administrative experience and knowledge of the working of the several departments, and the non-official Ministers with their intimate acquaintance with the people and their demands, wants and grievances may well be expected to pool their knowledge and experience and work together harmoniously for the good of the State, under the guidance of the Maharajah, who will act as arbitrator when there is any difference of opinion between them on important matters of policy or otherwise. Further under the new constitution, as only the minimum number of non-officials will be fixed as 2 and no limit placed on the maximum, it will be open to His Highness to reduce the number of the official Ministers or even to do away with them altogether and select all his Ministers from among the non-official members of the Legislature if he considers it necessary or desirable to do so at any time.

The term of office of the non-official Ministers appointed from the elected members of the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council will be co-extensive with the terms of these bodies, which are fixed as 4 years as against 3 at present, while the official Ministers will hold office during the pleasure of His Highness, subject to retirement on superannuation in accordance with the Mysore Service Regulations. The Ministers—whether official or non-official—will not be removable from office automatically on a vote of no-confidence passed against them by the Legislature. There will, in fact, be no provision in the constitution for bringing forward a vote of no-confidence as such against the Ministers, either individually or as a body. The provisions embodied in the constitution for discussion of the Budget, for the rejection of demands

for grants, for cut motion on the demands and for passing resolutions on the actions and policies of Government in all departments of administration will provide quite sufficient opportunities to the Legislature for bringing to the knowledge of His Highness any deficiencies or defects in the administration and for giving expression to its dissatisfaction or disapprobation of any measure or policy of Government and it will be left to His Highness, who will be kept informed of all such discussions of the Council, to pass such orders as he may consider suitable according to the circumstances of such case—to direct the Ministers to remedy the deficiencies, defects or grievances brought to his notice, to call on them to change their policies in accordance with the view of the Legislature or to remove any of the Ministers or appoint others in their stead if the adoption of such a drastic step is necessitated in public interests.

Turning next to the Representative Assembly, though a few advanced politicians in the State consider that it has outlived its original object and is no longer necessary under modern conditions, the general public opinion is strongly against its abolition on the ground that it has served, and continues to serve, a most useful purpose as it enables its members who are elected representatives of people drawn from all parts of the State including the most distant Taluks to personally meet the members of Government at least twice a year, give expression to their wants and grievances as also the defects and shortcomings observed by them in any department of administration and to voice the opinion of the people at large on all measures of legislation and taxation and all other matters of importance under the consideration of Government. In accordance, therefore, with the popular desire, the Assembly will be continued in its present form and character but its strength will be slightly increased and it will be given certain additional rights and privileges as detailed below :

(1) The maximum strength of the Assembly which is now fixed at 275 will be increased to 310, mainly by increasing the number of seats reserved

for Mahommadans from 18 to 30 and for depressed classes from 6 to 30, and reserving 11 seats for women as against only 4 at present. Of the 310 seats, 300 will be filled by election and 10 by nomination by Government of persons with expert knowledge or special experience whose presence in the Assembly would be useful and add weight to it.

(2) At present the Assembly need not be consulted beforehand and its opinion ascertained in respect of *urgent* measure of legislation proposed to be undertaken by Government. This will be abrogated and it will be made obligatory for Government before introducing any bill in the Legislative Council, however urgent, to first place it before the Assembly and obtain its opinion thereon, emergent situations being met by Government by the passing of temporary ordinances which will be in force for 6 months ordinarily and for one year in exceptional cases in which it may not be possible for the bill to be placed before the Representative Assembly and then got passed by the Legislative Council within 6 months.

(3) At present the opinion of the Assembly on any bill placed before it is not binding on, and may be ignored by, Government. In future when the principles or provisions of any bill placed before the Representative Assembly are opposed or amended by a 2/3rds majority of the Assembly, its verdict must be accepted by Government. In exceptional cases, however, wherein the Government consider it necessary to proceed with the bill in the Legislative Council in public interests or for ensuring safety and good Government notwithstanding the opposition of the Assembly, they may do so; but before they do it, they should issue a statement giving reasons for their decision and send a copy of it to all the members of the Assembly and the Council.

(4) The existing restriction against members of the Representative Assembly bringing forward bills before the Assembly will be removed, and any member of the Assembly will be allowed to place a bill before the Assembly for its consideration, after obtaining the permission of the President which will be generally given except where the discussion of the bill is likely to be detrimental to public interests.

(5) The restriction now placed on the total number of interpellations, representations and resolutions that can be brought forward at any session of the Assembly will be done away with and as a consequence the duration of both the Dassarah and Birthday sessions will be somewhat extended.

(6) The franchise for the Assembly will be extended by reducing the minimum land revenue payable by a voter from Rs. 25 to Rs. 15 and also substantially lowering the educational qualifications of voters who do not possess the prescribed property qualification. A lower qualification will be prescribed for voters of the depressed classes than for others so as to give the same percentage of voting strength to the community. As a result of these measures the number of voters will be immediately doubled. Though the Government are against a further enlargement of the electorate immo-

diately and at a bound on account of the practical difficulties in its working, it is hoped that they will go on steadily and gradually extending the franchise further from time to time, with a view to the attainment of the goal of adult universal suffrage at no distant date.

(7) The members of the Representative Assembly as well as the Legislative Council will be given the same freedom of speech as is enjoyed by the members of the British Indian Legislatures under the Government of India Act, and they will also be exempted from arrest under civil process during the sitting of the houses.

The vexed question of joint *vs.* separate electorates for the minority communities was fully discussed and considered by the Committee on Constitutional Reforms. The 3 Mahommadan members on the Committee who reflected the opinion of the members of their community in the State stood out for separate electorates as in British India and were thoroughly opposed to any form of joint electorate. The majority of the other members of the Committee, while feeling that communal electorates would practically break up that close unity of interests between Hindus and Muslims which has been a happy characteristic of the relations between the two communities in Mysore and would retard the growth of a sense of common citizenship and therefore strongly favouring the adoption of at least some form of joint electorate as a compromise, did not wish to have it forced on the community if it was unacceptable to it and therefore suggested that the matter may be left to the choice of the community itself. The Government who agreed with the views of the Committee consulted the leaders of the Muslim community and as they found that the community was uncompromising in its opposition to joint electorate in any form, they considered it desirable to accede to the wishes of the community and have accordingly sanctioned the adoption of the system of separate electorates for the community for the time being in the hope that "the system will not retard the growth of a sense of common citizenship and that it may be possible at no distant date to adopt a qualified system of joint electorates, if not of entirely common electorate". The same system has been sanctioned by Government for the Indian Christian community also for similar reasons.

With regard to the seats reserved for depressed classes, their representative on the Committee urged at first for separate electorates, but ultimately a compromise was arrived at and a system of joint electorates decided on, which has been approved by Government, according to which the successful candidate, in addition to this getting a prescribed percentage of his own community's votes, should also obtain a certain small percentage of the non-communal votes polled.

III

In view of the cry raised in certain quarters for the introduction of 'full responsible government' in the State, the question was most carefully considered by the Committee on Constitutional Reforms. It was found that many of the people who had raised the cry did not quite understand the implication of the term. 'Full responsible government' in the sense that the responsibility for the administration should be left entirely in the hands of Ministers chosen from the majority party in the Legislature, the ruler being obliged to ratify and put his signature to anything placed by them before him, thereby reducing himself, in the words of Mr. Bernard Shaw, to the position of a 'rubber stamp', is, in the opinion of the Committee, quite opposed to the conception of kingship in India and is also quite inapplicable to Indian States, the rulers of which have no independent sovereign powers and are bound by the terms of the treaties with the Paramount Power. It is further not wanted by anyone in the Mysore State, excepting a few persons among the extreme Congressites; and most of them have qualified the term 'full responsible government' with the words 'under the aegis of the ruler'. Unless the addition of these qualifying words is intended to be a mere verbiage and camouflage with no real significance attached to them, they can only be interpreted as meaning that the responsibility of the Ministers for the administration must be subject to the control and supervision of the ruler and his responsibility for the good government of the State. The

Committee on Constitutional Reforms after a thorough discussion and examination of the question in all its aspects, have recorded it as their opinion that though it may not be practicable in the present condition of the State and its people to introduce responsible government at once,

the goal to be kept in view in all constitutional reforms in the State should be the attainment of a system of responsible government *under the authority and protection of the sovereign—i. e., a system in which the administration is carried on by a cabinet of ministers appointed by His Highness the Maharajah and enjoying his confidence and also the support of the Legislature, the power of His Highness to ensure peace, order and good government and to safeguard the interests of all classes of his subjects including the minorities and to satisfy the term of the treaty with the British Government remaining unaffected and supreme in all circumstances, and the stages of progress towards the goal being determined by His Highness according to the measure of success attending each stage*".

Though the Government have expressed their inability to make a formal declaration of the goal as recommended by the Committee, it will be seen from the account given above of the reforms now sanctioned by them, that they are all, as a matter of fact, directed towards the goal as envisaged by the Committee and that they amount to a substantial advance in the direction of such goal.

POEMS

MY SPRING

By KALIPADA MUKHERJEE

When my spring comes into my mind,
this earth in a twinkling behaves like heaven.

The songs of the cuckoo are transformed
into the strains of the lute of an heavenly dancing girl.

And the scents that ravish my soul
are wafted from the 'parijata' flower of everlasting bloom.

The sea—it is deep blue, bluer than any earthly sea.
Oh, who knows how very blue the sky is!

The moon is only as my heart desires—
and I bathe myself in the nectar of its beams.

Oh, who has seen such beauty as that of its
bright-plumaged birds and bright-rayed flowers?

Who has seen such a sun ushering in such a morning?
Who has seen such stars adorning such an evening?

Under that sky is an arbour of bliss
beneath whose roof of foliage I see the beloved of my heart.

There in spring, our union becomes ever new.
And our embraces are full of new pleasures:
our love becomes newer in our ever-new hearts.

(Translated from the original Bengali sonnet by the
Author.)

Twentieth Century Miscellany

RUSSIA HAS ITS "MEIN KAMPF"

Russia is nearly as big as all the rest of Europe put together. If sheer numbers were power, Russia could regard itself as destined to conquer the world. Peter the Great, the Tsar who had "put Russia on the map" by the beginning of the 18th century, believed that this was Russia's destiny, and left behind him in his Will full instructions as to how "Europe can and ought to be subdued."

This extraordinary document, which formed the foundation of Russian Imperialist policy, was deposited in the archives of the palace of Peterhof, and the French obtained a secret copy of it in 1757. It reads almost as if it might have been penned by Stalin; it also bears a most remarkable resemblance to *Mein Kampf*.

Here, for instance, is the bit about the effete nations to be conquered:

"The European nations have mostly reached a state of old age, bordering on the imbecility or they are rapidly approaching it; naturally, then they will be easily and indubitably conquered by a people strong in youth and vigour."

And here are the principal rules laid down for the conquest.

"On every occasion take a part in the affairs and quarrels of Europe; above all in those of Germany, which country being the nearest more immediately concerns us.

"Divide Poland ... If the neighbouring Powers start difficulties appease them for a time by parcelling out the country, until you can retake in detail all that has been ceded.

"Take as much as you can from Sweden and cause yourself to be attacked by her so as to have a pretext for subduing her.

Extend your possessions towards the north along the Baltic and towards the south by the Black Sea.

"Approach as near as possible to Constantinople ... Penetrate to the Persian Gulf; re-establish, if possible, the ancient commerce of Levant through Syria: and make your way to the Indies.

"Sweden severed, Persia and Turkey conquered, Poland subjugated, our armies reunited, the Black Sea and the Baltic seas guarded by our vessels, you must make propositions, separately and discreetly—first to the Court of Versailles and then to that of Vienna" (the two great Continental Military Powers of Peter's day) to share with them the empire of the universe.

Peter boasted: "I found Russia as a rivulet, I leave it a river, my successors will make of it a large sea, destined to fertilize the impoverished lands of Europe, and its waters will overflow, in spite of opposing dams erected by weak hands, if your descendants only know how to direct its course."

Many of Peter's successors have done their best. But except for the brutal subjugation of Poland, now a second time repeated, Peter's plan has not prospered. It seems that even the "weak hands" of nations as small as Finland may prove able to stem the torrent.

—M. BELLASIS,

in the *Daily Telegraph*, London

SWEDISH IRON ORE FOR GERMAN GUNS

Sweden, which has been producing iron as far back as the thirteenth century, was for long its only exporter. But at that time, she had only exploited the deposits of central Sweden. To-day, more than two-thirds of Swedish iron ore is extracted in the north, far beyond the Polar Circle.

These far northerly mines have two great advantages: the ore lies near the surface of the earth, so that its exploitation is a comparatively simple matter; and the ore

found is of an extremely high quality. Its richness and purity make it eminently suitable for the construction of war materials.

But there is one disadvantage: access to the deposits is not an easy matter. A railway, crossing the entire Scandinavian peninsular from south-east to north-west, is used to ship the ore to the port of Lulea, from where it is exported.

Lulea is situated over 150 miles from the principal iron-producing regions and during half the year (November to April), the port is obstructed by ice. Then it is necessary to send the ore by rail to the port of Oelosund on the Baltic, about 550 miles farther on, before it can be exported.

To avoid this long journey, it is a much more simple and less expensive matter to ship the ore to the other terminus of the railway, the Norwegian port of Narvick. This port is only about 100 miles from the iron regions and is rendered free of ice by the Gulf Stream.

Sweden exports practically all the ore extracted from her soil; one-third via the Baltic, and two-thirds by the North Sea.

Sweden stands fourth in the ranks of steel-producing countries (behind the United States, Russia and France). But she is *first* in the list of exporting nations. She exported almost 13,000,000 tons of iron ore in 1938. Of these, seventy seven per cent. went to Germany. The remainder to Great Britain (thirteen per cent.), Belgium, the United States and Holland. The consumption of Sweden herself is very low—about one million tons.

Without Swedish support, Germany would be in dire straits because of her lack of iron ore. German production, however, has greatly increased in recent years; from 7,570,000 tons in 1936 to 11,145,000 tons in 1938. This has been largely due to the intensive exploitation of Austrian ore.

German iron ore consumption is extremely high. Before the war it was approximately 33,000,000 tons per year. The 22,000,000 tons in which she was deficient could only be

obtained by means of imports. In 1938 forty per cent. of these 22,000,000 imported tons came from Sweden and about twenty-five per cent. from the British Empire. The rest from France and other countries.

The war makes German dependence on Swedish iron even greater. First, German needs have greatly increased: war demands a great utilization of steel, and steel of high quality. The present production of all German territories (including Poland, Austria, Bohemia and Slovakia) does not exceed 15,000,000 tons at the maximum and German reserves do not exceed 20,000,000 tons. Germany can no longer obtain anything from France, French Africa or Newfoundland.

American ore would not be forth-coming for two reasons: the blockade and the "cash and carry" regulations. As for Russian ore, it is barely sufficient for Soviet consumption. Only Sweden and Luxembourg remain.

Luxembourg production cannot be more than a temporary respite to Germany. From the Grand Duchy not more than 2,000,000 tons of ore could be obtained, scarcely a tenth of what would be necessary. Swedish ore, therefore, is the only hope of the Reich.

To prevent the English fleet from blockading Swedish iron ore, to prevent neutral nations exporting to nations other than Germany, to have more access to the centres of ore production, such is German policy. If it fails, Germany has failed. No "ersatz" can save her.

This perhaps may explain the present prudence of the German Army on the Western Front: a very intensive warfare would exhaust too quickly the reserves of Germany.

—RENE SEDILLOT,
in *L'Europe Nouvelle*, Paris.

HOW WILL HITLER GO?

Hitler is reported to have said some months ago, "When I have done with these Poles, I will seek to earn my living as

an artist." As an artist! Did he forget, or did he never know, the last words of the Imperial lute-player, "What an artist perishes in me!"?

The truth is that unlimited power, linked as it commonly is, in those who have waded through slaughter to a throne, with an unlimited ambition, itself the product of an abnormal mind, usually qualifies its possessor, if not for the madhouse, at any rate for the "retreat".

It is a sound working rule—especially outside purely religious experience—to regard with deep distrust those who pass through ecstatic periods and claim to receive special instructions from the unseen world. The Voices heard by Joan of Arc and Oliver Cromwell—two absolutely different and contrasted temperaments.... are beyond my philosophy. But when Hitler speaks of the Voices he has heard, the world is more than sceptical, especially since they have persuaded him that it is his duty to lie, to murder, to persecute the Churches, to pillage and torture one race and to exterminate, as far as possible, another.

Hitler has never shrunk from crime in fear of ghastly punishments. If the State benefited, no other justification was required; to the State alone need he render account.

When Hitler, in his own phrase, took upon himself to be "the Supreme Court of the German People" for the space of twenty-four hours, he sanctioned a political massacre on the Neronian scale. Roehm, "his friend and fellow-fighter," was shot like a dog, not for his vices, which Hitler had known and tolerated for years, but because Hitler feared him. If Hitler now sees hideous shapes and "gory locks" in his dreams, what wonder? If his night thoughts work like madness in the brain, is it surprising? At least it shows that something of conscience is left, for without conscience there is no remorse.

His set purpose has been to render it impossible for Czechoslovakia and Poland to raise their heads again as States strong enough to compel the directors of the Reich to take

their presence into account. Yet their right to live is as unchallengeable as Germany's.

The arch-criminal is the madman Hitler. His egoism is insane. "Are you not aware," he shouted at Von Schuschnigg during the brutalities of his last interview with his victim, "that you are in the presence of the greatest German that history has ever known?"

This revival of despotism in great States is a ghastly denial of the Victorian belief in the steady progress of mankind towards an ever-increasing sanity and towards larger conception of liberty and life.

Dictator is only Despot writ large. The world is not safe with this madman loose in it. Whether, after defeat, his Generals bring him down or, as the satirist said, the cobblers get frightened of the madman in the purple, and smoke him out, we shall one day look for Hitler—and find him gone.

—J. B. FIRTH,

in *The Daily Telegraph and Morning Post*, London.

THE WAR—AND AFTER

What do human beings want most? The answer appears to be, Security and Freedom. Security comes first, for if you do not know when your children will have their next meal, you are not interested in the refinements of political theory. (This fact is apt to be overlooked by the democracies.) On the other hand, the point at which the demand for security changes into the desire for freedom is soon reached. (This fact is overlooked by the totalitarian states.) Security-at-the-expense-of-freedom only seems to apply with most people to elementary needs and does not apply to radio sets, cars, tiled bathrooms, antique furniture, collections of etchings, and the like. Freedom, by which I do not mean anything transcendental but the absence of the censor, the informer, propaganda-at-all-costs, forced labour, and the whole dreadful paraphernalia of the police state, comes long before these things are reached,

at least among the healthy-minded. It seems nothing while you have it. But it seems everything when you have lost it. Ask the nearest refugee.

It may be, however, that there is something in the modern world, no matter whether it accepts capitalist democracy, communism, Nazism, Fascism, that is bent on rapidly reducing the number of the healthy-minded, is adding the wits of Man, is making it harder and harder to be easy, merry, affectionate and wise. It may be that all this fuss about machinery does some damage to the imagination, that life in our huge idiotic cities poisons the psyche, that too many people secretly regard their own activities with contempt, that we are creating an atmosphere, in peace as well as in war, in which the spirit cannot flower freely, that our inability to answer the major questions of life and our frequent pretence that therefore they do not still exist are producing profound and terrible conflicts. Perhaps where we need it most, we have no Maginot Line.

—J. B. PRIESTLEY,

in *Horizon*, London.

* * * * *

HITLER

Hitler no doubt, when his life ebbs out,
Will ride in a flaming chariot,
Seated in state on a red hot plate
Twixt Satan and Judas Iscariot.

Ananias that day to Barabas will say,
My claim to precedence falls in;
Move up a bit higher away from the fire,
Make room for the liar of Berlin.

—*Newcastle Evening Chronicle*.

CINEMA

THE DOCUMENTARY FILM

By SHEIKH ISTEKHAR RASOOL

The cinema started with documentary films. The first films ever made had subjects as 'The arrival of a Train' or 'Workmen leaving a Factory', and although the first public show of Messrs. Lumiere's films included also the narrative film, we know that the famous 'Arroseur arrose' fascinated the spectators not so much by its 'plot', i. e., by presenting a gardener teased by a malicious companion, but for the fact that the leaves of the trees were shown moving naturally in the wind—as they had never been able to do on the stage. In the following fifty years, the gardener gained a complete victory over the moving leaves, as far as the film audiences are concerned; but if we wish to deal seriously with the cinema those leaves remain the essential fact as they were in 1895.

Very soon, actors and actresses, of the most unnatural kind obtained leading parts on the screen, but it is well to remember that even the slap-stick comedies showed real houses, real streets and real trains. In the course of time, however, reproduction more and more displaced reality, and when huge Egyptian temples and Roman castles were constructed on the studio grounds the contribution of nature was limited to sunlight, sky and wind. Even these last elements proved not to be indispensable: the film companies locked themselves up in rooms without windows and when, in the 'Cabinet of Dr. Caligari', the painter's brush transformed chairs, desks and even human faces into abstract ornaments, nature seemed to be definitely exorcized.

MASS ENTERTAINMENT

The cinema had started as a simple mass-entertainment. But when it became self-conscious and claimed to be an art of

its own kind it had to face strong theoretical objections. It was stated that works of art could not be produced with mechanical tools; but this objection had been made before against nearly every new art tool and it was comforting to know that Leonardo da Vinci had to defend painting against poetry with the following words: 'If you call it mechanical because the hands represent by their craft what the painters invent in their phantasy, even you, the writers, have to note down with your pen by hand-craft what you find in your mind.'

A much graver objection asserted that the mechanical reproduction of real things excluded the liberty of creation necessary for artistic work. Dr. Caligari gave no counter-evidence against this because the liberty of art-director's phantasy belonged to the old art of the stage. To establish the cinema theoretically as a new art, it was necessary to show that certain differences between reality and its reproduction on the screen allowed the artist to influence the aspect of real things in a deliberate way. The practical demonstration of this theory was given on the one hand by the Russian films, which enhanced the authenticity of the photographed facts to the utmost but succeeded nevertheless in giving them a very strong expression by developing the specific art of taking and editing the pictures; it was given on the other hand by the French Avant-garde which by a clever use of the camera and montage melted the images of everyday things into surrealist compositions.

CINEMATOGRAPHIC ART

The reign of cinematographic art seemed to be definitely secured but it was not. Theory and practice had demonstrated, it is true, that the cinema was not merely a reproduction but nevertheless there remained, indubitably, a rest of material reality which could not be overcome. The painful aspect of actors of flesh and bone sitting on abstract chairs in Dr. Caligari's cabinet proved that the film could not reach the absolute sovereignty of abstract painting and in the Avant-garde

films even the most artful combination of real elements could not conceal the seams between the single things: they were joined together only by montage, that means by addition, and artistic creation is something more than addition. The more recent films of Charlie Chaplin, as 'City Lights' and 'Modern Times', showed obviously a loss of that precious special atmosphere which had formerly procured an unreal background to unreal happenings and acting. It was not Chaplin's fault; he had perfectly maintained his style; but the improvement of the lighting technique and the higher sensibility and better tone rendering of modern emulsions had destroyed the crude black-and-white effects which had given the photographic picture the abstractness of a wood-cut. This inherent disunion between reality and fiction was less evident in films of a more normal type. But it concerned the cinema in general.

The unavoidable collaboration of reality had not only negative effects. On the contrary, after many years of film production it became very clear that the more lasting and profound impressions had not been given by the refined studio work. This means that the cinema has given its best where its work has been based on the natural expressiveness of the real fact. Being prevented by reality from reaching the very heights of free creation it has used reality to produce values which can be given by no other means. It has transformed a drawback into an advantage.

THE TALKING FILM

The turning point in this came with the talking film. This represented an enormous progress in the recording of real facts but deprived the film art of two essential qualities: the disintegration of the continuity of space and time and the independence of the picture by limiting the use of the spoken word to small doses represented the sacrifice of the new means without preservation of the old one. As to colour, the richest means of pictorial expression, it also completed considerably the fairfulness of reproduction but confined the film to the

rendering of local colour, *i. e.*, fixed the optical character of every object whereas the monochromatic film allowed to give every object, by means of lighting, nearly every desired shade from black to white.

The only conclusions from all these facts could be that the cinema was destined, by its own nature, for the complete and faithful reproduction of reality and that its development tended to this aim. Such a theory seemed rather daring and heretical but happened recently to be confirmed by facts in a surprising way. It began with the news-reel, in search of a method which should allow to give a more complete survey of the present-day events, added reconstructed scenes to the actual documents of reality. Personages of contemporary history were represented by actors, real events were remade in the studio.

Of course, such a method involves serious dangers. As it pretends to give the authentic truth, fiction becomes falsification. Even if the utmost is done to prevent subjective interpretations—a thing which is almost beyond human power—the mere fact that fictive and authentic material is indistinguishably melted in a whole tends to spoil our sense of reality. If a thing pretends to be the whole truth and nothing but the truth, it cannot be allowed to smuggle in stage performances.

THE NARRATIVE FILM

The enormous success of this new type of news-reel had an immediate influence on the narrative film. Authenticity was a new attraction for a public surfeited with fiction of the most superficial and monotonous kind and now a method has been demonstrated how to mix the two elements. The film 'The Confessions of a Nazi Spy' was launched with the claim to be a faithful reproduction of facts. Actors assumed the parts of well-known personages of our time; news-reel material was sporadically inserted. Although unique in its kind, it determines exactly the point which the development of the cinema has now reached. In comparison with the immediate strength

of this type of film, all other films of the usual kind appear suddenly pale and old-fashioned. They seem artificial without being art; so do similar films without more dignity and a keener human interest.

Documentary and reconstructed material is mixed in this kind, and the reconstruction gives the effect of a foreign substance; not only because the documentary scenes are very strong but also because the meaning even of the reconstructed scenes lies so exclusively in the facts that no actor's art seems necessary to give them a psychological content.

Of course, it is not our aim to condemn fiction in itself. All art justifies the fact that fiction can give a higher truth than reality. But as it is not art's task to reproduce reality, art is out of place where reality shall be reproduced. The question is to know whether in the future, the cinema will try to go on with fiction or to go over completely to authenticity.

The documentary film reduces narration to a minimum. It cannot substitute the narrative film as a mass-entertainment. But it appears that the cinema, in the present state of its technique, has only two ways to get rid of its hybridism. Either it becomes photographic theatre—and it is well to remember that television which is probably destined to supersede the cinema, succeeds only with the most artificial efforts to introduce some simple cinematographic devices into its theatrical technique. Or it becomes reproduction of reality.

We do not want to prophesy. But it seems necessary to become conscious of the facts and to face the consequences.

The Twentieth Century Library

ONE NATION

By H. M. ABBASI

Hindus and Musalmans of India—By Atulananda Chakrabarti. Thacker Spink & Co. (1933) Ltd., Calcutta. Price Rs. 2-8-0.

This is a profusely-documented, exceedingly well-written and really commendable book. Review as it does, the synthesis and evolution of our present-day culture, broad-based as it is on Indo-Islamic foundations, in the words of the author, this timely publication, if properly utilised, will go a long way to bridge the yawning gulf which to-day unfortunately divides the two leading communities of India.

Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, in the course of his presidential address at the first session of the Indian Cultural Conference, "had deplored the perfunctory and injudicious treatment which Indian history has received". Rt. Hon. Sir Akbar Hydari whose "inspiration and kindly encouragement" the author acknowledges in his Note, had in his convocation address at the Dacca University, urged the need of "decommunalising history". It is needless to mention that the crying need of the hour, as voiced by one of India's most distinguished administrators as well as an eminent savant, will be partly met by this laudable effort. It is hoped that the new trail so beautifully blazed by Mr. Chakrabarti will be taken up and amply explored by other students of Indian history.

The book has a very appreciative foreword by Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan and a brief but impressive introduction by Mr. W. C. Wordsworth of Calcutta, and consists of a dozen chapters.

Mr. Chakrabarti's approach to the study of the Hindu-Muslim problem is new. He believes that "the conception

of a state, both in Islam and Hinduism, is primarily theocratic; hence, "in India, religious forces and cultural manifestations not only make up the essentials of life but mould both politics and society." No wonder "his approach to an understanding between Hindus and Musalmans has been through a preliminary examination of their religious beliefs and psychological foundations". Having in view the above, he is also of opinion that "the western technique of laying exclusive emphasis on politics is bound to be a failure." (p. 2). Further on, he says:

We disagree because we learn our lessons from false history. When the history of India is re-written on true lines, both Hindus and Musalmans will realize that they have been entertaining some very queer illusions about each other. (p. 33).

Communalism, as it presently obtains in India, is a recent production. In support of the above thesis, Mr. Chakrabarti cites some interesting facts. As early as the eleventh century

Hindu and Muslim languages were beginning to be intermingled. Both Hindus and Musalmans of culture used to mix Persian and Hindi words in expressing their thoughts. By the time of Sikandar Lodi the mixed language Urdu had developed considerably. It became a highly suitable vehicle for the new thoughts that were stirring the Hindu-Muslim world of a new India. (p. 83).

The two peoples were beginning to open a path of unity in their social life and forms. The leaders of this path-making were *Sheikhs* and *Sadhus*. They were the finer souls of both communities. They taught the superb faith of the love of one God and the brotherhood of man. Amongst those who were inspired by it were Sultan Husain, Shah of Bengal, Sultan Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur, Emperor Akbar and Prince Dara Shikoh". (p. 91).

Not only this, but "a long line of saints—prototypes of Nanak, Kabir and Chaitanya preached to both Hindus and Muslims a simple religion based on *Bhakti* or love of God" (p. 98) with the result that "Hindus offered sweets at Muslim *Dargas* and Musalmans paid homage to temples. They drew so close that the need of a common worship was realised. Sultan Husain Shah of Gaur forged an agreeable combination of faiths. It was the cult of *Sattya-Pir*." (p. 101).

"Muslim poets like Alwal, Aliraja Shah Akbar, Nasir Mohammad, Habib, Salbeg, Kabir, Shekhlal, Kanai and Samser Ghazi sang the praises of Vaisnava gods with true ring of devotion and reached a high degree of poetic excellence, while the lays of Hasan-Husain were incorporated in the Hindu Gajan songs (p. 102).

With the fusion of ideals once started, the fusion of forms was not a long way off. Here and there began to spring up religious orders which were based on both faiths and both forms of worship. (p. 103)

"Yet high authorities on Indian History have preferred to describe its medieval period as "the days of that dark period". A refinement in human relations is the true test of culture. Viewed from this perspective, neither our critics nor we ourselves have any reason to look down upon our legacy of the medieval period—a legacy that constitutes our principal hope for the future. Happily there are Indians who are profoundly conscious of this historic legacy.

Speaking at the Bombay Presidency Muslim Educational Conference, Sir Akbar Hydari made the stirring appeal:

This is a matter which concerns the welfare of Islam and the honour of all Muslims, as of all Hindus, in India. It is good for us to be reminded that we are bound together historically by ties not merely geographical but of good neighbourhood, close friendship and mutual understanding during centuries. These happy memories of the past inspire us with hope and confidence for the future, assuring us that there is a firm foundation of understanding which we have in common with Hindu neighbours—a foundation which we must preserve from thoughtless destruction a foundation upon which we can upraise the noble monument of—if God wills—a united nation—(pp. 105,106).

In the Khuda Bux Library at Patna is preserved a testament of instructions given by Humayun to Akbar in which the father asks the son to rule his subjects without discriminating between Hindus and Musalmans and to discourage slaughter of cows in order to win the goodwill of the Hindus. (pp. 125-126).

Akbar founded schools where Hindu and Muslim boys studied together. Abul Fazl prepared a suitable curriculum in accordance with which Hindu scholars were taught their own culture in the *Madarsas*, along with Mohammedan scholars who had their own additional subjects to study. (p. 127).

Akbar, Jahangir, Shahjahan and Aurangzeb usually drank Ganges water—for the carrying of which a *dak* system was maintained (p. 132).

Jahangir celebrated with the pomp of a Hindu Court the festivals of *Dewali*, *Daschra*, *Sivaratri* and *Rakshabandhan*, even as he observed the *Shab-barat* or *Id*. (p. 131).

His frequent visits to the Hindu Yogi, Gosain Jadrup, are recorded in his autobiography—about whom he writes "God Almighty has granted him an unusual grace, a lofty understanding, an exalted nature and sharp intellectual powers, with a God-given knowledge and a heart free from the attachments of the world." (pp. 116, 117).

Similar was the interest of his grandson, Prince Dara Shikoh, educated in Sanskrit lore, at Benares. His Guru was a great Hindu savant, Baba Laldas (p. 133).

Further on Mr. Chakrabarti shows that neither Aurangzeb nor Sivaji was inspired by communal motives in their political programmes.

Had Aurangzeb been inspired by a genuine communal feeling, he would not have fought against the Afghans on the Frontier when he was on the eve of a life and death struggle with the Rajputs. He fought Bijapur and Golkonda with as much zeal as against the Marathas. (pp. 136, 137).

Sivaji too had no communal hatred against the Musalman as such. He stood against the levelling down of the independent states by the Moghul steam roller. It was conceived as a political cause and had nothing to do with religious conflicts between Hindus and Muslims.

Aurangzeb had in his services many Hindu *mansabdars*, amongst whom Maharaja Jaswant Singh and Raja Jai Singh were Provincial Governors. One Ragh Nath was his Finance Minister. In the same way, some of Sivaji's important generals were Muslims—Admirals like Siddi Sambhal, Siddi Misri and Daulat Khan; and commanders like Siddi Halal and Nur Khan. He had even a picked Muslim cavalry on whom he could rely in pitched battles. Qazis obtained a clear legal position in his state. Nor were there any disabilities from which the Muslims suffered in this Hindu Kingdom. Aurangzeb addressed him as "Raja Sivaji Bhonsle Muti-ul-slam, i. e., one favourable to Islam".

Shahji and Sharifji—Sivaji's father and uncle—had their names derived from that of the Pir Shah Sharif, to whom the family was devoted. Sivaji

himself frequently paid devout visits to a Faqir, Baba Yaqub of Bankote. Sivaji did not confiscate any land and property belonging to his Muslim subjects by right of grants from the former Muslim Raj. Neither during peace nor during war would Sivaji lay hands on any Mosque or show disrespect to the Holy Quaran; on the contrary he offered gifts to the religious institutions of his Muslim subjects. He made it a point to send away any Muslim woman who was taken captive immediately to the care of a Muslim family. These and similar other kinds of attention paid to Islam by Sivaji have been attested by no less an authority than Khafi Khan himself, a bitter enemy of the Mahratta rebel. (pp. 136, 137, 138, 139).

Thus it is apparent that

each community was losing its angularities and was acquiring a habit of working for the common weal, in social and economic matters. Nor were the two peoples slow to recognise that in matters of religion, in spite of undoubted differences, there was an appeal of affinities as well. In music, painting, architecture, language and literature, as well as in economic deals, the two communities evolved a common outlook. Above all, there was the inexorable need—the downright necessity—of making a common home for both.

It was the social impulses of the masses that in India from age to age regulated the relations between different races and communities and broadened the base of Indian nationalism. (pp. 144, 145).

How at the height of supposed Muslim domination was such a beautiful cultural synthesis brought about? It was a case of mutual confidence, appreciation of each other's viewpoints and admiration of the other's qualities. Abul Fazl, the great humanist and historian of Mughal India, writing about the Hindus says:

The general opinion of the Hindus being polytheists has no foundation in truth; for although their tenets admit positions that are difficult to be defended yet that they are worshippers of God, and only one God, are incontrovertible points. They, one and all, believe in the unity of the God-head; and although they hold image in high veneration yet they are by no means idolatrous as the ignorants suppose.

In the words of the author, "can modern India do better than look back for light and lead to men like the great Kabir", a Muslim weaver, who had his initiation from the Brahman saint, Ramanand?

His message to the two communities about the underlying unity of their faith and ideals was vitally necessary in his own times as it is in ours. Kabir says "The difference in faiths is only due to difference in names; everywhere

there is the yearning for the same God. Why do the Hindus and Musalmans quarrel for nothing? Keep at a distance all pride and vanity, insincerity and falsehood; consider others as the same as yourself, let your heart be filled with love and devotion. Then alone will your struggle be successful". (pp. 147, 117, 118).

It would be interesting to note that when persecuted by both the Hindus and Musalmans of his time, the ancient equivalents of some of our present-day friends—Sikandar Lodi, the then reigning monarch, convinced of the sincerity of the reformer, contrived to protect him.

How Mr. Chakrabarti wants to bring about the desired state of affairs will be apparent from the following :

A spiritual machinery has to be set in motion, a large missionary order has to be established with a view to permeate the mass mind with a living faith in a common culture and an ardent determination to fulfil a common purpose. Before any political formula of unity can actually do the work it is intended to, there must be that un-written mutual confidence which alone can inspire the people of different communities to realize that their national interest is one. That un-written mutual confidence can come back to us only when we will find that much of our ideological antagonism is a myth and that our cultural heritage has quite a composite character. Our initial and basic need is not a mere settlement of sordid interests; it is the overcoming of our fear that they are mutually exclusive". (pp. 149-150).

But I am afraid our fissiparous tendencies have had such a long innings that a mere belief that our "ideological antagonism is a myth and that our cultural heritage has quite a composite character" alone will not do. Something more than a campaign of correction of the mutual misinformation of each other's cultural heritages, a conscious recognition that all different racial and cultural groups, amidst us, contain a rich variety of cultural values, and an appreciation and admiration of these gifts of the spirits, are needed. Some happy, sound and generally accepted cultural programmes to adjust and harmonise the cultural and social values of the various ethnic stocks, making up our common Indian nation, will have to be evolved, for which purpose the theory of an Indo-Aryan "melting-pot", based on the assumption that one element, howsoever numerous otherwise, constituted the "norm", while the rest of the groups, howsoever important, needs must line

up or play a secondary role, will have to be avoided. The importance of numbers in this matter need not be over-emphasised, since the cultural imperialism implicit in such an attitude will defeat its own end. We have to tap the tremendous reservoir of human energy inherent in the various layers of our population, which can only happen when our culture becomes a symphony of the various groups, each contributing to the music of the whole.

In short, what should be aimed at is not a federation of distinct cultures but the acceptance of some sort of "cultural pluralism" as the basis of the amalgamation of our various cultural groups, *Hindustani* language and the common traditions of our corporate life providing the requisite nexus. It can be safely assumed that if the above programme is given a fair trial, India, instead of becoming a wretched battle-ground of disgruntled minorities and disillusioned majorities, will be like the peaceful home of a happy family.

Pithy quotations from the speeches, addresses and writings of distinguished personalities, *e.g.*, Mahatma Gandhi, Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Rt. Hon. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Hon. Sir Shah Mohammad Sulaiman, Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore, Rt. Hon. Sir Akbar Hydari, Sir Mirza Mohammad Ismail, Hon'ble Nawab Mirza Yar Jung Bahadur, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar and Hon. Sir Maurice Gwyer, appear in the last pages.

The suggestion of Sir Radhakrishnan that every Indian youth should have a copy of this book, deserves to be welcomed. If condensed and translated into various vernaculars and widely circulated, it is sure to remove a lot of inter-communal prejudices, presently obtaining amidst us, and prepare the ground for a better understanding and happier relations between the two communities.

FROM SPENSER TO CHESTERTON

By "BOOKMAN"

Critical Studies—By B. L. Sahney. B. H. U. Book Depot, Benares. Rs. 2 8-0.

To the reading public of India in general and to students of English literature in particular, Prof. B. L. Sahney of the Benares Hindu University, is no stranger. His various critical excursions have already made him a familiar figure on the Indo-Anglian stage. And like a true scholar, he keeps the flame burning—and sheds more and more light.

The book under review—his latest but not his last work—has a wide range of topics, from the poetry of 'divine Spenser' to the essays of doughty Chesterton. In between, we come across some rare spirits—majestic Milton; the perennially attractive Byron; Tennyson and Browning—the one nearly perfect as an artist and the other very profound as a thinker; and Mathew Arnold, classical in texture and critical in temperament. Select poems of enduring excellence, such as Browning's 'Rabbi Ben Ezra', Rossetti's 'The Blessed Damo-

zel', Meredith's 'The Garden of Proserpine', Tennyson's 'Sir Galahad' and a quartet of Sonnets—the most famous ones by Shakespeare, Milton, Wordsworth and Keats—, come in for special, though brief treatment.

These critical studies are of unequal length but not of uneven merit. Prof. Sahney has perspective as well as the gift of presentation. He reveals in no small measure the qualities of sympathy, understanding and judgment. He is emphatic in his opinions, but never dogmatic. His admirable chapter on Byron shows that he can write with Garvinian sweep and avoid Garvinian gusto. He is a very discerning critic.

He not only enables the reader to have a better appreciation of men of letters but awakens his interest in standard works. To students he is a most reliable and helpful guide, to all readers a genial companion in the world of scholarship. Not the least of his merits is his craftsmanship. He writes limpid prose which it is a pleasure to read.

Historic Lucknow—By Miss Sidney Hay. Pioneer Press, Lucknow, Price Rs. 3-8-0.

Those who have known Lucknow and felt its peculiar charm will find in *Historic Lucknow* by Miss Sidney Hay a book of gripping interest. In her easy but impressive style, Miss Hay has traced the history of the Nawabs of Oudh from the first great Nawab Wazir to the last Nawab Wajid Ali Shah. Though it is a story of decline both in the art of building and in governance, yet it is not without its strong human interest. This is because the history of the Nawabs of Oudh is very near our own times and to a great extent linked closely with our own record. As the Rt. Hon. Lord Hailey, ex-Governor of the U.P., who writes the foreword rightly says:

It is no picture of far-off and half-understood things; we are looking all the time on the Lucknow of the Nawabs with their mixture of Oriental and Western extravagance; the Lucknow of Claud Martin, and above all of Henry Lawrence and the Residency.

In addition to the history of the ill-fated Nawabs of Oudh, the volume gives a graphic description of the historic

and stately buildings built by them. Though the artist may find in these buildings much that is artificial and even extravagant, yet they cannot but stand as the last monuments of Muslim architecture in India; and as such, they cannot but be looked upon as India's artistic and cultural heritage, of which Indians may well be proud. To make the volume attractive, apt illustrations by the *Pioneer's* well-known artist, Mr. Ahmed, have been added, which help in bringing the picture of the period more vividly before the mind's eye.

C. N. ZUTSHI.

The Oxford Book of English Verse—1250-1918. (New Edition) Edited by Sir Arthur Quiller-couch, Oxford University Press. Price 8 sh. 6d.

It is forty years since 'Q'—the celebrated Quiller-couch—gave the students of English literature, the Oxford Book of English Verse, for the first time. The publication was an instantaneous and signal success. Years have not deprived it of its merit and charm, and it has always remained a classic in the realm of anthologies; besides Palgrave's *Golden Treasury*. It

has run through twenty-one impressions, but the latest is an enlarged edition, covering wider ground and containing fresh material and recent specimens, down to 1918. "In this new edition [says 'Q'] I have risked repairing the old structure with a stone here, a tile there, and hope to have left it as weather-proof as when it was first built". The hope, however, modestly expressed, is well-grounded.

While making the strange confession that 'I felt my judgment insecure amidst post-war poetry', he vigorously denied 'a charge of crabbed age' for 'of experiment I still hold myself competent to judge'. Few will dispute that in introducing the reader to all that is of lasting value in the literature of the past, no anthologist has brought to his task the qualities, in a greater measure, of disciplined taste and discerning judgment. The new edition, wider in choice and finer in quality is 'a thing of beauty' and 'a joy for ever'.

"BOOKMAN"

Leaders of India—By Yusuf Meherally, (No. 1. Van-

guard Booklets), Allied Publishers, Bombay.

The Allied Publishers are to be congratulated on their new series entitled Vanguard Booklets. Planned on the lines of the well-known Oxford Pamphlets, they are intended to deal with 'matters of topical interest and problems facing us in India to-day'. The editorship of the series is in the capable hands of Mr. Yusuf Meherally, one of the live wires of the Socialist Party.

The first of the series under review is entirely the handiwork of Mr. Meherally. A portrait gallery of 'Leaders of India', it consists of sketches of Abul Kalam Azad, Rajendra Prasad, Vallabhbhai Patel, Subhas Bose, Sarojini Naidu, Abdul Gaffar Khan, C. Rajagopalachari, Sikander Hyat Khan and Jaya Prakash—in other words, of Congress celebrities all, but for the solitary exception of the Punjab Premier. Neither chronological accounts nor character-sketches in the real sense of the term, they lack penetration and perspective, nor are they distinguished by arresting treatment or brilliant craftsmanship. But as small-size portraits, sympathetic and interesting, they are certainly praise-worthy.

I. D.

The Twentieth Century

INDIA AND THE WAR

By I. D.

I

Licked by the tongue of flame, Europe lies reduced to an Inferno. With *blitzkrieg* in full operation, there is a swing-back to the savagery of the Dark Ages. With Hell let loose by Hitler, the night in Europe is at its darkest.

Poland, Finland, Norway, Denmark, Holland and Belgium—what are they but ruins and wrecks that portend the end of civilization? If it grieves one's heart to think "what man has made to man", one can only draw consolation and sustenance from the fact that England and France have not lost their tradition to hold the torch of liberty amidst the prevailing and deepening gloom. The fight between the Allies and Germany is more than a fight between Democracy and Dictatorship: it is the fight of humanity against inhumanity.

* * *

The northern waters proved to be treacherous to Britain—and hot to Chamberlain. An admirable man in several respects, he was unequal to "the emotional requirements of a nation labouring under great strain". A discerning politician and true patriot, he read aright the meaning of the Commons' verdict, and stepped aside. The occasion called for Churchill.

Descendant of Marlborough, son of Randolph, inheritor of a great tradition, embodiment of all the qualities that shine resplendent at a turning point in history; a historian and writer in the line of Gibbon, an orator of the school of Demosthenes and Cicero, a soldier who had at thirty-four "seen more wars than any man of his age, and written more books than any soldier living", a politician with far wider

cabinet experience than any Britisher; a man of whom it is said that "his school was the barrack-room and his university the battlefield"; a dynamo in thought, word and action—Churchill is ENGLAND'S MAN OF DESTINY.

* * * *

In the same unconquerable spirit in which France, according to Foch's prescription, sent for General Weygand in the hour of peril, England, shivering on the brink of the precipice, put Churchill in the saddle. If Reynaud believes that France cannot die, Churchill knows that England cannot die either.

The countryside may be bombed, London may be in blazes, Royal Oaks may sink to the bottom of the seas, the worst reverses may overtake her off and on, but Britain will never lower her flag. This war, whatever be its surprises and set-backs for the Allies, will come to an end only when Hitlerism is doomed once and for ever and Hitler goes down the abyss that each savage swashbuckler did in God's good time.

* * * *

But is it the concern of merely the Allies to save the world? Can India with her inheritance of a hoary past and visions of a golden future afford to drift aimlessly? No. India must forget her differences with Britain, set aside her domestic claims and rally on the side of Britain. In this unprecedented holocaust, the victory of the Allies comes first, and everything else next. It is but on the debris of Hitlerism that a new order can at all be established, and until the world's biggest despots and the most formidable enemies of civilisation are laid low in dust, there should be, and can be, no talk of the final settlement of the Indian problem. Hostility to Britain at this crucial hour is unthinkable; passive sympathy is ineffective, if not perilous; concentrated and complete support to Britain can alone cement the understanding out of which India will come into her own.

In the Punjab there is a soldier-patriot whose leadership of our Muslim brethren is a guarantee of wise decisions and heroic deeds. Down from the valley of Kashmir we hear the voice of a statesman, held in the highest esteem. At Wardha we have a sage and seer whose vision and moral genius are an insurance against the Fall of Man. What will India's answer be at this fateful hour? There can only be one answer. And before it is too late, let it have its repercussions on the destinies of nations and the future of civilisation.

II

(EXTRACTS FROM IMPORTANT PRONOUNCEMENTS)

RT. HON. SIR TEJ BAHADUR
SAPRU

Whatever our disappointments may have been in the political field, it is certain to my mind that if Hitler or Stalin succeeds there will be an end to all our hopes for democracy, freedom and self-government in India. Our duty, therefore, on an occasion of this character, directed as it may be by self-interest alone, is plain....

The occasion demands that there should be a moratorium of petty squabbles, party jealousies, communal dissensions and that our whole conduct should be guided by mutual trust and confidence and directed to the service

and safety of the country, which it is impossible, in my opinion, to secure without our helping the British to win this war.

—

SIR SIKANDER HYAT KHAN

The rapid developments on the western front and the possibility of its extension nearer East brook of no further delay or vacillation. The situation—internal as well as external—is daily getting more acute. The policy of sitting on the fence hereafter would be a criminal neglect of duty on our part. Let us therefore rise to our highest traditions of chivalry, fairplay and patriotism and prove once again that when duty called,

India did not falter. The adjustments of domestic problems have waited so long and can wait longer but the Nazi aggression will not wait: and opportunity has a curious way of knocking at the door and if it does not open in time of never recurring again.

— — —
DR. PARANJPYE

In England all parties have laid aside their mutual differences, knowing full well that these differences will have no meaning if the Allies are defeated. India's political progress, too, is dependent on the success of the Allies, and all the devoted work of Indian leaders for a hundred years in the cause of Indian nation-building will be utterly wasted if they are defeated. It is, therefore, necessary that some provisional solution of the deadlock should be immediately found out. Why cannot there be all-parties' Governments functioning in all the provinces, instead of irresponsible bureaucratic Governments

in seven of them? Why cannot all the Indian parties be represented on the executive?

— — —
DR. C. R. REDDY

It is now realised that *danger to England would be disaster to India* and in view of this, leaders of all parties are beginning to feel that a truce should be called to internal controversies and steps should be taken to organize Governments and people on a war basis. At this time it does not matter which party forms the Governments or ministries, provided it whole-heartedly organises the country for war purposes.

What the times demand is a national directory, which will not allow its attention to be distracted by departmental details and duties, but would be free to concentrate on the large questions of policy, military, industrial and constitutional. Unless the war is won, India will be a mutilated body and a lost soul, and win we must and shall, whatever the cost or time necessitated.

BETWEEN TWO WARS: 1919-1939

By DR. K. R. SRINIVASA IYENGAR

Human history since 1914 has been a bafflingly complex affair. The political scene has been changing every day, often every hour, like a perpetually agitated kaleidoscope. On the economic and financial front the changes have been no less continuous though much less comprehensible to the average man and woman. It is beyond my powers to attempt a coherent or comprehensive account of the two decades wedged between the world war that came to a close in November, 1918, and the one that started in September, 1939. I shall confine my attention to a few landmarks; else the wood is sure to be lost in the trees.

It is yet fresh in our memories how, after a few days of harrowing uncertainty, Britain and France declared war against Germany on Sept. 3, 1939, for violating the integrity and independence of Poland. For about nine months this war has been going on. The world has now to reckon with a fearful *blitzkrieg*. Norway, Denmark and Holland have paid the toll. The war has now been extended to Belgium and France. The Allies are facing the fiercest storm. Mussolini's Italy blows alternately hot and cold. Roosevelt's emissary has finished his circular tour of Europe and returned to America. That wild interlude, the Finnish war, is at an end at long last. Civilized man is aghast and does not know where to look or what to think. The mad ambitions of Hitler, the cool machinations of Stalin, the wild utterances of Mussolini—these alike threaten to destroy the very potentialities of civilized life. At the present moment the outlook is severely gloomy and uncertain. However, there is something to be thankful for. People in the neutral countries may or may not be completely with England and France, but they are certainly against the Dictators, and especially against Hitler.

The Allies may be fighting for their self-preservation ; but incidentally they are also fighting to preserve the civilization that we know.

Perhaps some of us do not quite realize that about twenty-five years earlier, in August, 1914, England went to war against Germany, also in the company of France. The menace then was the Kaiser's Germany as to-day the menace is Hitler's Germany. Then the war was fought to end all wars, to make the world safe for democracy, to preserve the integrity of small nations like Servia and Belgium. How is it that twenty years afterwards we are faced with an identical situation? Are our present experiences merely the wages of our past sins of commission and omission, or are they due simply to the workings of a malignant fate, taking a mischievous pleasure in our periodic discomfiture and travail? A recapitulation of the major events during the two decades since 1919 should enable us to attempt an answer to these questions.

The history of the twenty years since Versailles reveals the contours of a characteristic tragedy. We fear something may happen, hope against hope it may not happen, deceive ourselves it is not going to happen; there are meanwhile subterranean stirrings, despair wrestles with hope, and we seem unescapably to be groping towards the abyss; and the dreaded thing happens at last. The Great Powers had fought one another for four and a half years. The loss in men, materials and money, had been incalculable. Humanity was maimed and mangled beyond description. After the Armistice men and women yearned and prayed for one thing more than any other—the abolition of war as an instrument of national policy. They realized that modern wars are frightfully disastrous and that they are a suicidal waste. Even the victorious Allies were not blind to the fact that victory meant no more than the Pyrrhic victory of the dying over the dead. This was, after all, no new discovery. It is all in *Mahabharata* and in Homer's *Iliad*. But the recent experience of 1914-18

reinforced the ancient lesson and people genuinely wished to outlaw war in future. Henceforth WAR like a spectre loomed on the horizon of men's consciousness, a thing to be avoided at all costs. People hoped to avoid it, schemed to avoid it, compromised to avoid it,—but with tragic inevitability another world war has started, and who knows when it will end and who can prognosticate the shape of things to come?

The two decades between 1919 and 1939 can roughly be divided into four periods, each of five years; these are respectively the periods of Chaos, Recovery, Insecurity, and Disintegration.

The German war machine that had more than held the entire world at bay for over four years was visibly cracking in the months of September and October, 1918. Germany sued for peace. It was not surprising that Marshal Foch's terms were severe,—they were indeed written "in the blood of his dead son and his countrymen." Anyhow fighting ceased at 11 a. m. on the 11th November, 1918. Preparations were soon afoot to hold the "Peace Conference" at Versailles. On the 18th January, 1919, the Conference was inaugurated by President Poincare in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles. M. Clemenceau, the French Premier, was elected President of the Conference. There were seventy plenipotentiaries representing the twenty-seven allied and associated powers. Ultimately, "the Big Four"—Wilson, Lloyd George, Clemenceau, and Orlando (of Italy)—decided everything. Of the four, Orlando knew no English and neither Wilson nor Lloyd George knew French: only Clemenceau knew French as well as English, and this placed him at a strategic advantage. The deliberations within closed doors were seemingly interminable; there were recriminations and misunderstandings. At length the Treaty emerged, with the Covenant of the League of Nations as the first Chapter. It was presented to the German delegates on May 7. Brockdorff-Rantzau was aghast, and he is said to have remarked: "This fat volume was quite unnecessary. They could have put the

whole thing more simply in a single clause—'Germany renounces her existence.'

It was almost as bad as all that. On the other hand, it is useless to heap odium on the heads of the peace-makers of 1919. Under the circumstances they could have done no better. Clemenceau had lived through the humiliation of the Franco-Prussian war of 1870 and had gone through the horrors of Verdun and Marne; and yet he was not half as vindictive as the bulk of his countrymen or as Poincare, the President. Lloyd George, and among his colleagues notably General Smuts, were for a comparatively lenient treaty. Wilson, of course, was as faithful as practicable to his "Fourteen Points"; and he hoped, moreover, that the extreme provisions of the Treaty would be suitably modified later on by the League of Nations. Unfortunately, the public in France and in Britain was in no mood to forget the passions that had been aroused in the four and a half nightmarish years of the war. The allied statesmen dared not go against the current. Thus it was that Germany was obliged to sign the Treaty on June 28, 1919, five years to a day after the murder of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand. The blockade was lifted, and Germany was free to resume normal life.

It is useless to speculate what might have been the history of post-war Germany if America had ratified the Peace Treaties and discharged its responsibilities as a member of the League of Nations. The withdrawal of America from the League was undoubtedly a serious blow to the League's prestige. Moreover, its representative character was challenged on account of the exclusion of both Germany and Soviet Russia. Presently, Wilson was eliminated as a power in politics, and this was soon followed by the fall of Clemenceau himself. Only Lloyd George remained in the saddle.

The crux of post-war politics was Reparations. Lloyd George had won his Armistice election by promising, against his better judgment, that Germany shall pay and that

(futility of futilities!) the Kaiser shall be tried. On this account, Lloyd George's hands were more or less tied during the Peace Conferences and after. The French and the Belgians had ravished countries before them and, naturally enough, wished to recover damages from the defeated foe. No doubt, all the combatants had suffered losses in men and money, but France and Belgium had claims to special treatment. These two countries had been used as the world's battle-field; whole towns had been destroyed, the communications had been thrown out of gear, rich and fair fields had been laid waste. Germany herself was willing to repair the damage done to France and Belgium. This reparation could have been supplemented by delivery of some ships (in lieu of those submarined) and also by some modest cash payments clearly within Germany's capacity to pay. Had any such workable scheme been arrived at, the problem of Reparations could have been solved within two or three years and it would have proved beneficial to all concerned. But the Allies, and their so-called "experts", computed the total damage at 132 milliard gold marks or £6,600 million, and demanded payment of this astronomical figure from an impoverished and prostrate Germany. For two or three years, bravely ignoring his rash electioneering promises, Lloyd George tried a policy of conciliation with Germany. At the Conference of Genoa in 1922 he was very near success, but soon Bonar Law and Baldwin brought about the fall of the Coalition, and the Wizard's palmy days were over. The problem of Reparations was no nearer solution than ever before.

Poincare, France's uncompromising Premier, now dominated the counsels of Europe. He would make the Germans pay. But the Germans were unable to pay—they said so, and stopped payments. The mark was falling, conditions in Germany were deplorable; but Poincare was adamant. The French army marched into the Ruhr in the early months of 1923. Bonar Law dissented, but did nothing more; Belgium and Italy tacitly, but not over-enthusiastically, supported

France. But there was nothing doing; the Germans resorted to passive resistance, and ten million Germans laid down their tools. The mark was falling lower and lower; and Poincaré realized, with a shock, that the occupation of Ruhr was a costly business, all the more so because no money could be screwed out of Ruhr where work was at a standstill. The stalemate was as vexatious to France as it was disastrous to Germany.

At this juncture Dr. Stresemann came to the helm of affairs in Germany and immediately started to accomplish the three-fold task that faced him: the stabilization of the currency; the restoration of order within the Reich; and the appeasement of the Allies. He established the Rentenmark, and the people rallied to its support; he quickly suppressed the Hitler-Ludendorff rising and made the authority of the Reich Government felt throughout the country. He abandoned the unequal passive resistance struggle in Ruhr and persuaded the country to accept the recommendations of the Dawes Committee. The scheme was finally accepted by Germany and her creditors at the London Conference of August, 1924. Germany also obtained a loan of 800,000,000 gold marks to set herself on her feet. The first period, the period of chaos, is now over. We are on the threshold of recovery, of rapid reconstruction.

The collapse of the mark left visible scars on Germany. The middle classes were all but wiped out. Thus, at one stroke, German democracy lost its chief support. Henceforth, the Weimar Republic was to steer a precarious course. As for the middle-class people, some of them reconciled themselves to their new lot in life; many more were bewitched by the siren voice of Hitler, as it rang out vibrant from many a platform, and hastened to form his equipage. But, for the time being, all was well; Stresemann was in power, loans flowed into Germany, and a period of prosperity began.

Stresemann did not rest on his oars after his initial triple tasks were accomplished. He wished Germany's understanding

with France and England to embrace also other fields than Reparations. The times were propitious. Poincaré no more ruled France; a general election had placed Herriot in power, with Briand as his Foreign Minister. Soon Stresemann, Briand, Austen Chamberlain, and Signor Grandi met in Locarno; Belgium, Poland and Czechoslovakia were also represented. The surroundings were peaceful; nay more, they were poetic and inspiring. There was an element of informality and intimacy about the deliberations; perhaps, the luncheons and boat-rides also hastened an understanding. At last nine documents were agreed to and were later signed on October 16, 1925. France and Germany agreed not to resort to war against each other; and Britain agreed to fight against the aggressor should hostilities arise. There were similar arrangements on Germany's eastern border, though Britain did not commit herself to any particular action in case of trouble. On the whole, the Locarno Pact was a landmark in post-war history. It enabled Germany to become a member of the League of Nations; and it paved the way for a few years of recovery and reconstruction in Germany.

Unfortunately, the subsequent financial troubles of France necessitated the return of Poincaré as Premier. No doubt, the Foreign Minister was Briand still; but imperceptibly Poincaré made it impossible for Briand to be as generous to Germany as he otherwise might have been. Thus the sores remained, however well bandaged by the Dawes Settlement and the Locarno Pact. England, indeed, had made two generous gestures towards the resumption of normalcy in European affairs. Under the Balfour Declaration, England was prepared to forego all reparations and inter-allied debts over and above what she herself owed to the United States. This meant a surrender of all Britain's claims on Russia (a very considerable sum), of other inter-allied debts to the tune of £ 355 million, and of her portion of Reparations (22% of whatever Germany was able to pay). Secondly, her guarantee

to France and Germany under the Locarno Pact was also calculated to ease the tension between those two countries. A little later, the Kellogg-Briand Pact, renouncing war as an instrument of national policy, was signed by all the principal countries in the world, including the United States and Russia. Thus, in 1928, it seemed as though the League could count on the unofficial co-operation of practically all the countries in the world.

But events were soon to show that the seemingly visible signs of Germany's returning prosperity and the hopes entertained about the permanent outlawry of war were alike illusory. Germany was living, and paying her reparations, on borrowed money. America was her major creditor. She had emerged from the ordeal of the Great War as the chief creditor nation in the world. It was a new experience to her. She advanced money freely. She did not stop to inquire how money spent on public baths and beautiful buildings and in paying reparations were ever going to be repaid. Moreover, she was quite willing to renew short-term loans as often as Germany wished. To Germany, however, it was the line of least resistance; it was all right as long as this state of affairs continued—and why should it not (Germany subconsciously argued) continue indefinitely?

American prosperity reached phenomenal heights in the early months of 1929. The old industries were well organized and were yielding good profits and were expected to yield even greater—and still greater—profits in the near future. New industries were being organized and the money market was enthusiastic. The 'boom' seemed to have come to stay taunting the Cassandra's who talked about "business cycles" and the unescapability of the alternations between booms and slumps. The speculative boom presently assumed monstrous proportions recalling the mad days of the South Sea Bubble. Fortunes were made and lost in Wall Street in the course of a single day. But the craze continued with unabated fervour. People preferred to speculate on the future rather than invest

on gilt-edged securities; they borrowed short money at exorbitant interests to speculate; they borrowed money outside America, they withdrew short-term loans from Europe,—and they speculated of a money market that had really run amuck. But the Cassandra's were not wrong—they are never wrong. The crash came—not unexpectedly—but with startling enough suddenness. There was panic in Wall Street on October 24 and, within a few weeks, American citizens lost 40 billion dollars.

The economic crisis that had developed under such extraordinary circumstances soon adversely affected the whole world. American citizens had learnt a bitter lesson. They now distrusted all new enterprises. Many worthy schemes languished for want of support. Old industries lived a hand-to-mouth existence. In particular, the effects of the crisis were acutely felt in Germany. There were to be no more loans from America, that was clear; neither were the Americans going to import things from Germany more than they could help; there was also the likelihood of the short-term loans not being renewed any further. In a word, the days of "recovery" came abruptly to an end.

As if this were not enough, agriculture too was in a bad way. Production of grains—wheat, rice, and the rest—had increased enormously during the decade after the Armistice. Many countries produced more than they consumed. Mechanization, improved methods of cultivation, the extension of cultivable land—all these resulted in a greater yield. But the increase in population, considerable as it is, could not keep pace with the increase in agricultural production. Individual man may spend a fortune on luxuries, but he cannot increase his appetite indefinitely. Accordingly a difficult situation arose. Some countries raised tariff walls and tried to preserve, in Sir Arthur Salter's words, "an island of undiminished profits in a sea of depression." Unholy competition led to an uneconomic reduction of prices—even to the wholesale destruction of American wheat and Brazilian coffee. There was depression everywhere,

but, paradoxically enough, it was engendered by plenty rather than by scarcity.

Germany's position was none too happy. She was hit hard by the Great Depression. Stresemann was no more, and Brüning was guiding her destinies hesitantly, warily. Hitler's Nazi Party, after a temporary eclipse, was gaining strength every month. The German people knew in 1918, and even more in 1919, that they were a defeated nation; humiliation burrowed deep into their consciousness and poisoned the very roots of life. As the years passed, and as they realized that Stresemann's "appeasement" had resulted in no clear "change of heart" on France's part, they brooded more and more on their grievances. Hitler was a rallying centre to them all. He would not admit that the German nation was defeated—no, it had been betrayed by the Jews and by the Marxists. Germans clutched at this ingenious explanation, for it flattered their self-respect, and they hailed Hitler as God's own gift. His followers constituted a vast club of queer trades: but to quote Dr. Achorn, "what united all Hitlerites was the feeling of injured self-respect fostered by the discriminations and the position of inferiority thrust upon Germany since the war and brought home to the people through economic duress." Brüning was assailed on both sides,—by the Nazis as well as by the Communists. To add to his troubles, unemployed figures steadily rose and presently touched six million.

Meanwhile another serious crisis developed on the financial front. In May of 1931 the Credit-Anstalt, the banking institution most closely associated with Austria's industrial enterprise, became insolvent. This was a shock to the confidence of creditors. There was a 'run' on Germany and the Reichbank lost a quarter of its reserves within a fortnight. President Hoover acted promptly and proposed a moratorium for one year; France and Britain took over two weeks to accept this proposal. This delay was responsible for the continued run on Germany. Her position, indeed, became precarious; her proposal for an Austro-German Customs Union was vetoed by

France; and her foreign trade in January 1932 reached the lowest point in thirty-one years. Britain would have helped her more, but she was herself overtaken by a crisis and she had to set her own house in order. The May Committee had exposed Britain's financial weakness. She was, as ever, a creditor country; but while her assets were mostly in the form of long-term investments, her liabilities were more on a short-term basis. A run on Britain's short-term deposits began and soon developed alarmingly. The budget had to be balanced to restore the confidence of the creditors. The Labour Government had to resign and the National Government managed to re-establish budget equilibrium. But gold still flowed out of England—and generally into America and France. At last Britain went off the gold standard, half the world soon following in her footsteps.

While business was dislocated and money was scanty, the Governments were yet spending huge sums on armaments. Universal disarmament was one of President Wilson's most important "points." Germany's compulsory disarmament was to have served as an example to others—but it did not. The various Naval Conferences set limits to competition and settled something like a ratio, but nothing more. Various conferences, held under the auspices of the League of Nations, tried to square the circle of disarmament *versus* security, but in vain. France considered that her army was vital to her very existence; so did Britain look upon her Navy. At length it was decided to hold a general World Disarmament Conference that was to tackle all types of armaments. After many delays the Conference was opened on February 2, 1932, by Mr. Arthur Henderson with a feeling speech. It seemed for a moment it was the voice of humanity speaking. But the "leaders" were to fail humanity all the same.

Soon after the Conference commenced its work, bad news came from Germany. Brüning had gone into the wilderness and von Papen reigned in his stead, with Baron von Neurath as his Foreign Minister. Neurath insisted on the powers acceding

to Germany's demand for equality in armaments. There were flutters in the dovecotes of Paris, Rome and London. After many alarms and excursions the principle of theoretical equality was conceded to von Schleicher's government (which had succeeded von Papen's) in December, 1932. Already it was too late. Events were moving swiftly in Germany in the first weeks of 1933, and on January 30, Hitler became Chancellor in a Coalition Government. Hitler acted quickly. On February 27, the Reichstag was burned to the ground. It was, probably, a put-up job on the part of Hitler's lieutenants. But Hitler promptly denounced the Communists as the perpetrators of the deed and started suppressing the Opposition parties. On March 23 a docile Reichstag gave Hitler dictatorial powers, and adjourned *sine die*. Presently, Hitler's deputy at the Disarmament Conference demanded that either other nations should immediately disarm to her level or give her the liberty to arm herself to *their* level. The Powers hedged; they wished Hitler's Germany to wait a little bit more. Hitler ordered his deputy out of the Conference and Germany resigned her League membership. That was the beginning of the end of the Disarmament Conference.

The period of insecurity now overflows into the final period of visible disintegration. It was obvious that Hitler meant mischief. His ruthlessness was a palpably fearful phenomenon. He quickly suppressed civil liberties in Germany, incarcerated the Communist and other opposition deputies, sent many Jews and similar undesirables to the "concentration camps" (those hideous institutions of Nazi savagery and ingenuity), dismissed scores of faculty members at the Universities of Berlin, Bonn and other centres, dissolved the Social Democratic Party and brought about the "voluntary" liquidation of the Nationalists and Centrists. There were no other organs of public opinion except those unscrupulously controlled by Dr. Goebbels. The local diets themselves were dissolved and all power was concentrated in Hitler's hands. All this was the handiwork of a few months.

Hitler was supreme within the Reich; he could turn his eyes elsewhere. The Saar returned to Germany. Hitler now decided to break the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles. He needed sympathy and help, and he turned to his ideological brother, Mussolini. The Rome-Berlin Axis was duly installed. Surely, the Dictators badly needed each other's help. First Mussolini started his Abyssinian adventure; the democracies could not quickly make up their minds what to do. As a diversion, Hitler sent his soldiers to the Rhineland and began fortifications in that region, violating thereby the provisions of both the Versailles Treaty and the Locarno Pact. France was perturbed, and so was Britain: but beyond lodging protests nothing was done. The technique was proving very successful indeed, so successful that the Axis found a new partner in Japan. Hitler and Mussolini first engineered and then actively supported, General Franco's rebellion in Spain. The democracies talked about non-intervention while the Dictators acted—and Japan invaded China! The Rome-Berlin-Tokyo axis was doing very well indeed! Call it blackmail or gangsterism, the axis partners exploited the hesitancy of the democracies, interpreted it as cowardice, and achieved their immediate aims by an adroit combination of surprise attack, lying propaganda, and sheer bullying.

For a time the democracies were indeed demoralized. Belgium wished to escape her earlier commitments and declared her intention to remain neutral should hostilities develop between her neighbours. Baldwin's Government negotiated and signed an Anglo-German Naval Agreement. Neville Chamberlain, the new Premier, took stock of the situation. It was clear that European nations were once again aligning themselves after the manner of the pre-war alliances. Democracies *vs.* Dictatorship—was this ideological war inevitable? Neville Chamberlain realized that Germany had a case. Versailles had treated her harshly and European statesmen had blundered for fifteen years. No doubt Reparations had been liquidated at Lausanne; but Germany (and Italy also) had some legitimate

grievances. Why not "appease" them? On the other hand, Mr. Anthony Eden, the Foreign Minister, took up the stand that the Dictators were totally unreliable, that they would make promises to the ear and break them to the heart and that their ambitions knew no bounds; hence they should be faced frontally and made to see reason. But Chamberlain thought otherwise; he believed in a policy of "appeasement," and besides, he knew that Britain was not yet prepared to go through another world war. He parted with Eden; he persuaded France; he underwrote the Abyssinian adventure; he bargained with Mussolini. Hitler's occupation of Austria in March, 1928, was a serious business, but Chamberlain did not lose hope. The Czecho-Slovakian crisis later in the year nearly precipitated the War, but Chamberlain persevered and the Munich settlement was arrived at. Duff-Cooper left the Government now; but nothing daunted, Chamberlain carried on. But even he saw clearly that Britain should be fully prepared henceforth for any eventuality whatsoever. Re-armament proceeded at a dizzy pace, but Hitler had had a start and the might of the German War Machine hovered like a spectre over Europe. France rallied under Daladier in the face of national danger and gave him nearly dictatorial powers. Scare head-lines on the international situation made normal business increasingly difficult—in England as everywhere else. Reputable literary journals closed down unable to stand the strain. And thus an uneasy peace was vouchsafed Europe for a few months more till it was broken by the perfidious annexation of Bohemia and Moravia by Hitler and the invasion and occupation of Albania by Mussolini. Six months after Munich, the settlement lay scattered in bits like another "scrap of paper."

Chamberlain woke up at long last to a sense of realities. Since Munich he had given a breathing time to the British War Machine to reorganize itself; he had now no other go except to attempt a consolidation of the peace front. It was obvious that Poland would be Hitler's next victim as Greece

would very likely be Mussolini's. Chamberlain's Government promptly gave guarantees to Poland and Greece that, should either be the victim of unprovoked aggression, Britain (and France as well) would go to her help with all the resources in their power. At once Hitler and Goebbels cried themselves hoarse accusing Chamberlain of trying to "encircle" Germany. Meanwhile conversations began between Russia and the Allies; they were suspiciously protracted; and the conversations broke off when the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Agreement was made public. This was surely the most amazing surprise packet in European diplomacy. But this did not deter Britain and France from renewing their pledges to Poland. Events now moved swiftly, remorselessly, to a climax. Hitler ordered his troops to march into Poland to put an end to "the lunacy of the Poles." A day or two afterwards, on September 3, 1939, Britain and France declared war against Nazi Germany.

The Kaiser blundered into the war in 1914; but Hitler deliberately started the present war in September, 1939. He has so far had his way; he has shared Poland with Stalin; he has swooped upon defenceless Denmark and Norway. But where the Kaiser and Ludendorff failed, it is impossible that Hitler will succeed. His Navy is crippled already and the allied blockade is making itself felt. But the struggle, as it proceeds, is bound to be a terrible business, threatening the destruction of most cherished human values. But one need not despair. One must still cling to the hope that the Allies will soon come out victorious over their enemy, that there will be an equitable peace afterwards, and that the foundations of world peace will then be well and securely laid. The present outlook, in India and elsewhere, is gloomy enough; but even in this extremity one need not quite despair about the future of civilization. The ideals of Woodrow Wilson are not unrealizable. Determination and the strength of the cause must win the present war; courage and magnanimity should then pave the way for a happy and peaceful world

order. The words of the new Premier, Mr. Churchill, are hope-inspiring. Armed with this hope let us undauntedly face the difficult times that lie ahead with the faith of

One who never turned back, but marched breastforward,
Never doubted clouds would break,
Never dreamed though right were worsted, wrong would triumph,
Held we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better,
Sleep to wake.

THE REAL NAZI GAME

Some of the auguries from Italy might seem ambiguous. None of them is favourable.

* * * *

Germany is straining every effort to drag Italy into the war.

* * * *

GOERING urges that the full force of German air-power is ready to strike with success at the island-base of British sea-power and that it is Now or Never with the chances of realising the Duce's fixed visions of expansion in the Mediterranean.

* * * *

The real Nazi game is to make Italy a cat's-paw for the purpose of diverting more of British sea-power from north to south.

* * * *

These may be the motives of immeasurable tragedy. If it is forced upon them, the Allies will know what to do. But if it happens, no limit could be set to the length and extension of the Second World-War.

J. L. GARVIN in the Observer.

THOMAS HARDY

A CENTENARY TRIBUTE

By PROF. B. L. SAHNEY

Thomas Hardy achieved greatness in two spheres, the sphere of fiction and the sphere of poetry. In fiction he was the last and the best of the Victorians. In poetry he was the first and in some respects the greatest of the moderns. His work in fiction consists of fifteen novels and several volumes of short stories. Six of these novels, *Far from the Madding Crowd*, *The Return of the Native*, *The Woodlanders*, *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*, and *Jude the Obscure* are now among the accepted masterpieces of the world's fiction. His work in poetry comprises the epic drama, *The Dynasts*, *The Famous Tragedy of the Queen of Cornwall*, and hundreds of shorter lyrics. He wrote, besides, an excellent book of criticism entitled *Life and Art*, which bears eloquent witness to his deep understanding of the interrelations between life and literature. He was obviously one of the most prolific writers of our times. But though voluminous, it is not necessary to read him *in toto* in order to understand the peculiar bent of his genius, for almost all his books have a surprising unity of conception and design. To establish a vital contact with his art and personality we need read only a few select pieces from his works, even though he frequently declared that both his novels and his poems were the expressions of of "unadjusted impressions" and that he never attempted in any of them a harmonious philosophy or a self-consistent system of thought and conduct. We do not doubt the sincerity of his avowal. He was one of the most honest and earnest of Englishmen in his generation. He had none of the grandiose poses of Meredith. He was simple, natural, unaffected, sober, diligent, and steadfast. And he had the tremendous virtue of humility, a quality which is rather rare among men of letters.

And yet he was an artist, one of the greatest who have ever lived, an artist not of beauty merely, or of truth, or of goodness, but of Life which blends and transcends them all.

As a novelist Hardy is unsurpassed in his mastery over all the constituent elements of fiction. He is a perfect master of plot-construction, which can be said of few English novelists; for they are, almost all of them, extremely careless in the management of their plots. Hardy possesses a marvellous architectonic gift which is due perhaps to his early training in architecture and to the influence of heredity, for his father was a 'master builder.' Hardy may, indeed, be said to have been the greatest architect of the novel in England.

He was also a consummate master of the difficult art of characterisation. Michael Henchard is one of the most original characters in fiction and his fate is worked out with overwhelming power. Tess remains one of the most vital and impressive figures in modern fiction. His characters are vivid and lifelike. They are at once typical and individual. They are static and dynamic alike, unchanging in their essential integrity and yet undergoing infinite change under the press of circumstance. He excels particularly in depicting peasants and farmers, people who live in contact with the life of Nature in his own Dorsetshire. His rustics have the glorious vitality of those of Shakespeare's. They are the great sanctuary of sanity, humour and happiness.

Hardy is popularly known as the Wessex novelist, for in his portrayal of life and character he confines himself to his native district of Dorsetshire and the surrounding region, called Wessex in ancient times. A superficial reader may commit the mistake of imagining that his purview of life is therefore limited in scope, for instead of surveying the whole of life he limits his ken to an infinitesimally small portion of it and thus invalidates his interpretation to that extent. But it must be said in defence of Hardy that he observed the life in Wessex so minutely and intimately that he reached the heart

of the universe and thereby gave a conclusive proof of his essential wisdom. For the distinguishing mark of the wise man is that he does not roll from pole to pole; he understands the whole in the part, the universal in the particular, the infinite in the finite, without being false to either. Hardy is, like the skylark of Wordsworth's conception,

Type of the wise, who soar but never roam,
True to the kindred points of heaven and home.

Hardy excels also in the delineation of strong men with elemental passions, and women whose life in general is governed by impulse and caprice. He is, indeed, one of the greatest creators of feminine character. Bathsheba, sitting in the wagon among her plants and smiling at her own loveliness in the little looking-glass, is an unforgettable figure in spite of her vanity. She has all the beauty and bloom of life on her. Her step is free, her laughter sweet, and she sinks into the heart and holds it in thrall for ever.

He shows a pronounced preference for studying men and women not in an artificial atmosphere of cultured society but in natural surroundings in which people express their feelings in emphatic language and without any mask or disguise, so that it is easier to understand the essential heart of humanity in those conditions than in a sophisticated environment in which the emotions and motives of men lurk under a thick veneer of polish and refinement. He is, like Shakespeare, the interpreter of man not as society has made him but as God has made him. He disdains, in consequence, to deal with aristocracy or with middle-class respectability.

Hardy's stories, like those of Shakespeare, are interesting in themselves apart from their artistic presentation. Though on occasion he does not fight shy of the sensational in the action of his novels, and though he makes a rather lavish use of coincidence in the development of his plots, his stories never strike us as improbable. On the other hand, they are such as, we feel, may befall any one of us in similar circumstances.

And he knows the art of telling a story to perfection, extracting every ounce of value from the most insignificant details. He is, in short, a master of the art of narration, which Meredith never learnt in spite of his splendid genius. The events which make up the action of his novels march to their destined end with the relentless movement of a Greek tragedy. Everything is close-packed, well-knit, and even-balanced, and the cumulative effect is sublime as Aeschylus. Hardy has also the ruggedness, the austerity, the tremendous power, the elaboration, the philosophical outlook, the occasional impressive eloquence, and the lofty poetic vision of the great Greek playwright. And like Aeschylus, too, Hardy was obsessed with the conviction of the impossibility of escape from Fate that pursues the steps of men.

Hardy has an unrivalled genius for description. He uses the painter's art and limns in form and colour with consummate sureness of effect. Description in his hands is never otiose and inept. It is never a mere excuse for fine writing which defeats its own end. And it is never indulged at the expense of human interest. It is brief and vivid. It has a vitality of its own. It has a personality with subtle influences which it is difficult for even the most powerful characters to escape. It spreads about them an all-enfolding atmosphere which operates only the more surely for an open revolt against it. And this atmosphere surrounds the incidents and forms a sort of background in which the stories are set. It is often hard to breathe and it imparts a definite colour of gloom to the whole novel. It hangs like a pall over the spectacle of life. Or, rather, it is Life itself, supernal, supreme, sublime, occult, awful, omnic, beneath which men and women dance their brief hour and then are heard no more. It is symbolical of Destiny. Hardy is, indeed, the greatest novelist of atmosphere. And the creation of atmosphere in fiction is even more difficult than the creation of character. It is the hardest task of the novelist. And the greatest masters of fiction do not even attempt it for dread of failure. Atmosphere must not be confounded with a particular *locale* or a definite environment or a specific temporal setting.

They are merely a few of the elements which enter into it. It is more than they, taken singly or together. And it must be said to the credit of Hardy that he was a master of all these elements too, a greater master than any English novelist we have known. He is, indeed, one of the subtlest and most sympathetic interpreters of Nature in modern literature. His descriptions have the minuteness and accuracy born of close observation and intimate knowledge. They show his marvellous power of entering into the mood of a scene and of making us feel the tone of a landscape. And his sense of truth is so ruthless that he never suppresses homely or even vulgar details and yet with the gift of his genius whose operations are inscrutable, he invariably succeeds in impressing us with the pathos and wonder of the life of man in this mysterious universe. *The Return of the Native* excels every English novel in its use of background. Egdon Heath is, indeed, more than a background. It broods like a spirit over the whole story.

Hardy's genius is not of a narrow order or of one restricted kind. It is at once idyllic and dramatic, lyrical and epic. He has written novels of ingenious incident, such as *Desperate Remedies*, *The Hand of Ethelberta*, and *A Laodicean*. He has written romances and fantasies, such as *A Pair of Blue Eyes*, *The Trumpet Major*, *Two on a Tower*, and *The Well-Beloved*. He has written idyllic novels such as *Under the Greenwood Tree* and *Far from the Madding Crowd*. He has written dramatic novels such as *The Return of the Native* and *The Mayor of Casterbridge*. And he has written epic novels such as *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* and *Jude the Obscure*. He has the grandeur of Aeschylus, the irony of Sophocles, the pathos of Euripides; the opulence of Shakespeare, the conscious constructive art of Milton, and the cosmic imagination of Shelley. He is the greatest tragic artist in the whole range of English fiction. No novelist can evoke the sentiments of pity and fear better than he, pity at the ultimate fate of man and fear of the invisible cosmic forces which control his destiny.

Hardy's prose style is thoroughly individual. No intelligent reader can mistake it for that of any other writer. And yet it is perfectly free from mannerisms, tricks, and mere verbal jugglery. It is perhaps the most natural style in English fiction. It can scarcely be considered apart from its matter, for it exists, as it should, as a means to an end. And that end is invariably achieved with quiet but unmistakable art. It rises to its heights when the story reaches its climax, notably in certain tragic passages or in those descriptions of natural scenery which interpret the inner meaning of the tragedy of life. As a rule, it is clear, terse, and austere. It is marked by immense strength and dignity, by scholarly care and accuracy. It can be copious and condensed at will. It avoids rant, 'fine writing', and excess of all kinds, while in moments of deep passion it moves with a peculiar rhythmic beauty of its own. Occasionally, it is deliberately stiff, crabbed, and unorthodox in order to suit a definite satiric purpose. At times Hardy uses elaborate and uncommon words to describe something like the 'cima recta or ogee curve' of Eustacia's lips, the 'isometric' look of the city of Wintoncester, or the 'achromatic' hue of a winter day. But they are all the outcome of his unrelenting love of exactitude and precision. He is a perfect master of all the forms of prose composition, of exposition and argument as well as of description and narration. Along with irony he possesses a sure and vigorous sense of humour which reveals itself most especially in the simple rustics whose homely interests and spontaneous jests form the background of most of his novels. The inimitable talk of these rustics with their richly humorous commentary is, indeed, the greatest victory of Hardy's prose. Apart from this, his style is remarkable for its qualities of passion and perceptiveness, of thought and imagination. At times it has the slow and stately movement of a Roman triumph. At its best it has the grandeur and directness of Biblical prose. It is the utterance of emotion, simple, sensuous and impassioned, Marty South's last words over Giles Winterborne's grave, for example. Generally, it is an ordered, deli-

berate, unhurrying style. It reaches its effect as by tessellation or mosaic work. It avoids the purple patch and the epigram. The supreme merit of Hardy's style, however, lies in its absolute fidelity to what he thinks and feels.

Hardy is a giant among prose creators. He is supreme as an imaginative novelist. All in all, he is in our opinion, the only English novelist who can compare with the great continental masters, or with the twin Titans of Russian fiction, Dostoievski and Tolstoy. He is a dexterous story-teller and a consummate artist, building novels on a scale which conveys the sense of being as large as life itself. He is an unsurpassed creator of character. He is the greatest artist of landscapes. And he stands out among modern novelists as a writer with a philosophy.

Hardy gave up the writing of fiction on account of that 'crass Philistinism' of English criticism which was responsible, he believed, for the puritanical outburst provoked by *Jude the Obscure*, published in 1896. This outburst was occasioned, in the main, by the extreme freedom and boldness with which he treated of sexual problems, the discussion of which was then banned in literature by public opinion in England. Times, however, have changed and *Jude the Obscure* is now regarded by competent critics as one of his masterpieces. It is, says Lascelles Abercrombie, 'one of the most illustrious things in modern literature' and is remarkable not only for its 'shapely grandeur of formal unity' but also for 'its amazing insight into human nature' and 'the terrible cogency of its tragic motion.' It is the only English novel comparable with Maupassant's epic of despair *Une Vie*.

Hardy abandoned the art of fiction and took to his first love, poetry, not only by reason of the severity of criticisms passed on *Jude the Obscure* but also because he was a poet before and after he was a novelist, and a poet all along, though his first volume of verse entitled *Wessex Poems* saw the light as late as 1898. This was followed by seven others, namely, *Poems of the Past and the Present*, *Time's Laughing-Stocks*,

Satires of Circumstance, Moments of Vision, Late Lyrics and Earlier, Human Shows, and Winter Words which was published in the year of Hardy's death, 1928.

The Dynasts, his most ambitious poetical effort, is also by far the greatest literary work of our century. Consisting as it does of three parts, nineteen Acts, and one hundred and thirty scenes, it overwhelms the mind by its sheer magnitude and is the fullest realisation of Hardy's unique and many-sided genius. It is lyric in emotion, dramatic in style, and epic in scale. It is written partly in prose and partly in verse and it deals with the Napoleonic Wars in every aspect of life, with the whole of Europe for its scene. As someone has put it, it is the greatest Epic of War since Homer's *Iliad*. It is remarkable for its vast variety of human scenes, its grasp of dramatic propriety, its historical accuracy, its magnificent accumulation of details, all co-ordinated to make one coherent impression, its wealth of character and complexity of action, its novelty of form, its vigorous energy of realism, its lofty lyricism, its idealism, its pungent, colloquial prose, its caustic irony, its ardour of compassion for human suffering, its astonishing range and power, its dignity of thought and feeling, and, above all, its symbolic and metaphysical significance. It is furnished with a supernatural machinery which is the imaginative counterpart of modern ideology. The Spirit of Pities approximates, in Hardy's own words, to the Universal Sympathy of human nature, the Spirit of the Years to the passionless Insight of the Ages, and the Shade of the Earth represents man's innate and insatiate spirit of inquiry which follows

Knowledge like a sinking star,

Beyond the utmost bound of human thought.

The Spirits Ironie and Sinister typify moods of veiled satire and cynical pessimism in which human experience may be viewed. All these spirits are the supernatural spectators of the terrestrial action and they make commentaries upon the activities of mankind. *The Dynasts* is the most explicit

statement as well as the most telling illustration of Hardy's philosophy which finds expression principally in the magnificent choruses of these impersonated abstractions or intelligences. And over them all there is the Ultimate Power which rules the universe, the All-Immanent Will, as it is called by Hardy, in whose hands even the most puissant incarnation of the Will-to-Power like Napoleon is a mere puppet. The All-Immanent Will is not a person but an abstract energy without intelligence, pity, and providence. It works automatically, mechanically, and blindly, like a somnambulist, moving whole systems, nations, suns, and seas as mere pawns on its cosmic chess-board. It is devoid of human attributes, of the sense of right and wrong; and its operations, though incessant, are without plan or purpose. It works by external accident, by the inescapable errors of a man's own nature, and by the forces of heredity and environment. On account of all these ideas, Hardy has often been labelled a pessimist, a fatalist, an atheist, or a scientific agnostic of the modern type. But the critics forget that he was an imaginative genius. And, as Keats rightly remarked, an imaginative genius has no fixed identity, no determined character. Hardy was essentially a poet, not a professional philosopher. His aim was the search after truth or to use his own words, 'the exploration of reality' and not the construction of any closely argued and logically consistent system of thought. His ideas are not conceptual but emotional and intuitive in nature. He himself repeatedly declared that he never attempted to construct any harmonious system of philosophy in his poetry. If, in spite of this, his ideas achieve a certain consistency, a general uniformity, or a sort of family likeness, it only means that his character was, like Shakespeare's, all of a piece and not merely a bundle of contradictions like that of Byron. And pessimism is not the final word in Hardy. On the contrary, *The Dynasts* ends in a note of hope.

But—a stirring thrills the air

Like to sounds of joyance there

That the rages
Of the ages
Shall be cancelled, and deliverance
Offered from the darts that were,
Consciousness the Will informing,
Till It fashion all things fair.

The point that we wish to emphasise is that Hardy was not like 'an egg burnt all on one side' but that he was a full man, a many-sided genius, and a personality extraordinarily rich in impressions, and that it is, therefore, otiose to try to affix any labels to him. Just as he was a vigorous realist as well as a sturdy idealist, he was a pessimist and an optimist too. In his admirable book entitled *Some Modern Authors*, Mais even goes to the extent of writing that "in *The Child and the Sage* we get a point of view that puts Hardy as the world's greatest optimist."

The Famous Tragedy of the Queen of Cornwall at Tintagel in Lyonesse appeared in 1923. The sub-title states that it is arranged as a play for nummers, so that it does not require any theatre or scenery. It is a dramatic rendering of the story of Tristram and Iseult, and it is remarkable for its swift movement and its stark realism. On the whole, though not devoid of passion and intensity, it cannot be numbered among the important works of its author.

Turning now to Hardy's short, miscellaneous poems, numbering about eight hundred and fifty, which appeared in the various volumes already mentioned, we are impressed by their variety of form no less than their wide range of content, since they include among them sonnets, songs, ballads, brief narratives, epigrams, dramatic monologues, psychological studies, metaphysical poems, love lyrics, humorous poems, descriptive poems, elegiac poems, and poems of war. And we are also impressed, even in these short poems, by the immensity of the world in which the poet's thought and imagination move. Hardy is one of the most cerebral, one of the most gnomic of English poets. Even his briefest poem, such as the one quoted below, has a hard kernel of thought.

If I could but abide
As a tablet on a wall,
Or a hillock daisy-pied,
Or a picture in a hall,
Or as nothing else at all,
I should feel no doleful aching,
I should hear no judgment-call,
Have no evil dreams or wakings,
No uncouth or grisly care ;
In a word, no cross to bear.

He is never empty of content. Even in his baldest verses we are aware of the larger issues of life, of a reality which is wider than the poem, a thought which is greater than the expression.

His sonnets, though somewhat awkward in form, are marked by an admirably effective unity of idea. His dramatic monologues rank among the best of their kind. He is an undisputed master of the psychological poem, analysing the workings of the mind and the feelings of the heart with an insight, sympathy, and subtlety which are unique. His narratives are novels in miniature, dealing with life's little ironies with firm grasp and power. The metaphysical poems do not aim at the expression of any dogmatic philosophy, though the most persistent mood is one of poignant consciousness of the purposelessness of life. But there are other moods too. All these moods, four in the main, find their keenest expression in a poem entitled *Nature's Questioning* :

Has some Vast Imbecility
Mighty to build and blend,
But impotent to tend,
Framed us in jest, and left us now to hazardry ?
Or come we of an Automaton
Unconscious of our pains ?
Or are we live remains
Of Godhead dying downwards, brain and eye now gone ?
Or is it that some high Plan betides,
As yet not understood,
Of Evil stormed by Good,
We the Forlorn Hope over which Achievement strides ? "

Hardy gives no definite answers to these questionings, for no satisfactory solutions are possible in regard to these fundamental problems of life. He does what is much better: he leaves us face to face with the eternal mystery of the universe where 'gladdest Life Death neighbours nigh.'

As a poet of love he combines passion with intellectualism, and reveals a breadth of thought and conception which is truly Shakespearean. Like Shakespeare, too, he combines in his genius originality of the highest order with a plastic receptivity which is almost universal in scope. And though his theme as a poet of love is often that of disillusion and misalliance, he knows the grandeur and the spiritual value of this sovereign passion of the human heart.

"O love is, yes, a great thing,
A great thing to me!

.....
What then? Joy jaunts, impassioned flings.

Love and its ecstasy,
Will always have been great things,
Great things to me!

His elegiac poems represent the consummation of his poetry in the intensity of their feeling and the terse adequacy of their style. He is, indeed, one of the most elegiac of English poets. His melancholy, however, is not the outcome of any morbidity of temperament like that of Gray. Nor is it a mere petulant outburst of Byronic gloom born of mawkish self-pity and romantic sentiment. Nor, again, is it due to any acute feeling of the loss of firm faith as in the case of Arnold. It is the result of his intellectual honesty, his steady facing of things as they are, his unflinching love of 'uncompromising rude reality' which reduces our mere idle dreams and attractive fancies to dust and ashes. His melancholy never produces any depressing effect upon the mind. On the contrary, it is peculiarly bracing, for he induces us to discard all external props of God and Nature, throws us on our own spiritual resources, make us truly strong and independent, and stresses

the importance of universal love and brotherhood in a life which seems to him to be governed in the main by blind chance.

The truth should be told, and the fact be faced
That had best been faced in earlier years:
The fact of life with dependence placed
On the human heart's resource alone,
In brotherhood bonded close and graced
With loving-kindness fully blown
And visioned help unsought, unknown.

As a poet of Nature he is as great as Wordsworth. His love for the heath and pastures of Wessex is as intense as that of Wordsworth for the sights and sounds of the Lake Country. And his knowledge of the countryside is also equally intimate. Hardy has little, however, of Wordsworth's mystical feeling for Nature. No English writer, of course, not even Wordsworth or Ruskin or Morris, conveys a profounder sense of the beauty of nature. But Hardy knows also that beneath all her beauty she hides a world of witless cruelty. Wordsworth writes:

An impulse from a vernal wood
May teach us more of man,
Of moral evil and of good
Than all the sages can.

In contradistinction to this the sage of Max Gate writes:

Since, then, no grace I find
Taught me of trees,
Turn I back to my kind,
Worthy as these.
There at least smiles abound,
There discourse trills around.
There, now and then, are found
Life-loyalties.

Nature is glorious in her loveliness; let us feast our eyes. But she is also a demon, 'red in tooth and claw with rapine'; let us face that fact too. It is this twofold vision of Hardy in

everything which so endears him to us. He speaks the truth about everything, about God, Man, and Nature. Little wonder, then, that he becomes, at times, though but rarely, somewhat sardonic, bitter, and cynical, but on the whole, his sense of truth is qualified by his infinite compassion. The two, working together, make him the greatest Ironist in English poetry. And his irony is universal in its scope. It is directed not only against Man and Nature but also against 'the President of the Immortals.'

Several critics are of opinion that Hardy cannot sing, that he is not a metrist of charm, that he has no ear for subtle harmonies, that he is, in short, 'a sort of unshaven, guttural rustic of genius.' This erroneous impression is perhaps the outcome of the fact that Hardy is often harsh, that he generally avoids smoothness of versification, prettiness of diction, and conventional poetical turns of speech, that he frequently introduces verbal snags and striking epithets in his poetry. But we must not forget that he does all this deliberately in order to force the reader's attention from the manner to the matter, the mood, or the emotion he seeks to convey, evoke, or arouse, in order, in other words, to prevent poetry from becoming a mere dope which it too often proves to be. A good deal of poetry is mere daydreaming, glorious but remote from reality. With Hardy it is invariably the outcome of vital experience. His poems have the beauty which comes from laconic economy of words and a choice of direct and vigorous phrase and imagery. They have the nobility of austerity and a certain Spartan strength which is unique in English verse. Of course, he could be as melodious as Keats, as liquid as Tennyson, and as elaborate as Swinburne, when his theme required these qualities. But generally, his matter needed a different manner, and he showed himself a consummate artist in almost always suiting his style to his subject. Such a poem as *God's Funeral*, for instance, would lose half its effect if it were tricked out in glowing words. A simple vocabulary is the basis of his poetry. It is true that now and then he uses

strange words. But they are in all cases impelled by the requirements of his peculiar thought and experience. His rustic words, for instance, were necessarily occasioned by the fact that he was essentially a countryman. His choice of a learned diction was determined by the fact that he was an erudite scholar, particularly of languages. His use of architectural vocabulary was due to his early training in architecture. And his use of words and phrases like 'automaton,' 'fantocine,' 'junctive law,' and 'artistries in Circumstance' was impelled by his determinist philosophy of life. And, however hard and unusual the words which he uses, Hardy is never obscure, even though he is one of the most thoughtful of English poets; and the total effect of his vocabulary is one of rare expressiveness and dignity. He is one of the cleverest of poetic artists. His control of rhyme is well-nigh perfect. His mastery of metre is little short of miraculous. His sense of form is superb. Few English poets in our opinion know the craft of verse better than he and none have invented more new metrical patterns and variations.

Hardy's cardinal merits as a poet are a careful and measured utterance, a stern eye for the tragedy of common things, a profound sense of the insufficiency of human endeavour and aspiration, a sombre submission to the dictates of an unkind fate, a wry kind of humour verging at times on the sardonic, a feeling of pitiful regret, a power of subtle sympathy, a certain gnarled grandeur of manner which admirably suits his themes, a firm sense of reality, a haunting consciousness of the irony of time, a poignant sense of the mutability of everything, emotional intensity, imaginative sensibility, intellectual introspectiveness, and sovereign sincerity. He is the greatest of modern poets in imaginative range and intellectual nobility. And "no other writer," says Harold Williams, "has made us feel so clearly and forcibly the unity of all life, the presence of earth's natural forces in the drama of conscious existence, and the continuity of man in his generations."

I am the family face;
 Flesh perishes, I live on,
 Projecting trait and trace
 Through time to times anon,
 And leaping from place to place
 Over oblivion.
 The years-haired feature that can
 In curve and voice and eye
 Despise the human span
 Of durance—that is I;
 The eternal thing in man,
 That heeds no call to die.

About some people the worst thing you can say is the truth.
 The woman who always thinks of her looks, always looks it.
 When people ask for criticism, what they want is praise.
 ... There was the Scotsman who gave his sweetheart a lip-stick
 a birthday present because he knew he'd get most of it back.

A CRITIQUE OF NON-VIOLENCE

By RAM PRASAD PANDEYA

Non-violence is no new creed. It is as old as the moral consciousness of man. The great sage Vyas proclaimed it as the essence of religious consciousness, and Mahabir and Buddha subsequently laid upon it fresh emphasis through reverence for life and love for all beings. Christ not only regenerated it from the vindictive perversity of his society, into which it had lost itself, but demonstrated its practical potentiality by his powerful and impressive conduct, especially at the cross. He was, among the ancients, perhaps the greatest exponent of non-violence, both as a principle and practice of life.

The Hindu teachers of old frankly admitted that non-violence was a monastic virtue and that it was for the practice of those who aspired to spiritual perfection. The various Vedic systems sanctioned violence in conventional life, and Jainism and Buddhism exempted the laity from the strict practice of non-violence. Christian tradition does not differ from these in any essential. In the fairly long history of its profession and practice, there have been more righteous wars than one. And its greatest modern interpreter and reformer, Martin Luther, once went to the length of forcefully stating that "a man who is convicted of the crime of rebellion is under the ban of God and the emperor, and every Christian can and should slaughter him and will thus be doing a good deed."

But our contemporary sage, Mahatma Gandhi, cannot allow any such variation in the doctrine of non-violence and for its strict practice by all classes of people in all stations of life. As we know only too well, it is no mere creed or profession with him. He has been practising his own teaching for about half a century against the most overwhelming

odds and under the most trying circumstances. When he desisted from resisting evils in South Africa, we might have thought it was a monastic practice with him. But the whole world was shocked into a severe sense of its reality when he carried into and applied non violence in the fields of political struggle in India. Who is unaware of the non-violent struggles of 1922-23 or of 1932-33? Again, who does not know that when he found his followers unfitted or ill-equipped, he boldly suspended or called off, or even ruled out, civil disobedience on a mass scale, much to the regret and even chagrin of some of his more ardent soldiers? These instances further show that the Mahatma knows no compromise in what is his article of faith. He counts no cost in practising truth and non-violence, which indeed are to him one and the same thing.

One would have thought that the existing military department of the state should be spared from this ascetic orientation of politics. But the Saint-Statesman has recently taken pains to remove all possible doubts. In the remarkable article, published in the *Harijan* for Oct. 14, he has expressed sorrow over his failure to convert the Congress to his view.

I think [says he] that Congressmen are not prepared for non-violent defence against an armed invasion. That is tragic....whether one or many, I must declare my faith that it is better for India to discard violence altogether even for defending her own borders.

If he be the framer, there will be no military in the future scheme of Indian constitution.

When so much is claimed for non-violence, it is time that we examined its full basis, implication as well as possible application under the existing circumstances of life. Ideals are more powerful than acts and we must be extremely cautious in accepting or adopting them.

We have already said that this creed, as a personal virtue is nothing new, but that it certainly assumes novelty when recommended as a political measure of permanent application. What Mahatmaji thinks today was as sincerely thought

by Arjun, when face to face with arrayed armies, some five thousand years ago, in the vicinity of the present capital of India. He was as full of the softness of human milk as the great Leader of the Congress. He laid down his arms and begged leave to retire into 'wilderness'. The powerful Master before him administered a severe rebuke and laughed away his effeminate scruples. The world knows what transpired next. Arjun became wiser and fought and won, not as a weaker and more ignorant soul, but as a wiser and stronger man. The Teacher simply discussed the metaphysics of life and left Arjun free to think and do as he chose. The disciple, however, confessed cheerfully that he was wiser at the end of the discourse and that he would do as advised.

That Dialogue is not less applicable to the Mahatma's stand. What is violence and what is non-violence? Popularly speaking, and to a large extent as understood by Mahatmaji, violence consists in employing physical force against a being. You can oppose, compel or bend by means of moral pressure. That will be non-violent method. But the moment you raise a stone or staff, you infringe the principle of non-violence. No limit is set to moral pressing. One can achieve one's right point by using any amount of non-physical pressure, as illustrated by passive resistance or civil disobedience. For all this one will remain non-violent. Further, such a non-violent conduct must proceed from utter absence of ill-will. That is, a non-violent soldier is "willing to die without harbouring malice against the prosecutors". Non-violence is at its best when it expresses itself in the form of love for the enemy.

In the dictionary [to quote Mahatmaji] of *satyagrah* there is no enemy. But as I have no desire to prepare a new dictionary for *Satyagrahis* I use old words giving them a new meaning. A *Satyagrahi* loves his so-called enemy ever as his friend. As a *Satyagrahi*, that is, a votary of *Ahimsa*, I must wish well for England.

Non-violence, therefore, is love that will never strike with a material weapon.

As far as the inward quality of love is concerned, Gandhian doctrine does not differ from the Gita ideal of the perfected actor. The Song-Cetestial inculcates that we must cultivate a spirit of love for and oneness with all, before we can act with freedom on the moral plane. Only it goes further and says that a person with that character can even strike without offending against his moral and spiritual ideal. His love will not be affected in any wise, if he employs physical force for curing individuals or whole groups of their inhuman ills.

But Mahatmaji stops short and leaves this course. He is content to persuade and refuses to consider what the aggressor may do, who does not yield to his persuasion. He will wait and see till the aggressor is shaken to his moral roots, this is Gandhian contribution to the philosophy of non-violence.

Let us examine if the contribution helps to clear or confuse the issue of universal love. It is a truism of the Gita-ethics that action in itself is neither good nor bad. It becomes so from the motive and nature of the doer. As the 17th verse of the 18th chapter puts it:

He whose soul is universalised and who does not act from motives of pleasure or pain, is not bound by sins of killing.

Luther put in an excellent commentary on it when he wrote:

Good works will never make a good man, but a good man does good works; bad works never make a bad man, but a bad man does bad works.

This indeed is the implied philosophy of life. In everything, small or great, one takes it for granted. Very few Christian teachers understand the true meaning of the original sin, but the Hindu view fully explains it when it says that life, on the material plane, is all killing, is hit or miss, and that it can be redeemed only by a perfected personality which embraces everything. If non-killing or non-striking be non-violence, it were better not to discuss it, for in so doing we are hurting and striking dead a number of life-cells. Every act is tainted with sin (सर्वारम्भा हि दोषेण धूमेनाग्निरिवा वृताः XVIII, 48). But we do not refuse to live. We are striving

every day to widen the manner and scope of our life. All human progress implies this. If we deviated from violence altogether, life would become impossible. What would society be reduced to, if all violence were banned? Imagine the dangers from habitual criminals or rapacious beasts under a condition of all-round non-violence. Physicians and surgeons also would be cured all at once of their skill, if they practised this virtue. Let alone the problem of ruling out violence altogether, modern criminology has not discovered any satisfactory substitute for capital punishment. There are criminals with whom wrong doing, murder not excluded, is not only a second nature but a passion and therefore whose very existence constitutes a menace to society. In the interest of society, we have to get rid of them. From practical considerations such as these, Spencer was led to state:

Ideal conduct such as ethical theory is concerned with, is not possible for the ideal man in the midst of men otherwise constituted. An absolutely just or perfectly sympathetic person could not live and act according to his nature in a tribe of cannibals. Among people who are treacherous and utterly without scruple, entire truthfulness and openness must bring ruin."

What father would truthfully satisfy the curiosity of Tagore's Mini when she asks him, "What relation is mother to you?" Under all these circumstances we have to behave suitably; we have to adopt the subjective virtues to the objective conditions. Rama and Krishna, Buddha and Abraham were not imperfect men, yet they had to resort to the unpleasant act of killing.

The fact of the matter is that a person can be absolutely virtuous, but can not behave absolutely virtuously. The world is a process implying imperfections. Even a perfected soul has to adapt himself to imperfections surrounding him. Except in its existential aspect, no virtue is absolute, it is all relative. If ethics is a social science, its approaches to life's problems are always relative. Kant was forced to admit "nothing can possibly be conceived in the world, or even out of it, which can be called good without qualification, but a

good will." Therefore the moral worth of an action cannot lie anywhere but in the principle of the will, without regard to the ends which can be attained by action." Goodness is ours, but its product belongs to others. We must regulate our goodness in a manner that it may issue in goodness to others. In a famous verse of the Gita (V, 18) it is said that a wise person looks upon a learned and modest Brahman, a cow, an elephant, a dog, and a sweeper as equal. But what would be said of the wise man who gave fodder to the Brahman and grain-food to the cow, twigs of trees to the dog and pieces of meat to the elephant? Right wisdom consists in a due and proper appreciation of the objective side of our life. And this objective side principally means the nature of the persons by whom we are dealing. In most cases love does appeal, but in more than one it does not. There it is fear alone that avails. This justifies recourse to force, which may be moral or physical, according as the person, on the other side, is preponderately physical or moral in his outlook.

It is not that Mahatma Gandhi does not see it. He goes on preaching his doctrines now at this plane and now at that, now with this view and now with that. He is primarily a prophet. He cannot be expected to have that objective awareness which characterises a lesser man. A prophet is no prophet if he reckons the cost. He feels and says or acts. In the old files of the defunct *Young India*, one can easily find a passage like the following: "Where there is only a choice between cowardice and violence, I advise violence" (August 11, 1920). To one who cannot die courageously without killing, "I advise that of killing and being killed, rather than that of shamefully fleeing from danger." Such words show the inward working of the mind. Gandhiji preaches non-violence as his religion. He exhorts his followers to be brave and high-souled and to practise love unto all. Every other interest is secondary and subordinate. He is supremely a religious teacher and behaves as such. He cannot accept a thing of the world at any sacrifice of his principle. At his plane of thought, things do not matter at all,

it is only the principle which counts. He exhorts and expects us to cultivate moral courage and moral worth, which is another name for universal love. A number of Congressmen are getting impatient with him because of this high seriousness. But Mahatmaji cannot do otherwise. His supreme aim is self-realization, both for himself and others. He serves the country, because it helps him to do so, and further because he thinks he can help us also to do so.

Thus Mahatmaji is a supreme idealist in his preachings. Sustained on wishful thinking, he moves on to his dream. As an idealist theory, non-violence is the highest virtue when it expresses itself in active love for all, as in his case. But, just from that consideration, it is very lame when considered as a principle of practical behaviour. It loses itself into justice and expedience which are its objective adaptations. It is an attitude, not an act. It has a distinct place in the scheme of inner personality, but not in that of social behaviour. That we have to strike also where we love, is no more poetic fancy. It is an inescapable fact of life. The Swaraj Government of to-morrow shall have to maintain an efficient army and police against external aggression and internal disorder. Even now we have actively to co-operate with England in fighting her foes.

*If, filled with egoism again,
Thou thinkest that thou wilt not fight,
All vain indeed is thy resolve,—
And wilt thy nature urge thee on.
Bound by thy deeds, O Kunti's son,
Born of thy nature, wilt thou do.
What thou in thy deluded mind
Dost not desire to do at all.*

OUR HERITAGE

By TRILOK NATH

The modern age has rightly been distinguished from dogmatic mediavalism by the general application of scientific methods in all spheres of existence. This applies specially to the West; at the same time, it may safely be averred that the East in general is still stumbling in the morass of transition. Here in India, we are witnesses to the variegated scenes of our confused daily existence where the hobgoblins of logical reasoning have not had full access. Talks of the political, social and economic regeneration of the country, or of sections thereof, are carried to the limits of satiety—and this incidentally leads often in the case of most middle-class intellects to muddle-headedness and confusion (and this is the section of the population that has most work to do). It is felt—and the statements of the venerable seers of the land, who unfortunately very rarely give expression to their inmost thoughts, confirm it—that all this is the result of a mix-up in the idea of fundamentals. We have a habit of jumping to conclusions from a consideration of a set of presentable and prominent data, whereas we rarely ever try to go to the very roots. In fact, in considering important problems, such as are conspicuously featured in the dailies and periodicals, it is necessary to have a clear idea of the mind of the mass one has to deal with. This mass-mentality is the product as much of the historical incidents as of some basal endemic taints. This would furnish us with a maze of facts but like it, if there are several paths leading up to its core, the centre is unalterable,—a unit which is stolid in the face of the surface changes. Would it not be wise to start from this core?

As already stated above, "empiricism" has not yielded pride of place to scientific thought in the average Indian mind.

"Scientifism", if such a word may be used, is still to most of us a fad. And even if we are brought to ground and convinced; did not Valmiki say the same thing in the *Ramayana*? Or had not the great Sheikh Chrishti or some other member of that hoary fraternity referred to it in some hyperbole of his? We are apt to read, even to the present day, with a wonder-struck eye the results arrived at in the past by our scientists as being the results more of some divine revelation than straightforward action. This taint is visible as far back as Kautilya's *Artha-Shastra*, and may be discerned even in later politico-historical writings like *Tabakat-e-Nasiri* and *Saer-ul-mutakharin*. This supernatural has had the largest say in all our affairs: the most potent inspiration for the Indian mind, speaking of literature, has been the power in the skies. (Refer to Tukaram's writings or some of the earlier Sufi poets of Urdu of the Delhi School and the early Deccan School). Our ecstasies have in consequence the so-called religious tinge for all religious (strictly so-called) stress upon this point. To continue, this feature of our mental outlook has incapacitated us from coming to grip with facts: the Mahatma arrives at his decisions through a voice from the conscience,—not through the time-worn logic. It has nevertheless made us acutely sensitive to the ultimate value of things: the present does not hold our entire attention.

It is surprising, however, that in spite of this indeterminism of our intellect, we yet place experience on a high pedestal. The old man is preferred to the young. The seer and the prophet, traditionally hoary-headed sages of vast experience, are supposed to have abstracted a set of independent truths from the variegated pattern of daily events by sheer dint of experience. Yet this faith in experience is the product of a fear of trudging new ground. The monotonous Indian climate with cataclysmal or abrupt changes heralding misery, has deprived us of initiative. We are slow to receive an idea but once it is adopted, it is pursued quickly. (And does not the Indian hill system start in a continuous belt, with hardly a solitary boss). It is

evidenced also in the rapidity with which some naive theories, like organised planning, etc., are gaining currency in the common mind.

The stress on experience aided by the general isolation of the country, also makes us extremely individualistic. Down from the era of the Indus civilisation of Harappa and Mohenodaro, the Saka, Hun or Muslim thrusts have had temporary value only with a tendency to settle down to the peaceable quiet of the past. It will, therefore, be noticed that we have an innate desire to test the truth of most well-established points of common observation. This is exemplified in the daily repetitions in the political sphere of events which may be called History. The caste system too is an expression of this national characteristic. It has permeated even the Muslim masses and tends to find a home in all camps. Result: this country is a land of petty squabbles; there is very little social life on a small scale, which is a desideratum of healthy public life. It has also affected public administration. It has resulted in the corruption of public life; but the social thrust of Britain is trying to tone it down.

Turning now to that well-known theory of *Karma*, which, according to Lord Zetland, typifies a Hindu, it might be pointed out that this theory has extended its bounds and turned itself into the source of the Indian mental stream. It has evoked in him a hopefulness in the future existence but forced him into being a pessimist of the present. This has brought all his weaknesses to the surface and buried deep his sterling qualities of head and heart. In Radhakrishnan's words:

What can be recognised as peculiarly Indian is.....the element of weakness and prejudice which even some of the greatest Indians have in common with their weaker brethren.

Incidentally, I might point out that a mistaken notion has gained currency that the average villager in India is distinct from the townsman. Manifestly, there are lots of differences in the get-up of the two sections but the mind remains the same in all its weaknesses. The latter might have imbibed some

accidental traits of political life but the simplicity, catholicity and doubtfulness of a villager's mind still clings to them.

It will thus be noticed that the principal springs of action in an Indian mind are: the stress on empiricism leading to the emphasis on supernaturalism and the ultimate good, indeterminism bred of a confusion between the value of experience and individual effort (a result of isolation), a hopeful fear of the future manifesting in a dread of taking the initiative, but a general desire of following the lead given by others, and a sense of weakness combined with a catholicism for others' views.

As already pointed out, the general basis afore-mentioned, unalterable though it is, undergoes minor variations resulting from current experiences. The average Indian of today finds himself an undersized specimen of humanity in several walks of disciplined life, now that the isolation of the past is giving place to international knowledge and contact. He senses his potentialities in his humble fashion, weighs them against the assertiveness of others and breeds bitterness at the thought of the shackles to his higher activities. He knows that a new era of re-adjusted economic proportions is dawning on the world; he traditionally abhors the assertiveness of power and pelf for, to him, humility is the test of greatness and ultimate good; and yet he finds no place in his mind for drab and dull equality. He has it running in his veins, the tradition of the entire East; he finds himself face to face with the brewing challenge of the pompous West and his equipoise very nearly forsakes him. His culture, the heritage to be, is still in travail, but he is full of hope (which turns into apprehension at points) that when it has finally emerged, he will lead (in the following). He will not put his faith on the simple principles of compromise, consolidation or conservatism, but will be a follower of that glorious faith which points to the leading star of the future world, yet unborn.

WORDSWORTH'S POETRY : THE VISIONARY GLEAM

By NAWABZADA FARHAT SAID KHAN

Poetry [said Wordsworth] takes its origin in emotion recollected in tranquillity; the emotion is contemplated till by a species of reaction, the tranquillity gradually disappears, and an emotion, kindred to that which was before the subject of contemplation, is gradually produced, and does itself actually exist in the mind.

In these words the poet has summed up the genesis of his own poetry. For hours Wordsworth would sit in solitude, foraging his memory for lost images and past impressions. Thus, not only were the images and impressions that lay submerged in the deep recesses of his mind, revived, but the emotions which had accompanied them were also resuscitated. This was always a favourite hobby with the poet, as he himself says in the *Daffodils* :

Far off when on my couch I lie
In vacant or in pensive mood,
They flash upon that inward eye
Which is the bliss of solitude.

Most of Wordsworth's poetry deals with these resuscitated feelings and past impressions which played such an important part in the evolution of his poetic genius. The *Prelude*, as Walter Raleigh puts it

is one long exercise of memory, reaching back over the gulf that separated him, in the first flush of his power and maturity, from his younger self.

It is said that Wordsworth's poetry is great "because of the extraordinary power with which Wordsworth feels the joy offered to us in Nature, the joy offered to us in simple primary affection and duties". But this is not the only thing. It is also the 'mystic', the 'visionary' element in Wordsworth's poetry, which has made him the great poet that he is. It is

surprising that an admirer of Wordsworth like Matthew Arnold should have airily dismissed the mystic strain in Wordsworth's poetry as mere moonshine. For if his poetry be shorn of this mystic element, it loses much of its enduring merit.

My purpose in this essay is to show that a great deal of Wordsworth's poetry owes its origin to those visionary hours or emotional experiences to which he has so consistently referred in the *Prelude*. When such emotional experiences came to him he was often vaguely conscious of the existence of "unknown modes of being"; sometimes every object in nature appeared to him surrounded by a strange unearthly light; sometimes he perceived every natural object as one did in a state of trance: but on all such occasions his physical part always felt very uncomfortable. These emotional experiences were of common occurrence in Wordsworth's childhood. At that time he did not realize their significance but they left such deep impressions on his memory that not even old age could efface them.

In order to appreciate fully this visionary quality in Wordsworth's poetry, it is necessary to know something about his childhood. Wordsworth was born at Cockermouth in 1770. His parents died during his childhood, and his uncles sent him to Hawkshead Grammar School for education. Here he lived in deep and intimate communion with the majestic aspects of Nature and

With feelings of fraternal love
Upon the unassuming things that
Hold a silent station in this beauteous world.

He was a very independent sort of a child and his education and development were left entirely to Nature. He had a deep and abiding love for Nature, and he felt that there was something else behind its external loveliness.

It was at the age of seven that he had his first experience of the mystic vision, or "spots of time", as he calls these visions in the *Prelude*. One day when he was going to the school a strange feeling of abstraction took possession of him: he felt

as if the physical face of Nature was dissolving away, like an unsubstantial pageant, into nothingness, and he was standing face to face with the inner reality. Such a mood of *ideality* came to him with a distinct shock and left him bewildered and confused. At such moments every aspect of nature appeared to him "like something fashioned in a dream." To these visionary experiences he refers in one of the stanzas of *The Immortality Ode* :

But for those obstinate questionings,
Of sense and outward things
Fallings from us, vanishings;
Blank misgivings of a creature
Moving about in worlds not realized,
High instincts before which our mortal nature
Did tremble like a guilty thing surprised.

Another fit of ideality that often seized him was when he became so intensely conscious of the spirit throbbing in his body that he could not entertain the notion of death.

At that time [he said] I could not believe that I should lie down quietly in the grave, and that my body would moulder into dust.

For him Nature played a dual role ; while it enraptured his heart with its physical loveliness, it also inspired a sense of awe in him. Wordsworth refers to these feelings in terms of "visionary beauty" and "visionary dreariness". By its visionary beauty, Nature excites certain emotions and impulses in the heart of man which are essential for his spiritual growth, while its visionary dreariness holds his passions and wicked tendencies in check. It was a deep-rooted conviction with the poet that

One impulse from a vernal wood
May teach you more of man,
Of moral evil and good
Than all the sages can.

But such a benefit can only be derived from nature if we approach it sympathetically, and "in a wise passiveness", as he calls it.

Nor less I deem that there are Powers
Which of themselves our minds impress ;
That we can feed this mind of ours
In a wise passiveness.

And, indeed, this discipline of heart and mind, can surely be obtained from Nature, if she is what Wordsworth conceived her to be

A power
That is the visible quality and shape
And image of right reason ; that matures
Her processes by steadfast law ; gives birth
To no impatient or fallacious hopes.
No heat of passion or excessive zeal,
No vain conceits ; provokes to no quick turns
Of self-applauding intellect ; but trains
To meekness and exalts by humble faith :
Holds up before the mind intoxicated
With present objects, and the busy dance
Of things that pass away, a temperate show
Of objects that endure.

One evening during his academic career the poet surreptitiously untied a boat from a willow tree, without the permission of its owner, and began to row in the lake. It was an act of stealth and the poet felt that everything in Nature was frowning at him. He refers to this incident in the *Prelude*.

When, from behind that craggy steep till then
The horizon's bound, a huge peak, black and huge,
As if with voluntary power instinct,
Upreared its head. I struck and struck again,
And growing still in stature the grim shape
Towered up between me and the stars, and still,
For so it seemed, with purpose of its own
And measured motion like a living thing,
Strode after me.

The poet was so frightened that he at once returned the bark to its lawful owner. After describing this incident he says :

But after I had seen
That spectacle, for many days, my brain
Worked with a dim and undetermined sense
Of unknown modes of being; over my thoughts
There hung a darkness, call it solitude
Or blank desertion.

As he grew in years and experience, his appreciation of Nature which had been passive up till then, underwent a slight change. He became conscious of the creative faculty of his imagination. Formerly, he had believed that the function of mind and imagination of man was but to record incidents. But later he realized that both the mind of man and Nature act and react on one another. It is the mind that invests Nature with a peculiar visionary quality, which in its turn reacts on the mind.

Wordsworth was seventeen years old when he went to the Cambridge University. He took with him a wealth of beautiful images and memories of mystic vision, and a keen power of observation for the external loveliness of Nature. In Cambridge he felt himself out of sympathy with his fellow students who derided his love of Nature and called him crazy. But his outlook had been so completely shaped that he became quite independent of his outer surroundings and environment. He took refuge and found solace in those sweet memories of visionary hour when he saw everything through a golden haze.

His stay in Cambridge is notable for two events which had a profound effect on the poet. The first was briefly this: In one of his summer vacations, as Wordsworth was going to his cottage, after spending a night of revelry, he saw the glories of the sunrise. The sun was shedding its crimson light on the mountain peaks, and the poet felt as if this vision had also inflamed his soul with a holy light. From this moment a feeling that he was a Dedicated Spirit took possession of him, and it did not desert him to

the very end of his days. After describing this incident in the *Prelude*, goes on to say :

.....On I walked
In thankful blessedness, which yet survives.

Wordsworth was made of no common stuff. When these moments of emotion came to him, they left indelible marks on his memory. With regard to these emotional experiences of the poet, Viscount Grey observes :

Their effect was cumulative; they built him up and made him the great poet that he was, and those words "which yet survives" would apply no doubt to many of those great moments in his life.

The second incident which he mentions in the *Prelude* occurred when he was touring France and Switzerland in one of his vacations. He and his friend lost their way, and on enquiry found out that quite unknowingly they had crossed the Alps. Wordsworth was inspired with that feeling of visionary terror of which I have already spoken. When he was returning he saw

The rocks that muttered close upon our ears,
Black drizzling crags that spake by the way-side
As if a voice were in them, the sick sight
And giddy prospect of the raving stream,
The unfettered clouds and regions of the heavens,
Tumult and peace, the darkness and the light, etc. etc.

Primarily, his inspiration comes to him through his physical senses, but it does not end there. It often happens that his physical senses are put to rest and with the help of a mysterious faculty—you may call it poetic intuition—he can see into the life of things.

• That serene and blessed mood,
In which the affections gently lead us on,—
Until, the breath of this corporeal frame
And even the motion of the human blood
Almost suspended, we are laid asleep
In body and become a living soul :
While with an eye made quiet by the power
Of harmony, and the deep power of joy,
We see into the life of things.

—(Tintern Abbey)

These "moods of shadowy exultations" and "impulses of deeper birth have come to him in solitude".

Referring to these mystic visions he says in the *Prelude* :

.....for I would walk alone,
Under the quiet stars, and at that time
Have felt whatever there is of power in sound
To breathe an elevated mood, by form
Or image unprofaned ; and I would stand,
If the night blackened with a coming storm,
Beneath some rock, listening to notes that are
The ghostly language of the ancient earth,
Or make their dim abode in distant winds
Thence did I drink the visionary power.

These mystic visions were not a constant possession of the poet : he would see them in glimpses and flashes. They were of common occurrence when he was a child, but they became less and less frequent as the poet advanced in years ; and the celestial radiance which seemed to envelop every object in Nature, from the most trivial to the most sublime, faded into the light of the common day. It is this loss of the dream-like splendour and visionary gleam that Wordsworth bewails in the first part of the *Immortality Ode* :

Whither is fled the visionary gleam ?
Where is it now the glory and the dream ?

INDIAN INDIA

BARODA

THE NEW CONSTITUTION

In the proclamation, which serves as an introduction to the new constitution, His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar expresses his belief that the new institutions now inaugurated emphasise the fundamental identity of interest both between himself and his people, and also among the different classes of people in the State. It is interesting to notice in this connection that His Highness's Government have throughout displayed their anxiety, while making arrangements to protect minority interests, to promote an appreciation of that same fundamental identity of interests among all classes of the population. Separate electorates and special reservation of seats have, after most careful deliberation, been rejected, and powers have been taken, by a temporary increase in the number of nominated seats, to make any adjustment

in connection with a return of members which may be necessary for the adequate protection of minorities. Further, the electoral rules have been framed in such fashion as to bridge over rather than to emphasise the separation of urban from rural constituencies. Urban areas are to vote with the divisions in which they are situated; and since careful steps have been taken to secure an adequate division between urban and rural areas, the plan should work well. Further, interests, as well as territorial constituencies, are to be represented in the Legislature, and the special constituencies contemplated include the representation of co-operative societies, of commerce, of industry, and of labour.

PRINCIPAL FEATURES

The principal features of the new constitution, apart from the excellent machinery devised for securing its suc-

cessful operation, may be described very briefly. The Dewan and the members of the Executive Council continue to be responsible to His Highness, and to hold office subject to his pleasure; but the Executive Council has from henceforth to include a non-official member, who holds office for the life of the Legislature. This non-official member will be in all other respects on an equality with his colleagues; and will thus serve as a direct link between the executive policy of the Administration, and the majority sentiment of the Legislature. This link will be strengthened by the appointment of two Parliamentary Secretaries from among the non-official members of the Legislature, who will assist the Dewan and his colleagues on the Executive Council to work in co-operation with the elected members. The powers of the Legislature

are wide. Certain subjects are outside its competence— army discipline, treaty relationships, financial obligations, the authority of the Ruling Family; while previous sanction will be necessary for the introduction of measures affecting the public debt, creating a charge on the public revenues, affecting the religion of His Highness's subjects, and certain other matters.

The new constitution is a solid achievement, the study of which may be commended to anyone desiring to convince himself that there exists a real "progressive movement" among the governments of the best Indian States. Constitutional and administrative skill, and drafting ability, have combined to produce a notable series of documents.

—PROF. L. F. RUSHBROOK
WILLIAMS, in *Great Britain and the East*.

COCHIN

CONGRESS CONVENTION

Presiding over the first Annual Convention of the Cochin Congress recently,

Mr. M. C. Joseph paid glowing tributes to the great solicitude of His Highness the Maharaja of Cochin, who had

been gracious enough to share the responsibilities of administration of the State with his subjects and the admirable statesmanship evinced by His Highness' trusted and able Dewan, Sir R. K. Shanmukham Chetti, in introducing the epoch-making constitutional reforms in Cochin.

Continuing, Mr. Joseph compared the state of affairs existing in other parts of Indian India and made it clear that in every respect Cochin occupied a unique place for more reasons than one. Pointing out certain instances, he said that the people of the villages in Cochin really reaped the benefit of the new reforms in an abundant measure, and in many parts the rural folk were overjoyed at the easy and immediate solution at the hands of the present Minister of many of their problems.

The president also referred to the limitations of power of the Minister and put forth a strong plea for the expansion of his powers and the granting of full Responsible Government.

Resolutions were then taken up for consideration. First, a resolution was passed, placing on record their deep gratitude to H. H. the Maharaja and the Dewan for the introduction of constitutional reforms in the State. It was resolved to affiliate the Cochin Congress to the All-India States People's Association and to strengthen their organisation in Cochin with a view to working out the constructive programme they had chalked out for the attainment of full Responsible Government. The Conference voted in favour of giving a dearness allowance to all labourers and also requested the Government to cancel the existing Press Regulation in the State. Another important demand was the introduction of a new bill in the Legislative Council for giving adequate protection to the tenants in case the Government did not pass into law the Verumpatta Kudian Bill now placed before the Council with adequate amendments.

GWALIOR

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

Addressing a representative gathering of Zamindars and Agricultural Officers, Sardar Jadhav, Director of Agriculture, Gwalior Government, traced the history of the department and depicted the achievements since its inauguration 25 years back by His late Highness the Maharaja Sir Madhav Rao Scindia of revered memory.

He showed how a start was made by opening demonstration farms in every district of the State and later on with a view to educating the ignorant farmers in scientific methods their own farms were selected to carry on the demonstration work and all possible facilities were extended to them by the State.

He alluded to recent improvements in agriculture department to the great personal interest taken by His Highness and his burning passion of sympathy in the cause of the poor agriculturists. The following are some of the more

important improvements pointed out by him :—

1. Opening of a large experimental farm in the area of Harsidam for the purpose of solving complicated problems involved in the growth of water crops.

2. Location of an important centre at Agar for the breeding of bulls belonging to Malwa pedigree, which are in great demand.

3. Opening of standard Seed Centres for the supply of high class seeds.

4. Entrusting the work of Entomology and Mycology to experts in order to tackle the baffling problem of biological pests which retrograde crop production.

5. Fixation of observatory in the central experimental farms to find out variations in weather conditions.

In conclusion, Sardar Jadhav stressed the necessity of creating private enterprise in the field of agriculture as is being done in foreign coun-

tries—where big capitalists and their efforts have been have assiduously engaged attended with tremendous themselves in this noble task— success.

HYDERABAD

“INHERITED TRADITION”

The following are extracts from an important speech made by Sir M. Venkata Subbarao, the Nizam's Agent in Berar, at the recent banquet given in his honour by the Governor of C. P.:

There has been a reference to my being the first Agent and I am deeply sensible of the honour it implies and even proud of the post I hold. I say so, as there is a profound significance in a great Muslim Potentate choosing, in these anxious times, a Hindu as his first Representative. It is striking evidence of the tradition of communal harmony for which Hyderabad was famous. That harmony is of the highest value in the conditions that obtain to-day.

* * *

Till a few years ago, this premier State was the home of Hindu-Muslim unity—the

ideal of all lovers of India. If the objective has suffered a setback of late, I venture to think that this is a passing phase; for, how can a thing of yesterday wipe out an ancient tradition? Not only did harmonious relations prevail, but there was a happy blending of the two cultures, each retaining its distinctive genius. Hindus and Muslims were, through centuries, good neighbours; tolerance, not bigotry, being their guiding principle. There is no reason why this inversion of the tradition should be allowed, creating suspicion and hatred where goodwill and trust should reign. Violent storms of Hindu-Muslim tension are no doubt sweeping every part of India; but may not Hyderabad, I suggest, imbued with her tradition of harmony, break away and give an example to the rest of the country? I am not indulging,

let me remark, in an idle conceit; for, this is the exhortation of the august Ruler himself.

possesses of inherited tradition.

The two problems today, which are baffling British and Indian statesmen alike are, how to achieve inter-communal harmony and how to maintain inviolate India's political integrity. Both these problems Hyderabad is in the enviable position of being able to solve. Need I say then why I am proud of being the Representative of the sovereign of Hyderabad and Berar?

Hindu-Muslim unity is the bedrock of political integrity of India, and if Hyderabad can show that differences and conflicts would melt away in the face of loyalty to the common homeland, she would point the way to national unity. This, Hyderabad can achieve, as I have said, with the advantage she

INDORE

COLONY FOR THE EDUCATED UNEMPLOYED

As the result of his extensive tour and careful study of the conditions obtaining in the Nemawar District regarding improvement of which His Highness the Maharaja has issued special instructions on account of the relatively undeveloped conditions of this district, Rai Bahadur Col. Dinanath, Prime Minister of the Holkar State, Indore, convened a special conference of

the officers concerned with whom he discussed the outstanding questions of the district, the most difficult and important of which was the question of reducing the enormous fallow in holding, which had eluded solution so far and about which the Prime Minister felt that immediate measures should be taken to induce and encourage cultivators to bring more and more of this fallow land under cultivation. His Highness's Government, after

carefully considering the proposals submitted by the Revenue Minister as the result of the deliberation of this conference, have decided to grant remission of 50 per cent. in the land revenue demand under orders of the Subha to a Pattedar tenant with respect to such portion of the fallow land in his holding as he would bring under cultivation, and a further remission of 25 per cent. in the land revenue demand for an equal portion of his fallow in holding, provided that the actual fallow land brought under cultivation is not less than 5 acres for every 20 acres of land held by him, and provided further that he sows in the land in question such improved varieties of seeds as might be recommended to him by the Director of Agriculture, that out of the produce thereof he reserves the necessary quantity of seed for that land for the future and maintains manure pits for preparing his own manure therein. He will be further expected to abide by the advice of the Director of Agriculture in other matters relating to improved methods of farming.

Special additional grants have been allotted for drinking-water wells and for minor irrigation works. Demarcation lines in the forests of the District have been shifted at numerous places with a view to ensuring that nullahs and rivers come within the limits of the Abadi area and to minimise, as far as possible, loss from wild animals to the cultivators.

The Forest Department and a Special Committee have been asked to examine further proposals with regard to the proper separation of Forest and Abadi areas and to exclude certain portions of the Forest area from the operation of the Game Act.

Special facilities have been given for allotment of land on Nawin Abadi instead of giving it in open auction in every case.

Instructions have been given to colonise certain areas in the districts, preference being given to the educated unemployed of the villages in the State so that by attracting these people again to land by grant of liberal concessions and facilities, their influx to towns may be stopped, if possible.

KASHMIR

PROGRESS IN ADMINISTRATION

Kashmir is so full of variety. One can only give the very slightest impression of the history, people, flowers, sport, and natural beauty of the country. But I may be allowed to make brief reference to the Administration and its responsibilities. Because of the glamour that surrounds the country, one is apt to forget the modern aspect of Kashmir.

One must always realize that Kashmir and Jammu is actually the largest State in India. On the west it touches the North-West Frontier; on the north the State is bordered by Chitral, the Korakoram Mountains, and Yarkand; and on the east by Chinese Tibet. Therefore the territories of three Great Powers—Britain, Russia, and China—meet on its northern border.

Great efforts are being made by the State to lead its people along the best up-to-date lines of progress in administration, education, agriculture, finance, industry.

As well as elementary and secondary schools throughout the State, there are colleges at Srinagar and Jammu and two schools of agricultural education for the sons of zemindars. Great interest is taken by the Government of H. H. the Maharaja in the new schemes for rural development. Students from the colleges have helped to spread information among the villages. There have been magic lantern and cinema shows, fairs, exhibitions, and a distribution of pamphlets dealing with cleanliness and improvement of rural conditions generally. A collection of songs and dramas has been made, and shows have been staged in villages. Experimental work is going on at small Government farms and nurseries on plant and animal diseases.

There is in Kashmir a women's welfare centre, also travelling dispensaries. The State gives grants to several hospitals. Among the good works done in Kashmir one must not omit the C. M. S. School and Hospital; the former has always been run more or

less on Scout lines and has made a splendid contribution to the upbringing of many Kashmiri boys and girls.

The last Administration Report shows that there are 5,600 Scouts in the State. Six training camps were held in 1938. At the Jammu Physical Culture Display 500 Scouts and students took part. That year sixteen persons were saved from drowning by Jammu Scouts.

In 1931 all public schools and wells were thrown open to untouchables, and two years later the temples were also opened to them. In a country of the size of Kashmir, which

contains so many inaccessible regions and a people comprised of wild hillmen, peasants, town dwellers, and also the most distinguished Pundits, one must be thankful that the Maharaja has in the Prime Minister and his colleagues, men with vision and enlightenment to administer the State at this critical moment in history.

Probably magnificent trekking expeditions appeal more than anything else to the men and women who have the luck to visit the vale of Kashmir and its circle of snow mountains.

—MISS CATHERINE WALTER,
in the *Asiatic Review*.

MYSORE

UNIVERSITY SETTLEMENT WORK

"We profoundly hope that members of the Indian universities, in ever-increasing numbers, will devote themselves to the social and economic problems of the countryside, and carefully fit themselves to take the lead in the movement for the uplift of the rural

people. Let no one forget that it is these rustics who ultimately pay for the university education of the lucky few. Such service as students or graduates can give is the honest repayment of debt,—yet far beyond that, if inspired by fellow-feeling and the noble delight in service."

The Dewan of Mysore gave expression to these sentiments

in his Convocation Address to the Calcutta University.

That idea is seen in action in the work of the "University Settlement" in rural areas in Mysore. This "University Settlement" enables students while still in College, to take particular villages under their care and be trained in rural service. Such a "University Settlement" was established in Markonahalli for over a month in March.

Markonahalli is the scene of large irrigation works. Villagers round the Dam Works are connected with the execution of Works. When the students arrived in their midst, the first thing they did was to work along with the raiyats in the fields preparing lands for wet cultivation below the channels. After a few days, the raiyats and students got to know one another.

These are days when people professing to follow Gandhism and pledged to work and elevate the people complain that they cannot work with the "coolies" in the hot sun without shoes and head-gear, and actually turn out only 11

pies of work as compared to 60 pies of the cooly! But the University students, in their enthusiasm for rural work, donned the cooly dress and worked with them and worked as much as they did! They became, as it were, one with them proving in practice, the hope of the Dewan, that in the University young men "there is no feeling of superiority, and that they have the sense to realise that the horny-handed son of toil in the field is *as yet* a better man than they are,—not better than they can and will be, when they have knocked about a bit and had a taste of trouble and responsibility, but definitely *now* the better man. So they must look up to him, not down."

This stands out as the unique feature of the Markonahalli University Settlement. Otherwise, the usual items of work were pursued: cleaning of villages, organising amusements and games for children in the evening, giving "talks" to the villagers on various matters such as sanitation, co-operation, social surveys and village industries.

Coming from young men, of their educated co-workers! who, a few minutes before, Adult literacy campaign provided a brilliant success under these circumstances. were digging and removing earth, the villagers eagerly sought the wider knowledge

TRAVANCORE

"SECOND TO NONE"

A well-deserved tribute was recently paid by Dr. Savarkar to the Ruler and Dewan of Travancore State. The leader of the Mahasabha asked the public to judge for themselves whether Travancore has not scored over British India in the matter of social reform and the removal of the blot of untouchability. The Dewan of that State had taken the boldest step towards a better social order in his State and what British India under the leadership of Mahatmaji and South India under the inspiring guidance of C. R. could not achieve in spite of forty years of work, has been achieved in Travancore by a master-stroke of statesmanship. And what is more, Travancore had kept up the best traditions of the ancient Hindu States when equality of service and a high

standard of social justice permeated the Indian policy.

In the course of his speech, Dr. Savarkar said: Educationally, the State is second to none in India; economically, it is exploiting its bountiful natural resources with the aid of the latest scientific methods; it has socialised its transport system; it has removed the economic disabilities of the backward classes by raising their social status; it has an administration based on the autonomous pattern of the provinces; it has a legislature with powers to vote and discuss its public and economic policy; and more important than these, it has at its head a young and cultured Ruler, imbued with a healthy enthusiasm for a democratic form of life and is assisted by a statesman whose breadth of vision and capacity for service is universally

recognised. There is nothing that the State of Travancore could not achieve under such inspiring circumstances. Travancore has set up a high ideal to the whole of India in the matter of social reform and has proclaimed in loud tones that all men are equal in the eye of the law and before the Almighty. It now remains for her to harness to the fullest advantage her plentiful natural resources, and I have no doubt that Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar will devote himself, heart and soul, to the new problems of industrialisation which the State will soon be called upon to tackle.

HOWLERS

A MYTH is a female moth.

A BACHELOR is a man who stays vacant.

A TRIANGLE is a circle with three corners to it.

Twentieth Century Miscellany

CAN AMERICA LIVE IN ISOLATION ?

Experience has shown that the Power which dominates Europe tends to expand outside Europe and aim at world power; that would certainly be the case with a victorious Germany. Could such a disturbance of world equilibrium be a matter of indifference to Americans? If Germany were to supplant Britain as a world leader, can anyone imagine that those international conditions by which Americans profit today—that is to say, a system of liberty and of inter-continental exchanges, together with a general use of the English tongue—would still persist?

Americans know very well, that the fall of the British Empire would mean a grave set-back for the United States in every continent, including its own. With some ingenuousness a member of Congress recently stated in an interview: "The United States will in no case intervene in Europe.. unless the British Fleet is

sunk." Here we have, summed up tersely, the conflict between a decisive political factor and the traditional instinct of abstention pulling in different directions.

It may be affirmed that the threat of rum to the British Empire would entail American intervention. The United States has no ambition to do in the world what Britain has done; possibly it has not the same genius for it. But it insists that Britain must continue to fulfil the task which it performs with such mastery, and its abandonment of which would signify a set-back for civilisation.

No one, of course, can predict which way the foreign policy of the United States will ultimately turn. America must realize that we seek only to understand her and not to dictate to her. * On our side we ask America to take notice that we are fighting on a democratic and liberal front, behind which shelter certain human values of no less consequence

to the New World than to ourselves.

—ANDRE SIEGFRIED in
La Revue de Paris.

WILL U. S. ENTER THE WAR?

There can be no question that the American people want to see Hitlerism crushed. But they think it will be crushed by someone else.

If one may make a symposium of many conversations, the attitude of the people at the moment is about as follows :—

1. The British Empire and the French are fighting for themselves to preserve their own security and their own imperial possessions.

They happen also to have justice and decency on their side. So much so that the vast majority of the American people want them to win and hope they will destroy Hitlerism once and for all.

2. Russia has shown itself in its true colours as a ruthless, totalitarian aggressor. "Little Finland" is making a magnificent stand. Its efforts should be supported by the unlimited sympathy of the American

people and by the men and money of Britain and France. It would be delightful if America could help, but America must not get "involved".

3. If there were any danger that the Allies might lose the war, then the United States would have to come to the rescue, because if Hitler defeated Britain and France the United States would have to take him on to defend her own position.

4. But, fortunately, there is little likelihood that the Allies will be defeated. Britain and France may be broke and they will probably never be the same powerful nations again, but at least they can win the war unaided. Since they can win the war without American help, we do not have to come to their rescue. It would be far better for us to set our own house in order, solve some of the new problems the New Deal has left us here at home and at the same time go out and grab off some of the markets that the war has left lying around loose. In short, we should mind our own business.

Now that is a pretty hard-boiled, callous attitude but it happens to be a synthesis of American opinion at the moment.

—The *Financial Post*, Toronto.

TWELVE NAZI APOSTLES RUDOLF HESS, ADOLF'S DEPUTY

A strong, brawling officer of some book-learning but little originality of mind, he "is only base when ordered to be so by Hitler, for in himself Hess is one of the few inborn decent personalities of the party, merely induced to infamous actions by bad company". In a beer-house brawl he was once cracked over the skull with a beer mug, and still bears a scar, on which no hair will grow.

DR. LEY, JAILER OF WORKERS

The greatest soaker in the Nazi party, he can usually be found in the ale house from which the loudest laughter issues. "When Ley is urgently wanted all that is necessary to produce him is to ring up his favourite taverns. The saying is that when he is deep in his cups, Dr. Ley can bargain more forcefully and use more

striking (in the true sense of the word) arguments" than when he is sober, which is apparently a rare occurrence.

ALFRED ROSENBERG, THEORIST

Says biographer Dutch: "Rosenberg is to be counted on as the person in the party most powerfully endowed intellectually, and at the same time as father-confessor to Hitler and Grand Inquisitor to the whole movement.

JULIUS STREICHER, JEW- BAITER No. 1

His intimate friends declare that he sometimes works naked at his desk. His office affairs would not bear investigation and he has had various inter-ludes with the wives of other party members for, says Dutch, "he is not fastidious in his choice of women." Hitler has suffered him because it was he who first supplied him with money.

DR. WILHELM FRICK, STIRRUP HOLDER

If Adolph Hitler, Austrian paper-hanger's assistant and corporal of the last world war is today President and Chancellor of the Great German

Reich, then he must thank Dr. Wilhelm Frick, a dry German police official, for his post.

DR. JOSEPH GOEBBELS,
MEPHISTO

His mind is keen as steel, cold and calculating. His considerable wit is mostly satirical. He has a scintillating intellect, presence of mind, and is never embarrassed, and though he is un-Aryan in appearance there is no truth, says Dutch, in the rumour that he is of Jewish origin. "He is hated, this Mephisto of the party, one marked by the Almighty with a club foot, of whom one must beware. Over-clever, over-subtle, hard as steel, merciless, hardworking, calculating....but weighed-up and despised and isolated: that is Goebbels."

HERMANN GOERING, MENACE

If today all over the world air armaments are assuming even greater dimensions, if the factories daily spew forth their progeny of ever larger, ever faster, ever more devastating bombers, then it is Goering who has fabricated this intoxicating competition.

HEINRICH HIMMLER, HANGMAN

He is Hitler's eyes, and ears, has a secret dossier on every member of the party and such vast power that Hitler himself would need to be afraid if he could not rely absolutely on him. For Himmler is the real power in the State, overshadowing the army, overshadowing even the most important friends and counsellors of Hitler.

RIBBENTROP, DIPLOMAT

His rise was swift, partly because of his innate ability, but largely because he flattered Hitler. "Ribbentrop unites in his person the experience of a diplomat, a spy and an agent."

BRAUCHITSCH, ARMY CHIEF

"Purely as a person, General von Brauchitsch stands out very salutarily against all the remaining National Socialists leaders. He is an entirely honest and sober-thinking officer, of good military and general education and an expert in political and economic affairs. The chief reproach that may be levelled against him is that he is a power-server, but

if the Nazi dictatorship is ever replaced by a military one he would lead it."

DR. WALTHER FUNK, ECONOMIST

At the age of twenty-six he joined the financial paper *Berliner Börsenzeitung*, married well, helped straighten the tangled finances of the Nazi Party and replaced Dr. Hjalmar Schacht when that economic wizard fell out with Four Year Planner Goering.

BALDUR VON SCHIRACH, YOUTH
LEADER

He is young, handsome, a good speaker, cultured and pleasant. Although outwardly he gives the impression of being somewhat gentle and feminine yet he is energetic, undeviating and uncompromising. He may be classed, without a doubt, among the few good characters of the party.

—From the *News Review*,
London.

STEAM is water gone crazy with the heat.

AN ISLAND is a piece of land gone for a swim.

RABBITS are good for arithmetic because they multiply so fast.

Twentieth Century Library

MR. MUNSHI & THE MAHATMA

By I. D.

I Follow The Mahatma. By K. M. Munshi. Allied Publishers, Bombay. Rs. 2-8.

A Gujarati by birth, Mr. K. M. Munshi is one of the most brilliant lawyers and best known public and literary men of the Western Presidency. If his heart is in literature (Gujarati), his foot is in politics (Congress). While he has achieved distinction in both, he is, like many a literary man in politics, 'no philosopher in affairs'. Quick in reaching decisions, and firm in handling situations, he was an outstanding success as the Home Member in the Congress Government. A man of attractive gifts and energetic mind, it is characteristic of him that he has converted his present political wilderness into a literary paradise.

The book under review is both a personal chronicle and political survey. Centering round himself and his reaction to the Mahatma and his mission and message, it traverses many themes, from Gandhi's Dandi march to Hitler's demoniac drive, and discusses the higher values of politics and life from the Gandhian point of view. If two or three chapters are devoted to questions of script and language, it is because of the author's bias for scholarly pursuits and literary movements. But the main interest of the book lies in his conversion to the Gandhian cult and his faith in Gandhi,—'the alchemist who knew the art of forging thunderbolts out of bones'.

* * * *

As a young man, Mr. Munshi belonged to the band of 'revolutionaries' who swore by Aravindo in India, and Mazzini and Garibaldi abroad. Those were days when he 'hoped to win

India's freedom by a few hundred drachms of picric acid'. Later, under Mrs. Besant's inspiring auspices he joined the Home Rule League and conducted *Young India* in collaboration with Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas. In the years between Gandhi's emergence as the President of the All-India Home Rule League and his ascendancy at Amritsar, he came within his ken but not under his spell. As a member of the Bombay Legislative Council, he visited Bardoli when it became a storm centre and wrote to the Governor his famous letter which at once 'placed the Bardoli question in the forefront.' Later came the Simon Seven when he felt outraged. As an example of his withering sarcasm, his observations on the all-White Commission are worth reproducing :

We were the props and pillars of the Empire when a hundred million pounds had to be voted, in order that it might not fall. We were fellow-citizens and partners, when cannon-fodder was required for the frontiers of Belgium. But in matters constitutional, we were the serfs of the Empire; we were to be safeguarded by the 'Steel Frame.' Our destinies were to be decided by any seven persons, whom an arrogant Secretary of State might select!

The introspective struggles and soul-storms he experienced in those days are recorded in passages of moving eloquence :

To pile up guineas, to bully or laugh at an opponent in court, to sneer at idealism of every sort of kind, to tell smutty stories or talk scandal, and to while away the evening over a glass of whisky or a game of bridge was with many the *summum bonum* of life....

I relied on the West for my dress, and on many occasions for my food. I met insipid millionaires and denationalized apes of Western manners, and conversed with them about the weather. I sat at teas with ladies with powdered faces and no brains, and trained myself to tell them stupid stories. I herded with men to whom life was a boredom and who measured life's value by the membership of a fashionable club or the range of a golf handicap. I attended parties where Indians ate European courses of tinned food, consumed costly wine and talked of young ladies in spicy terms.

Mr. Munshi was definitely feeling uneasy and drifting to the Gandhian domain. Only a few more steps were needed to reach the promised land. Dandi changed his destiny. If Bardoli gave him the first inkling into Gandhian values, Dandi initiated

him into the mysteries of Gandhism. Revelation came to him :

To the cold politician, it (the Dandi march) naturally appeared a fool's errand ; to the man who knew the making of nations, it was the moment of a nation's birth. For many years Gandhiji had been the most powerful man in the country, the man with the largest following and greatest influence, but on that day he became entitled, and rightly, to say, "the Nation ! I am the Nation."

Mr. Munshi "felt like a thrice-cursed slave tied to a mill-stone of luxurious living, destined to grind and to grind for ever" and asked himself :

Why was I not in my country's service ? Why was I not ready to stand for the ideals which I always cherished ? Why had I not the courage even of an ordinary Gujarati villager ? When Gujarat was rising like one man, why was I, who always talked of its greatness, staying away from the fight ? When the nation had declared a war, why was I thinking of sneaking away to Kashmir ?

I could not resist this any longer, and I surrendered.

Then came a day when Mr. Munshi and the Mahatma walked together in the early morning and discussed a delicate subject. Mr. Munshi was so overwhelmed with the Mahatma's nobility that he recalls the incident in picturesque terms :

On the solitary road, with the sea thundering at our feet and the stars watching overhead, I realised how truly great he was.

When we parted, he was no longer my political chief; he had entered my life.

Once again, when Gandhi went to prison, he 'followed' the Mahatma. On return from the jail he found 'the political life all but dead.' Soon the course of politics changed. The legislatures lured Congressmen back. The beginnings of Parliamentaryism, the general election, and 'the great experiment' (office-acceptance)—all claimed Mr. Munshi.

* * * *

If the subjective element in the book is of absorbing interest, the objective side is of immense value. His chapters on "Yoga in Action", "Law of Moral Causation", "What is Truth ?", "Non-Violence"—Its Technique and Efficiency, etc. constitute an excellent study of Gandhism in theory and

practice. Credit is due to him for having attempted this difficult task more in the spirit of scientific enquiry, than as a Defender of the Faith or a Preacher of the Cult. As an interpretation and exposition of Gandhism, Mr. Munshi's handiwork is an admirable piece, hardly excelled by the official commentators of Wardha. There is nothing of the gusto one associates with the propagandist. Its chief merit lies in restraint.

Mr. Munshi also deals with the latest international developments, the growth of dictatorships, and the new world order, and lays down impeccable propositions :

Where untruth has been, discontent is being reaped. Where violence is sown, hatred and ill-will are being harvested. And they have been destroying the spontaneous growth of men and nations.

And he lays his unerring finger on the sore spot when he says :

An independent nation, like a theoretically free man, is a figment of the imagination. The Nation-States, like the anti-social men imagined by Hobbes, have long been, though unconsciously, surrendering their freedom to an international framework which provides the outstanding example of this surrender, had to alter its basis by conceding autonomy to growing nations within the regulative framework of British policing. Just as the coercive processes in the State are brought into operation only in the hour of tumult, in the Empire, the British army and navy only provide a background of power, to restore order when necessary but eliminating themselves, so long as relations in the Commonwealth continue to be peaceful.

This picture reveals Mr. Munshi's political acumen and sense of realism and generates in us the hope that the Mahatma whom he understands and follows must be working for the same end, despite the varied interpretations put on Complete Independence for India.

Has Gandhism any future ? If so, on what basis ? Let Mr. Munshi speak :

Then, when the world groups of Nation-States create one framework for the whole human race, the twin children of coercion and camouflage—defence and diplomacy—would disappear and the barriers of violence which desecrate the world would have ceased to exist. Then Gandhism would have triumphed.

Viewed in this way, Gandhism is the only hope of the future.

And in this faith, I humbly follow the Mahatma.

Mr. Munshi's hope which several share deserves to be fulfilled. He is entitled to the satisfaction of having given a very good estimate of Gandhi and made an excellent case for Gandhism. It is for the future to give the final verdict on the Gandhian philosophy and technique. But personally Mr. Munshi has done justice to the Mahatma—and a service to all alike—to those who follow him but understand him not, who understand him but follow him not, who both understand and follow him, and who neither follow nor understand him.

* * *

Not the least merit of Mr. Munshi's contribution to the Gandhi literature is his literary artistry. He is, apart from all other things, a superb craftsman. Since the publication of Jawaharlal's autobiography, no better book in which Gandhi figures, has appeared. It is brilliant, thoughtful and highly fascinating.

The Twentieth Century

THE TRAGEDY WE BEHOLD

By I. D.

June was a month of world-shaking events and startling developments, and of the most staggering losses for the Allies. History was made and unmade. The star of Hitler, for some time in the ascendant, reached its zenith. Europe lay at his feet. Mussolini threw off his mask, jumped over the fence on which he was sitting tight since the beginning of the war, and became the Fuehrer's active ally and shameless abettor. Only England remained to be bullied and beaten. And Hitler so contrived things that France, England's great partner in the titanic struggle, had all but placed her entire resources at the disposal of the ruthless Nazi hordes whose appetite for world domination was whetted at each fresh turn that events had taken. It seemed as if eternal night was descending on Europe and England but taking time but to be engulfed in chimerian darkness. Hitler's thundering pronouncements and lightning victories made no difference to the British purpose and pledge. If all was not over yet, it was because Britain was alive to her imperishable tradition. It was on the declaration of the war in 1914 that the *Times* wrote :

"Now let everything go in" must be our motto.....We must suffer much, but we shall know how to suffer for the great name of England and for all her high ideals, as our fathers did before us. We go into it "united, calm, resolute, trusting in God." This is the mood in which our fathers fought and won. That is the mood in which we, their true sons, will fight today, with the humble but firm hope that in a just and righteous cause "the only Giver of all victory" will bless our arms.

Today, even at this hour when her fortunes are at the lowest ebb, Britain's faith is as invincible as her spirit is unconquerable. We have Churchill's word that, as 'the sole champions

now in arms to defend a world cause', the British are resolved to defend their island home and carry on the fight 'until the curse of Hitler is lifted from the brows of men'. Thus if Britain falls, the world falls; if Britain stands, there is hope for mankind.

Let us for a moment dwell on some of the most outstanding events in recent history—the entry of Italy into the lists, the fall of France, and the slip between the French naval cup and the thirsty Nazi lip.

Mussolini, the doyen of Dictators, the later-day Caesar, the man of 'bombast and braggadocio' is, as John Gunther vividly etches him, "the most formidable combination of turncoat, ruffian, and man of genius in modern history". His latest exploit in taking the plunge as Hitler's understudy, at a time when France after a most gallant fight was shivering on the brink of a precipice, and in stretching his hand for a share in the plunder, reveals that while he remains a turncoat and ruffian, his 'genius' is essentially for perfidy. He stands self-condemned by his stab-in-the-back technique which rivals, in its intensity, Hitler's *blitzkrieg*. To him we can only utter Shakespeare's memorable words in another context: "Perdition catch thy soul!" But on second thoughts, can we not feel relieved that in widening the frontiers of conflict he has only added to the problems and burdens of Hitler and proved to be a tremendous liability to the Nazi calculators from the very outset? His alliance with Hitler whose plans he is said to be carrying out, is perhaps a blessing in disguise to the British.

Hard words can be uttered about the capitulation of France and the part of Petain in precipitating matters, but the hour of her humiliation and disaster calls for charity of judgment. Paris is not merely the capital of France but the intellectual metropolis of the universe; France is the standard-bearer of civilisation. Paying a glowing tribute to what he

calls 'the great procession of French culture', Prof. Harold Laski says in words of beauty:

It is only as one realises the long roll of eminent names that one has a full sense of its magnificent uniqueness. Montaigne, Descartes, Corneille, Racine, Bossuet, Fenelon, Voltaire—are like arches in the bridge of modern civilisation. Is there a name richer and more varied than Diderot's? Has even Marx done more to fire men's hearts than Rousseau?

It was another Englishman that made the admission that "France has got the very jewel of democracy, and we have got only the paste". As for gallantry in arms, there is the example of Joan of Arc and the immortal Napoleon. Who can forget the part France played in the Great War to her lasting credit? It is most tragic that she has been the victim of luckless Fate. But if she has fallen, she has fallen only to rise again. While it is a mistake to minimise the significance of the events or the gravity of the situation, it would be folly to talk in terms of finality. To be convinced of the inevitability of her re-emergence as a free country, let us but turn to the peace terms dictated to her and dwell on the meaning of Mr. Garvin's characteristic comment on the Treaty of Versailles which they recall:

... It is peace with folly..... These terms raise more dangers than they lay. They revolve in the vicious circle of the old diplomacy. They repeat the fatal precedents which have always led back to war and made the end of one struggle the direct cause of another. All the Treaty scatters Dragon's teeth across the soil of Europe.

It is for Germany to beware of the consequences of her coercion and ruthlessness. Nor can she ignore the significance of the British 'mesmerisation' of the French fleet which is one of the most dramatic episodes in the history of war, and in the annals of history. By one stroke of imagination and daring, Churchill has proved to be more than Hitler's match in strategy and swiftness. The Fuehrer has to reckon with factors that are immune from deadly destruction.

This is one of the turning points of history. What a picture we look at! Petain is pusillanimous, if not perfidious;

Mussolini meddlesome and malignant, Stalin inscrutable, Hitler devilish, Roosevelt uncertain. The land is groaning under the deadweight of armoured cars and tanks, the waters are shrieking in agony, the air is full of raids—and rumours; there is universal nightmare. Peace is banished from earth, freedom trampled upon by Nazi boots. Britain is face to face with the supremest of ordeals. This is the tragedy we behold.

But all is not over yet. Between the French coast occupied by Germany and the English coast yawns a gulf where the greatest navy will decide the fate of Britain and of civilisation. Hitler will meet his Waterloo on the water, and the tide will turn in favour of the forces that are pledged to freedom.

There is light at the end of this dark tunnel. We have immense material resources, great unbeaten armies, a fleet at the height of its power, a mercantile marine actually reinforced since the war began. Our enemy may have immense numbers of aeroplanes, but we have a greater reserve of skilful and daring pilots. His supplies cannot be renewed, ours can be. He is fighting against time, we are fighting for time. It may fall to us to hold the fort, but if so, we shall do it, do it not for ourselves alone, but for the whole world. Once again we are called upon to save ourselves by our energy and Europe by our example.

—J. A. SPENDER, in the *Sunday Times*.

THE INDIAN PROBLEM

By SHIVA PRASAD SINHA

[The writer is a well-known leader of the Allahabad bar. A non-party publicist holding advanced but responsible views, he deserves a respectful hearing both in official and non-official circles. Of topical interest this article has a special value because of its penetrating analysis and pointed appeal.]

If the western front continues to be a seething cauldron, the political situation in India continues to be a zigzag puzzle. Each day brings in its wake fresh complications and we remain where we were—against a background of kaleidoscopic changes and bewildering developments. Neither external conflicts nor internal conditions seem to be capable of rousing us from traditional torpor. Is not the Oriental known for his dogmatic slumber? And India is essentially oriental in her gifts of idle speculation and philosophic resignation. These are chains that bind us to serfdom and slavery, and refuse to snap at the mystic touch of our Mahatmas and Maulanas. The occasion calls for realisation of inexorable facts and an element of realism in politics. India cannot afford to take things leisurely and throw the entire responsibility on the shoulders of Providence to whom we are apt to turn only in times of trouble. Even countries where liberty is nurtured with life-blood are being deprived of their inherited glory and historic mission. Who was it that said that eternal vigilance is the price of freedom?

It is one of the ironies of our political life that while both the Congress and the Muslim League are asking for complete independence, they are completely independent of each other. Inside the Muslim League, there is unity of purpose, not so much of command. It is true that all the Muslim leaders are not imbued with the zeal for segregation but it is equally true that some of them realise that Pakistar

is a good slogan but a bad solution. But on fundamentals, namely, on Independence and the advance of Islam, (whatever the latter may precisely mean) they are agreed. It is, however, in regard to leadership, that the allegiance of the members fluctuates between Mr. Jinnah and Sir Sikander Hyat Khan. Though Mr. Jinnah has risen to his full stature as the all-powerful leader of the League, when the occasion calls for circumspection, perspective and the qualities of statesmanship as in the hour of negotiation or of consolidation, he is bound to be replaced by the Premier of the Punjab who is as suave as he is astute. And the hour is not distant when the pendulum will swing to the side of Sir Sikander.

Inside the Congress, personalities seem to count less if only because of the overwhelming influence of the Mahatma. Yet actually, the currents and cross-currents of argument and appeal reveal a divergence of outlook, though not a division of forces, between pure ideologists like Pt. Nehru and practical idealists like Sjt. Rajagopalachariar. But what matters now more is the growing difference in methods of approach to the problems of the world, between the Mahatma who lives in a world of his own, and the Working Committee which is called upon to live in the world as created by the Mahatma. All the appearance, with few of the elements, of unity has proved to be a great strain to the Congress High Command, and as the 'picture clears', we find that the Working Committee is at last prepared to return to solid earth from its ethereal flights on the Mahatma's wings.

The Indian problem is more than a Hindu-Muslim or Congress-League problem; it is a triangular problem, the British element being by no means negligible. It does not help us to argue at this stage if the Hindu-Muslim problem is the creation of British rule in India. It may or may not be so, but as realists both the Hindus and Muslims should recognise the problem and face it. Likewise, the British have a duty to perform and a function to fulfil inasmuch as they should

contribute to the solution of the problem whether it is of their creation or not. There is much force in the argument that freedom alone is the solvent of difficulties which have emerged out of subordination or slavery.

In the affairs of man and in the Government of mankind, more often than not, it is the psychological factors that outweigh the political. For the mood in which India finds herself after a century and a half of British rule and painfully slow instalments of reforms which she justly resents as a reflection on her capacity for self-government, the only antidote lies in the straight (and straightforward) and recognition by Britain of India as a full-pledged Dominion. There has been too much of shilly-shallying of drift and delay. Prognostication is perilous. On no moral grounds can Dominion Status be denied to India. Nor can it be withheld even from the purely political viewpoint. To-day, when she is fighting for the cause of freedom and face to face with the severest of ordeals, it is in her own interests that she should do what can only be called belated justice to this ancient country. It would be sheer folly to waste time and trifle with the aspirations and sentiments of an awakened India by not recognising—and it is the essence of the national demand—as a Dominion of the Westminster type, and by not unequivocally taking to implement the demand at the end of the war. And it would be an act of perversity on the part of Indian leaders to higggle over the inconsequential differences or subtle distinctions between Dominion Status and Complete Independence.

New situations, new solutions. In the face of the terrible contingency of war spreading to the East and of internal feuds which threaten to explode any day, the need is for National Governments both at the Centre and in the Provinces. The resolution passed by the Congress Working Committee in the wake of the Delhi pourparlers is, one is afraid, not particularly helpful. It however augurs well that Sir Sikander Hyat Khan who represents the saner section of the Muslim

League is in active touch alike with H. E. the Viceroy and Mahatma Gandhi and bending his indefatigable energies to the task of bringing out an agreement, honourable to all. Likewise the Hindu Sabhaites and Liberals are in earnest about finding a solution which will enable the country to tide over the present crisis and pave the way for a better understanding between the communities in India on the one hand and the Indians and the British on the other. National Governments may be tried as an experiment in the full hope that they will prove to be an achievement.

It is unto this end that Indian political leaders and British statesmen must work. They must succeed: they will. May the glimmerings of the dawn evolve into sunshine and splendour and the spacious days ahead when India will take her right place in the comity of nations and one of the greatest federations of mankind, and play a glorious part in the new order to be!

THIS TERRIBLE WAR

By DR. K. R. SRINIVASA IYENGAR

I

After a seemingly endless period of vacillation and shameless blackmail, Mussolini's Italy has at last entered the fray. Hitler is no doubt an incalculable fiend, but there is at least downright courage in the very malignancy of his generalship. On the other hand, Mussolini has now emerged as a contemptible opportunist and a bullying coward hesitantly following in the more lordly footsteps of his Axis-partner. With characteristic treachery and ingratitude Mussolini has chosen to flourish the dagger at the back of Italy's traditional friends and on behalf of Italy's traditional foe. Anyhow the European war has now indeed grown into a World War. As Mr. J. L. Garvin recently remarked, no limit can now be set to the extension or the duration of the present conflict.

While Mussolini is thus seeking a diversion in the Mediterranean and in the African colonies, Hitler's armies are seeking a decision in France. For the time being the Allied armies are outnumbered. The Weygand Line, originally extending from Abbeville to the northern end of the Maginot Line, had been organized hurriedly during the two or three weeks when the brunt of the Nazi attack was borne by the Allied armies in Flanders. The Judas-like action of King Leopold precipitated matters. Then followed the epic withdrawal of the B. E. F. and other French divisions from the Dunkirk region. Hitler was foiled in his main objective. The B. E. F. had been rescued, though its equipment had to be left behind. Hitler decided to strike in France. There was no time to lose. Before the seasoned veterans of the B. E. F. retired to France to strengthen the Weygand Line, Hitler decided to pierce it and through another "bulge" to overrun Paris and Southern France as well.

For over a week now this battle—this “greatest” of all battles—has been waged on a front extending to over one hundred miles. Day and night the French soldiers, supported by a few British divisions, have fought with unparalleled courage and determination to hold back the Nazi hordes. The squadrons of the R. A. F. and of the French Air Force have harassed the enemy at the front and far behind the lines. Nevertheless, the Weygand Line has been compelled to bend and move backwards, contesting every inch of French territory on the way. General Weygand knows that this is not the time for a counter-attack—the enemy is too strong for that now. The enemy effort must be allowed to exhaust itself. Being very much on the offensive, the enemy’s losses in men and material are much greater than those of the Allies. This must continue for some more time, even though it should mean the conceding of more French territory. Paris itself has now been evacuated and it will be undefended. But so long as the great French army, reinforced by the considerable B. E. F., holds together, the war is not lost. This, then, is General Weygand’s strategy and it has presumably the full approval of the British and French cabinets. The Allied armies will withdraw, but the Weygand Line, however hard pressed, will hold together till the time comes for the counter-offensive and the final victory.

There is no doubt, of course, that at the moment the Allies are fighting with their backs to the wall. Hitler has so far had his way. Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Denmark, Norway, Luxembourg, Holland, Belgium, Northern France—these, one after another, have fallen before him. He has brought Italy into the conflict. He has neutralized in effect the menace of Soviet Russia. We in India cannot quite realize what exactly has happened. We read papers and scrutinize maps, but beyond a certain point our imagination fails us. A city is a dot, a country is a small patch, a river is a line. We read that a million people have been evacuated from Paris, that Germany has thrown

into the offensive two million men, and that this very week America has put no less than thirty-seven million dollars worth of munitions at the Allies’ disposal. These astronomical figures daze us and in the end produce cerebral symptoms; and after a time we even get accustomed to the whole fury of this war. The tragedy of it all seems too appalling for our sober understanding. Such is the inexorable law of warfare that now-a-days the Allied bombers have themselves to attack German positions in the occupied territories of the Allied countries, thereby destroying buildings, mangling roads and communications, and damaging air bases and marshalling yards. Once again Northern France is being used as the world’s battlefield. And the tale of destruction continues day and night. Whole towns and cities are razed to the ground; men, women and children, in their tens of thousands, abandon their firesides and material possessions, and go far away to live a precarious life; the education of children is brought abruptly to a stop; the munificence of scientific knowledge and human industry are harnessed for the unholy purpose of the partial destruction of the race; values and verities are refined out of existence by the bomb and the tank; anarchy stalks abroad and threatens the destruction of civilisation itself. When in such lurid shapes the grim realities of this war are evaluated, we cannot but bend under the unusual strain on our moral balance, wondering in despair if, after all, thanks to Hitler, the human race and its civilisation are going to be uprooted from the face of the earth. But that is getting panicky, and that way lies madness. Rather should we take stock of the situation, soberly and accurately, and plan the future with determination and faith.

Let there be no mistake about it, the situation is grave—and not alone on the Western Front. After consolidating his gains in Northern France, Hitler is likely to turn his attentions to Great Britain. There may be an “invasion”, and though it must necessarily fail, it will not be unattended by the usual Nazi concomitants of frightfulness and savagery.

Hitler may also any moment embark upon another submarine campaign; here too he must fail, but not before doing some damage to Allied shipping. In the Mediterranean theatre there are bound to be, at least at the beginning, several combats in the air and even under the waters. If the Italian attempt to cross the French border materializes, we should be prepared for an anxious week or two. British Somaliland is surrounded on three sides by Eritrea, Abyssinia and Italian Somaliland respectively. There may be enemy air raids—there already have been—on Aden, and perhaps on Karachi and Bombay also. We must expect the considerable fighting forces of the Italian Empire to be used, not as Mussolini would like to use them, but in the immediate interests of Hitler. It is on the face of it a grave situation and the Allied High Command has not been slow to realise it. That in spite of it all the British and the French are undaunted is the true measure of their vast resources, their unflinching courage in the hour of trial and their unfaltering faith in the justice of their cause.

Only two or three months ago the Allied position seemed to be strong against all hazards. The magnetic mine had been mastered and allied ships in convoys traversed the seven seas in security. Neither France nor Britain wished to impair her man-power more than she could help and hence the Allied armies decided to wait behind the Maginot line and its more recent extensions along the Belgian border. The strategy was simple—to be on the defensive on the Western Front and give time to the naval blockade to starve out the enemy. If perchance the enemy, like an exasperated caged beast, should take the offensive, let him; however formidable may be his forces, he will but, to continue the simile, batter his head against the strong bars of the cage. How is it that within a few weeks the whole situation has changed more than words could describe? How is it that the wild beast has broken through the cage and is now ravaging everything that comes before it? Why have all the

calculations of the Allies gone wrong? Unless these questions are answered convincingly people are apt to draw wrong conclusions from Hitler's recent success and attribute to him miraculous powers.

The Maginot Line, especially the portion lining the German frontier, is without question the most thoroughgoing chain of defence fortresses in the world. The Maginot Line proper remains even now intact. It is highly probable that even the Belgian extensions to the Line would have given a good account of themselves if the B. E. F. and other French divisions had not, at the last-minute appeal of King Leopold, abandoned their defensive positions behind the Line and rushed into Belgium to give battle to the invaders. King Leopold has a lot to answer for before the tribunal of future historians; in any case it seems clear enough that he first called the Allied armies to his assistance and later left them to their fate. Meanwhile, thanks to the carelessness of a French officer who did not blow up some bridges in time, the enemy broke through the Line near the Sedan sector. Once he broke through, his tanks and armoured columns marched into Northern France and spread alarmingly fan-wise.

It is the perfect classical tragedy—the very thing most sedulously avoided and feared happening inevitably. It is also a demonstration that theory, whether in warfare or in any other enterprise, is always at the mercy of fact. In 1914 the French High Command swore by the theory of the headlong offensive. Such a theory brought about the annihilation of the French army in Sedan seventy years ago. It might also have cost the Allies the Great War but for Joffre's instinctive shrewdness in avoiding a precipitate offensive and in keeping his army together. In 1939, on the contrary, General Gamelin and the French High Command were obsessed by the Maginot Line and what may be termed the "defensive outlook". Spending yearly about a quarter of the national revenue on "defence", France had heavy artillery, and rifles and equipment for five million men; she had also the Maginot Line. But she ignored

two important things: offensive armaments like tanks and bombers, and systems of defence far into the interior to check possible penetration by tanks and heavily armoured vehicles. General Gamelin had a strategy, and a sound one at that; but he did not prepare for an alternative strategy should the defensive strategy fail (as fail it did). Hence, when the battle of the "bulge" developed in May, there was nothing behind the Belgian Maginot Line to hinder the progress of the enemy. Gamelin was taken aback and he could not gauge what was happening. The French had now to fight in the open—and for this they had not been prepared; in fact such a contingency had never been envisaged. Hence Petain and Weygand had to take the place of Gamelin. "New men, new measures," announced M. Reynaud, and France fortunately had them both.

Even so, if the Allied armies had not rushed to the help of Belgium, the Line may not have been pierced or pierced so disastrously, and all might have been well. But the Allies could not turn a deaf ear to Belgium's appeal; they had to consider what the effect of such action would be on America. Already people in Britain and abroad were finding fault with the Allies for their inability to save Norway from Nazi occupation. It would not do therefore to be on the defensive behind the Maginot Line while the fate of Holland and Belgium hung in the balance. It was running a serious risk to march into the Low Countries to meet the full violence of the Nazi attack—but morally the Allies had no other go. Further, the Allies thought, and they had a right to expect, that Holland and Belgium had taken due precautions to meet the new menace, especially since they had studiously (and foolishly) avoided all preliminary staff talks with the Allied High Command. In this matter too the Allies were disillusioned. "Fifth Column" activities hampered the Allies in Holland and hastened the capitulation of the Dutch armed forces. In Belgium, of course, Namur and Liege held out bravely for a time, and the Belgian army itself fought

magnificently, but at the most crucial moment King Leopold betrayed his comrades and covered himself with dishonour. The tragedy of the battle of Flanders was complete.

These, then, were responsible for the suddenly altered situation on the Western Front: the failure of General Gamelin to provide for anti-tank defences *behind* the Maginot Line and to hold in reserve an alternative strategy in the event of the Maginot Line being pierced; the strategic error of weakening the Sedan sector by going to the rescue of Belgium; and the capitulation of King Leopold. As a result of these, the Channel ports have come under the control of the enemy and he has overrun a larger area in Northern France than ever he was able to do even in the worst days of 1914 or 1918. However, the war is not lost yet,—it will not be; the French Army and the B. E. F. are very much alive and kicking. They have enormous reserves. Factories in Britain and France are working night and day to turn out ammunition, aeroplanes and necessary equipment. America is visibly affected by the crisis and is trying to take up a more helpful attitude than hitherto. The Allies must play for time, and when men and materials are ready, and when the enemy is in sore economic straits, should launch the counter-offensive that should ensure victory for themselves and the cause that they uphold.

III

In India we come across persons now and then who seem to feel that Hitler is invincible. They, too, dread the triumph of Hitler, but they are afraid that, after all, he may win. To a certain extent, this is a result of Hitler's propaganda machine. He has been telling his people that he will bring peace to them before the autumn. Does it mean he will succeed before the autumn? It only means that Hitler himself realizes that if he does not win the war within a few months his "regime" is finished for ever. Only after Mr. Churchill became Premier, Britain has been working at high pitch in a tempo suitable for a "total" war. But Germany has been working at such a

pitch ever since Hitler became Chancellor of the Reich. This tempo cannot be maintained for ever, and in Germany the breaking point must have almost been reached. Nor can the stocks of petrol and other necessary war materials and articles of food last for many more months, especially in view of the stringent blockade. Hitler has dragged Mussolini also into the conflict knowing full well that Italy is even more vulnerable to the blockade than Germany herself. When Italy's armed forces and accumulated stocks are used up (as they must be in the course of a few months), she is sure to be a liability rather than an asset to Germany. If knowing all this Hitler has yet asked Mussolini to toe the line, it means that Hitler very much wants to reach a conclusion before the end of this year; he knows what is in store for him if he cannot do so. Hence the unmitigated fero city of the present campaign; hence the massing up of two million Germans against the Weygand Line; hence the race for position regardless of losses in men, tanks and aircraft; hence, finally, Mussolini's unholy intervention. But Hitler *cannot* win the war because he cannot reach a conclusion before Autumn or even before Winter. The forces ranged behind the Allied lines—material as well as spiritual—are ever growing and they will ensure the complete defeat of Hitler and Mussolini and all that they stand for. That is why the Allies, again and again, warn the world that notwithstanding reverses the war will be waged, if necessary for years, till victory is in sight; that is why Paris itself has been evacuated, ready for the enemy, for the Allies are sure the loss is but temporary; that is why the Allies have accepted even this latest challenge from Mussolini with confidence and courage. The war in its further stages will have, no doubt, further surprises for us; but we cannot doubt the issue because those whose faith is most tried to-day do not for one moment doubt that, though right is worsted in the present round, wrong cannot triumph. Italy's is at best a nuisance value to Germany. Her navy is out-matched in the Mediterranean and her Air Force is very much inferior to

either France's or Britain's. Her submarines may create some trouble for ordinary ships, but these have already been diverted to the South African route. Indeed, at one stroke, Mussolini has emptied the Mediterranean (the "Italian lake" as he proudly calls it) of all commercial significance. As for the Allied warships, with their multiple pom-poms and heavy armour, they are proof enough against both hostile aircraft and submarines. No, though difficult times are ahead, Hitler cannot win; and he will encompass the ruin of Mussolini along with his own. Time is yet on the side of the Allies—but there is no time to lose. The Allied Empires should mobilize all their resources—military, economic, and spiritual—on the successful issue of the war. In a remarkable book published by a responsible German, Count Puckler, shortly before the present war, the author tried to evaluate the actual "strength" of Britain. His conclusion is worth quoting here:

The British Empire is the greatest Empire in the world. Great Britain has command of the seas and she is richer than any other nation. In modern history she has never been defeated by force of arms, and by 1941-2 she will stand before the world powerfully armed indeed. With all its riches and all its power the British Empire has determined on a great undertaking. It wishes to make itself the crystallization point of a new and bigger commonwealth of peoples, and one in which peace and justice will reign. But in advancing to this undertaking it has left one flank uncovered; it is no longer in a position to resist moral weapons.

Great Britain desires and must pursue a morally justifiable foreign policy. The country whose policy is more moral than hers will therefore defeat her without even crossing swords—unless she has already become its friend.

Count Puckler is not particularly pro-British when he delivers this judgement; he is merely stating a fact. The Allies are dependent on public opinion, and because in the present conflict they are demonstrably on the side of freedom and justice, world opinion (such of it as has not yet been strangled by Hitler and Mussolini) is ranged behind Britain and France. And in the long run world opinion will have its way.

IV.

Count Puckler's considered judgement should also be carefully scrutinized by India. Britain cannot pursue a morally

justifiable policy outside the Empire while following a different policy within. "It (the Empire) wishes to make itself the crystallization point of view of a new and bigger commonwealth of peoples, and one in which peace and justice will reign." Britain's behaviour towards India cannot differ in this respect from her attitude towards the other members of the Commonwealth. Britain herself will realize—has almost realized—that India as a willing partner in the Commonwealth will be a tower of strength to her in the future. He who runs may read the lesson that stares him all the time in the face—that the world, and India along with the rest of the world, will never be the same thing after the present war. Mr. Amery sees it all with his acute sense of realism. India is sure to rise to her full stature at the end of the war and take her place in the comity of nations. But such a day may never come if the Allies do not win the present war—in other words, if India does not help them in their hour of trial. Britain through the ages has shown a phenomenal capacity to make tried friends of former enemies. India's case for responsible government is morally justifiable and hence it has many strong supporters in Britain itself. No need now to issue challenges and rake up the past; no need now to adopt a pusillanimous attitude of non-co-operation. The danger to India—never illusory and now less so than ever before—should find us all united and of steadfast purpose, imbued with the desire and the determination to act well by Britain as also by India so that, at the end of the war, the British Empire can really grow to be "the crystallization point of a new and bigger commonwealth of peoples, and one in which peace and justice will reign." As we endeavour with this faith, God must surely speed our labours. Well has it been said :

Difficulties are meant to be overcome. The weakling will collapse in the face of difficulties. The strong will be up and doing. Confidence makes man strong, therefore have confidence in yourself, in the work that lies before you.

June 15.

UPTON SINCLAIR—THE AMERICAN ICONOCLAST

By S. L. PANDIT

All art is propaganda. The theory, 'art for art's sake,' is an exploded myth. Through all ages those artists who tried to flatter the ruling classes gained fame, riches, honour and position in society. On the contrary, those few bold spirits who worked through their art, in spite of the opposition of the powers that be, were often consigned to poverty and obscurity and, not infrequently, were even subjected to endless persecution. But, notwithstanding continued discouragement of really great artists by the ruling cliques of the world, art that aims at propagating truth and exposing greed, selfishness and falsehood, will not only survive but inspire all classes of human beings as they become more enlightened. Such, in brief, is the thesis of Upton Sinclair's highly interesting discourse, *Mammonart*.

Applied to the life and works of Sinclair, this thesis finds ample illustration. He has striven, earnestly and consistently, to storm the Citadel of Privilege in America, the land of Mammon worship *par excellence*, and sought to expose the corruption, the blind greed, and the colossal fraud of modern capitalism. *Uncle Sham* is but a tame affair compared to his shocking exposures of American life. In short, his writings are frankly propagandist in nature. He has suffered too for his convictions. By the capitalist press of the Dollar-land he has been denounced as the deputy-in-chief of Satan, as the arch-enemy of morality, religion and decency in human affairs. He has more than once been threatened with libel suits, and he suffered imprisonment three times for his political convictions. His residence was once burnt down to the loss of some of his valuable manuscripts. Yet he has triumphed against all odds and risen from extreme poverty to a position fairly above want. He has gained immense popularity among millions

of the down-trodden workers of America and other countries. He has now, at the age of nearly three score and ten, the satisfaction of being regarded as a prophet of the modern age, as one capable of diagnosing the chronic ailments of what is glibly termed 'our civilization.'

When it is stated that Upton Sinclair's literary work is mostly propaganda, it is the truth but not the whole of it. Sinclair's aim is, invariably, to bring out the inherent weakness of the present social order in the world and to strive for establishing a new order based on truth and justice. But his works have, beyond this, an inner psychological significance. In most of his novels the story can be summed up as the reaction of the individual to his environment, which lends an autobiographical interest to several of his works. Most of his heroes are, like himself, sensitive youngmen who revolt against their fate. Looked at from this viewpoint, many of his novels acquire a new and fascinating interest.

In *Manassas*, his wonderful story of the American Civil War, he presents Allan—a rich young Southerner who becomes an ardent champion of the Abolitionist cause, loses his rich inheritance, finds himself estranged from his relatives and ultimately dies in the first stage of that life-and-death struggle. He is the spirit of the Pilgrim Fathers at war with an outworn and decaying form of feudalism. The rebel who mercilessly exposes the American graft is not blind to American idealism.

In *The Jungle*, we meet the primitive Jurgis Kutrus who migrates from the backwoods of Lithuania to seek his fortune in the 'glorious land of wealth and freedom'. He becomes a wage-worker in the stockyards of Chicago and is reduced to extreme poverty and privation. He is a strong, honest man, though ignorant, and submits to his fate like any wild beast of the forest. The obnoxious meat industry grinds him to a state of utter helplessness and blank despair until he nearly loses all semblance of humanity and declares war on society that has hunted him down to the last extremity.

Mountain City is the remarkable story of a ranch boy, Jed Rusher, a creature of the soil who since his infancy dreams of entering the Garden of Privilege. He strives, schemes, struggles and fights his way to the top till he is dubbed the 'young Napoleon of Western oil'. Incidentally, this book shows not only how a man may get rich in America but also what happens to the soul of one who sets his heart on getting rich.

Let us consider his great masterpiece, *Oil*!. It is the product of a mature-minded prophet just as *Manassas* embodies the idealism of a young genius. *The Jungle* describes the life of the exploited poor, while *The Metropolis* exposes the wasteful and extravagant amusements of the rich. But *Oil* gives a comprehensive treatment of the various aspects of American life and all that Sinclair stands for. And what is the main story in this novel? Arnold Ross Junior, the young oil prince, is a favoured child of fortune. He is born with a silver spoon in his mouth, and his education and interests are fondly supervised by his father, a typical self-made American industrial magnate. But, to the horror of the family, the youngman's sensitive mind is infected with radical ideas that lead him to sympathize with the poor, to take interest in trade unions, and to associate with the dangerous 'reds'. This results in a subtle moral conflict between father and son, a phenomenon not uncommon in life. The young man's mind becomes a veritable battle-ground of conflicting loyalties and contrary impulses. The climax of the narrative is reached when the young idealist discards his relatives and even his glamorous Hollywood girl to espouse the cause of the workers, and seeks union with the daughter of a Jewish socialist!

In 1932 Upton Sinclair published his interesting autobiography, *Candid Reminiscences*, which gives an account of his early struggles. It is a fascinating story told with an almost Gandhian frankness and with a sense of humour, lightness, detachment and objectivity that bid fair to compare with the intellectual acumen of Aldous Huxley. It is, above all, very helpful to us in understanding the inner significance of the

author's works. He starts with a description of the home of his childhood. It was not a happy home. Apart from comparative poverty, there was a father addicted to drinking. While mentioning his father's fruitless battles against the 'Demon of Rums', he remarks with characteristic frankness, "All that is in *The Wet Parade*, for discerning readers to see."

Little Upton was rather a wild sort of boy and had many miraculous escapes from accidents. Like many boys of his generation, he grew up in utter ignorance of matters relating to the subject of sex, but his strong puritan temperament—fostered by his long suffering and devoted mother—saved him from the usual pitfalls of adolescence; and he entered into matrimony as a virgin. So innocent was he in this respect that at the age of sixteen he was shocked to learn that 'women did actually sell their bodies'. In an interesting passage he discusses the 'dangers' and 'compensations' of puritanism :—

Now-a-days we hear a great deal about the mental troubles caused by sex repression; it is the mood of the moment. We do not hear anything about the complexes which may be caused by sex indulgence. But my observation has been that those who permit themselves to follow every sexual impulse are quite as miserable as those who repress every impulse... This problem of the happy mean in sex matters would require a volume for a proper discussion. As it happens, I have written that volume, *The Book of Life*, and it is available to those who are interested.

While still a student he started earning petty sums of money by writing stories and jokes for papers and magazines. His relatives wanted him to adopt the traditional family profession in the Navy. But that was not his ambition. He decided to become a writer. When, at the age of twenty-one, he became obsessed with the desire to write a serious novel, he regarded this urge as the end of his youth. What was it that stirred him? Was it genius? He could not say. He only knew it seemed like that, and took it at its face value. Then in a wonderful passage he describes the inspiration that stirred his soul :

My mind on fire with high poetry, I went out for a walk one night. It was a winter night, with hard crunching snow on the ground, the great

bright lights in the sky; the tree branches black and naked, crackling now and then in the breeze; but between times of silence, quite magical silence—and I walking mile on mile lost to the world, drinking in beauty, marvelling at the mystery of life. Suddenly this thing came to me, startling and wonderful beyond any power of words to tell; the opening of the gates in the soul, the pouring in of music, of light, of joy which was unlike anything else, and therefore not to be conveyed in metaphors. I stood riveted to one spot, and a trembling seized me, a dizziness, a happiness so intense that the distinction between pleasure and pain was lost.

It was several years after he had started on his career of a novelist that recognition came to him. This recognition was slow in coming not really because of the immaturity of his works, but mainly because he had to struggle against the exploitation and graft practised by the great American publishing houses at the expense of budding writers of genius. In the meantime he was foolish enough to rush into marriage at the first impulse. This further complicated his domestic and financial problems and led to incalculable misery. Reverting to this experience, he says :—

The institution of marriage is at present the theme of music-hall jokes and bedroom farces... But I believe that marriage can be studied as a science, and practised as an art. Meanwhile, here is a case record, an example of what happens when marriage is entered into in utter ignorance of all its practical problems. The story has been told in *Love's Pilgrimage*, with the variation of a few details.

About this time the seeds of revolt were gradually and steadily germinating in his mind. It was his lot since his infancy to be tossed about between poverty and prosperity, and thereby impelled to think and to ask questions. These reactions were not in any sense borrowed from Marx or other European intellectuals, but were absolutely first-hand. So it was very early in his life that he began to realize that the 'rule of society by organized greed was an evil thing.' The more he came to know life, the more bitter he grew in his opposition to the privileged classes, while he himself became a pronounced socialist. He associated with humble workers in Chicago stockyards, lived in their homes, talked with them, ate their food, and in later years put some of them into his

books. In answer to those critics who have accused him of 'idealizing' these characters, he says :—

I can only say, if there is any finer type in the world than the humble working man who has adopted brotherhood as his religion, and sacrifices his time and money and often his job for his faith, I have not encountered it.

The result of this study and experience was *The Jungle*. The sensation of its shocking revelations was nothing short of a storm in the complacent world of the financial and industrial kings of the United States. About this book let us hear Sinclair himself :

Externally, the story had to do with a family of stockyard workers, but internally it was the story of my own family. Did I wish to know how the poor suffered in winter time in Chicago? I had only to recall the previous winter in the cabin, when we had had only cotton blankets, and had put rugs on top of us, and cowered shivering in our beds. It was the same with hunger, with illness, with fear. Ona was my wife speaking Lithuanian, but otherwise unchanged. Our little boy was down with pneumonia that winter and nearly died, and the grief of that went into the book.

As soon as the first great success came to him with the publication of *The Jungle*, Sinclair began to wander about in search of a Utopia and wasted a lot of money in establishing colonies where he could experiment unfettered with his pet theories for the regeneration of human society. But this proved on the whole merely a wild-goose chase. Nor would his enemies let him live in peace. He finally gave up this quest after a mirage when the Helicon Home Colony was reduced to ashes, obviously the work of incendiarism. Then began a period of wanderings in search of peace and happiness leading to the painful climax of his estrangement with his wife. His enemies would not lose the opportunity of discrediting him by making a scandal out of it, but in Sinclair's account of this tragic episode there is not the slightest taint of bitterness against the woman with whom he had failed to live happily. In vain he approached the American courts to seek a divorce. They would not release him unless he could prove he had been a beast to her. Then he went over to

Europe; and in England he met Miss Mary Craig Kimbrough, a Southern girl-author whose friend and literary confidant he had been for some years. He fell in love with her, obtained a divorce in Holland and on his return to America married Miss Craig, his present wife. His domestic life has since been happy and peaceful, and his reputation as a writer has continued to grow with each advancing year. Like G. B. S. he has grown into a legend in his own lifetime. His future reputation is secure because of the intensely human appeal of his works. His greatness as a literary artist rests on a firm foundation.

The great secret of successful marriage is to treat all disasters as incidents and none of the incidents as disasters.

—HAROLD NICHOLSON.

* * * * *

The Well of Providence is deep. It is the buckets we bring to it that are small.

—MARIA WEBB.

THE COMMUNAL PROBLEM OF INDIA

By MRS. KUSUMA NAIR

The fate of over three hundred and fifty million people awaits decision in India today, owing to, mainly among other reasons, the burning communal problem. The British Government has cleared its position by indicating that although Dominion Status is the ultimate goal of India, inter-communal unity, or at least compromise must precede the grant of any major change in India's present constitution and status. Thus in his statement in the House of Lords on October 18, 1939, Lord Zetland said :

There is the desire in India for self-expression which takes the form, in the domain of politics, of self-government on a democratic basis. But here there are qualifications, for there is on the part of minorities insistent demand for safeguards against consequences which rightly or wrongly, it is feared might result from unfettered domination of the majority. And herein is to be found the root cause of our difficulties, which His Majesty's Government cannot ignore.

Again in the debate on "India and War" held on October 26, 1939, in the House of Commons, Sir Samuel Hoare made some useful admissions :

As long as there are many divisions between the classes and communities of India, it is impossible for the government to accept the demand for immediate and full responsibility at the centre on a particular date Dominion Status is not a prize that is given to a deserving community, but is the recognition of the facts that actually exist. As soon as these facts exist in India, and in my view the sooner they exist the better, the aim of our policy will be achieved. If there are difficulties in the way, they are not of our making. They are inherent in the many divisions between the classes and communities in India. It must be the aim of Indians themselves to remove these divisions just as it should be our aim to help Indians in their task.

Within India the situation is more or less anomalous. The Congress is as stiff as ever in its demand for complete independence, and confident in its faith in the Constituent Assembly as a sure solution of all the major problems that beset the

path of political progress of the country. The communal parties, on the other hand, insist on denouncing the Congress as a non-national body, aiming at establishing the tyranny of the Hindu majority over all other communities and interests. And so are nullified the attempts and claims made by the Congress on behalf of the Indian nation as a whole. The Congress repeatedly promises to the communities its readiness to safeguard all such interests of theirs as are definitely not anti-national; but the various communities declare a lack of confidence in this, the only national organisation of the country, and its leaders; and so goes on the vicious circle, baffling the best brains of the country.

But why should it be so ? What is the real cause of this internal strife despite the common cause of Indian freedom ? Where lies the germ of this disease which is preventing the growth of a healthy Indian nationhood ?

Before proceeding with the diagnosis, however, it would be interesting to note that the word 'communal' is peculiar to only Indian political terminology. Europe is no doubt beset with minority problems, but they are basically different and definitely not communal as is the case in India. The country has of course been subjected to repeated invasions. Wave after wave of fresh invaders rolled on to the Indus and the Gangetic plains; and while at times it receded, more often it came to stay. And so it happened that most of the newcomers came into this land not only to stay and settle, but broke off all connections with their original fatherland to such an extent as to become, with the passage of time, total foreigners in their own former homes. It is thus that today, with the sole exclusion of the British, India contains no foreign minorities within its boundaries. Its inhabitants are all Indians.

This leads us back to the original question. If there are no foreign minorities, then why all this trouble and fuss about communalism; why this rift of the body politic right down from

the Council Chambers and the Assembly halls to the streets, the grim scenes of Hindu-Muslim riots, on the basis of religion? Do the religious minorities fear firstly, that they will not be allowed freedom of conscience and worship and an attempt will be made to stamp out their respective faiths altogether from the country under threat of force and coercion? The fear is certainly not impossible. Europe has seen those days, and fought wars when not only were innumerable human lives sacrificed at the altar of religion, but some of the plainest and most important of Christ's precepts forgotten and subserved to the popular principle of merciless intolerance. But the principle of attempting uniformity of faith failed hopelessly, and Europe was forced to accept the policy of complete religious toleration. The same principle is in operation in India today and one feels confident that no man in his senses, whether he be a Muslim, Hindu, Christian or Parsee, would even attempt to discontinue its practice even if he had the opportunity and the power to do it. And so long as the principle of freedom of individual conscience holds away and guarantees liberty of worship equally to all religious communities, what else could there be to actuate and sustain the communal-political activities that are rife this day?

It is the fear that the members of a particular religious community, owing to its numerical weakness will not get a fair chance to participate in the government and in the administration of the country. Practically, all the leaders of communal parties have admitted that it is so, and have successfully appealed for a following on this very ground. And yet it sounds so medieval. The modern principle is to relegate religion into the background as each individual's private affair. Nationality alone qualifies him for participation in the government of his country, and makes him eligible for administrative and other posts, which are distributed by virtue of merit. Such is the principle, and if individuals try and succeed in breaking it, public opinion is expected to be strong enough to expose them and bring them to justice. Other countries also contain diverse

religious communities but suffer from no communal problem. Then why does religion in this particular land prove such a huge barrier to political unity and to the practice of the principle of equality and reward by virtue of merit? After all with minute religion relegated into the background as a private affair of the individual or even of a community, what else is left to discriminate between a Hindu and a Muslim and a Christian and a Parsee? This leads to the obvious query as to why Indians despite their western education and close contact with the British fail to oust religion from politics and public affairs? It is because, firstly, owing to wrong education in a wrong atmosphere; secondly, owing to over ninety per cent. of the Indians being absolutely illiterate; and thirdly, owing to wrong leadership, an overwhelming majority of the Indians have not yet learned to sift and separate religion from its social and cultural strappings. Religion in this country stands to-day not as representing purely metaphysical, supernatural and spiritual affairs, but as an embodiment also of a definite and more or less exclusive culture which shuts into almost watertight compartments the followers of that particular faith. These religious sects were of course founded centuries ago when the construction of society was quite different from what it is now. Small warring communities were the order of the day and strict theocracy was the usual form of their government. Uniformity of religion was thus there and to obviate the necessity of enforcing separately a uniform culture and code of ethics on the members, all such instructions were also embraced within the folds of religion, dogmatised, and entrusted for teaching to the priests, the only learned and the most authoritative members of the community. And so it happened that within each such religious community also grew up a culture, which became in time an integral part of the faith itself. It is this culture for the protection of which the communal leaders are raising such a hue and cry. It is this culture dating back to centuries, tottering and indefinite in new and strange surroundings, that is blocking

the way to the internal unity of the country ; and doing so in an age when elsewhere ethics and even metaphysics are separate sciences ; when culture is the product of scientific research ; when religion's sole concern is the individual's personal and private belief in the supernatural, and when rationalism is the touchstone for all else.

Outside India religion long ago ceased to be the controller of society and culture ; science has won the day and together with rationalism become the guiding beacon for humanity in its progress and development of civilisation. But Indians, unfortunately, are sleeping, talking of an order of things that used to be ; fighting and shedding blood for cultures that will crumble at the touch of scientific knowledge and cold reason ; and all on the strength of the sentiment that what religion preaches cannot be wrong. They do not realise that the days of religious communities are gone ; even the days of nations as units are going, and humanity is fast progressing towards making the world a unit. Culturally and economically, it has almost become one. Moreover, the communal leaders are only taking unfair advantage of this ignorance and utilising it to further their own selfish ends and personal glory ; thus leading astray a people who but for their illiteracy, poverty and helplessness would have never been misled. What the future holds one cannot tell—the present is dark enough and India is breaking most tragically on the rock of communal strife.

PERSONALITY PARAGRAPHS

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL :

It is to a typist sitting at the type-writer that Winston dictates most of his vast outpouring of memoranda, letters, articles and books. As he dictates the typist takes it straight down on her machine. Winston never writes anything down in longhand first, and will not waste time on a shorthand note. He walks up and down as he dictates. The machine is a specially silent model, so it does not interrupt his thoughts. He dictates easily. The sentences that flow from him are complete and correct. Rarely does he have to redictate. He knows almost exactly what he wants to say and the best words with which to say it.

—HALL WHITE in the *Sunday Express*.

* * * *

MR. MONTAGU NORMAN :

Incognitoes rarely deceive anyone. There is a story about Mr. Montagu Norman and one of his journeys to the United States. His name appeared on the passage list as Prof. Clarence Skinner. Before the ship sailed the baker was greeted on deck by a journalist who said : 'Prof. Skinner, allow me to introduce myself. I am Montagu Norman'.

—*Glasgow Herald*.

THE GERMAN SOLDIER

His hair was fair as summer sun

His eyes were azure blue ;

And he was purest swine and brute

At less than twenty-two.

—PIERRE LECOC (French Author).

* * * *

DADDY KNOWS. Small boy :

"Father, what's a committee?"

Father : "A committee is a body

that keeps minutes and wastes hours !"

* * * *

... MANIA

When a child grabs things they call it *mania*.

When grown-ups grab things they call it *kleptomania*.

When a big country grabs its small neighbours

it should be called *Germania*.

—Daily Telegraph.

* * * *

WITNESS : "He was drunk as a judge."

JUDGE : "Do you mean 'drunk as a lord'?"

WITNESS : "Yes, my lord."

* * * *

A GOOD IDEA !

A successful man was asked what two books had helped him most. He replied : "My father's cheque book and my mother's cookery book".

—T. H. L. HONY in a letter to the *Sunday Times*.

SHEAVES FROM A SCRAP-BOOK

By I. D.

The Mahatma's
Prescription

Nobody need feel surprised if the *Mahatma* has appealed to Britain to lay down her arms, and, if necessary, to "feed the brute".

The advice he has given is characteristic of him, consistent with his own philosophy, and in consonance with the creed of non-violence. It hardly matters to him if his prescription runs counter to worldly prudence so long as it is the essence of the *dharma* as he sees it. It would be wicked to deny the loftiness of his vision and the sublimity of his conception, however unsafe he may be considered to be as a guide, or unreliable as a prophet. And everyone must acknowledge that whoever may fail, he will not, if put to the test of implementing his own doctrines at any cost. No one, again, need be surprised if Britain has found it impossible to accept his advice and avail herself of his invaluable services *on his terms*, at this fateful hour. The engines of history and life cannot be suddenly reversed overnight even by the magic wand of a Mahatma. Nature must run its course. There would be less surprise at Britain's attitude and answer to the Mahatma's appeal when it is borne in mind that even the Working Committee of the Congress, consisting of the Mahatma's old and tried friends and dear and valued colleagues could not take the risk of extending the principle of non-violence to international purposes.

* * * *

Parting of Friends

With customary frankness, the Mahatma has taken the public into his confidence about the personal reactions of some of the members of the Working Committee, particularly his own *chelas*, to the discussion of the use of non-violence as a wartime measure. He has disclosed his mind with considerable delicacy and expert deftness. One,

however, finds a note of disappointment, not unmingled with melancholy, in his references to Mr. Rajagopalachariar and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. If Dr. Rajendra Prasad is the truest of Gandhites, Sardar Patel is the executor of his policies and Mr. Rajagopalachariar (in his own words) the keeper of his conscience. The Mahatma seems to have taken it to his heart that two such men as he would not find elsewhere, should have suddenly deserted him. To the lieutenants too it must have been no small wrench to have parted from so beloved and revered a chief. If the Mahatma is entitled to our sympathy in the hour of isolation—or is it desolation?—Sardar Patel and Mr. Rajagopalachariar are equally entitled to praise for the courage of their convictions and their essentially realistic stand. It is not for us to say whose vision is blurred; it is for the future to deliver the verdict. It is, however, amazing that the Mahatma should have taken twenty long years to realise that to the Congress, non-violence has been a policy, not a creed.

The New Delhi
Resolution

The resolution passed by the Congress Working Committee at New Delhi, asking for a declaration of Independence and the installation of National Government at the Centre, is a definite improvement on the previous resolutions, passed from time to time, since the declaration of the war. To this realistic approach to the Indian problem, the credit largely goes to Mr. Rajagopalachariar: the resolution as it has emerged is something of a personal triumph to him. He has not only drafted the resolution which is, according to Pandit Jawaharlal's admission, no mere theory or essay, but also given a more statesmanlike direction. He has revealed, besides his acumen and acuteness, his capacity for constructive leadership. In Sardar Patel, he had a big catch. His subsequent reference to 'the spirit of friendship and voluntary alliance' (said to be) embodied in the resolution and the Congress President's unequivocal assurance that 'the defence of India' meant nothing but India's

participation in war, should be welcomed as gestures of conciliation. It would indeed have been definitely helpful if the Congress Working Committee, on the one hand, made no fetish of Complete Independence, and on the other, showed its readiness for the extension of the principle of National Governments to the Provinces as well. But it is no easy task to seek immunity from the thundering slogans and flamboyant doctrines that have so far held the field in the Congress.

Declaration
Forthwith

British statesmanship should not, however, be incapable of solving the problem which has a sense of urgency about it. H. E. the Viceroy who has been persistent in his endeavours to keep personal contact with the leaders of Indian opinion and to seek an amicable solution to the most pressing of problems, should lose no time in declaring India as a Dominion of the Westminster Statute model, *forthwith*. This is imperative alike from considerations of duty and necessity. The Congress is not likely to break over Dominion Status. If it will, it will be as much to blame as the British Government will be if they will not make such a declaration. This is the hour of test, and whoever fails to stand it, will be guilty of a historic wrong.

A Great Loss

Within recent weeks Hyderabad has suffered an irreparable loss in the demise of Sir Kishen Prasad and Lady Hydari. One of the foremost representatives of a great tradition and leading statesmen of his generation, Sir Kishen Prasad rendered meritorious services to the premier State in India and to H. E. H. the Nizam. Of Lady Hydari's unostentatious and great record of social service and her own personal example in discarding the purdah, and serving as 'a model for all social reformers', the *Indian Social Reformer* pays a glowing tribute. "Endowed with a fine instinct for friendship, [it says] her home was open to friends of all races and creeds and to

come in contact with her, was to be impressed by her gracious personality." If Sir Akbar Hydari's ceaseless dedication to service despite the heaviest of blows speaks volumes of his amazing fortitude and high sense of duty, the personal condolence visit paid to him by Mr. Rajagopalachariar shows his genius for friendship and the esteem he commands in the widest measure.

* * * *

The Two Presidents We have nothing to do with the grievances of the President of the Muslim League against the President of the Congress. But when Mr. Jinnah chooses to deliver an insulting attack on Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and uses poisoned missiles, for no fault of the latter except that he sought enlightenment on matters of public importance, it must be said that the onslaught is "beyond the pale of legitimate controversy". His telegraphic abuse of the Maulana Saheb as a 'Muslim show-boy President' shows his ungovernable temper and unforgivable tongue. One wonders if it is really due to a sense of nervous prostration because of the internal revolt in the League against his dictatorial pose and domineering spirit. Be the reason what it may, Mr. Jinnah has made a lamentable exhibition of his hauteur in dealing with one who, besides wearing the Congress crown, is universally esteemed as a great gentleman. It is bad enough that Mr. Jinnah's politics are revolting: it is worse that his manners are reprehensible. And in insulting Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, he has but injured himself.

* * * *

No war-time occupation Why titles in the midst of trouble and honours during holocaust? Nothing would have been lost if the Government withheld the recent honours' list. The periodical manufacture of Bahadurs—Dewan, Rai and Khan—is anything but a wartime occupation. A sense of perspective and a sense of proportion are not to be despised even on the heights of Simla.

KASHMIR AND ITS CULTURE

By THE RT. HON. SIR TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU

Kashmir has always had a fascination for all outsiders, but people are apt to forget that apart from the rich gifts with which Nature has in her bounty endowed her, apart from her snow-capped hills, its sweet and meandering streams, its reposeful lakes, its gorgeous gardens and soft meadows, its luscious fruits, the contribution of the Kashmiris to the culture and philosophy of India, both in Hindu and Mohammedan times, has been such that their descendants may today keep their heads erect. When I talk of culture, let me draw attention to one particular aspect of Kashmir. In the vicissitudes of its history, with all the trials it has had to face, one solid fact of history will always remain outstanding, and that fact is that in Mohammedan times it became in a much more real sense than any other part of India the meeting place of the cultures of the Hindus and the Muslims.

The contribution of Kashmiri Muslims in days gone by to the realms of philosophy, poetry and art is a matter of common knowledge. I wish it were possible for the present generation of their successors to give us a connected account, with true historical perspective, of their contribution. It has been left, however, to an English writer to present to the world, even though very partially, something of the philosophy of Shah Hamadan. Nor let us forget that even today the poetry and philosophy of Sheikh Nur-ud-Din is the common heritage of the Hindus and the Muslims alike in Kashmir. When more than 20 years ago I met at Cambridge the late Prof. Edward Brown, whose knowledge of Persian was admitted to be profound, he added to my pride by saying to me that Ghani was one of the few Indian poets of Persian whose fame had travelled to Persia and whose

poetry and mastery of the Persian diction was admitted even there. The Mughal gardens, which attract even today such large crowds of sight-seers and which, I am glad, are looked after with such tender care by the Government of His Highness, still remind one of Jahangir's passionate love for Kashmir. In the sphere of art, Kashmir can still claim a position all its own throughout the length and breadth of the country. Coming to our own times, can we forget that Kashmir was the home of origin of the ancestors of that poet-philosopher whose loss we sustained about two years ago? I refer to the late Sir Mohamad Iqbal.

And now may I say a word to the young Kashmiri Pandits? And I do so particularly as I am anxious that they should realise that their forefathers and their compatriots in other parts of India owed a great deal to this joint culture. How regrettable it would be if, in these days when unfortunately things that divide the Hindu from the Muslim are more numerous than those that unite them, they were to forget that their ancestors never fought shy of the common culture! Who that knows anything about Kashmir can forget the contribution to philosophy, culture and poetry which was made in days gone by, by the Pandits of Kashmir? Nor let us forget that you have produced at least two great women whose philosophy and poetry may still inspire their descendants with pride. It is true the Hindus preserved their own philosophy and their own culture, but it is also true that they did not turn their face away from the culture of the newcomers or the members of the new faith. Who does not know that in Northern India, at any rate, it was the Kashmiri Pandit who summed up in himself the best that there was to be found both in Hindu and Muslim cultures? It was his proficiency in Persian that secured for him a distinct position in the bureaucracy of the Mughal times, and I say this with confidence when I remember the history of those of our ancestors, who were compelled by circumstances, to migrate from Kashmir and to seek their fortune in what is now British India.

They carried with them their keen intellect, their remarkable sense of adaptability and their character into a larger and competitive world, and so long as Persian was the official language at the courts of Delhi and Lucknow the Kashmiri Pandit shared with the Kayesth some of the highest offices in Mughal times. His position as a man of culture and letters was distinct and was acknowledged by Muslim Rulers. When Persian was ousted by Urdu, it did not take the Kashmiri Pandit much time to make his mark on the altered situation. I could give you, if time permitted, the names of a number of Kashmiri Pandits, in what is now British India, who made their mark as writers or poets in Persian and Urdu. Who has not heard of the great Rai Rayan Anand Ram Mukhlis, who not only occupied some of the highest positions in the Mughal Empire, but also wrote a very valuable history of the Mughal dynasty? Who has not heard of the name of Pandit Daya Shankar Nasim, the immortal author of *Gulzar-i-Nasim*? Where is the Indian who will challenge to-day the poetic fame of my late lamented friend Brij Narain Chakbast of Lucknow, and who does not know that one of the founders of Urdu fiction was a Kashmiri Pandit, the never-to-be-forgotten Ratan Nath Dar? I could multiply instances but I refrain. Let me not overlook the names of diplomats and travellers like Pandit, afterwards Mirza, Mohan Lal; of judges like Pandit Shambhu Nath, the first Indian to take his seat in the Calcutta High Court; of lawyers and leaders of public opinion, like the late Pandit Ajudhia Nath, the late Pandit Bishamber Nath, the late Pandit Bishan Narain Dar, the late Pandit Prithi Nath Chak, Jagat Narain Mulla, Sheo Narain Shomem, and last but not the least, the late Pandit Motilal Nehru, and of numerous administrators in Ranjit Singh's Empire and Indian States at present. To the Kashmiri Pandit young men I cannot hold out better examples than these and I hope and pray that the examples of these men may inspire them not only in the achievement of personal success but in the service of their motherland. I have a personal appeal to make

to you and that is that while as Hindus you may not forget your own philosophy or the rich treasures of culture which you have inherited from your ancestors, you may also continue to cultivate your knowledge of Persian and Urdu. It will still prove useful to you in Kashmir even if you want to take a utilitarian point of view of knowledge and culture. I should be sorry indeed if a mere communal spirit at any time persuaded you to forget the examples of your ancestors and you treated Urdu as a foreign language. Frankly I think that cultural ties are ever so much stronger than mere political alliances and I should be sorry indeed if the legitimate desire to promote Hindi carried with it the necessary implication that you should be unfaithful to Urdu, the strongest bond of union between the Hindus and the Muslims.

(Extract from the Convocation Address at the Sri Pratap College, Srinagar, July 5, 1940).

THE HINDU SEASONS AND YEAR BEGINNINGS

By PROF. SUKUMAR RANJAN DAS

Seasons are the most remarkable divisions of the year owing to the annual motion of the sun. The Indian seasons are not four but six in number, viz., *Grisma*, *Varsa*, *Sarat*, *Hemanta*, *Sita* and *Varanta*, i. e., Summer, Rainy Season, Autumn, Dewy Season, Winter and Spring.

That the seasons were six in number is mentioned several times in the *Rigveda*, and also their names are given in the *Taittiriya Samhita*. But in some places the number is given as five. Here the *Hemanta* (dewy season) and the *Sisira* (Winter) were combined into one. This is explicitly mentioned in the *Aitareya Brahmana*: "There are five seasons owing to the combination of *Hemanta* and *Sisira*". That an attempt was made in the *Taittiriya Samhita*, *Taittiriya Brahmana*, *Satapatha Brahmana* to combine the *Hemanta* and *Sisira* is shown in the *Kalamadhara*. However, there are passages in the *Satapatha Brahmana* where a variation in the number is mentioned. The general tendency was to fix the number at six. The following is significant in this connection :

"The Spring, the Summer, and the Rains, these seasons represent the gods, and the Autumn, the Winter, and Dewy Season represent the fathers."

The months of the six seasons are thus mentioned :—*Madhu* and *Madhava* are the Spring months when plants sprout and trees are brought to ripeness ; *Sukra* and *Suci* are the summer months, when the sun burns fiercest (*Sukra* means clear and *Suci* bright); *Nabhas* and *Naabhasya* are the months of the rainy season (*Nabhas* means mist or cloud); *Isa* and *Urja* are the Autumn months because in the Autumn food (*Urja*) and juice (plants) ripen; *Sahas* and *Sahasya* are the Winter months, because the Winter by force brings these creatures into his power; *Tapas* and *Tapasya* are the months of the dewy season,

because during these months it freezes most severely. In another passage it is said :

Rathagritsa and *Rathaujas* are the two spring months, *Rathasvana* and *Rathecitra* are the two summer months; *Rathaprotā* and *Asama-ratha* are the two rainy months; *Tarksya* and *Aristanemi* are the two Autumn months, *Senajit* and *Sasena* are the Winter months; *Tapas* and *Tapasya* are the two dewy months.

There are several passages in the *Satapatha Brahmana* where five seasons are mentioned. In this calculation the dewy season (*Hemanta*) is omitted. In one place the number is given as three, probably each season consisting of four months. It is interesting to note in this connection that mention has been made of seven seasons in a year in the *Satapatha Brahmana*. In viii. 5. 4. 9. 10 after the mention of seven seasons, rather a vague explanation has been sought to be given, but in conclusion, it has been remarked, "but indeed there are six seasons". In another place an attempt has been made to explain it further; in verses 9 to 14 (x 25) the six seasons (Spring, Summer, Rainy Season, Autumn, Winter and Dewy Season) are described and then it is said that in addition to these there are three days, the days and nights of that thirteenth and intercalary month,—which form the seventh season.

The system of nomenclature beginning with *Madhu* and *Madhava* had been in vogue for a long time before it was replaced by the system of *Chaitra*, *Vaisakha*, etc. When did this system come into use? From the time when the Spring season was known to begin in *Caitra*. That *Chaitra* and *Vaisakha* were the Spring months is mentioned in the *Puranas* and the *Mahabharata*, but in later books *Phalgun* and *Chaitra* are said to be the Spring months. But nowhere in Indian literature are *Vaisakha* and *Jyaishta* mentioned as the Spring months and *Chaitra* as a month of dewy season. Thus it is seen that at first *Chaitra* and *Vaisakha* were the Spring months. In still earlier times *Madhu* and *Madhava* came to be synonymous with *Chaitra* and *Vaisakha*. In our present system, *Phalgun* and *Chaitra* are

the Spring months. It is, therefore, clear that the Spring season has receded roughly two months and this could be caused in 4,300 years approximately. Thus the system of nomenclature, *Chaitra*, *Vaisakha*, etc., came into use as early as 2000 years before the Saka era. *Vasanta* was considered to be the first of the seasons, and the *agrayanestis* or the half-yearly sacrifices were required to be performed every *Vasanta* (Spring). The *Taittiriya Brahmana* remarks that *Vasanta* is the "mouth of the seasons". In the *Taittiriya Brahmana*, the year has been compared to a bird: *Vasanta* (Spring) is the head, *Grisma* (Summer) is the right wing, *Varsa* (rainy season) is the tail, *Sarat* (Autumn) the left wing, and *Hemanta* (dewy season) is the middle part. Here the winter season has been left out.

About the division of the seasons, *Satapatha Brahmana* says:

After Prajapati had created the living being, his joints (*parvan*) were released. Now Prajapati, doubtless, is the year and his joints are the two junctions of day and night (i.e., the twilights), the full-moon and new-moon, and the beginning of the seasons. He was unable to rise with his relaxed joints; and the gods healed him by means of these *havis* offerings; by means of the *Agnihotra* they healed that joint which consists of the two joints of day and night, joined that together; by means of the full-moon and new-moon sacrifice they healed that joint which consists of the full and new moon, joined that together; and by means of the three *caturmasyas* (seasonal offerings) they healed that joint which consists of the beginnings of the seasons, joined that together.

This shows that the division of the seasons was at first felt necessary for regulating the seasonal sacrifices.

The passage from the *Taittiriya Samhita* quoted above states that the *Chaitra* and *Phalgun* full-moons were the beginnings of the year. But why should the *Chaitra* and the *Phalgun* full-moon be called the beginning of the year? Sayana thinks that they were so described because they occurred during *Vasanta* or the first of the seasons. This view Sayana propounds in his commentary on *Taittiriya Samhita*, vii.4.8. Tilak does not consider the explanation satisfactory and he says :

According to all astronomical works *Sisira* commenced with the winter solstice, and the three seasons of *Sisira*, *Vasanta* and *Grisma* were

comprised in the *Uttarayana* as it was then understood. Now in the days of the *Taittiriya Samhita* the winter solstice fell in the month of *Magha*, and *Magha* and *Phalgun* were therefore comprised in *Sisira* and *Chaitra* and *Vaisakha* in *Vasanta*. But in order that Sayana's explanation might be correct *Phalgun* must fall in the *Vasanta* season which as a matter of fact, it did not.

Sayana in his commentary on the *Baudhayana-sutra* and also in the *Kalamadhava* (Cal.ed. pp. 60-61) tried to get rid of this difficulty by proposing a double *Vasanta*—lunar and solar, the lunar to include the months of *Phalgun* and *Chaitra*, and the solar those of *Chaitra* and *Vaisakha*, quoting, amongst others, Rv., x.85.18 as an authority to show that the seasons were regulated by the moon. Tilak remarks on this theory of the two-fold seasons of Sayana :

The authorities quoted by Sayana are not explicit and sufficient to maintain the two-fold character of the seasons. It is true that the months in the Calendar were all lunar, but the concurrence of the lunar and the solar year was always secured by inserting an intercalary month whenever necessary. Under such a system lunar seasons can have no permanent place. Now and then lunar months ceased to correspond with the seasons they represented, but this was at once set aright by the introduction of an intercalary month.

Therefore, according to Tilak, if we exclude the correction due to the precession of the equinoxes, which was too minute to be noticed till after hundreds of years, there was thus no reason why the lunar seasons should come to be regarded as a permanent institution. Moreover, a lunar year is shorter than the solar by 11 days. Hence, if the solar *Vasanta* commences on the 1st day of the lunar *Chaitra* month this year, it will commence on the 12th day of *Chaitra* (lunar) next year, 11 days later still in the third year, when with the introduction of an intercalary month the commencement of *Vasanta* will again be brought back to the 1st day of *Chaitra*, thus showing that the two-fold character of the seasons may delay the beginning of *Vasanta* to *Vaisakha* (lunar), but the season cannot be advanced and brought back to *Phalgun*. No doubt in the 14th century when Sayana flourished, the *Vasanta* season commenced, as it does now, in the month of *Phalgun*, but it was so because

of the winter solstice having receded by over one full month by that time. This was not understood by Sayana and hence he attempted to reconcile the difference on the theory of the two-fold character of the seasons.

Thus it is seen that in the early Vedic times the year began when the sun was in the vernal equinox; and as the sun then passed from the south to the north of the equator it was also the commencement of his northern passage. In other words, the *Uttarayana*, (according to the several astronomical works, *Uttarayana* is the period of the year from the winter to the summer solstice) the *Vasanta*, the year and the satras all commenced together at the vernal equinox. Later on, the commencement of the year was changed from the vernal equinox to the winter solstice. It is difficult to ascertain definitely the time of the change. But the change must have been introduced long before the vernal equinox was in the *Krttikas*, and when this change was made *Uttarayana* must have gradually come to mean the first half of the new year, i. e., the period from the winter to the summer solstice. Then the *Vedanga Jyotisa* made the year commence with the winter solstice, and there are passages in the *Srauta Sutras* which enjoin that the annual sacrifices like the *Gavam-ayana*, should be commenced at the same time. Now to understand this change in the beginning of the year, it is necessary to remember that the solar year was sidereal and not tropical and that the great object of the calendar was to ascertain the proper time of the seasons. This necessitated a change in the beginning of the year, every two thousand years or so, to make it correspond with the cycle of natural seasons. The difference between the sidereal and the tropical year is 20.4 minutes, which causes the seasons to fall back nearly one lunar month in about two thousand years, if the sidereal solar year be taken as the standard of measurement.

Therefore, the beginning of the year was twice altered owing to the precession of the equinoxes, and there is sufficient material in Indian literature to indicate the intermediate changes. The question was taken up when

the equinox had receded to the *Krttikas*. The seasons had fallen back by one full month and the ancient Hindus altered the year-beginning from the *Phalguni* to the *Magha* full-moon, while the list of *Naksatras* was made to commence from the *Krttikas*, instead of from *Agrahayana*. This was quietly done, because the calendar was mainly used for sacrificial purposes, and when it was actually observed that the sun was in the *Krttikas*, and not in the *Margasiras*, when day and night were equal, the commencement of the year was altered to the *Krttikas*, specially as it was more convenient to do so at that time when the cycle of seasons had fallen back by one month. But it is doubtful whether the real cause was discovered or any attempt was made for the discovery. The third change was introduced by the *Vedanga Jyotisa*, when the seasons had further receded by a fortnight and not by a month. The beginning of the month was altered from the full-moon to the new-moon during this period, and when this change was effected in the beginning of the month, the year was made to commence, owing to the falling back of the seasons by a fortnight, with the new-moon in *Dhanistha*, as the *Vedanga Jyotisa* has done. The next change was introduced and put into effect by *Varahamihira* in the beginning of the 6th Century A. D. when the list of the *Naksatras* was made to begin with *Asvini*. There is, however, the record of an intermediate attempt to reform the calendar in the *Mahabharata* and this attempt which proved abortive was made when it was noticed that the seasons had again receded by a fortnight.

Probably there were only three seasons—*Grisma*, *Varsa* and *Hemanta*—at the time of the *Rigveda*. In fact these are the three seasons of India. The *Satapatha Brahmana* has also in one place mentioned only three seasons. Regarding the *Uttarayana* and *Daksinayana* paths of the Sun, the *Satapatha Brahmana* lays down that ‘*Vasanta*, *Grisma* and *Varsa* are the seasons of the *Devas*, *Sarat*, *Hemanta* and *Sisira* those of the *Pitris*, the increasing fortnight is of the *Devas*, the decreasing one of the *Pitris*, the forenoon is of the *Devas*, the afternoon of the *Pitris*.’

When the Sun turns to the north he is amongst the *Devas* and protects them; when he turns to the south he is amongst the *Pitris* and protects them”.

In the *Brihatsamhita* (*Adityacaradhyaya*), *Sisira* (Winter) has been mentioned as the first season of the year. This meant that the year began with the winter solstice. This was the change introduced by the *Vedanga Jyotisa* which made the year commence with the winter solstice and this was in vogue till the time of *Varahamihira*. He found that in his time the vernal equinox coincided with the end of *Revati* and the summer solstice with *Punarvasu*. *Varahamihira*, therefore, introduced a change in the year-beginning and made the list of *Naksatras* commence with *Asvini*. The year was then, again, made to begin with the vernal equinox, and it was from that time that the Spring season came to comprise the two months *Phalguna* and *Caitra*. This modified year-beginning introduced by *Varahamihira* has since then been current in India and is even now regarded as the correct year beginning.

Now one thing still remains to be discussed. Why is the year called *Varsa*? There must have been some connection with *Varsa* (rainy season), and it is surmised that the year must have come to acquire this denomination from the fact of the year beginning with *Varsa* or rainy season at some time or other; that is, the year must have been made to begin with the commencement of the *Daksinayana* course. But this is found neither in the *Vedas* nor in the later *Brahmanas* and *Samhitis*, nor is there any mention of this fact in the *Vedanga Jyotisa*. However, *Kautilya*, in his *Arthasastra*, says that the year in his time began with the summer solstice at the end of *Asadha*. A detailed explanation is found in the *Suryaprajnapiti* (Jaina astronomical work) where an account of the seasons is given. There it is said that the seasons commence with the *Asadha* month, though the cycle of five years commences with the 1st day of the dark half of the month of *Sravana*. *Suryaprajnapiti* was written by Mahavira and this is the main astronomical

work of the Jaina astronomers which is now available. The *Suryaprajnapti* mentions the seasons as follows : the Rains, the Autumn, the Dewy Season, the Spring and the Summer. Here we notice that *Hemanta* and *Sisira* have been combined into one and the seasons are five in number. The year has been made to begin with the rainy season. It is then stated that the seasons are of two kinds, the solar and the lunar. The solar season is equal to two solar months or 61 days, but the cold season has got four months. Regarding the lunar seasons it is said that in one sidereal revolution of the moon, the lunar seasons are six. Hence in the cycle of 5 years which is equal to 67 sidereal revolutions of the moon there are $6 \times 67 = 402$ lunar seasons. In one lunar season there are $4 \frac{37}{67}$ days. The reason for this is as follows : One sidereal revolution of the moon = 6 seasons. Now one sidereal revolution is equal to $27 \frac{21}{67}$ days. Therefore, the season is equal to $27 \frac{21}{67} \times 6 = 4 \frac{37}{67}$ days.

The account of the successive attempts of the ancient Hindus for regulating the calendar so that the year might concur with the seasons, gives a conclusive proof of their sound knowledge of the astronomical phenomena like the procession of the equinoxes, and is a living testimony to their deep insight into the changing mysteries of the heavens.

The Twentieth Century Library

ON COMEDY

By K. R. S.

In Praise of Comedy. By James Feiblemann. (George Allen and Unwin. 10s. 6d.)

Since the time of Aristotle several eminent critics have written about the nature of Tragedy. But Comedy as a literary form has not interested as many critics and has not elicited as fine a body of stimulating criticism. There are suggestive hints in Aristotle; there are a few notable essays on Laughter; and there is Meredith's brilliant lecture on Comedy and the uses of the Comic Spirit: this is almost all. Dr. James Feiblemann's treatise is, therefore, a timely publication.

Dr. Feiblemann's book is in part historical and in part expository. A good portion of the book is taken up with critical surveys of classical and modern theories of comedy. Having covered the ground and shown how none of the existing theories quite explains all the facts of Comedy, Dr. Feiblemann outlines his own theory at some length. His thesis is closely argued, but it is nowhere abstruse. One closes his book with the feeling that here at last is the book on Comedy for which students of literature have been waiting. It definitely supersedes all previous work in the field.

Dr. Feiblemann begins by saying that the comic is ~~also~~ beautiful; it has an intrinsic value; it is ~~something~~ unique. Hence the study of Comedy as a literary form is a branch of Aesthetics, "that branch of philosophy which treats of the logic of the beautiful." Logical analysis of Comedy can alone reveal the *form* of the above content.

Dr. Feiblemann then posits the crucial question: how are we to measure the value of comedy in any particular case? Actuality is never logical, it is never the ideal thing: Comedy exposes to what extent actuality is illogical, and hence distinguishable from the *ought*. Comedy attempts this exposure in two ways: by ridiculing what is old and traditional as being outworn and as being an obstacle to progress; and by ridiculing new customs and institutions as being insufficiently inclusive and satisfactory. Either type of criticism can be offered only on the basis of an ideal—an ideal visualized by the comic author himself. Thus criticism implies the existence of an ideal logical order which is not so liable to criticism.

Thus "Comedy consists in the indirect affirmation of the ideal logical order by means of the derogation of the limited orders of actuality." In exposing the insufficiency in either the old or the new, Comedy follows one of two strategies: direct ridicule or frontal attack of the custom or institution concerned; and confusion of the categories of the particular actuality (i. e., the custom or institution concerned) to show their ultimate unimportance.

Naturally enough, surprise is an important element in Comedy, and may arise in one of two ways:

- (1) something is expected, but does not happen (analogous to understatement);
- (2) something is not expected, but does happen (analogous to overstatement or exaggeration).

In the first case, our sense of the *ought* demands that a certain thing should happen. For instance, we expect a man's actions to be in conformity with his professions; when the actions merely belie his professions, a comic situation arises. When Tartuffe, for all his religious protestations, makes love to his patron's wife and even argues that to sin in secret is not to sin at all, we know the *ought* has been infringed, and we are in the presence of Comedy. Thus the unexpected

indication of the absence of perfection (the *ought*) constitutes the comic situation.

Comedy, as we have seen, deals either with the old that is getting outworn or the new that is ill-conceived and imperfect; thus, in either case, we are concerned with the living present, neither with the past nor exactly with the future. The aim is always to exhibit current evaluations in the light of their shortcomings, and thus to call for a revaluation of all values. Even when an episode from the distant past or from mythology is presented to us in terms of comedy, it invariably has a contemporary significance.

For example, the desire of insignificant men to appear important as when Bacchus puts on the lion's skin and club of Hercules, in Aristophanes' *The Frogs*, illustrates foibles which can easily be shown to have been a weakness of human nature throughout historical time, and which still holds true of members of our own society.

ROMANTIC & CLASSICAL COMEDY

Romantic Comedy deals with that which was once actual, but is now remote. Thus a comedy may be written (cf. *Don Quixote*) on the conventions of knight-errantry. Again, Romantic Comedy exhibits actuality, with all its imperfections, in some sympathetic light—especially the actuality of the past. The Romantic dramatist seems to think that past actuality, bad and imperfect as it was, was decidedly better than the actuality of the present. The Romantic dramatist is thus concerned with a segment only of actuality, and he would rather emphasize on his inner experience by re-creating imaginatively the Past and thereby running away from the Present.

Classical Comedy deals with what is always true and therefore with what is perennially actual. It thus tends towards an absolutistic logical view. It is painstakingly severe in its outlook. No sympathy is felt for the foibles and errors of actuality. The classical dramatist believes in progress, and his mind is therefore turned towards the future. The present is better than the past, and hence the future may better

approximate to the ought than the present. Unlike the Romantic dramatist, the classical dramatist is interested in *all* actuality.

COMEDY AND LAUGHTER

In Comedy we are suddenly *confronted* by the unexpected; we realize the imperfection of actuality and at the same time have a vision of the ideal logical order. In Dr. Feiblemann's own words :

Laughter is the result of the sudden recognition of the wide difference between what is and what ought to be. Psychologically, comedy consists in the recognition of the insuperable defects of the actuality..... The defects of actuality are unbearable to the feeling subject, and so an escape into the logical order is demanded. This escape consists in the recognition of the limitations of actuality, of the ridiculous and ludicrous aspect of existence.

By laughing we not only recognize limitations but, in a sense, make light of them, and feel that they can be overcome. To recognize one's limitations is indeed to begin overcoming them. "In this sense, the catharsis theory of Aristotle has a limited validity; laughter is a kind of emotional purgation."

COMEDY AND TRAGEDY

All customs and institutions, all constituents of actuality, have both certain values and certain limitations, have both positive and negative aspects. Tragedy deals with the former, Comedy with the latter.

An actual organization may be accepted positively, as the inevitable compromise which has to be made, as the best possible approach which can be obtained to the ideal of organization, under the given circumstances contained in the current conditions of actuality. Tragedy always affirms and never denies. Thus tragedy is the recognition of what value there is in actuality, and the ignorance of its limitations.

But Comedy points chiefly to the limitations of actuality, and by this means points to a future when those limitations will be overcome. How often, asks Dr. Feiblemann,

have we heard it said by some person who has been confronted with a horrible but unavoidable situation that he had either to laugh or to cry, and that he had deliberately chosen to laugh? Tragic figures give rise to comedy through the effects of their actions. Comedy is never felt when the

psychological subject accepts things and events as they are and for whatever value they contain. The tragic acceptance of positive situations surmounts the recognition of their shortcomings through ignorance. But Comedy is continued rebellion and a refusal, even when faced with the inability to change conditions, to accept the compromise meted out by actuality. It is a continual cry for the perfection of the logical order which is never possible.

Thus "Tragedy is the direct affirmation of the formal logical order by means of the approval of the positive content of actuality." In any particular area or in any particular period of time; actuality may appear more a thing of evil than of good, of misery rather than of happiness; the tragic dramatist affirms that, in spite of it all, good and happiness do exist, beauty and glory do constitute a portion of the content of actuality. In the world there is doubtless waste, frustration, and injustice; but there is also noble endeavour (even if it turns to nothing), wisdom (even if it is unable to accomplish much), and beauty (even if it is destined to perish prematurely). What remains in our minds after reading *Oedipus Rex* is not only the remorselessness of fate but also the courage of Oedipus, his devotion to duty, his unflinching determination to suffer to the uttermost when all is known.

Comedy is an intellectual affair, and deals with logic: Tragedy is an emotional affair, and deals with value. Horace Walpole once said that 'life is a comedy to the man who thinks and a tragedy to the man who feels.' Comedy is negative; it is a criticism of limitations and an unwillingness to accept them. Tragedy is positive; it is an uncritical acceptance of the positive content of that which is delimited. Comedy affirms the direction towards infinite value by insisting upon the absurdly final claims of finite things and events.... Tragedy also affirms the direction towards infinite value, but it does so by indicating that no matter how limited the value of finite things and events may be, such value is still a real part of infinite value. Tragedy that affirms that positive stuff is greater than Comedy which can affirm it only indirectly by denying its limitation.

The comic and tragic aspects of being are ever there before us. Actuality, everywhere and at every time, has values and also vagaries. But the vagaries are more often noticed, and hence comedy bears a closer resemblance to "real life." But truth and value are more diffused, and hence lesser noticed;

that is why rarely in real life things rise to tragic heights. But a tragedy, being a recordation of the infinite in the finite, tends to make us somewhat contented. The tragic in us attunes us to practically all segments of actuality—one segment is more or less as good as another. But comedy, trying to emphasize the "termini of things and events", is dissatisfied with all segments of actuality that it confronts; it is hence inherently revolutionary.

Both Tragedy and Comedy are concerned, after all, with the assessment of values and verities; and they are complementary. Below the level of such apprehension, there is only instinctive reaction to circumstances. But ultimately Tragedy and Comedy fuse in a marvel like Kalidasa's *Sakuntala* that can aptly be described as a "Divine Comedy."

Special Industries Supplement

... THROUGH INDUSTRIAL EFFICIENCY ALONE—

India calls upon her philosophers and moralists, scientists and technologists, statesmen and jurists, reformers and publicists, economists and entrepreneurs to upbuild her national health, to regenerate her social life, to attain her political autonomy, to develop her national economy, to reconstruct her industrial system and thus to achieve industrial efficiency. It is through industrial efficiency alone that India can fully utilize her immense resources of land, labour and capital for the wealth and welfare of her people and lay the foundation for their moral and intellectual progress.

—RAJANI KANTA DAS,
(Author of 'The Industrial Efficiency of India').

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT OF BARODA

By BHIKHALAL B. KAPASI

An important unit in India, Baroda has been organising both an intensive and extensive campaign for the political and economic advancement of the urban and rural population. In the wake of the advanced policy of the State in social and economic legislation and free compulsory education, evils like illiteracy, superstition, religious bigotry, tyranny of social customs and rural indebtedness are waning day by day.

Official as well as non-official agencies are now concentrating on, among other things, the problems of industrial uplift. The Government, on their part, introduced several ameliorative measures and inaugurated the liberal policy of granting loans and concessions to stimulate industries, big and small, and have augmented the expenditure of the development departments of the State.

The State of Baroda comprising an area of 8,164 square miles, is situated in the province of Gujarat, in five distinct territorial blocks cut off from each other by large tracts of British territory or of other Indian States.

Places of pilgrimage like Dwarka and Taranga Hill, and of historical importance like Patan and Sidhpur, trade centres like Kalol, Billimora and Petlad and seats of archaeological interest like Modhera, Amreli, and Dabjoi are situated in the State.

There are 50 towns and 2,920 inhabited villages with a population of 24,43,007 of which 88.1% are Hindus and about 7.5% are Muslims. The number of Jains, Parsis and Christians according to the latest census are 48,408, 7,127 and 7,262, while tribal religions claim 44,890. The rural population of the State is about 19,20,000.

In Baroda State the important work of developing commerce, trade and agriculture was for a long time carried on by the Revenue Department, with the assistance of the P. W. D. and some of the executive councillors who took personal interest in economic problems. In 1905 a separate branch and a special officer, in charge of commerce, industry, agriculture, customs and a few other allied branches was appointed. The work increased day by day and in 1906 Mr. Whitnack was engaged as Economic Adviser, and in 1907 his office was converted into the Department of Commerce and Industry. In 1909 when Mr. Whitnack retired, it was placed under the charge of the minister so that those at the helm of affairs could guide the affairs better, of so useful and important an activity of the State. There were some changes then and in 1915 it was again placed under the Joint Revenue Commissioner.

Day by day, however, the work increased in volume and intensity and people began to take full advantage of the facilities afforded in the form of loans, concessions, technical advice, etc. This necessitated the separation of the Department of Commerce from the Department of Industries and Labour for two reasons:—viz., firstly, to enable the Director of Commerce to give full attention to the development of Okha Port and the commercial activities of the State, and secondly, to enable the official in charge of Industries and Labour to meet the growing needs of industrial development and the problems of the worker for which a labour officer is also appointed to assist him.

The first geological survey of the State was made in the year 1892 and its report was published in the year 1898. Another survey was started in the year 1907-08 and in 1918 a Geologist was attached to the Department of Commerce and Industry.

The first industrial survey of the State was made in the year 1893. An Industrial Commission visited every Taluka and submitted its report in the year 1895-96 regarding agriculture and industries. In the year 1907, an idea was set on foot to

have another survey of a general economic nature but it was dropped and special Taluka inquiries were being made. A thorough inquiry into the agricultural indebtedness of the State was started and Mr. Manilal B. Nanavati submitted his report in 1912, which is a classic of rural economic problems of the State. Then followed sociological village and town inquiries which revealed the needs of local industries.

As early as in 1884 the State pioneered the Sugar Factory as a joint stock concern at Gandevi and it purchased shares for half the amount, and later purchased it at a cost of Rs. 3,00,000. Owing to losses, the factory was closed in 1894 and it was sold for Rs. 70,000 in 1904. After various ups and downs, in the year 1938-39 it produced 6,693 and 2,862 Bengal maunds of sugar and molasses respectively.

In the year 1887-88 experiments were made in Baroda with the various sands found in the State to find their suitability for glass manufacture. In the year 1890 a Brick Factory was started at a cost of Rs. 24,722. Provision was made in it for the manufacture of Mangalore tiles and earthenware pipes and jars.

His Highness the late Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwar of Baroda was, however, very keen to start some big industrial concerns and the progress of cotton mill industry in India created in him a desire to start such a concern. In the year 1892 a cotton spinning and weaving mill was started with 10,328 spindles and 104 looms to serve as an object lesson to the capitalists to divert their capital for promoting industrial concerns in the State. The initial cost was Rs. 3,63,500 while in 1905, the total capital expenditure amounted to Rs. 63,500. People realised the value of the cotton mill industry and as a private enterprise was forthcoming, the mill was sold for Rs. 5,00,000. During the working of 21 years it has paid on an average 3% interest on the investment. The main objective was fulfilled when three cotton mills were started within a couple of years of the sale—two in Baroda and one in Sidhpur, and all by Baroda State subjects.

In the year 1938-39, 16 cotton mills were working in the State—4 in Baroda, 3 in Petlad, 3 in Kalol, 1 in Kadi, 2 in Sidhpur, 2 in Navsari and 1 in Billimora. The number has increased from 11 in 1928-29 to 19 in 1938-39; capital has increased from Rs. 128 lakhs to over Rs. 800 lakhs, looms from 2,824 to about 7,000 and spindles from 1,92,948 to about 3,24,000. Persons employed in the concerns have increased from 6,974 to about 19,000 and over 360 lakhs lbs. yarn is produced as against 165 lbs. in 1928-29.

The Dwarka Cement Company was floated in the year 1929 and at present this concern, under the management of the Associated Cement Companies, Limited, produced 81,840 tons of cement in 1937-38 giving a royalty of Rs. 25,575 as against 95,550 tons in 1929-30.

Okhamandal provided an excellent opportunity to manufacture salt and allied products because of natural facilities and the vicinity of a well-developed port at Okha. A joint stock company was started in 1928 with an authorised capital of Rs. 10 lakhs. Besides common salt, other products like epsom salt and magnesium chloride were also manufactured by the Pioneer Magnesia Company which worked in co-operation with the Okha Salt Company. The average production of common salt which was mostly exported to Bengal, was 50,000 tons a year during the period from 1933-34 to 1938-39.

To manufacture heavy chemicals such as soda ash, caustic soda, potassium chloride and bleaching powder, the Tata Chemicals, Ltd., has been formed with an authorised capital of Rs. 5 crores and a paid-up capital of Rs. 1,25,00,000 of which the State subscribed the share capital to the extent of Rs. 23 lakhs, besides granting special concessions.

Chemical industry had also its share in the record of progress of industries in the State, but it was left to the initiative of the late Prof. Gajjar and his associates, Prof. Kotibhaskar and Mr. B. D. Amin to start the Alembic Chemical Works in 1907. The Baroda Chemical Works is manufacturing

sulphuric acid and its various derivatives such as nitric and hydrochloric acids.

Three match factories were started in the State one at Petlad in 1929-30, one at Baroda in 1930-31 and the third at Billimora in 1933-34. Two factories were working in the year 1938-39 and produced about 6,72,000 gross safety matches and 22,850 gross Bengal Lights.

There is one woollen mill in the State at Baroda which produced 1,01,328 lbs. of woollen cloth and 27,181 lbs. of yarn in 1938-39, valued at about Rs. 1,50,000 in all.

After the short synopsis of the industries of the State, let us now turn our attention to the policy of the State in helping them. As early as in 1891-92 a sum of Rs. 1,50,000 was sanctioned for giving loans at 3 per cent. to new industries. This sum was increased to Rs. 3 lakhs in the year 1892-93. Within four years of the inauguration of this policy 13 concerns were given loans totalling Rs. 2,32,000. In the year 1908-09 the policy was revived and Rs. 2,90,000 were given to three concerns, two of these being cotton mills. The Bank of Baroda, Ltd., organised in the year 1909, facilitated the task of the State and is today helping many industries. In co-operation with the Bank of Baroda loans worth over Rs. 7,00,000 were granted. Debentures worth Rs. 71 lakhs of the Darbhanga Mills, Navsari, and of Rs. 10 lakhs of the Dwarka Cement Co. were purchased by the State. A loan of Rs. 2,25,000 was granted to Okha Salt Works.

Government have now gone a step further by giving encouragement to the establishment of industries which are of great economic importance to the State and the country. They have taken up 20% of the issued share capital of the Tata Chemicals, Ltd. The proposals for starting the following industries, with substantial State aid, are under consideration by the State.

- Oil and allied industries (capital Rs. 30 lakhs).
- Paper Mills (capital Rs. 25 lakhs).
- Cigarette Factory (capital Rs. 25 lakhs).
- Rayon Mill (capital Rs. 75 lakhs).

Government are also considering the establishment of an Industrial Financial Corporation, with a capital of about Rs. 10 lakhs, to promote industries in the State by granting loans to deserving persons or firms intending to start industrial concerns, big or small.

Okha is the cheapest port in Western India, for Kathiawar, Gujarat, Rajputana and Delhi, and the safest harbour between Bombay and Karachi where large liners berth on a modern pier. There are regular direct sailings from United Kingdom, Continental and American ports, rail connections between shipside and all meter-gauge railway systems, adequate warehousing accommodation, unique facilities for quick discharge and despatch of cargo and special facilities to importers. It has a very bright future.

There is ample scope for the emergence and growth of industries like Alkalies, Cigarette, Starch, Cement, Oil, Paper from bamboos, Straw-board, Sulphuric Acid, Glass, Potteries, Match, Soap, Building Materials, Varnish, etc., and there is considerable surplus of cotton, oil seeds and tobacco over and above the requirements of the State.

It is hoped that the capitalists will take full advantage of the facilities afforded by the State for the promotion of industries such as cotton mills, sugar factories, brick factories and leather industry, and of the broad-based policy of industrial development.

INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS IN HYDERABAD

The Dominions of H. E. H. the Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar cover an area of over 100,000 square miles with a population of 18 millions. Fed by the river systems of the Godavari and the Krishna, studded with tanks and artificial lakes, exhibiting the most variegated geological formations, abounding in valuable mineral resources, rich in forest and cattle wealth, promising in great hydro-electric possibilities, covered with fertile tracts of luxuriant vegetation and hills of granite and limestone with huge tors and boulders, the Dominions are replete with raw material and industrial potentiality.

NATURAL RESOURCES

The mineral wealth of Hyderabad is one of its greatest assets. Gold, diamond, iron and copper have already been exploited, but greater possibilities of some of them are under investigation. Manganese, mica, graphite, galena, garnets, clays, shales, salts, ochres, pyrites, building stones and materials for glass manufacture—all await a detailed examination regarding their economic prospects.

From the eastern parts of the Dominions which are rich in fauna and flora of varied species, are obtained timber, fuel and minor forest produce. Sleepers, charcoal briquettes, wood for matches and packing cases, bamboos for paper, tanning materials, gums and resins, lac, sandalwood, medicinal plants, honey and wax, ebony leaves for 'beedi' making, gulmowha for manufacturing liquor, acacia catechu for 'katta' are all full of economic possibilities.

The total potentialities of the State in regard to water-power is about 2,50,000 H. P. Most of the constructions completed or projected are combined hydro-electric and irrigation schemes and the power generated will serve many industries.

AGRICULTURE

Hyderabad, like the rest of India, is a predominantly agricultural country. The proportion of the population engaged in agricultural industries is 571 *per mille*. The principal commercial crops raised are cotton, castor, jowar, groundnut and sugarcane. Hyderabad is the largest castor-producing country in the world. The Department of Agriculture has been rendering valuable service through research, experiment, demonstration and propaganda. An all-round agricultural development is attempted by launching a number of schemes. An amount of Rs. 12 crores has been spent on minor and major irrigation works. The co-operative movement has been given all moral and material support with a view to ameliorating the lot of the rural population which is stricken with chronic indebtedness. A scheme has been initiated for the marketing of agricultural and animal husbandry products. Realizing the value to the State of livestock, whose produce works out to a cash amount of 80 crores, the Nizam's Government are keen on the work of cattle improvement. Above all, by following an effective programme of rural uplift every attempt has been made to improve the basic industry.

MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES

About 11 per cent. of the population of the State is engaged in factory industries.

Cotton Industry.—Hyderabad stands fourth among the provinces and States in the production of cotton with an acreage of about 35 lakhs, which is about 14 per cent. of the total area under cotton cultivation in India, and an yield of 10 per cent. of the total Indian output. The State has about 8,300 cotton gins and 100 cotton presses. There are 6 textile mills—two of them are State-managed—which produce goods worth more than Rs. 60 lakhs.

Silk Industry.—Silk weaving on hand-looms is pursued as a cottage industry in all the districts of the Dominions. 4

silk mills have been started—two at Hyderabad and two at Aurangabad, with a total number of 70 looms.

Cement Industry.—Hyderabad takes the third rank in this industry, which was started in 1925 at Shahabad with a capital of 35 lakhs. The Factory has up-to-date plants and railway sidings of its own. The Shahabad Portland cement was exclusively used in the construction of the Mettur Dam. The Shahabad Cement Co. has been merged with the Associated Cement Companies, Ltd., so that it might stand any possible competition.

Mining Industry.—Coal is the most important of the minerals of the State. The annual total output of the Singareni, Tandur and Bellampalli Collieries is about 42 lakhs of tons. The Collieries are equipped with modern machinery and workshops and a systematic method of mining has been introduced.

Marble Mining.—A concern called the Deccan Marble and Mining Co. was originally started at Justapalli, but the quarries there having proved unsatisfactory, the Works were shifted to Monditog. The 'Deccan Marble' quarried from here compares favourably with good Italian marble and is available in attractive colours and veins. The industry has a bright future, in view of the development of taste among Indians for the use of marble for floorings and other decorations. The Government have purchased debentures worth Rs. 25,000 and advanced Rs. 50,000 with a view to developing the industry.

Oil Industry.—Hyderabad is one of the most important oil growing territories in India and produces groundnut, castor, linseed, cotton seed, til-seed, mustard, etc. Duty on export of oil has been removed and many oil mills have sprung up. Groundnut industry is running on a very profitable basis and there are 60 decorticating factories. Castor seed is mostly exported to foreign countries. There are 300 screw presses in the State for extracting oil. Linseed, under

which crop Hyderabad holds the third place in India, is mostly exported.

Tobacco Industry—Hyderabad stands sixth among the tobacco growing provinces in India. There are two cigarette factories in the State—the Vazir Sultan Tobacco Co., Ltd., and the Hyderabad Deccan Cigarette Factory. Nearly 1,500 million cigarettes and 230 million cheroots are made annually. There are about 193 registered brands of *beedies* in the Dominions.

Glass Industry—The Koh-i-Noor Glass Factory is making steady progress and manufacturing chimneys, tumblers, jars, jugs, pager-weights, etc. Gajulapeta and Manikonda are centres of bangle-making.

Biscuit Industry—The Rose Biscuit Works, which is aided by the State, are producing cheap and nutritive biscuits.

Rice-milling Industry—There are 200 rice mills in the Dominions and almost all the paddy grown in the State is milled within the State itself.

Match Industry :—There are 4 match factories worked by power and 8 worked by hand. Ready-made splints are imported from South India as they are more economical.

Leather and Tanning :—There are in all 84 tanneries in the State of which 30 are important. With a view to developing the industry loans have been sanctioned to individuals and companies for equipping their factories with up-to-date machinery, etc. Tanned skins and hides worth 20 lakhs and leather goods of the value of Rs. 10,000 are exported annually.

Metal Industry :—Apart from H. E. H. the Nizam's Mint Workshops, the Railway Workshops and the Sanat-e-Hind Engineering Works, and other big metal works, there are button, trunk, bucket and non-ferrous metal industries.

There are four button factories manufacturing a variety of metal buttons and cuff links and monograms, worth 2 lakhs annually. Trunks, buckets, hardware articles worth a lakh of

rupees and brass and silverware articles to the tune of 4 lakhs are made annually.

Hume Pipe and Stoneware and Tile Industry :—There are two tile factories producing Mangalore tiles, stoneware pipes, cement flooring tiles, etc. The Indian Hume Pipe Co., Ltd., manufactures reinforced cement concrete pipes worth about 2 lakhs.

Paint and Varnish Industry :—There is a factory at Lingampalli which manufactures paints worth about Rs. 40,000 to 50,000 annually. They are used in the State and also exported.

The Mint Workshops which originally formed part of the Mint, were separated in 1912 in order to undertake wider scope of work for the Government departments and the general public. They are divided into seven main sections, namely :

1. The Foundry and Pattern Shop, 2. The Machine Shop, 3. The Fitting and Erecting Shop, 4. The Blacksmithy, 5. The Motor Repair Garage, 6. The Carpentry Shop, 7. The Engineering Section.

COTTAGE INDUSTRIES

H. E. H.'s Government, while pursuing an active policy of developing large-scale industries, have not been unmindful of the necessity of preserving the numerous old handicrafts.

Hand-loom Weaving :—The most important cottage industry in the State is hand-loom weaving which engages 3 per cent. of the total population, consuming imported yarn worth Rs. 64 lakhs, local mill-spun yarn worth Rs. 20 lakhs and hand-spun yarn worth Rs. 2 lakhs, and clothing half the total population of the State. Of the 1,00,000 looms working in in the State, nearly 55,000 are of the throw-shuttle type and 45,000 are equipped with fly-shuttle sleys and dobbies, as a result of the endeavours of the Department of Commerce and Industries.

Nearly 95,000 looms are engaged in weaving cotton and mixed fabrics. The Nander-sela produced in the State

approaches in fineness, the famous Dacca muslins. There are 4,000 looms engaged in silk-weaving industry. Nearly 14,000 looms are employed in *kambal* weaving and about Rs. 3 lakhs worth of *kambals* are exported.

Dyeing Industry :—With the advent of synthetic colours, the old method of dyeing ceased to prosper. Fast colours are introduced by the Department and training is given to dyers and printers. The industry consumes about Rs. 9 lakhs of imported dyes and chemicals. As a result of the efforts of Government, the weavers and dyers are now producing cloth with better designs and fast colours which find a ready market.

Carpet Industry :—The carpet industry of Warangal enjoyed great fame in olden days. The finest rugs exhibited in London in 1851 were from Warangal. The industry subsequently decayed. Government came to its rescue and established an Experimental Carpet Factory. The number of looms increased from 87 to 4,000 and exports rose from Rs. 30,000 to 1,20,000. The carpets manufactured at the Factory are unsurpassed by anything of the kind produced anywhere else in India.

Bidri-ware derives its name from Bidar, where it is manufactured. It has been in existence since the days of the Bahmani kings. The basic material used consists of an alloy of zinc and copper. The alloy assumes a jet black colour when treated with materials of alkaline nature. The article is cast, filed in lathe, finished off with emery paper and then moistened with copper sulphate solution. The design is engraved. Pure silver in sheets or wires is then hammered and inlaid in the grooves, filed and polished off. The article is treated and smeared with a certain kind of earth found in Bidar. The designs employed are of a variegated nature and unique in conception. Bidriware consists of trays, fancy boxes, bowls, vases, cigarette cases, ash trays, buttons, brooches and bangles.

Nirmal Toy Industry is very famous. Some of the products are screens, chess sets, ganjiphas, fruit and vegetable sets, birds, animals, etc.

Karimnagar Filigree Industry :—The silversmiths of Karimnagar make fine filigree articles.

STEPS TAKEN BY THE GOVERNMENT FOR REVIVING AND IMPROVING COTTAGE INDUSTRIES

Cottage Industries Institute :—A Central Technical Institute was established where weavers, dyers and other artisans could be trained in up-to-date methods of their crafts. The Institute has the following sections :

1. Weaving, 2. Dyeing and printing, 3. Knitting, 4. Durrie and druggot weaving, 5. Woollen spinning and blanket weaving, 6. Embroidery and needlework, 7. Rattan work, 8. Toy making and lacquerware, 9. Silk weaving.

District Demonstration Parties :—There are 7 of these, each consisting of a L. T. M. assisted by artisan assistants and a dyer maistry. They demonstrate improved methods of weaving and dyeing to the artisans at their own doors. They teach them new designs and keep them in touch with the public taste. Appliances are supplied on hire purchase system.

Cottage Industries Sales Depot :—To provide proper facilities for marketing cottage industries products a Sales Depot is located in a building costing half a lakh where articles are stocked, exhibited and advertised on behalf of the artisans. The Depot has been instrumental in reviving many of the dying industries, e. g., Bidriware, toy and carpet industries, etc.

Government Carpet Factory, Warangal :—The dying carpet industry was revived by the Factory which was financed by the Industrial Trust Fund. Rs. 30,000 worth of carpets were purchased for H. E. H. the Nizam's Delhi palace. Large orders for the supply of cheaper rugs were secured from the Oriental Carpet Manufacturers, London.

Weaving Institute, Paithan :—Paithan was noted for its sari, gold lace and pagri industries, which gradually declined. The weavers were taught fly-shuttle weaving and supplied with

raw material on credit repayable in easy instalments. Stipendiary students are taught the art of gold-thread-embroidered sarees.

Bidriware:—There are two factories at Bidar which produce Rs. 10,000 worth of ware, more than half of which is purchased by the Sales Depot. Attempts are being made to find a market for the ware in foreign countries. Photos showing the process are sent for exhibition to the Imperial Institute, London.

Nirmal Toy Industry:—A scheme for training boys in the industry was sanctioned and it is hoped that the output will increase and the industry develop.

Apart from these, loans are given to small scale industrialists to enable them to expand their business. Scholarships are granted to deserving students undergoing training in technical subjects in various schools at Bombay, Madras, Cawnpore, Poona, etc. All these steps taken by the Government have achieved a large measure of success in resuscitating a number of decaying arts and crafts.

With the object of expanding technical and vocational education, two new courses, an electrical trades course and a commercial course, have been introduced in the Osmania Technical College. 4 new industrial schools will be shortly opened for producing a sufficient number of skilled craftsmen. Opening of several vocational high schools is devised. A Central School of Arts & Crafts will be shortly opened in the capital where drawing, painting, and designs, brocade work, Himroo weaving, metal work, embossing, moulding, wood-work, inlay work, fretwork, etc., will be taught.

THE WAR

The war has given a fillip to local industries. A Council of Supply was formed on the outbreak of the war, for investigating the possibilities of substituting local articles for imported ones. All Departments are supplied with a list of articles

produced in the State and are requested to follow the order of preference given below, in regard to the purchase of machinery, etc.

1. Products of the Dominions, 2. Product of British India and Indian States, 3. United Kingdom products imported into India, 4. Purchase of United Kingdom products in England, and 5. only in unavoidable cases is it permissible to purchase from other countries.

A sugar factory was erected last year with an investment of over Rs. 30 lakhs, which produces sugar worth Rs. 70,000 a day and employs 19,000 persons, adding $\frac{3}{4}$ crore to the annual wealth of the country. A Pulp and Paper Mill, with a capacity of producing 6,000 tons of paper per annum, will shortly be started at Sirpur where good bamboo and coal are available within easy reach. There will be a saving, it is estimated, of Rs. 40 per ton of paper manufactured on account of coal and bamboo alone. The Hyderabad Construction Co., Ltd., will be the Managing Agents. The authorised capital is Rs. 1 crore, of which Rs. 45 lakhs will be issued at present. The Government will take Rs. 7½ lakhs worth of shares and the Managing Agents to the extent of Rs. 5 lakhs.

A power alcohol factory, costing 6 lakhs, will soon produce 4 lakhs of gallons of power alcohol per year. Rs. 54,000 have been sanctioned for the reviving of cottage industries, including the hand-made paper of Kaghazipur. Government are helping the industry by increasing the purchase of *desi* hand-made paper and supplying waste paper, which is an important raw material, free of charge, from offices to *bona-fide* paper makers.

Gold prospecting, started in 1937, with an initial grant of £50,000 in the Raichur District, having proved successful, further grants of £50,000 and £2,50,000 were sanctioned for development work in the Hatti area, which will soon take its place among the important gold producers in the country.

The Railway and other Departments are producing war material, while other industries are supplying certain necessities like hand-woven blankets.

TRANSPORT

Hyderabad possesses an extensive Railway system of its own—the largest system of railway in any Indian State—providing facilities for export and import trade. There are over 5,000 miles of State roads, exclusive of Local Fund roads. Pioneer in the field of rail and road transport co-ordination, the State has in view to bring the entire transport system, including the air service, which will shortly begin to operate, under a single management, which ensures each area and each industry getting a comprehensive and cheap transport. Goods collection and delivery services have been introduced for the facility of the travelling and trading public.

THE INDUSTRIAL TRUST FUND

The financial genius of the Rt. Hon. Sir Akbar Hydari has placed the State on a thoroughly sound budgetary basis. After making provision for the running of the services on progressive lines, funds have been found to constitute a Reserve in 1929, by setting aside 55 lakhs from the surplus, with a view to ensuring the industrial progress of the State, at least so far as it depended on financial support. The Industrial Trust Fund with a *corpus* of a crore of rupees is invested in selected large-scale industries, while interest obtained is spent in advances to smaller industries, by way of loans, grants, etc. As a result of this policy, a number of large modern factories have come into existence, and a still larger number of cottage industries have been rescued from extinction.

This rapid survey should convince the most hardened sceptic that industrially, Hyderabad is in the vanguard of progress.

INDUSTRIAL PLANNING IN MYSORE

The present cataclysmic war has shown how India is industrially backward. But in the midst of this, Mysore stands as an oasis in a desert of unpreparedness. The way Mysore is forging ahead industrially has a great object lesson for all India, now that the war is threatening to throw the entire world's industrial machinery out of gear.

The past thirteen years in Mysore may be regarded as the most vital period of planned industrialisation in the State. The Government, realising the important role of industries in the economic life of the people have energetically sought to harness the splendid available resources of the State for capital works of a productive nature. Mysore's economic preparedness is largely due to the vision of the Dewan, Sir Mirza Ismail, who ever since he took charge of the administration, has devoted himself to the task of industrialising the State to a peak level, reckoned to be unattained in any part of India in so short a period. In fact, Mysore's economic policy has now assumed a new significance. Thoughtful economists concede that Mysore's industrialisation has stimulated inter-provincial and inter-state action. These economists go so far as to state that the particular planned "technique" perfected in Mysore is now being adopted by more than one leading provincial or State Government. This external recognition of the lead given by the State in the matter of industrial enterprise is in effect Mysore's silent contribution towards the Federal ideal.

It should be noted that Government have had to take the initiative in starting practically all the large industries. At first they were started as purely government-owned and government-managed concerns, but laterly they have been started as private joint companies in which Government have

taken a share of the capital and assumed certain responsibilities of management along with the representatives of shareholders. But it must be remembered that even in the purely government-owned concerns, non-officials engaged in industry and commerce have always been associated in some form or other with the management of these concerns. New schemes are always referred to a Board of Industries, comprising of officials and non-officials, where the proposal is discussed in detail and their considered views formulated. It is hoped that this policy will soon result in the people taking the initiative in the development of new industries and the trade of the country.

The beginning of an active industrial policy in the State was marked by the constitution of the Department of Industries and Commerce in Jan. 1913. This Department confined its activities to the following in the first instance :

1. experimental industries carried on at the expense of Government;
2. industrial work for private individuals carried on at their own cost; and
3. general industrial enquiries including the preparation of statistical information regarding the trade and commerce of the State.

The scope of these functions increased considerably with the efflux of time and there has been a steady accretion of new functions and responsibilities.

It is admitted on all hands that the phenomenal progress made by industries in Mysore stands in a category of its own. Government interested themselves directly in the manufacture of steel and steel products, cement, electrical and mechanical goods and appliances. Besides, State-aid in many forms has been willingly rendered to deserving new industries after a careful examination of the prospects. The Government have aided with valuable concessions large-scale joint stock companies for the manufacture of sugar, paper, spun silk, tobacco cultivation and curing, chemicals and fertilisers, electrical batteries and accumulators, vegetable oils, transport, chrome tanning, etc.

Mysore is the most electrically conscious State in India, having started the first hydro-electric scheme in the country. Now the ramifications of the government electrical works are such that major and minor industries are provided with the modern motive power.

The government-owned Mysore Iron and Steel Works at Bhadravati, with the only charcoal blast-furnace in the East, produces pig-iron and a wide variety of steel products useful for householders and manufacturers. The Cement Plant of the Works markets high-grade cement. Bhadravati is fast becoming the Birmingham of India. Another important industry in this area is furnished by the Mysore Paper Mills, which manufacture paper of different grades and varieties.

The Sandalwood Factory at Mysore produces the finest sandal oil in the world, much in demand from the medical and perfumery interests in many countries. The Mysore Chemicals and Fertilisers, Ltd., have begun production of synthetic ammonia, and sulphuric acid. The factory has the distinction of having the only synthetic ammonia plant in India. The Mysore Coffee Curing Works, recently started, has begun the curing of the famous Mysore coffee. The Mysore Vegetable Oil Factory is an up-to-date industrial concern manufacturing vegetable oil for modern processes. The Mysore Glass and Enamel Works has a large output of glass articles for the home, industries and the laboratories.

The Industrial and Testing Laboratory is an up-to-date factory producing many branded medicinal preparations popular in the market. The Porcelain Factory manufactures insulators for electrical undertakings, etc., and other porcelain articles. The Electric Factory produces tumbler switches, ceiling roses, fuse-boxes, transformers, water meters, etc. Mysore Lamp Works manufactures a large variety of electric bulbs for the home and the factory. The Mysore Chemical Company, Ltd., is noted for the quality of the incandescent mantles made in the Company's works. The Mysore Sugar Company,

Ltd., reputedly the largest in India, manufactures crystal sugar and also produces rectified and denatured spirits. The Silk Weaving Factory has the most up-to-date dyeing and finishing plant and specialises in the production of crepe-de-chine, crepe georgette, crepe satin, lace sarees, silk handkerchiefs, ties, etc., all of which are guaranteed to be made from pure Mysore silk. The Soap Factory manufactures Mysore Sandal Soap and toilet goods. All raw materials and soaps undergo rigorous tests in the laboratory before being deemed fit for sale or use.

In attempting to industrialise the State by starting these major and mechanised industries, the Government have not lost sight of resuscitating and developing minor and rural and cottage industries. Mysore believes in the possibility of factories and workshops thriving on the borders of smiling fields and gardens. The plough and the charkha can flourish as well as the tractor and the mammoth mill. It is in this belief that Mysore—her people as well as her Government—has addressed herself to the manifold tasks of the economic uplift of the State.

The development of rural and cottage industries has thus been a special feature of the policy of the Government in recent years. The Mysore Government is unique in regarding the development of khadi industry as one of the State's activities and to give it a place among the 'key' industries.

Side by side with khadi, a number of industries, subsidiary to agriculture, have been introduced while attempts are being made to improve other existing industries such as handloom weaving, blacksmithy, manufacture of hardware, lacquerware, coir industry, flaying, village tanning, leather stitching, mat weaving, paper manufacture by hand, cotton rope making, tile making and pottery.

A systematic move has recently been made in this direction. A three-year plan for the development of rural and cottage industries throughout the State within a period of three

years and at a total cost of nearly a lakh and a half rupees, has now been launched.

Finally, to sum up, the Government's efforts towards accelerating the economic progress of the State fall into four broad divisions:

1. in the field of large-scale enterprise pioneering work done by the management of several major concerns, encouragement given to private enterprise by subscription to share capital, concessions in regard to certain working charges, etc., creation of an industrial outlook by favouring the joint-stock form of industrial enterprise which infuses enthusiasm into the small-scale capitalist for undertakings usually out of his reach;

2. in the field of medium scale industrial undertakings, by financial and technical assistance, supply of raw materials at concession rates, wherever available.

3. in the field of organised rural industries, by the holding of weaving and other demonstrations in addition to the Khadi Centres and Government Silk Farms;

4. in the field of minor occupations of the agriculturists, by the organisation of rural welfare centres, which, among other things, attend to the improvement of the handicrafts current in villages and to the introduction of new ones like the use of metallic presses, etc., to the countryside.

The industrial greatness of Mysore has been well and truly established and now at the time of war it has acquired a special significance. Progress is being accelerated to make the State as self-sufficient as possible. The Government Departments, ably manned by trained technicians, have achieved industrial successes which have wrung paeans of praise from competent observers. The work of the Dewan as the prime initiator of the successful industrial drive will take rank along with the achievements of India's industrial pioneers.

ELECTRICITY AND ITS OPERATIONS IN TRAVANCORE

By K. P. P. MENON

(ELECTRICAL ENGINEER TO GOVERNMENT)

The Trivandrum Electric Supply was inaugurated in Feb. 1929. Its beginnings were very modest. During the last 10 years of its operation, however, substantial progress has been made and the undertaking has expanded in all directions. The capital investment on the scheme till the end of the last financial year is about Rs. 10,58,920-2 7-3. The scheme has been paying 5 per cent. on its investment ever since it commenced operation. A substantial depreciation fund has also been built up in the meantime and the balance after adjusting interest and depreciation debits is credited to a reserve fund. The gross revenue during the last financial year was Rs. 2,55,241-0-2 and the total generation 13,21,327 units. The number of consumers at present is 2,377. The distribution covers 63 miles of L. T. overhead lines, besides 16 miles of H. T. underground cables. Power is supplied not only for domestic purposes, but also for various industries such as rubber factories, printing presses, workshops, flour mills, pumping installations, etc. The present tariff for the supply of power compares favourably with the tariffs in force in similar undertakings in South India.

QUILON ELECTRIC SUPPLY

This was inaugurated about 5 years ago and the last financial year represents the fifth year of operation. The capital expenditure on this undertaking till the end of the last financial year was Rs. 305,892-2 0-5. Substantial progress has been made in its operation during the last year when the generation reached 1,70,795 units resulting in a gross revenue

of Rs. 1,40,038-2 6-6. The scheme is expected to contribute towards the reserve fund about Rs. 9,000 after meeting interest and depreciation charges. The supply covers 42.75 miles of distribution mains and caters for about 763 consumers in the town. Most of the power is supplied for industrial purposes, the bulk of which is absorbed in the ilmenite mining industry. Quilon is an important industrial town and the industrial power requirements have not been met from this small thermal station to any appreciable extent. Arrangements are, therefore, in progress for the extension of the Pallivasal Project, with the inauguration of which the majority of the industrial consumers in Quilon are expected to change over to hydro-electric supply. This extension has already been effected.

TELEPHONE EXCHANGE

The capital expenditure on the Trivandrum telephone exchange at the end of the last financial year was Rs. 2,09,241-0-1. The gross revenue from the operation of the Exchange is about Rs. 30,000 last year. There are about 300 subscribers in the town and the utility of this scheme will be further augmented by the installation of the All-Travancore State Trunk System, the works in connection with which have been completed.

For purposes of accounting, all these three undertakings are treated as one. The total investment on these schemes up to the end of last year was Rs. 15½ lakhs. The depreciation fund that has accumulated till the end of the last financial year was Rs. 138 lakhs. It is expected that, as a result of the operation during the current year, the depreciation fund will reach Rs. 5.6 lakhs and the reserve fund Rs. 26 lakhs. All these schemes are paying 5 per cent. interest on their investment.

PALLIVASAL HYDRO-ELECTRIC PROJECT

The largest of the capital works relating to this Department is the P. H. E. Project, the construction of which

was begun about four years ago. This scheme has been inaugurated since the 19th March, 1940, and the supply has since been made available to the entire network covered by the existing system. The scheme contemplates the generation at an early date of 9,000 K. W. The ultimate capacity of the project can be increased to 22,500 K. W. later on by the installation of additional pipes, generating plant and a reservoir. The scheme as now worked out covers the distribution of power in the High Range for the tea industry extending to Alwaye for important consumers and then reaches as far as Alleppey and Quilon, where it will be available for various industries such as oil mills, tile factories, spinning and weaving mills, the ceramic factory, the ilmenite industry and the paper factory. Power will also be available for pumping purposes in the Kuttanad area, which extends over 40,000 acres. It will also be possible to utilise this power for lift irrigation in some of the important taluks where, owing to want of lift facilities, cultivation is now carried on only once a year.

The capital expenditure on this undertaking as estimated now, is Rs. 135 crores of which Rs. 1,21,18,679-11-5 has been spent till the end of the financial year. Arrangements have been made with a large number of prospective consumers who will ensure a demand of about 4,000 K. W. almost from the commencement of operation. This consumption will yield a revenue of Rs. 6½ lakhs per annum in the first year. It is expected that in the second year of operation the consumption will go up to 5,000 K. W. resulting in a return of Rs. 8 to Rs. 8½ lakhs. Within three years of the commencement of operation, the scheme is expected to yield a gross return of 10 per cent. on the outlay, which should be sufficient to meet the operation expenses, besides interest and depreciation. The total existing industrial load for which a market can be established in the area covered by the present scheme is over 12,000 H. P., and although conversion to electric power may take some time, it can be confidently expected that

the majority will readily take hydro-electric power as the tariffs that are proposed to be levied will be competitive with any other form of motive power. The scheme is expected to open its revenue account from the next financial year.

THE TRUNK TELEPHONE SCHEME

Government sanctioned an estimate of Rs. 8 lakhs for the provision of the Trunk Telephone System linking up all important centres of the State. This work has been completed and it has been linked with the Government of India trunk. The line since constructed has a service up to Peermade. The Trunk Telephone Scheme designed to meet the two-fold purpose of providing long-distance telephone communication to the general public and connecting the Pallivasal Hydro-Electric Station with all sub-stations was opened in April last. Wood from the forests of Travancore has been extensively utilised in the construction of the trunk lines, poles, cross arms, transportation and termination brackets. Wood has been largely used, without, however, sacrificing the standard required by the Government of India.

One of the remarkable achievements in the construction of the trunk lines was the laying of the 34 miles of underground cables across the High Ranges, the longest stretch of underground cables in India. Miles and miles of rock had to be blasted to excavate trenches, and 327 bridges and culverts had to be crossed. It is anticipated that within 2 years it will be possible to connect up a thousand subscribers, yielding a gross return of 12 per cent. on the investment, which should be sufficient to cover operation, interest and depreciation charges.

BROADCASTING SCHEME

An estimate of Rs. 3,24,500 has been sanctioned by Government for the installation of 5 K. W. station. Although the scheme is not productive in the ordinary sense, this is being undertaken with a view to providing facilities for education and

health propaganda, besides amusement in all the important towns and villages of the State.

The entire equipment required for the Transmitter Station and the Studio has since been ordered and it is understood that most of the equipment has been manufactured and is ready for shipment. It is expected that all these will reach the site in the course of the next four months. The station will be brought into operation during the next Malabar year.

THE ANDHRA SCIENTIFIC CO., Ltd.

By K. K. PRASAD

I

While it can legitimately boast of some front-rank men in the spheres of public life and journalism, education and eloquence, art and philosophy, the young 'province' of Andhra has produced no scientist of eminence. But there is to its lasting credit a wonderful scientific organisation of which the whole of India can be justly proud. The Andhra Scientific Co. which sprang from modest origins in the year 1927, is to-day one of the leading firms in its own line, and has, by its rapid growth and remarkable record, brought recognition to Andhra talent and enterprise.

This concern owes its advent and advance to the vision and selfless services of a single individual, Mr. A. Ramamurti, who, moved by an inner urge, had thrown up secure Government service in the Madras education department and flung himself into the self-imposed task of building up scientific industry on modern lines in Andhra. With an exasperatingly insufficient capital and amidst uncongenial surroundings, he struggled hard, fought pessimism and opposition, won by his genius for friendship the confidence of the public, and achieved by his perseverance, integrity and sleepless vigil over the fortunes of his handiwork, a measure of success that ensured its future. Like the great Acharya Ray whose work for the Bengal Chemical Works he recalls in his own humble way, Mr. Ramamurti has also, instead of keeping it as a personal concern, made it a limited company and thrown open its shares to the public. To-day, while it has an influential directorate, consisting of public-spirited men, the foremost of them being the well-known public worker and distinguished co-operator of Madras, the Hon. Mr. V. Ramadas Pantulu of the Council of State, the

Company has the unique advantage of the guidance and control of Mr. Ramamurti as its Managing Director.

II

The Andhra Scientific Company has a fully equipped workshop at Masulipatam where gas and water laboratory fittings, sterilizers, distilled water plants, precision balances and weights, electrical instruments, reagents and chemicals and various other kinds of apparatus and scientific instruments which have hitherto been imported from foreign countries, are now manufactured to meet Indian requirements. The manufactured products of this firm display a high standard of perfection and compare favourably with manufactured materials of superior make of any reputable foreign concern. These products have been receiving universal approval and appreciation all over India.

The Company has specialised in the equipment of works control laboratories of sugar, paper, cement, rubber, textile, chemical and pharmaceutical, mining and metallurgical and every other kind of industry. The firm is the chief supplier of chemical glassware, scientific instruments and several other requirements, to schools and hospitals and commercial and research institutions in British India and the Indian States as also in Ceylon and Burma. It is no small tribute to the efficiency of the organisation that various Universities in India which used to rely on foreign imports have of late turned in an increasing measure to the Andhra Scientific Company for liberal supplies of scientific instruments for daily use in the laboratories.

The Company holds large stocks of manufactured and imported goods, etc., ready for despatch to its customers in all parts of India including the States. Some of its exhibits have won the appreciation of students of scientific research and industry and revealed immense possibilities of future expansion in the field. From time to time scientists of note, prominent officials and non-officials including Ministers and leaders of

thought and public life, have visited the works and expressed high hopes of the Company's organisation and drive. The growing demands for its products has not found the Company lacking in initiative and enterprise. It has opened its branches, well-staffed and efficiently organised, in Vizagapatam, the seat of the Andhra University and a place of considerable geographical importance, and Madras, the metropolis of the South. And in the city of Masulipatam which is its headquarters, it has purchased a large site for constructing its own buildings to suit its elaborate requirements.

Everything augurs well for its future, and the hope is widely cherished that ere long when business recovers from the paralysing effects of the great war, the Andhra Scientific Co. will take its place among all the all-India institutions of scientific industry and bring ample reward to its high-souled sponsors and yet greater recognition to India as the land where science is essentially allied to the service—and not the slaughter—of mankind!

BENGAL CHEMICAL AND PHARMACEUTICAL WORKS, LTD.

By G. K. SINGH

In 1892, Dr. Sir P. C. Ray and two of his friends started a modest project with a capital of Rs. 700 in a small and dingy rented house at 91, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta. Their object was to manufacture cheap and efficacious medicines from indigenous materials by modern scientific methods. At first, they could please neither the empiric practitioner nor the allopathic physician. The promoters of the concern, however, persevered in their efforts. The efficacy of Indian drugs was established by eminent pharmacologists. The Works got encouragement and progress began.

In 1901, it was made a limited liability company with a registered capital of Rs. 50,000, which by stages was increased to 22 lakhs. Expansion of business necessitated the extension of the works. The Maniktala and Panihati factories stand on sites of 20 and 45 acres respectively. Another factory has recently been built at Cadell Road, Bombay.

A SELF-CONTAINED NATIONAL CONCERN

Though essentially of a Bengali origin, the Company is today a national concern. It is self-contained and self-supporting. The works are electrified for power and light and provided with steam boilers which run various plants. The company's own water works supplies 2,50,000 gallons a day. It has an up-to-date printing department, a saw-mill which turns out 400 packing-boxes a day, a fire brigade, and an engineering department which constructs and maintains all the buildings and machinery.

RESEARCH WORK AND STANDARDIZATION

Experts work incessantly in the Research Laboratory which is equipped with the most up-to-date apparatus. Their labours

have resulted in the production of several new items — Thiar-sin, an anti-syphilitic drug of very low toxicity, and Amibi-arson, an effective remedy for chronic amoebic dysentery. Aether Anaestheticus and chloroform have been manufactured for the first time in India.

Such raw materials only are used as are certified by the Analytical Laboratory to be up to the recognised standard. Before issue for sale, all the finished products are assayed biologically or chemically. Any product found below the standard is destroyed. Thus standardization is strictly maintained.

PRODUCTS

The principal lines of manufacture of the Company are chemicals, pharmaceutical preparations, biological products, surgical dressings, tar products, toilet preparations and scientific instruments.

Chemicals :—The Company has the latest types of sulphuric acid plants and nitric and hydrochloric acid stills. Most of the product is used in the manufacture of chemicals and the remainder is sold. The total daily outturn of chemicals is over 15 tons. Some of the important ones are aluminium sulphate, alum, nitrate of potash, sulphate of soda, ether and chloroform.

Pharmaceutical Preparations :—Preparations of the British Pharmacopoeia and of indigenous drugs and several medicinal specialities are made by modern methods by the pharmaceutical department which is fully equipped with drug-grinding mills, percolators, extractors, vacuum stills, concentrating pans, hydraulic presses, paste and homogenizing emulsion mills, etc.

Ephedrine hydrochloride and kurchi bismuthous iodide are manufactured on a large scale—the former from *ephedra vulgaris* collected from Kashmir Hills and the latter with the pure alkaloids extracted from kurchi bark.

Biological Products :—The Biological Laboratory has several sections. Therapeutic sera are prepared from the best breed of horses kept under the care of expert veterinary surgeons. The sera have been tested by the State Serum Institute of Copenhagen by Professor Madsen, President of the League of Nations, and found to possess the required international potency. Vaccines are made from cultures of virulent local strains, as stock vaccines prepared from local strains are far superior to those prepared abroad under alien climatic conditions. Ampoules of injectable drugs, such as the solution of quinine, emetine, etc., made by the Company are reputed for their reliability.

Surgical Dressings :—The Company has the biggest plant in the East and of the latest type. Gauzes and absorbent cotton wool, plain and medicated, dry and moist, towels, bandages and lints are prepared and sterilized in a super-sterilizer. Compressed dressings are a speciality. They are made by subjecting the finished cotton to enormous pressure. Large quantities are supplied to the Government Stores Purchase Department and the Indian Military Department.

Tar Products :—The Tar Distillery at Panihati yields creosote, anthracene oil, road tar and pitch. The first two are converted into disinfectants and wood preservatives. The waste matter is converted into naphthalene.

Toiletry and Cosmetics :—B. C. P. W. soaps, perfumes, face-powders, creams, dentifrices, hair oils, etc., are well known for their high quality and dainty get-up.

Tube Wells :—The Company undertake the installation of tube wells. The system adopted ensures the largest yield of water and the longest service. Numerous wells have been sunk for the Department of Public Health, Government of Bengal, Corporation of Calcutta, several district boards, etc.

Scientific Instruments :—The Company specialises in the manufacture of scientific instruments of all kinds, including the

most delicate apparatus required for mental psychology and analytical chemical balances of very high precision.

WELFARE WORK

The Company provides clean and comfortable quarters for their employees and schools and playgrounds for their children. Free medical aid has been made available by the appointment of resident medical officers. There are co-operative stores and credit societies and a Provident Fund to which the Company contributes largely. Provisions are also made for athletic clubs, sports, reading rooms and libraries. A special canteen is maintained for the lunch of the employees.

* * * * *

From the tiny acorn sown half a century ago to the giant oak of to-day, it is a marvellous growth. From a modest apothecaries' shop to the largest chemical manufacturing concern in the East, it is, indeed, a romantic progress. Above all, it is a standing monument to the scientific genius and intellectual capacity of Acharya Sir P. C. Ray.

DAYALBAGH AND ITS INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISE

By B. P. MATHUR

Founded in 1915 by His Holiness Sahabji Maharaj Sir Anand Sarup, Kt., the fifth revered Leader of the Radhasoami Faith, the colony of Dayalbagh has come to be regarded as a "place of pilgrimage" alike for the man of religion and the practical man of the world. Religion, education and industry, working together in harmony, combine to make the life of the residents of the colony happy and peaceful. In the words of Lord Hailey, the colony "affords to the world a shining example alike of spiritual and social progress."

Deeply sensitive to the chaos prevailing in the world and specially in India, Sir Sahabji Maharaj chose to throw off all time-worn traditions of religious leadership and decided to devote His time, energies and resources to the solution of the outstanding problems of the country both in the social and economic spheres. With a prophetic vision, all his own, he realised that the salvation of the country lay in freeing it from the economic bondage and that a broad-based industrial development was the foremost need. In well and truly laying the foundation of this colony, with but a paltry initial sum of Rs.5,000, he desired to give an entirely new orientation to educational and industrial activities and, consistent with the signs of the times, evolved a bold and refreshing scheme whereby no single individual or sets of individuals but the entire community took upon itself the task of owning and running on industries. It was further pledged to devote the profits for religious, educational and charitable purposes. More than fifty different institutions thus came to be founded one after another, to set an example, not only of the working of the co-operative spirit in industry but also of the principle of institutional co-operation as a social experiment.

The industrial activities of DAYALBAGH are manifold and various. The Model Industries which is the name by which all the manufacturing institutions here are called, comprise five principal sections—viz., the General Factory, the Textile Mills, the Leather Goods Factory, the Hosiery Mills and the Tanneries. The RADHASOAMI SATSANG SABHA, DAYALBAGH, (a Society registered under the Charitable Endowments Act, 1881), which owns these institutions, has spent about 30 lacs over its buildings and equipments and has unstintingly been devoting all its available funds to a further expansion of each unit year after year.

Besides the machine, smithy and moulding shops, the General Factory has several departments attached to it, viz., scientific instruments, jewellery, electroplating, outlery, toys, electric clocks, carpentry and fountain pen departments. It manufactured goods worth about two and a half lacs during the year 1939—40.

The Textile Mills have about 100 power and 24 hand looms and possess sizing and finishing machines and a small experimental wool-spinning plant. Similarly, the Leather Goods Factory is easily one of the best in respect of up-to-date machinery and skilful workmanship and employs a large number of daily wage earners living in the city and the neighbouring villages. Last year's outturn of these two factories amounted to about six lacs.

Another recent undertaking is the Hosiery Mills. This came into being only two years ago but has made phenomenal progress since then. For woollen, silk and cotton hosiery of all varieties it is remarkably well equipped and has acquired an enviable reputation for excellent garments of knitted fabrics which have found favour with the Indian Stores Department of the Government of India and of the Military Departments. Side by side with this is the newly started Ladies Hosiery Institute where women workers receive training in some different kinds of knitting crafts on "cottage

industry " basis. These two branches turned out goods worth two and a quarter lacs in the course of the last year.

The two Tanneries of the Sabha are flourishing concerns and at the moment are working at great pressure. The Bark Tannery is situated near the Taj Mahal and the Chrome Tannery is located at a distance of about a mile to the north of the residential part of the Colony. They produce all kinds of chrome and bark tanned leathers which are in great demand in our own leather factories as also in the town of Agra, which is a big centre of shoe industry. A good deal of chrome leather was exported to England and quantities of sole leather were supplied for use of the Defence Services. Last year's sales of the Tanneries aggregated to about five lacs.

The R. E. I. Dairy, described by some as "the best East of Suez" and possessing a complete pasteurising plant and a fine herd of cattle, is a splendid institution. Several famous pedigreed bulls, imported some time ago, have given us a progeny useful not only for their milching capacity but also for some interesting experiments in cattle breeding. "Cupid" butter and ghee, already famous for unsurpassable quality, are in great demand among all patrons of quality.

As a necessary complement to the industries and in order to ensure a sound technical training to the young men of all castes and creeds, the Technical College was founded fifteen years ago. It provides a four years' course in Mechanical and Electrical Engineering, a two years' course in Automobile Engineering and three years' course in leather goods manufacture. The spacious buildings of the College and the Hostel have cost the Sabha more than a lac of rupees. The workshops and the laboratories are very well equipped, specially after the recent handsome grant both by the Sabha and the Government, which have enabled the college to provide an additional workshop for mechanical work and to extend the automobile repair-shop, thereby raising its standard of practical training considerably high.

The Colony has its own electrical and water works installations and the Sabha has spent more than two lacs over these works. Thanks to the generous help received from the Government, DAYALBAGH was linked to the hydro-electric grid system in U. P. and an abundant supply of cheap electricity is thus available both for industrial and domestic purposes. The Colony has its own automatic telephone system and a petrol pump. The Dayalbagh Electric and Water Supply Department is in charge of these services.

Let us now turn our attention for a moment from the Industries located in Dayalbagh proper to those outside; for it should be remembered that the Sabha, under the guidance of its President, has, during the last two years, acquired a big and full-fledged Spinning and Weaving Mill in AMRITSAR and established an Ink Factory in Madras. The former has been named as the *Dayalbagh Spinning and Weaving Mills* and is being managed by a limited company known as *The Sir Sahabji Maharaj Mills, Limited*. This mill with about twenty thousand spindles and about 250 looms, has been manufacturing cloth and yarn on a large scale. The largest single unit of the Sabha's industries, it bids fair to grow into a flourishing concern specially after the installation of the new machinery recently ordered from abroad for its spinning section in place of the present somewhat obsolete one. Last year it employed more than fifteen hundred workers and produced goods worth more than ten and a half lacs.

As an outcome of the enthusiasm of the followers of Radha-Soami Faith in the South, another small beginning has recently been made in the Madras Presidency with the acquisition of an Ink Factory, formerly owned by the Government of Madras. Two of the Congress Ministers of Madras who had paid visits to Dayalbagh were so well impressed with the industrial scheme here that they persuaded their government to make a handsome free offer of a piece of land in AVADI, about fifteen miles from Madras, for building a colony there more or less of the same pattern as DAYALBAGH itself. Plans for a

vigorous development of the industrial scheme are under preparation and it is expected that a beginning will be made before the year is out. The Ink Factory has already successfully negotiated the first hurdles and has now started the manufacture of soaps, oils and toilet goods as additional items.

In passing, mention may be made of some of the minor, though by no means insignificant, industrial sections like the Electrical Branch (which manufactures exceedingly serviceable fans and other electrical appliances), the Research Laboratories (for soaps, oils, disinfectants and beauty products) the Construction Department (with its brick fields and lime kilns) and then of the important question as to how the manufactured goods are disposed of. From the first the authorities here have been averse to "booming" and "propaganda" as such. Believing in the good old Persian maxim,

عطر آنست که خود بپوید نه که عطار بگوید

the manufacturers have applied themselves to the task of placing in the market only the very best, both as regards quality and prices, in the hope that the excellence and durability of each article will carry with it its own advertisement and will not fail to push its own way in the market. In this matter they have, like Henry Ford, the American Motor Magnate, a firm faith in the good sense of the buying public and its ultimate power to discriminate between the real and the sham, the good and the dross. And their hopes have been realised in an abundant measure in as much as DAYALBAGH has today come to be regarded as a hallmark for fine, sturdy commodities throughout the length and breadth of the country. In fact, as a former commissioner of Agra Division and a great friend of Dayalbagh, once put it, 'Dayalbagh, therefore the best' has nearly become an accepted slogan.

Sir Sahabji Maharaj organised a number of impressive exhibitions of Dayalbagh goods in several important towns

like Allahabad, Delhi, Patna, Lahore, Ambala and Ajmere, which were opened by some of the most eminent personalities. Dayalbagh, with all that it stands for, became at once familiar to the public. This practice continues. A number of sales-depots have also sprung up, but above all the recent scheme of opening local stores as private limited companies in various places is as potent as it is unique. In the course of the last year about 75 such stores have been established at different places, big and small, in all parts of the country, and it is expected that the number will be considerably increased before the end of this year. Some idea of the momentum that the industries have gathered during the last two years can be formed from the fact that while the total output of all the industries in Dayalbagh till 1936 was only about five and a half lacs, that of the last year jumped up to about 31 lacs. Incidentally, it may be mentioned that in pursuance of the mandate of the Gracious Founder, a "five-year plan" has been made out with a view to accelerating the speed of production and bringing the total output of all the industries to a crore of rupees.

It may well be asked : what is the genesis and the real purpose of all this immense industrial programme? The answer to this can be furnished only by a careful study of the *modus operandi* that obtains here. It may, however, be said forthwith that the Sabha is not out for profiteering or sordid material gain as such. An essentially religious society that it is, spiritual culture naturally takes the first and the most prominent place in the scheme of things ; but, evidently in our work-a-day world of today, so full of grim realities, religion neither can, nor should, be the all-absorbing occupation of individuals, much less of societies. Hence the necessity of secular institutions to cater for the needs of men, women and children who flocked in Dayalbagh for the sake of living in close personal communion with the Master and in furtherance of their religious ideals.

The purpose underlying these activities, broadly speaking, is six-fold, viz.,

(1) to remove from the face of religion the stigma of passive indolence and beggary by placing before the Indians a successful example of self-help through the harmonisation of religion with secular activities by the members of an essentially religious society.

(2) to help to remove unemployment in these hard times ;

(3) to harness the resources of the community so as to enable the members to lead a life of "*better worldliness*."

(4) to remove the "inferiority complex" of the Indian young men and help them to lift up their head and come into line with some of the other industrially advanced people of countries like Japan and England ;

(5) to check the flow of young men from pursuing indiscriminately a purely literary course and to induce them to take up industrial and technical studies ; and

(6) to make it possible for some religious and charitable institutions of public utility to be brought into being from the profits that may accrue from the Industries.

In connection with the last-mentioned object it may be well to know that here in Dayalbagh there exist five first-rate educational institutions, doors of which are open alike to students of all castes and creeds, including a Boys' Intermediate Arts and Science College, and a Girls' Intermediate Arts and Science College, two well-equipped hospitals, an orphanage, a panchayat for affording relief to the distressed village people ; provision for grant of scholarships and similar facilities to the needy and deserving youngmen and several other similar institutions of public utility and of philanthropic nature.

It may well be held, therefore, that the fundamental basis of industry here is religious and charitable, so that unhampered and uninfluenced by the gruelling conflicts of capital and labour by the ignoble motives of greed and personal aggrandisement, the community may render selfless service and pursue a new and effective line of action in a truly patriotic spirit.

The Twentieth Century

MESSAGES

H. E. THE GOVERNOR OF U. P.

I am glad to know that the *Twentieth Century* is producing a War Number. As long as this great struggle goes on against "the foulest and most soul-destroying tyranny that has ever darkened and stained the pages of history", the Press have a great duty to perform. They must keep the public informed of all that happens of our reverses as well as of our victories. They must use their influence to prevent either panic or over-confidence; they must reiterate the necessity of all in India doing all they can to help in the war. The *Twentieth Century* is discharging this duty by producing a Special War Number which I hope will reach a large circle of readers in all parts of the United Provinces.

* * *

H. E. THE GOVERNOR OF BOMBAY

I have heard with interest of the publication of this Special War Number of the *Twentieth Century*.

It will, I am confident, serve a very useful purpose in presenting a reasoned case for India's whole hearted support to the British Empire in the war effort.

* * *

H. E. THE GOVERNOR OF ORISSA

I am greatly interested to hear that the *Twentieth Century* is publishing a Special War Number and sincerely hope that the publication will be successful in impressing on its readers the great necessity for Indians of all classes to unite in opposing Nazism which threatens anything that can be called Freedom in all parts of the world.

* * *

H. E. THE GOVERNOR OF C. P. AND BERAR

His Excellency the Governor of the Central Provinces and Berar warmly approves of the proposal of the *Twentieth Century* to bring out a Special War Number, at the close of the first year of the war, which will provide material to enable thoughtful people to study the various aspects of the titanic struggle which is now affecting the whole world in one way or another.

There is a wide spread demand for authoritative treatment of the thousand and one aspects of the war and the proposed Special Number should help towards meeting this demand.

* * * *

H. E. THE GOVERNOR OF THE PUNJAB

Indians of all classes and of all shades of opinion have shown that they are united in detestation of the Nazi regime and all that it stands for, and fully appreciate the significance of the present struggle for their own country; for India's own ideals are at stake. I am very glad therefore to learn that the *Twentieth Century* which has established itself as one of the leading political reviews in India, is bringing out a Special War Number. It will, I hope, assist Indian readers to realise with fuller understanding the implications of a war whose issue will have such a profound effect on the destinies of their own country.

* * * *

MR. ALEXANDER INGLIS

STAFF CORRESPONDENT, THE *Times* (London.)

This Special War Number of the *Twentieth Century* should help its readers to appraise the significance of the events which are now reshaping the world. Since war broke out the *Twentieth Century* has patently shown its deep concern that right should triumph over might, recognising that the war in Europe is not merely a clash between rival political systems but is an attempt to enslave the human spirit. The fate of Asia and the future of America will be influenced by the outcome of the struggle in Europe, and those who have faith in the free soaring of the spirit of man cannot afford to be tolerant to those forces which seek to suppress it. The hour calls for spiritual allegiance to those who are fighting for the freedom of humanity, and for material support to those gallant men who, by land, sea, and air, are ridding the world of an evil thing.

AT THIS HOUR

By RT. HON. SIR TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU, P. C.

It is now a year since the present devastating war began. Poland was the first victim of Hitler's fury and violence. The same fate had since overtaken Norway, Denmark, Belgium and France. Russia too has had its fair share of conquest in Finland and Bessarabia. It almost looks as if the independence which many of these countries enjoyed for centuries was a mere figure of speech. And so far as the destruction of freedom and democracy are concerned, though there may be differences of technique between Russia and Germany, there is not much to choose between the two.

No Indian who sets store by freedom and democracy can, on serious reflection, rejoice in the prospect of the success of either. We may have our grievances against England. We may blame England for having so far withheld from us the position and the power and the freedom of the self-governing units of the Commonwealth. But that, to my mind, cannot justify at this juncture an attitude of hostility to England or even an attitude of passive indifference. For, when all is said and done, the fact remains that England is the one country in the world which is battling against the forces of tyranny, violence and force. It is her peculiar privilege at this juncture to be the champion of democracy and freedom. Can we therefore on an occasion of this character withhold our support from England? The fact, however, is that taken as a whole, India has not withheld her support. On the contrary, neither in the matter of recruitment nor in the matter of money, or the supply of equipment to the extent to which she can, has the response of India as a whole been at all disappointing. Of course, there is room for greater help and more active support. It was, however, not to be expected that with the different political cries ringing

in our ears, with the passionate curses on British Imperialism which have been heaped on it for years past, all politicians would extend their moral or material support to her. It is possible for them to treat those who are rendering any help as self-seekers or as out of date Tories. But it is possible for the latter also to treat the former as persons consumed by their own eloquence, or ensalved by certain new-fangled western ideologies which have made Europe today what it is. We may, in our pride or in our prejudice against England, hold that we are ready to step into the void that may be created by the disappearance of England as a factor in the politics of India. But I imagine that our own conclusions in this respect will not be treated seriously by Berlin or Moscow or Rome or Tokyo.

It is also possible to argue that it is foolish to help England when England will lose or is going to lose the war. Is it certain that England has lost the war or is going to lose it? At any rate, the result of the air battles during the last three weeks does not show that England is, as imagined in certain quarters, a decadent or dying country. My own belief is that if England wins this war and we can also set our house in order, and if we do not take refuge behind the supposed machinations of others for our failure to compose our differences, England dare not refuse to us genuine freedom.

Whether, therefore, we approach the question from the point of view of democracy or freedom, or the point of view of the larger interests of India, we cannot, and ought not to, refuse help to England at this hour.

THIS WAR

By I. D.

The world has known the growth and disappearance of dynasties, the rise and fall of empires, vast conflicts and tremendous upheavals, devastation and death on a large scale, but there has been no precedent or parallel to Hitler's war in the annals of History.

It is recognised that it is the first of its kind—and let it be established that it will be the last, for there is a limit to human endurance.

Dictatorship is no new thing—it can be traced back to the days of the Romans. But the modern version of this ancient manifestation is of a class by itself: Hitlerism is the thrice-distilled essence of a deadly poison.

Let us look at the hurrying hours. It is now one full year since Hitler began his death-dance, and there has been no single year in the world's history when during a brief twelve-month so many landmarks of life and sign-posts of civilisation have been obliterated on so phenomenal a scale and with such savage ferocity.

Hitler's last territorial demand has invariably proved to be his present political design. Broken pledges and false assurances, threats veiled and unveiled, assaults unprovoked—not unpremeditated, wicked lies and vicious propaganda, fifth-column drives and lightning thrusts—all have been harnessed to the nefarious cause of Nazism with a thoroughness matched only by ingenuity.

Red Cross hospitals and ambulance cars have been smashed, merchant vessels sunk, places in the countryside blown up, women and children bombed, and atrocities of every kind committed to serve Hitler's purpose, as clearly outlined

in his *Mein Kampf*. It is out of that Pandora's box that have emerged all the evil spirits of the day for the destruction of mankind outside the Nazi domain.

Is it a free country that has to be administered a knock-out blow for the fulfilment of the Nazi ambition? Let it be done.

Is it a neutral country that has to be ravaged for the achievement of Nazi victory? Let it be done.

Such are the Hitler commands. Nazism knows no laws, recognizes no limits, respect no morals. It is the law of the jungle.

And this is precisely what has been witnessed. Poland was torn into tatters and rags. Norway, Denmark, and Belgium were overrun. France was deprived of freedom in whose cause she made history and led the nations of the world. To-day, the whole of the Europe lies bleeding under the iron heels of the Nazi marauder who has found an active ally in the Fascist bully. The Fuhrer and the Duce—what a sinister combination!

It is to free Europe from the grip of the two totalitarian thugs that Britain to-day is staking her all: it is to eliminate Hitlerism from earth that she is fighting alone the greatest battles since the dawn of history.

This is a war, not of one nation against another, but of one system against another, of reason against force, of democracy against dictatorship, of freedom against tyranny, of humanity against inhumanity, of light against darkness, of civilisation against savagery.

At this fateful hour—the darkest on record—what is India's answer? What is the duty of India—the land of immemorial civilisation and eternal values? Is it the time to rake up ancient wrongs or to bury the hatchet? Is it the time for raising difficult issues or for taking big decisions?

Let us but think of the man who, on finding his neighbour's house on fire and his own in imminent danger of being caught up in the flames, insists on settlement of differences as a condition precedent to fighting a common menace. Such an attitude reveals lack of alike wisdom and grace: it is a repudiation of the fundamental values of life which are the priceless heritage of India.

This war against Hitler is everybody's war: it is fought for the safety and gain of no single nation: it is fought ostensibly for the freedom of Europe, really for the redemption of mankind from the scourge of Hitlerism.

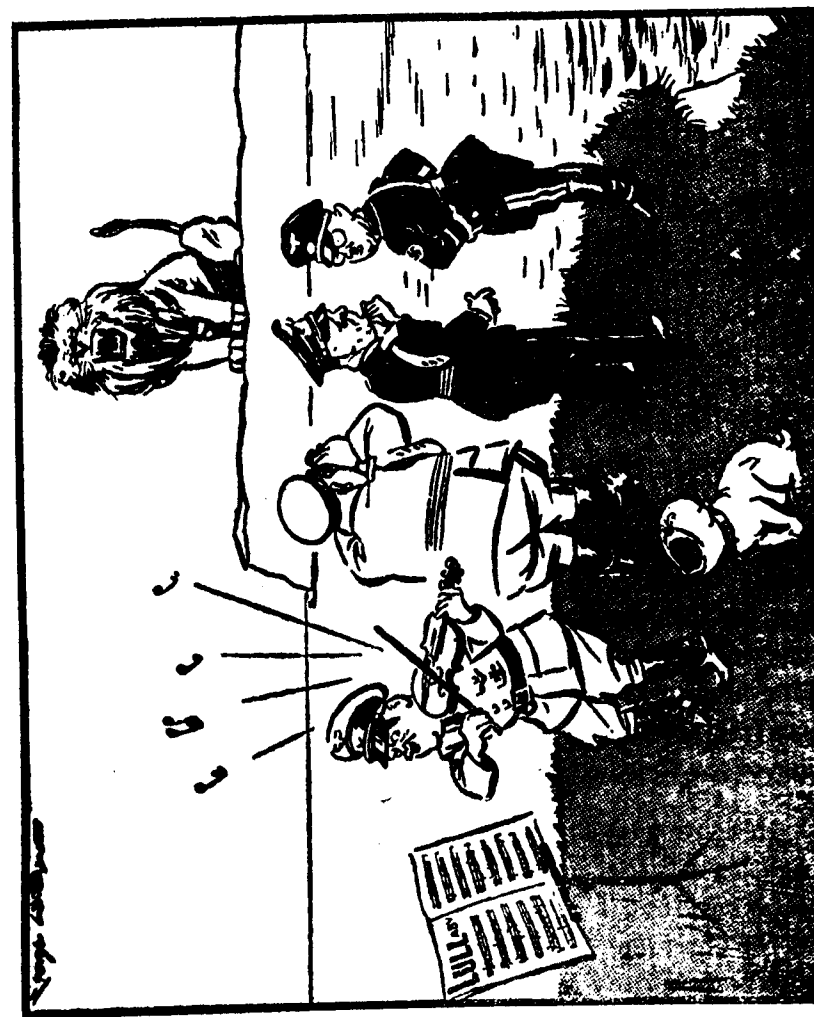
Breathes there a man outside the Nazi and Fascist domains, who is not thrilled, inspired and moved to the core of his being by Britain's heroic stand against Hitler and his hordes, by the austere notes of Halifax and the ringing words of Churchill and by the principles involved in the great cause? Let it not be said that while Britain is fighting—against tremendous odds and at terrible cost—humanity's battle, she is left alone and unfriended.

If Britain loses (which God forbid) the world loses, civilisation crumbles into dust, liberty becomes a far-off echo. If Britain wins (as she must) the spirit of man rises once again far above ashes and dust, and recreates the world on a new pattern which will be immune from the emergence and onslaughts of "blood-stained murderers".

The hour calls for a searching of hearts and the rallying of forces against the common enemy. India is united in her detestation of Nazism but not in her resolve to fight the menace. It would be an evil day when between the Hindus and Muslims (really between the Congress and the League) India is betrayed: it would be an evil day when, between Britain and India, the cause of humanity is betrayed.

God save us! And God save us from Hitler!

PAUSE IN HITLER'S PLANS



Not Sleeping Yet? (With acknowledgment to *The Daily Herald*).

THE ISSUE AT STAKE

By THE HON. PT PRAKASH NARAIN SAPRU

Lovers of liberty have had occasion to feel depressed at much that has happened in recent months. They have seen the success of aggression though perhaps only temporarily, in large parts of Europe. They have witnessed the collapse of a great military power like France. But this atmosphere of depression is gradually giving way to one of optimism as one witnesses the heroic stand that Britain is making under the inspiring leadership of Mr. Churchill. The basic articles of the Fascist creed are the inequality of races and the inequality of men. The Nazi-cum-Fascist states to-day are working for the establishment of an imperialism much worse than any that the world has ever known. The German Nazis and their satellites, the Italian Fascists, believe in the superiority of certain races. There is to be in their system no place for the weaker or the darker races of mankind. We are already witnessing in Europe the exploitation of the weak in its most ruthless form. No wonder therefore that the Asiatic races feel alarmed at the growth of totalitarian doctrines in some of the so-called advanced countries of the world.

In fighting against Nazi and Fascist aggression, England is fighting a battle, not only for the preservation of her own possessions, but for the preservation of those ideals which underlie Christian civilization. How then can an India yearning to be free, deny to her British friends, her moral sympathy in this struggle against the forces of Nazi aggression? How can we who aspire to be free in our own country deny to our friends of Poland, of Norway, of Denmark, of Belgium, of Holland and of France, sympathy in their struggle to preserve and maintain their independence? *If Fascism wins, all is lost.*

There is little doubt that upon the issue of the struggle in Europe will depend the fate of liberty for many generations in the world, the fate of all that democratic civilization has stood for and has meant for mankind. For isolationism in the modern world is not possible. Thanks to scientific developments, the world is shrinking in size and to-day men have to realise the solidarity of the human race. The triumph of Nazi ideals in Europe is bound to have serious and far-reaching repercussions upon Asiatic countries in the East. It is, therefore, pleasing to find that this danger is realised by all small nations and that Hitler and Mussolini find no support for their ideals in countries other than their own. It is unfortunate that the rightist government of Marshal Petain submitted to Germany, but it is difficult to believe that the liberty-loving French people who have made great sacrifices in the past for ideals of "liberty, equality and fraternity," will for long submit to the rule of Marshal Petain and M. Laval. There is room for confidence so far as the future is concerned, for democracy is relying in the war against Fascism, not only upon armies, navies and air forces, but also on what is vastly more important—its inherent moral superiority. As men who believe in the moral government of this universe, it is impossible for us to believe that Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy with their black record of oppression and crime can ever triumph.

THE FRENCH DEBACLE AND AFTER

By DR. K. R. SRINIVASA IYENGAR

I

Historians of the future will wrangle a good deal about the causes leading to the amazing collapse of France in June last. Bismarck and von Moltke took a much longer time in 1870 to compel France to sue for peace. Even after the bulk of the French army had been annihilated at Sedan, Gambetta's provisional government carried on the war for months till the last bitter moment of capitulation. We had every reason to hope that the terrible lesson of 1870 and of 1914-1918 had not been lost upon the French generals and statesmen, and that they had accordingly taken steps to rule out even the remotest feasibility of another invasion. We told ourselves hardly four months ago that France was, after all, the greatest military power in the world. Had she not one of the finest and best equipped armies at any time seen? Was not the French army, including the reserves, five million strong? It had its own highly efficient armament factories—notably the Schneider Creusot works. And there was, of course, the Maginot Line running all along France's eastern border north of Switzerland. France had, too, a navy that was very much the superior of Germany's or Italy's. And inferior in numbers as her Air Force was, it was reasonably expected that it would still give a good account of itself, especially when reinforced—as it was fast being reinforced—by the American Curtis Pursuit Planes. France with her magnificent army and Britain with her all-powerful Navy can stand four-square against aggression of whatever kind—this was our fervent hope in the early months of this year, a hope amounting almost to conviction.

And yet in the course of just a few days the armour of our faith was pierced and we read tragedy in Mr. Churchill's broadcast of May 19:

The Germans, by a remarkable combination of air bombing and heavily armoured tanks, have broken through the French defences north of the Maginot Line and strong columns of their armoured vehicles are ravaging open country which, for the first day or two, was without defenders. They have penetrated deeply and spread alarm and confusion in their track. Behind, there are now pouring infantry in lorries, and behind them large masses are moving forward.

How had this happened? How had the Germans bitten into and shattered the French defences? Huge noiseless gliders had arrived silently and taken possession of the bridges on the Meuse; overwhelmed by this surprise move, the French defenders could not demolish the bridges—and so the German columns poured into Northern France without let or hindrance. Further, amphibious tanks elsewhere swam across the Meuse, and the tank and the aeroplane rushed at the astonished defenders in a lightning series of tornados. The defence was broken. Northern France came under Hitler's sway.

M. Reynaud, France's great war-time Premier, quickly realized that "incredible mistakes" had been committed, and formed a new government. General Gamelin and a number of other army leaders were dismissed, and direction of command was entrusted to General Weygand behind whom loomed the venerable figure of the eighty-four-year-old Marshal Petain, the new Vice-Premier. Petain and Weygand are great soldiers, but an almost impossible task faced them. Hitler was in no mood to let the grass grow under his feet. He was pressing home the advantages he had gained with utter ruthlessness. The rank and file of the French army was confused beyond measure. And the refugees, fleeing helter-skelter before the Nazi blitzkrieg, lined most roads in pitiable disorder, seriously disturbing Weygand's plans for a drastic realignment of the allied armies.

Let us assume that, given an almost impossible situation, Weygand did his job well. But Petain's choice as Vice-Premier

had not been happy. This "hero of Verdun" was unfortunately afflicted with a streak of pessimism. We may dismiss statements that are now-a-days being made that Petain had always been anti-British. But this much is true: during the crucial years of 1917 and 1918 Petain's statements at the meetings of the Council of War were always a bit cold, with ever something of an over-emphasis on the dark side of things. Captain Liddell Hart aptly refers to Petain's "depressingly honest way"—a reinsurance in times of peace, but a potent source of danger at a time when resolution and faith are the essential requirements of a leader. In this respect Marshal Foch was an acute contrast to Petain. In March, 1918 the Germans were almost within sight of victory. Any cold calculation of the odds might have merely shown—as it did to Petain—that the position was hopeless and retreat was inevitable. But Foch simply announced: "to withdraw a foot will be an act of treason." He had faith in the justice of the cause for which the allied armies were fighting and he had faith that the war can be put through. To quote Liddell Hart:

He emanated authority, if he did not exercise it. Above all he radiated the suggestion of success in the crisis of war men are apt to become children even if they do not become nervous invalids. And the further they are behind the front, the greater is their predisposition to this condition. Foch became during the war what Cane became after it . . . his real suggestion was a subconscious exercise of faith. His will rested on his faith.

Petain could never radiate such a suggestion of invincibility. As he and Weygand saw the hourly progress achieved by the Germans during the "Battle of France", they saw crumbling before their very eyes the security that had been achieved at such tremendous cost in 1918. The spirit of Foch was extinct in them; and President Lebrun was no second Poincaré. It was the enemy now who was riding on a triumphant wave. Chaos was let loose in the country and the magnificent French army fighting on a 120 mile front was fast being broken into bits. And Mussolini's stab in the back accelerated the

disintegration. The will to victory gave place to the acceptance of defeat even before the event. Paris was surrendered; Reynaud was thrown out; France, and her Empire, declared themselves beaten.

II

Hitler had indeed won the "Battle of France." Blitzkrieg against France had proved as successful as against Poland; terrorism and propaganda had helped him to demoralize the national will as decisively as in Norway or Holland. Italy's unholy intervention when France was in sore straits was the last straw. "The old men of Vichy" sued for peace.

Hitler's armistice terms, severe as they were, were not severe enough. This too was a part of his technique for world domination. The prescription runs thus in *Mein Kampf*:

A clever conqueror will always, if possible, impose his demands on the conquered by instalments. For a people that makes a voluntary surrender saps its own character, and with such a people you can calculate that none of these oppressions in detail will supply quite enough reason for it to resort once more to arms. The more such extortions are suffered without resistance, the more unjustifiable it comes to seem to people to make any ultimate stand against pressures; which appear each to be new and isolated, though in fact there is a perpetual recurrence of them.

The French fleet was merely to be brought back to French ports and immobilized; and chaste Hitler "promised" that the fleet would not—oh no—be used against France's former ally. Vast portions of France would, no doubt—what a regrettable necessity!—be occupied by the German forces; but the work of civil administration would be facilitated in every possible way. What could be fairer than all that? Petain might have thought that once the bitter pill of the Armistice terms had been swallowed, all would be easy. He must now have fully realized the extent of his gross miscalculations. In vain he has imposed these lacerating humiliations of France; in vain he has Nazified the French administration; in vain he has pushed relations with Britain past the breaking point. Hitler is remorseless. He is Germanising

Alsace and Lorraine with a view to their eventual annexation in the Reich; he is stirring up discontent in Brittany and attempting to detach it from France; he is controlling the Bank of France, and in fact every detail of the administration of the country; he is goading the Vichy Government to indulge in the mad pastime of scapegoat-hunting; he is, in short, straining every malicious nerve of his to see France politically, economically and spiritually ruined beyond repair. But he will not succeed. General de Gaulle and his brave legions in Britain, with the crest of the Maid of Orleans, will yet carry on the fight till freedom is won. And all lovers of France and her great civilization will echo the stirring words of Britain's indomitable Premier:

Faith is given to us as a help and comfort when we stand in awe before the unfurling scroll of human destiny, and I proclaim my faith that some of us will live to see a 14th July when a liberated France will once again rejoice in her greatness and in her glory, and once again stand forward as a champion of freedom and the rights of man.

III

Several weeks have now elapsed since France was delivered into bondage by her panicky leaders, thanks to the enemy's ferocious drive, fifth columnist trickery and "the lies of his accomplices." Hitler frets and fumes and is enraged beyond measure because the war is by no means over yet. When the news of France's capitulation came over the wireless in those tense June evenings, one was half stunned by the blow and one wondered despairingly "what next?" Would Great Britain now sue for peace as well—an unthinkable thought, but unaccountable things were happening, and who knows.....? Presently the position clarified itself. Mr. Churchill's vibrant tones made Britons a new people and the suggestion of the invincibility of Britain and the Empire was transmitted to every lover of freedom and every convinced opponent of the Nazi creed. But a vast interrogation still hung about the fate of the French navy and it gave people moments of unquiet suspense. Once again the Churchill Government acted before

talking and Britain's naval preponderance was established more firmly than ever before. There was a sigh of relief and there were more open expressions of confidence in the final victory.

Even so there are not wanting people—a good many of them—who are visibly anxious and afraid, who wonder with a shudder if Hitler is superhuman—so dazzling have been his successes! All vampires seeking the domination of men's souls and the souls of nations enjoy this dubious reputation—till they are beaten at last and put on the ignoble shelf of a St. Helena or Doorn, a hunting ground for future researchers and historical biographers. Hitler's successes, astonishing as they are, are not miraculous. He is brave beyond words, and he has a natural propensity for taking the offensive; but *L'attaque* did not achieve all; craft had its part, too, and cunning, and sheer treachery. Great Britain, however, will not be an easy prey to either Hitler's might or to Hitler's cunning. To quote from Mr. Churchill's memorable broadcast the other day:

Hitler has not yet been withstood by a great nation with a will-power equal to that of his own. Many of these countries have been poisoned by intrigue before they were struck down by violence. They have been rotten within before they were smitten without. How else can you explain what has happened to France, to the French Army, to the French people, to the leaders of the French people? But here in our land we are in good health and in good heart.

Let us examine a little more minutely the part played by Britain so far in the actual conduct of the war. In the first place, in every important engagement the Royal Air Force, despite its numerical inferiority, has demonstrated its effectual superiority over the enemy's air force. In the Battle of Flanders alone, the R. A. F. destroyed over 2000 enemy aircraft, the British losses being scarcely a fourth of the number. In recent engagements over the British Channel, the Thames Estuary and the southern coast, several hundreds of German aircraft engaged much smaller numbers of British fighters; but the enemy lost sixty or over aeroplanes every

time while British losses were between a third and fourth of this number. This air blitzkrieg is now being carried on with considerable ferocity, but Britain stands undismayed and the heavy toll claimed by the Spitfires and Hurricanes of the R. A. F. is giving anxious moments to Hitler and Goering. Meanwhile, during the last three months alone, the bomber squadrons of the R. A. F. have raided Germany and German-occupied territory over one thousand times, causing perceptible damage to aerodromes, harbours, oil storages, communications, industrial plants, naval dockyards, troop and barge concentrations, textile and munitions factories, thus dislocating whatever plans Germany might have made for an "invasion" of Britain and also seriously disturbing the morale of the civilian population of the raided districts. Further, the monthly rate of production of aircraft in Britain now actually exceeds that of Germany and the assurance of America's help makes actual aerial supremacy a matter of only a few months. As Mr. Duff Cooper remarked recently :

Day and night our pilots go out seeking battle, and it is their almost invariable experience that when they sight the enemy, the enemy flies before them. Every battle brings the numbers of our fighters and bombers nearer to theirs, and brings nearer the day when we shall have established that unquestionable superiority in the air which we already exercise over all the seas of the world.

Air power has made modern warfare a thing of extreme and dangerous flexibility. In Mr. Colston Shepherd's words, "Here are the ingredients of the mediæval tournament brought up-to-date, lifted off the ground into the air, and multiplied in speed about ten times." That Britain, and the Empire, are fully conscious of the importance of air power and are making strenuous efforts to achieve overwhelming mastery in the air are a happy augury of the ultimate and decisive success of British arms.

In the second place, it is hardly necessary to reiterate that the Royal Navy effectively rules the seven seas. The British Admiralty overcame the U-boat menace and the more

recent menace of the magnetic mine. The engagements at Narvik, at Oran, in the Mediterranean, off the South American shore—these have repeatedly demonstrated Britain's traditional supremacy at sea. The evacuation at Dunkirk, in which 1000 vessels large and small took part under the dangerous immediacy and full rigour of the all-round German attack, has rightly been applauded; and the Navy's part in it, no less than the R. A. F.'s, is entitled to all credit. Furthermore, the Royal Navy makes it possible for Britain, even in these dark days when "invasion" lurks in the air like a hideous spectre, to have a total overseas trade of £13 crores in June alone. Similarly, notwithstanding Italy's entry into the war and the vaunted destructive power of her submarines, actually a larger number of ships enter and leave Indian ports than in the months before the war. All talk of blockading Britain and the Empire is futile propaganda; on the contrary, the enemy is already reeling under the increasing stringency of the British contraband control. After a very full discussion of Germany's material resources, Mr. Geoffrey Crowther, editor of *Economist*, declares that "Germany will be extremely short of almost all essential materials after the stocks with which she started the war have been exhausted." Enemy shipping was long ago swept off the seas by Britain's naval power. In normal times Germany imported 53% of her needs and exported 43% of her articles and raw materials by sea; all that is now completely cut off by the long arm of the Royal Navy. Germany's High Seas Shipping of four million tons is bottled up in home or neutral ports. And of her "navy", no more than a couple of heavy ships remain. Italy, no doubt, has a navy; but it is "prudently" keeping out of the way, and its renown for speed has only enabled it to turn tail before the British squadron and reach its home ports in time.

In the third place, the home defences of Great Britain are keyed up to the highest pitch of efficiency. The huge army of one million men, the French, Polish and Norwegian

foreign legions, the auxiliary Home Guards, the balloon barrages, the anti-aircraft guns and searchlights will beat back the enemy or destroy him in whichever shape he might choose to "invade" Britain. The tiny island has now become the last bastion of freedom, but a bastion that will endure and will ensure the cause of world freedom in life, speech and thought. In Mr. Churchill Britain has found her Man of Destiny as the Allies had found in Foch theirs in the grim days of 1918. Mr. Churchill has now become the symbol and the standard-bearer of recovery, of the fact of victory that looms surely, though as yet distantly, in the horizon. But it is a fact, not deluding fancy.

IV

The effective defence of Britain, the tightening of the blockade, the organization of the war effort of Britain and the Empire—these are no doubt enheartening; but are they in themselves sufficient to bring victory? Marshal Foch once remarked:

War is in itself only a matter of maintaining harmonious proportion between the spiritual and material elements. Fundamentally that is so. If no such proportion is attained, however excellent an army may be, it can do nothing against its adversary.

Britain's material resources are unlimited and the peak of the Empire's war effort has not yet been reached. Britain has mobilized the spiritual resources of all those parts of the civilized world that have not yet withered under the blight of the Nazi gospel of hate. There is not a sensible man in India to-day but shudders at the bare possibility of Hitlerism triumphant over its last obstacle. America is more and more articulately behind Britain. The corpses of tens of thousands of innocents and the lost souls of several democracies cry aloud for redress and look to Britain to achieve it. Not vainly therefore has Mr. Churchill affirmed: "We are fighting by ourselves alone, but we are not fighting for ourselves alone." It is not rhetoric but the memorable corroboration of the intuition that urges millions all over the world to their bit

so that "the dark curse of Hitler" may be lifted from our age.

Man-power and material resources; yes; spiritual resources, yes; the mental element is not lacking either. The available trained intelligence of Great Britain and the Empire, without distinction of party or class or race affiliations, is being voluntarily pooled together to daunt Hitler and then defeat him. He has already been checkmated at almost the very threshold of success. He had planned to secure the French navy under the terms of the Armistice and mass it along with units of his own and Mussolini's navies at Brest on the northern coast of France; this Armada was to have been used to escort the Nazi legions across the Channel. Even supposing such an Armada had been assembled, it all might have only led up to another Trafalgar; but Britain did not allow the nefarious plan to mature. The French fleet either sunk or immobilized, the Italian fleet bottled up in the home ports, Hitler's grandiose plans for a combined air, sea and land attack on Britain completely miscarried. The Nazi press was furious, and Hitler started his uncouth peace offensive which, in its turn, merely evoked the unalloyed derision of the civilized world. Air attacks, therefore, continue and some damage is being done; but Hitler knows that Britain is not beaten—and perhaps realizes that it will not be.

The defensive war will go on for months—and for years; Mr. Churchill hopes that in 1942 the war will "take a different form from the defensive in which it has hitherto been bound." The offensive element in the meantime will be the persistent hammering of the German industry and the German war machine by the bombing squadrons of the R. A. F. The blockade and the rising surge of discontent and squalor and starvation in Nazi territory should multiply Hitler's problems and difficulties. The turn of a vigorous offensive will come at last and with it the long-desired destruction of Hitlerism. The months that lie ahead with demand from freedom-loving

people every sacrifice and every trial of which they are capable. The paramount concern of the moment is not whether we shall gain our freedom but whether we shall be able to re-establish a condition of international normalcy in which freedom may be not only gained but also enjoyed by one and all. Out of the anvil of all this suffering a new people—in India no less than elsewhere—and a new world, and India as an integral part of the world—may be forged, they will and surely must be forged. Such a faith in the future destiny of the human race may be sorely tried at the present moment, and yet such faith alone can sustain us and push us inexorably towards our cherished goal. In the eloquent words of Rabindranath Tagore :

* In an era of mounting anguish and vanishing worth, when disaster is fast overtaking countries and continents, it may sound merely poetic to speak of any emerging principle of world-wide relationship. But we must renew our faith in the perennial growth of civilization towards an ultimate purpose.

Aug. 14.

INDIA AND THE WAR—I

By GEORGE S. ARUNDALE

Why should India throw herself wholeheartedly into the war ?

BECAUSE the war is in fact a world war to decide whether force or freedom shall rule the world, and India must be wholehearted for freedom.

BECAUSE if she does not throw herself wholeheartedly into the war the danger of defeat is greater, with all its attendant consequences.

BECAUSE if she does not throw herself wholeheartedly into the war, and defeat results, she will lose even the freedom she already has, and will be overrun by the barbarians from the west, as also possibly by other barbarians from elsewhere, with the result of desolation to her homes, dishonour to her women, and misery to her people.

BECAUSE Britain is now the surviving bulwark against all these horrors, and India's honour is involved in helping Britain to fight battles which are India's battles and the world's, no less than they are Britain's battles. India must not be saddled with the shame of remaining safe and scatheless while another country faces dangers which are her dangers also.

BECAUSE this is a fighting period in the history of the world, and India must seize her opportunity to show to the world that she can fight when the time comes for fighting.

BECAUSE India's honour can only be expressed, at the present moment, in fighting for the Right, without demanding a price for the fighting. If she demands a price, she is selling her honour.

INDIA AND THE WAR—II

By C. N. ZUTSHI

War has been rightly styled the scourge of mankind. The wars of the past, however brutal in their character, were not without their notable elements of manly virtues like bravery and chivalry—the two potent amulets of primitive warfare—because adhesion to the rules of warfare, however rough or crude, was an abiding faith with the combatants. But the wars of the present times, in spite of so many international agreements, are only a diabolical trick engineered by the military science and therefore more brutal in their character and more devastating in their scope and more far-reaching in consequence. This is because science, which was meant to heal the wounds of humanity, has lost all human values, and has been employed in making shambles of peaceful human abodes by making available for man various engines of destruction and weapons of warfare. In the present European War we find that brutality in its ghastly form not only stalks the battle-fields but has ravaged the cloister and the hearth in towns that have fallen a prey to German vandalism. We find in its wake the paralysis of industry, the dislocation of trade, the impoverishment of society and untold havoc of all kinds.

The present European war in which England has taken part solely in the interests of honour and friendly duty is the first of its kind. England, in spite of the sacrifices which the war will, as a matter of course entail, has thrown herself into the heat of the conflict, as the champion of peace and liberty, and not at all actuated by any selfish motives of aggrandisement: she could not afford to prove false to Poland and see her wrecked and ruined, standing neutral as Germany would wish. To quote the words of His Majesty the King-Emperor from his

message to India, read out by the Viceroy in a joint session to the two Houses of the Central Legislature at Simla on September 11, 1939 :

England is fighting for no selfish ends but for the maintenance of a principle vital to the future of mankind—the principle that the relation between civilized states must be regulated, not by force, but by reason and law, so that men may live free from the terror of war, to pursue the happiness and the well-being which should be the destiny of mankind.

Now the war is going on and will go on until the cause of justice triumphs over the brute force to bring back the world on the old paths of constructive work of peace. What is the duty of India whose lot is cast with England and whose weal or woe is inseparably linked with that of England? What Tennyson said of man and woman—

The woman's cause is man's, they rise or sink
Together dwarfed or god-like, bond or free.

is true of England and India. The rise of England means the rise of India. Who dies if England lives? Mr. William Watson gauging the spirit of Australia once said :

Not alone shall we lie cloven
If he scale our iron wall
With our fate in ours in-woven
And as one we stand or fall.

This must be the spirit of the whole Empire in general, and of India in particular, before the war is over.

As Rudyard Kipling sang :

For all we have and are
For all our children's fate
Stand up and meet the war
The Hun is at the gate.

And let India by her unstinted support prove the truth of the poet's words that

East and West without a breath
Mixt their dim lights like life and death
To broaden into a boundless day.

An objective study of history should encourage India to stand by England in the present crisis. Another consideration

for India's taking part in the present war is in view of the Russian menace.

The possibility of a Russian attack of India finds its weight from the fact that the frontiers of India are within the bombing range of some of the Russian outposts. Russia has a large aerodrome at Tashkent which brings her within an aerial striking distance of less than four hours. Recently another Russian aerodrome has sprung up within twelve miles of Chitral which renders the aerial striking possible in than two hours. British and Russian sentries face each other at Gilgit. This is the real danger to India which must be guarded against before it is too late.

Now what should be the duty of India in such an eventuality? That is the question of questions which every patriotic Indian, irrespective of the political party he belongs to, should answer. Nazism or Bolshivism or any other 'ism' may prove far worse than Imperialism. And India cannot but choose the lesser of the evils.

Apart from other considerations, mere interests of self-preservation make India's duty quite clear: all sects and creeds, sinking their petty differences and eschewing jealousies, should stand united to resist Russian aggression, if any.

When in the fable a man and a wolf could lie down together beset with common danger—the one forgetting his instinctive fear and the other his man-eating tendencies—can we not, gifted with brains that can reason and resolve, stand united during the present crisis? The Muslim League should not insist on its Bombay resolution for discountenancing the War Committees, nor should the Congress be adamant in its demand for immediate complete independence. Rather both these organisations should read the signs of the times and not fail to understand the sombre picture which the swiftly "moving finger" is writing on the canvas of times. It is now high time that all of us should

unite and throw in every ounce of our energy to turn the scales in Britain's favour. The Congress should return to office to form a National Government so as to be able to put the best efforts of the best brains in the service of the country in this hour of supreme trial. The statement recently issued by Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan on the need for an understanding between the Congress and the League, is one of the most candid, convincing, cogent pleas in recent times. He says:

This is a crucial moment and if we miss the bus this time it will be most unfortunate for the country. I still hope that the two important political organizations will come to an understanding with the Viceroy for some kind of interim arrangement both at the Centre and in the Provinces for the duration of the war, pending a settlement of other issues. Every one of us cannot but feel strongly that communal and even constitutional problems, comparatively speaking, pale into insignificance in the face of the present urgent necessity to unite the country in order to ensure its own safety and integrity and also help the only democracy left in the field which is fighting against heavy odds and which, judging from the spirit of the British people and their leaders, will, I am sanguine, come out on top.

The resolution passed by the Congress Working Committee at its last meeting here at Delhi after the conclusion of its five-day session, breaks no new ground, and is, to say the least, characteristic of "grasp all or lose all". It fails to realize the grim realities of the present and the grave possibilities of the future. Surely much is gained and nothing is lost sometimes by making a virtue of a necessity.

To strengthen further the hands of the Government and as a practical measure of co-operation for security against external aggression, the Hindus, the Muslims and the Sikhs should form provincial militias of their own all over India. These militias, whilst saving the Government the cost of maintenance and equipment, will not only be a power behind the throne, but also stand by it, in times of grave peril to the country, for maintaining internal peace and fighting and driving back a foreign invader.

Finally if the educated Indians cannot serve the cause of justice by actually taking part in the fray, they must

leave no stone unturned to lend their moral support to England in all possible ways.

Now when the olive has become too sapless to shoot a branch and the dove though winged lies prostrate, may the sun of England's success shine over the lands and seas, bringing peace and goodwill again to the world !

THE WAR AND SOME PROBLEMS OF INDIAN ECONOMY

By P. S. NARAYAN PRASAD

Sometimes, it is said, that a serious illness has the effect of ridding the body of an army of minor ailments. The present war, a more serious illness than which it is difficult to imagine, seems to produce on the body economic a similar consequence. It is pointed out by many that the only silver lining to this hideous cloud, at least so far as we in this country are concerned, is the prospect of obtaining, a greater rationalisation of the economic structure, sometimes vulgarly described as self-sufficiency. It is proposed to present in the following paragraphs a brief survey in general terms, of the reactions of the various aspects of our economy to the impact of the war.

The first apparently serious problem that trailed up in the wake of the war was the problem of rising price levels—particularly the retail prices. The businessmen who would not be worth the name, if they did not exploit every opportunity of making a gain, waxed jubilant over the prospect of picking up a little fat from the carrion of the war and sent up the prices sky-rocketing. Thanks, however, to the resounding protests raised by the public throughout the country, but more so to the prompt declaration of their intention by the governments of the Provinces and the Centre to control prices, should necessity arise, a prompt check on the rise in prices had been imposed. But in the last analysis there was also the fact that the rise in prices proved to be largely speculative and devoid of that necessary foundation of a rise in demand in an expected degree. There was no doubt, some sort of a spurt in the demand for materials from this country, but if against this were set the other facts like the depression in prices still prevailing at that time in certain lines of trade, the fall in demand from enemy countries subject to blockade and the exchange and other

restrictions, it will be clear as to why the rise in price levels did not reach the speculative levels. No control, therefore, beyond an unequivocal declaration of intention to control prices in conformity with normal level was felt to be necessary to put down the speculative excitement, though, in order to be firm enough, this declaration of policy had to assume the ostentatious form of a couple of price-control conferences that rightly concluded that there was no need to control prices, at any rate just then. It is true that the rise in the prices of some of the imported goods, especially those that used to come from the enemy country has caused inconvenience, but here the nature of the problem alters. It is not altogether an unmixed evil in that it affords an indirect protection to Indian industry, and except in the case of a few the restraint due to this cause falls largely on what may be called the luxury trades or what may be regarded as comforts and may not therefore be regarded as difficult at all.

It is, however, true that though the price levels have not risen so as to constitute a problem, there has been actually a certain inevitable rise leading to a rise in the cost of living, as proved by various representative indices compiled in this country and verified under expert auspices as in the case of the Mahalanobis Committee appointed by the Government of the Central Provinces. This has given rise to industrial disputes in nearly all the centres of industry in regard to wage adjustments. Of course, apart from any actual rise in the cost of living the belief that there is a profit inflation itself provided an adequate incentive to the workers to demand a share in the spoils. And true to their instincts again, the business bosses were far from willing to part with their loot. But the fear of opinion, the spectre of strikes and the betrayal of a mildly pungent interest by governments have helped settlements generally. There are very few places where disputes of any considerable magnitude are still outstanding, except in Nagpur where labour trouble seems to have become almost chronic. Wages have nearly

everywhere changed favourably, though it is difficult to judge without close scrutiny, whether the rise has its counterpart in real wages. Anyhow even the nominal wage rise is a good enough bunch of the proverbial carrots that put the mill-hands back to their carts!

It is really in the sphere of production and trade that the war has raised problems of considerable magnitude demanding foresight and ingenuity in tackling them. Industrial production has received a good fillip and even the ever-reluctant British policy has been compelled to undergo a sea change in its attitude towards India's industrial development. It was with considerable amount of surprise that one believed one's eyes when they glanced through articles in the Anglo-Indian papers that have almost overnight become sturdy champions of India's industrial advance! With an increasing realisation of the necessity of India becoming a possible centre of empire defence British policy is goaded willy-nilly not only to permit unhampered, the country's industrial advance even along directions supposed to be the special preserves of British business, but actually to plan and execute their advancement. The vast extensions to the armament factories and the projected plans for a shipbuilding industry at Vizagapatam are possibly an earnest of yet more to come. Even private enterprise is being encouraged to undertake industrial advance along lines that would have been treated not long ago as something deserving of no interest. The undertakings for establishing a first rate aviation industry in Mysore, and the hastening up of the motor industry development in Bombay are instances in point. Similarly the war demand has contributed to a good deal of peace in what of late have become the problem industries of India like jute, cloth, chemicals and a host of the smaller in-patients all over the country. These industries have found their cheeks filling and their girths expanding in so desirable a way that this seems even to have led to an easy going optimism that is prompting people to think that India is

advancing industrially so fast that hereafter it may become a country exporting, not raw-materials, but manufactured goods. In fact, all sorts of optimistic things are being said about this industrial advance. Perhaps optimism of this variety needs to be taken in with a due grain of salt. We have to ask ourselves now and here as to what is going to be the reaction on the health of these industries once the stimulation due to the whisky of war demand is removed. Of course, in the bustle and hurry of war there is no time to worry about the dead yesterday and the unborn to-morrow, but the least that we can certainly do now is not to take a too optimistic view of the dawn that is going to come but think as far as possible about the nasty things that are bound to follow, if industries grow and grow anyhow. Misdirected and lopsided development may prove to be at least as much of a nuisance as the want of development. There is the example for us of the sugar industry which in spite of even this war demand is finding itself in the melting pot. We have no doubt been told that Britain having refused to buy her requirements in sugar from this country has added to the bitterness of the sugar problem, but to be reasonable, we shall have to seek for the explanation nearer home. It is quite possible we might easily repeat the blunder committed in this case in regard to a number of other industries. Thoughtless development of industry is a benefit we may be purchasing at too great a cost. If ever planning has some relevance, it has that relevance at the present time, when the country's industry is undergrowing a rapid development. It is to be hoped that in this matter the Industrial Research Advisory Board and the department of the Economic Advisor will be able to act as one, though it would obviously be too much to expect a few individual officers to do the whole planning for the country. It is also a pity that just at this time the Congress should have gone out. The various findings of the Planning Committees would have found a very favourable atmosphere for their execution in the present conditions of stimulated demand.

On the side of agricultural production the benefit has presented itself chiefly in the lifting of the depression in prices that has been overhanging this industry for well over a decade. The revival in agricultural prices has been tardy owing to several factors outside our control. The gradual shift in demand from various European markets, the growing development of self-sufficiency schemes, the rise in competition from the new world, the abnormal costs of cultivation at home compared with conditions outside and a single-eyed currency policy which screwed up everything to the sanctity of a stable exchange rate have all contributed to the continued depression in agriculture. It is almost for the first time since 1925 that agriculture seems to have come back to a cost-price harmony in this country. But even here caution more than lighthearted optimism seems to be what is needed. No one knows whether the agricultural industry can really use the advantage to the best. The cessation of the war demand may hurl the industry back into depression, if it leaves, the fundamental weaknesses of the industry unaltered. And there is nothing in all that is being done to put the industry on some sort of a reformed basis utilising the present as an opportunity for such planning. In regard to the position of agricultural labour it is almost impossible to judge anything in the absence of any information regarding wages and indices about cost of living in the villages; but possibly there may have occurred, on the whole, some real advantage to labour, if not through increased real wages, at least through more steady or extended employment. In regard to rent and revenue collections probably the situation will be eased to the extent to which the rise in prices has made such payments easier.

But it would be far from the truth to believe that the war has been an unmixed good in all directions. The closing of such of the European markets as used to import from us, on account of the blockade has contracted our trade, though this is partly compensated for by the increased demand for goods from the other countries. The effect, on the whole, however,

has been adverse, at least in some of the lines of trade, and this has necessitated the despatch of a trade delegation to America to investigate the possibilities of finding new outlets in the new world. It has been a weak point in our commercial policy that we have pinned too much of faith in peace time to the virtues of free-trade or an automatic growth of trade relations in a world given increasingly to bilateral and barter systems of trade. The war has only aggravated the evils of this neglect. In view of the abnormal circumstances precious little advantage may accrue from this venture to the new world in a search for markets; and even if something were achieved such advantage may not either outlast the war or may undergo considerable modification. This also raises the issue of a much needed orientation of policy in this country in regard to imperial preference. Many of the objections to imperial preference that compelled even the government of Lord Curzon to reject imperial preference, now themselves stand rejected by the facts of a new world and imperial partnership in trade and development along these lines may confer a more reliable advantage. The snug little ideal of self-sufficiency must be discarded in favour of a policy of common-wealth co-operation; and internal planning must be done with the full awareness of the requirements of international exchange.

From the point of view of the government a more important problem is to be found in regard to the currency difficulties. Before the war the maintenance of the rupee ratio at s.1.6d. was a problem, but happily this was all relieved on account of the rise in price levels and the stimulation of exports. But close on the heels of this consummation two other difficulties confronted the authorities—the one internal and the other external. These difficulties were much the same as those that cropped up during the last war and for the same methods of their solution as have been adopted during the last war should prove adequate. The internal problem

presented itself in the shape of a drain into the hoards of the rupee coins and the general distrust of the paper currency. So far the situation has been dealt with tactfully by the government who have been willing, as far as possible, to exchange rupees for notes pointing out all the while the baselessness of the fears against the currency position of the government. In fact the reserves of the currency authorities seem to be capable of dealing with a far greater strain than what has been imposed on them at present. If we regard the sterling securities as first rate securities and take into account the premium that has accrued on the value of gold held by the Reserve of Bank purchased at a cheaper price, the reserve position, far from being alarming appears to be one of the strongest in the world, though to the man in the street it may be a little difficult to appreciate this fact. But the point is that whether he appreciates it or not, the position is so strong that it presents no room for fear of anykind. The external aspect of the currency problem has, however, become a subject of controversy. The regulation making it obligatory to buy sterling in the controlled market where sterling sells dearer rather than in the free market where it may be bought cheaply has occasioned much criticism on the score of compelling an advantage to Britain at the expense of this country. But it seems hardly possible to believe that the present is the time for aspiring for independence in the economic sphere any more than in the political. Technically India is at war and such assistance as is thus rendered will naturally come to be viewed as a part of rendering assistance in war. Apart from this it is not also clear, whether such freedom, even were it possible, is likely to be beneficial, if we take into account the confusion that it is likely to introduce in our trade relations with Britain and possibly Britain is easily the most important single customer of ours at the present time. During the last war the linking of the rupee with the Dollar instead of the sterling did not turn out to be the advantage that it was supposed to be; and now also, if we seek to buy sterling in the cheaper

uncontrolled market, it would only mean jinking the rupee value to the dollar. Considered on the whole, and with regard to long-run effects, this does not seem to promise even economic advantage. It is of course possible to suggest that we might plump for an independent currency policy without linking it to this or that currency but an independent currency policy seems to be the counterpart in the currency realm to the gospel of self-sufficiency in that of production, very alluring in theory but not likely to be so in practice. The resentment betrayed in this case seems on the whole to be grounded in nothing better than opportunism of a not very laudable type.

In regard to the budgetary position the only significant change that has so far been necessary, apart from the war loans, is to be found in the imposition of the excess profits tax. Though resented in its earlier stages, as all taxes are bound to be resented, its provisions have been tempered by the awareness of the difficulties of the situation. And though the exigencies of the war and the enormous increase in war expenditure have made it necessary to borrow from the public on an extensive scale, there is no reason to believe that for meeting the normal increase in expenditure the resources of taxation stand exhausted. Income-tax can certainly be coaxed to yield a higher return through a lowering of the minimum, and even a suitable modification of the excise taxes may bring in some addition to the revenue. And if the popular governments were in power, the present could have been used as an excellent opportunity to place on a permanent basis the much-needed pieces of financial and social reform like the Urban Property Tax in Bombay, the Estates Land Act in Madras, the Agricultural Income-taxes in Bihar and Assam. As in the other spheres of our economic life, a good deal of planning in the realm of public finance could have been achieved more easily if attempted in the name of this war emergency by governments that command popular support.

Thus a general view of our economic structure seems to reveal a sound financial position, a safe currency and a tempo-

rarily stimulated industrialism. All this is no doubt attractive, if only a temporary view of the matter is taken. But it is not without its elements of danger. The post war reaction may be quite a taxing business, if we do not try and plan to adopt ourselves to that contingency. While the stimulus of the intoxicant lasts measures must be taken to restore India's economy to health which it badly lacks. The absence of popular governments is a big handicap in these circumstances as the best possible use of the temporary opportunity for effecting a permanent remodelling of our economy is being frustrated. The findings and suggestions of the various planning committees being available, *some* at least of these suggestions with suitable alterations could have been readily executed, and we could have possibly gained in the economic aspect, a part at any rate of what is being aspired for in the political. If we do not fail to appreciate the view that economic progress is one of the most powerful levers in effecting political progress there is no reason to underrate the importance of making the best use of the present opportunity by being in office, with a view to compelling a broadening of freedom from one aspect to another. Yet we seem to be missing the bus once more on account of our pre-occupations with legal quibblings and it seems a pity that all the major political parties in this country are manned by people who have escaped from the dungeons of law and seem to set more store on terminological victories, and less, if any, on the more substantial avenues of integrated reform. *It would be a useful event for the Indian economy, if the warring camps in Indian politics can declare a truce at least during the pendency of this war so as to use the opportunity for whatever it is worth and introduce some little order into this tattered house.*

INTERNATIONAL LAW AND THE WAR

By K. R. R. SASTRY

The present war in Europe is being directly fought to preserve international law and conventions. At its end—the sooner it comes the better for the civilian population—statesmen are bound to evolve schemes for the reconstruction of international society. It is hoped that the defective League of Nations would be strengthened and broadened.

The future of international law is not at all dark. Impatient idealists might be upset by the rude thrusts of Japan, Italy and Germany. The magnitude of a modern three-dimensional warfare could drive the reformer sometimes into despair. Pseudo-religious analogies foreboding the death of civilization might make the prudent human being lose faith in the evolution of international law to suit the changed conditions.

Amidst all this dense cloud, there is a reality of International Law. Philip C. Jessup has correctly expressed this basic truth thus:

Impotent to restrain a great nation which has no decent respect for the opinion of mankind, failing in its severest test of serving as a substitute for War, international law plods on its way followed automatically in routine affairs, invoked, flouted, codified, flouted again but yet again invoked.*

In the war of 1914-18 neutrals found that

when the vital interests of two belligerent groups are at stake, legal and moral arguments are available to both bodies for ignoring the interests of those, who do not choose to participate in the armed struggle.†

There was always a paramount need for the preservation of laws of neutrality. Wild expectations were aroused by exaggerated statements regarding the repercussion of the

League of Nations' Covenant on Neutrality. Any assertion that "neutrality is a thing of the past is as unsound in theory as it is false in fact."

Neutral states had been run over by an unscrupulous neighbour following the age-old political doctrine that the big fish can always devour small fish in times of need. The numerous petty Sovereign States in Europe have been now clipped and mangled by the all-devouring Eagle. Wise thinkers have been planning for a post-war world order, where there will be a federation of "like-minded" nations, with the central federal body empowered with control of Foreign Policy, External Defence, and Finance necessary for the foregoing purposes. The Balkanization of Europe has not proved an unmixed good.

The nature, and terrific pace with which 'the *Bleitzkrieg*' has proceeded in silencing opposition in Czechoslovakia, Poland, Norway, Holland, Belgium and 'la belle France' Surreptitiously aided by the 'fifth Column' have created problems which require solution at the end of this war. A pious League of Nations strong only on the judicial side will have to be thoroughly overhauled through filling up the gaps. The problem of change in legal rights has to be solved otherwise than through the moribund Art. XIX of the League Covenant. Is it necessary and proper to continue the League Council which has given rise to "the most unpleasant incidents in the history of the League?"

Unhappily in the *Altmark Incident*, there was a technical violation of international law even on the side of law-abiding Britain though on humanitarian considerations. When ruthlessness is carried to its utmost savagery, nice technicalities have no place. A lesson from the experience of the war (1914-18) was that:

We (British) should not bind ourselves to observe any rules of war unless those who sign them with us undertake to uphold them by force, if need be, against an enemy who breaks them.*

* *Foreign Affairs*. January, 1940, p. 253.

† E. Turlington *Neutrality*, Vol. III, p. 152.

* Grey "Twenty-five Years." Vol II P. 102.

The lapses of aggressive nations in beginning hostilities without a declaration of war have become so common since Japanese incursion into Manchuria in 1931 and Italian attack on Ethiopia in 1935, that definite decisions on this point will have to be reached after this war. This recent conception that "coercive measures, such as that of the armed invasion and occupation of a country are peaceful acts, fall outside any legal category."

Codification, since it touches one of the less urgent needs of international society,

it is likely, will be postponed until progress has been made with such problems as compulsory judicial settlement of limitation of armaments, collective security, and the establishment of an effective legal machinery for the peaceful change of international law.*

President Roosevelt, shocked at the invasion of Norway and Denmark said on April 14, 1940 at Washington :

If Civilisation is to survive, the rights of small nations to independence, territorial integrity, and unimpaired opportunity for Self-Government must be respected by their more powerful neighbours.

New problems have arisen in floating mines, wireless telegraphy, and aeronautics. The further development of international law should consist of "rationalisation of its principles and their application in detail to these problems."

As a result of this fateful struggle there would be further disillusionment and clarification of issues. International law would emerge out of it with its rules further broadened and its bases more scientifically built. Progress in international law which has been going on for several centuries must necessarily be slow. The future of international law has now become a matter of vital concern to every citizen of a civilized country.

* *Oppenheim International Law* V. Ed. Vol. I P. 63.

Gleanings

NAPOLEON AND HITLER

Even conquest by Napoleon would have been a less dreadful fate and would have less enduring consequences. For Napoleon's Empire of a day was not seated in the centre of Europe, but on its western edge, and was not based on the preponderance of a race of eighty millions. The French could not have permanently held down Europe; the Germans well may, if once they conquer the British Empire.

And in the second place, Napoleon's victory, though it would have been destructive for a time of British freedom, would not have made an end of all civilisation, religion, morality and law. The maker of the Code Napoleon stood for law.... a new enlightened law, which proved a real gift to many continental countries: the Nazis substitute the brute will of a party, with cruelty for its acknowledged method, to take the place of all justice and all law.

Napoleon's France stood for many of the higher aspirations of art and letters and civilisation, as ends in themselves: Hitler's Germany gives to all forms of human endeavour..... literature, religion, science.....no leave to exist except as slaves of State power. I am, therefore, not surprised that several thoughtful men whom I know, who had doubts of our participation in the war of 1914-18, have no doubts about our resisting Hitler to-day. It is not propaganda, it is the deadly truth, that this is a war to prevent the complete triumph of evil.

G. M. TREVELYAN

(From the *Sunday Times*.)

I

LET US RECALL THESE WORDS

FOR A PRINCIPLE

Britain is fighting for no selfish ends but for the maintenance of a principle vital to the future of mankind—the principle that the relations between civilized States must be regulated, not by force, but by reason and law, so that men may live free from the terror of war, to pursue the happiness and the well-being which should be the destiny of mankind.

—The KING-EMPEROR

[in a message to India, read by the Viceroy to the Central Legislature, on September 11, 1939.]

* * *

THIS CHALLENGE

What faces us today is the safeguarding of principles vital to the future of humanity, principles of international justice and international morality, the principle that civilized man must agree to settle disputes between nations by reason and not by force,

the principle that in the affairs of men the law of the jungle, the will of the strongest, irrespective of right and justice, cannot be allowed to prevail. To fail to take up this challenge would be to destroy for mankind any hope of true progress and true development. So long as this cruel and ruthless thing is in the world, there can be no freedom of the spirit for humanity.

—The VICEROY

[in a broadcast message to India on September 3, 1939.]

* * *

THAT LONG LIST

We have been assured time and again that Germany had no further territorial ambition in Europe, and that assurance has been repudiated on every occasion on which it has suited the Rulers of Germany to repudiate it. We have been assured that Germany would respect the Treaty of Locarno; that she had no designs on the former Czecho-slovakia; that she was concerned only to

restore to Germany the Sudeten fringes of Czecho-slovakia, and had no designs on the true Czecho-slovak centre of that country; that she did not aim at the incorporation in her territories of the citizens of any non-German nation or race, that she did not contemplate the annexation of Austria; that she had no designs on Poland, for many years in the difficult post-war period a trusting friend bound to her by treaties of alliance. That long list does not exhaust the tale of German pledges, publicly given in the most binding and the most sacred fashion.

No single one of those pledges has been honoured. Each one of them has been broken with entire disregard for those standards of truth and international morality on the basis of which alone the world can hold together, or hope to progress.

And those breaches of faith have been not merely a breach of faith. They have represented a denial of justice; a refusal to recognize any guiding principle save that of

force; a complete and cynical disregard for the principles that regulate the intercourse of nation with nation; an anxiety to turn to the fullest advantage the absence of preparedness of those nations who had believed in the sanctity and in the sacredness of the undertakings given on behalf of a great nation by the Rulers of that nation.

—The VICEROY

[in his address to the Indian Legislature on September 11, 1939.]

* * *

THE STRUGGLE

The struggle will be a long and hard one. We must expect in its course to meet severe reverses, to undergo great sacrifices, to pass through many dark and difficult moments of doubt and apprehension. But the grave situation that confronts us is one that must be faced in the same spirit of resolute endeavour, of calm confidence, as has always been shown by us in grave emergency. So faced, it will be overcome, and victory will be won. We must bend every effort, all of us, each in our own way, to bring

about that victory, to achieve the ideals for which we are fighting.

—The VICEROY

[in a broadcast to India on June 19, 1940.]

* * *

THE DEFENCE OF INDIA

Look Eastwards and think of what would happen to India if Malaya and its great fortress of Singapore were to fall into the hands of an enemy. The British Fleet would thereby lose its great base in the East and the whole Eastern coastline of India from Calcutta to Madras would become liable to raid and bombardment by sea and air.

The loss of Malaya might well also mean a serious threat to Burma. Napoleon once said when he occupied the Low Countries that he had in Antwerp a pistol pointed at the heart of England. Burma, in hostile hands, would be a pistol pointed at the heart of Bengal.

Look Westwards, to the Red Sea and Egypt. So long as Egypt, our ally, is free and independent and able with our

help to check the movements of a hostile power, the Indian Ocean and the shores of India are likely to remain immune from attack from that direction.

In other words, it may be said that it is vital to the interests of India that Egypt and Aden should never fall into hostile hands.

In the conditions of the world situation as it has developed in recent years, the places which I have named have become of the first importance to the defence of India and may be considered to be her outposts. Eastwards we have Singapore, Malaya, and Burma; Westwards, Egypt, Aden and the lands of the Persian Gulf. If these were to be lost to India's friends, India would be directly threatened. Happily this has been realized, and as we have made preparations in time there is, humanly speaking, little danger of their loss, especially as we can count upon the fullest and most whole-hearted help from our allies—Turkey, Egypt and Iraq. If India were to stand alone, she would undoubtedly

be in imminent danger. But India does not stand alone.

—GENERAL SIR ROBERT A. CASSELS, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF [in a broadcast on September 5, 1939.]

* * *

THE JUDGMENT OF HISTORY

Here is a conflict, if ever there was one, between right and wrong, between powers of evil and powers which make for righteousness. The prize at stake is the liberty of the human soul; and how can there be any neutrality in such a war?

It is not a question of helping this nation or that, of weighing the expediency of an alliance or association. It is not a question of statecraft or of personal gain or profit. That may be left to Powers like the jackal Power which within the last week has brought disgrace upon the honoured names of Garibaldi, Mazzini and Cavour.

It is a simple question of right or wrong from which none may stand aside. The coward who does so will yet

die a thousand times before his death; and those, if there be any such who like the Pharisee of old, thank God that they are not as other men are and draw aside their robe lest it be defiled, may awake to see it one day stained with the blood of all mankind.

Can we without fighting for it even retain the liberty to indulge in private quarrels or ancient grudges? Who will have an easy conscience for the remainder of his life if he stands aside to watch others lay down their lives in the cause of all mankind?

Here is an inescapable dilemma. Either the Allies go under, in which case civilization and all that we love and cherish go under with them; or they triumph, and what then will be the judgment of history upon those whose virtue was so cloistered and fugitive that they stood aloof content to hope that all might yet be well?

—SIR MAURICE GWYER
[in a speech at the Maharaja's College, Mysore.]

II

GREAT PRONOUNCEMENTS

FIGHTING FOR WHAT?

If, despite all our efforts to find the way to peace—and God knows I have tried my best (cheers)—if in spite of all that we find ourselves forced to embark upon a struggle, which is bound to be fraught with suffering and misery for all mankind and the end of which no man can foresee; if that must happen, we shall not be fighting for the political future of a far away city in a foreign land; we shall be fighting for the preservation of those principles, of which I have spoken and the destruction of which would involve the destruction of all possibilities of peace and security for the peoples of the world.

—MR. CHAMBERLAIN
[in the House of Commons
on Aug. 24, 1939.]

* * *

I CANNOT TELL....

I cannot tell what part I may be allowed to play, but I

trust I will live to see the day when Hitlerism is destroyed and a restored and liberated Europe has been re-established.

—MR. CHAMBERLAIN

[in the House of Commons,
on Aug. 24, 1939.]

* * *

IF IMPERIALISM MEANS....

If imperialism means the assertion of racial superiority, if it means the suppression of the political and economic freedom of other peoples, if it means exploitation of the resources of other countries for the benefit of an imperialist country, then I say that those are not the characteristics of this country (cheers), but they are the characteristics of the present administration in Germany.

—MR. CHAMBERLAIN
[in the House of Commons,
on Nov. 28, 1939.]

* * *

LAW AND MERCY

We are fighting to maintain the rule of law and

the quality of mercy in dealings between man and man and in the great society of civilized states."

—LORD HALIFAX
(Nov. 7, 1939).

* * *

A SIMPLE PRINCIPLE

We are fighting for a simple principle—that of liberty. We cannot and will not tolerate for a moment the claim of individuals or States to dominate our lives through threat or use of force.

—MR. ARTHUR GREENWOOD
[Sept. 20, 1939.]

* * *

ONE WAR AIM

We have but one war aim, —to vanquish the German army and to vanquish that aggressive and insolent spirit which always sought to dominate people by force.

—SIR JOHN SIMON
[in a broadcast to the French people, on Dec. 4, 1939.]

* * *

THE VERY ANTI-THESIS OF HINDUISM

Hitlerism is the very anti-thesis of Hinduism, with its

creed of non-violence. The only resemblance is that Hitler is a vegetarian.

But politically Hitler is highly carnivorous, and Indian opinion recognizes that and it is unanimous in its detestation of the underlying ideas of the Nazi creed. On the merits of the great issue before the world, India is as wholeheartedly with this country as Australia and New Zealand and as Canada has been so strikingly shown to be by the elections in Quebec.

—LORD SAMUEL
[in the House of Lords on November 2, 1939.]

* * *

A CALAMITY

It is indeed abundantly clear that the triumph of the principles for which the Nazi Government stands would be regarded as a calamity of the utmost magnitude by all sections of the Indian people.

—LORD ZETLAND
[in the House of Lords on September 20, 1939.]

* * *

NO LASTING PEACE TILL

.....there can be no lasting peace until Nazism and all it stands for in oppression and cruelty is broken and bad faith is banished from the earth.

—MR. ANTHONY EDEN
[September 11, 1939.]

* * *

INDIA'S GREAT PART

In this new world India has a great part to play, perhaps in area the greatest of any Asiatic country, a great part also in the British Commonwealth of Nations, for it will be an outward and visible sign that with us there is no racial discrimination.

—SIR SAMUEL HOARE
[in the House of Commons, on October 20, 1939.]

* * *

THE FLAME OF LIBERTY

We must as a united people keep ablaze the flames of human liberty, reason, democracy and fair play; and may the year 1940 be pointed to by

posterity as another period when democracy has justified its existence as the best instrument of government yet devised by mankind!

—PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT

[in an address to Congress on Jan. 3, 1940.]

* * *

THE REAL ANSWER

And can any fair-minded person doubt that if Herr Hitler and his friends were to win the war and seize its sea power and sea bases from Britain that the world would get any equivalent prosperity or freedom? It might get peace, but it would be a peace with the light of liberty gone out. That is the real answer to the charge that this is a mere war between imperialisms.

—THE MARQUESS OF LOTHIAN

[in an address to the Chicago Council of Foreign Relations on Jan. 4, 1940.]

III FIRST IMPULSES

I BROKE DOWN

Having made my position vis-a-vis the Congress quite clear, I told His Excellency that my own sympathies were with England and France from the purely humanitarian standpoint. I told him that I could not contemplate without being stirred to the very depth the destruction of London which had hitherto been regarded as impregnable. And as I was picturing before him the Houses of Parliament and Westminster Abbey and their possible destruction, I broke down.

—GANDHIJI [in a statement on his interview with the Viceroy on Sept 5, 1939.]

NOT THINKING OF INDIA'S DELIVERANCE

I am not just now thinking of India's deliverance. It will come, but what will it be worth if England and France fall, or if they come out

victorious over Germany ruined and humbled?

—GANDHIJI [in a statement on his interview with the Viceroy on Sept. 5, 1939.]

WHAT HITLERISM MEANS

Whatever Hitler may ultimately prove to be, we know what Hitlerism has come to mean; it means naked, ruthless force reduced to an exact science and worked with scientific precision."

—GANDHIJI [in the *Harijan*, June 22, 1940.]

MY SYMPATHIES

Naturally my sympathies are with the peoples of Poland, France and Britain, as we are at present a part of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

—MR. JINNAH [in a statement to the Press on September 7, 1939.]

IV. SIDE-LIGHTS

"AN ACOUSTIC CHAMELEON"

Dr. Goebbels is that rare thing, an acoustic chameleon. On the English air, he becomes one of those humanitarian socialists, whose heart is even softer than his head; on the French, a near-communist determined to liberate his country from slavery to international finance, on the American, an isolationist who is 100 per cent American; Eastern European listeners find in him a passionate advocate of land-reform and opponent of "Jewish" imperialism; in India he is the enemy of Imperialism.

WHAT'S IN A WORD?

We nationalist Socialists say: Legality is that which does the German people good, illegality is that which harms the German people.

—DR. FRICK [Nazi Minister of the Interior.]

AGREED

There is no place in German universities for truth for truth's sake.

—DR. ERNST KRIECK,
[Professor of Philosophy at Heidelberg, "In The Name of German Science."]

THE LATEST HITLER STORY

Goering was sitting at his desk one day when he heard a noise and turning round, he saw Hitler climbing in through the window.

"My dear Fuehrer, why on earth are you coming in that way? Why not use the front door?" asked Goering astonished.

"Oh! Habit....Habit...." replied Hitler abstractedly.

PARIS WILL SURVIVE

Even as Rome proved unable to kill Athens, will Paris

survive when Berlin is no more than a hideous memory.

—MR. HAROLD NICHOLSON
[in a broadcast, June 25th, 1940].

* * *

HITLER ON BOLSHEVISTS

(1)

We look upon Bolshevism as an intolerable danger to the world....I request the German workers to avoid all contacts and relations with these international parasites and, consequently, it will never occur that one will see me dining and wining with them.

—HITLER
[in a speech to the Reichstag on Jan. 30, 1937.]

(2)

Shall I remind you of the Bolshevik Revolution which slaughtered millions upon millions of people, but whose

bloodstained murderers still occupy high places?...With one single country alone we have detested to enter into relationships. That State is Soviet Russia. We see in Bolshevism, more now than before, the incarnation of human destructive forces.

—HITLER

[in a speech in Berlin on February 20, 1938.]

* * *

AT ONE STROKE—

Round up a thousand German girls of the purest stock. Isolate them in a camp.

Then let them be joined by a hundred German men equally of purest stock.

If a hundred such camps were set up, you would have a hundred thousand thoroughbred children at one stroke.

DR. WILLIBALD HENTSCHEL [Der Hammer, No. 640.]

V

MEN OF LETTERS AND THE WAR

"KNOW THIS"

At this moment, when the future, not of our nation alone but that of all nations, is being decided, we, the undersigned English writers, ask to be heard by the writers of other countries.

Our country has been blamed in the past for actions most manifestly taken, because we hoped by them to avert war. We failed. We failed to check the deliberate and carefully-prepared violence which has invaded and killed in one country after another, Austria, Czecho-slovakia, Poland, Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, and France. Where the invading armies of Germany have gone, unarmed men, women and children have been mercilessly killed, and freedom of mind and spirit has been crushed out.

It is not only life which is threatened. It is freedom of conscience. And if it is lost, as it is lost wherever the Nazi power extends, life itself is not

worth a breath. We ask all those who have still the liberty to speak, and to think, to consider what this means.

We ask you to make it clear to people in your country that we with our Allies are not fighting only for ourselves, but for the belief we share with every man, of any race and religion, who holds that men should respect each other and minds should be free.

We are fighting for our own lives. We are fighting in the hope to end this war before more children, innocent if any-one is, have been slaughtered, in their homes and as they flee from their homes. But inasmuch as we are fighting for the consciences of our children we are fighting for the people of every nation, without exception.

We ask you to know this. We ask you, with the confidence that you will judge us fairly, to support us as best you can in a struggle which is not ended yet.

We do not expect defeat. We expect danger and we are able to face it. We expect your belief in us. And we pledge ourselves on our part to remember that a lasting peace can be based only on justice. We do not desire and we will set our faces against revenge.

We appeal to each one of you individually to pass our

words on, by every means, to the nations of the world.

H.G. WELLS, J. B. PRIESTLEY.

WALTER DE LA MARÉ.

ROBERT LYND, HUON

WALPOLE and 40 more

ENGLISH MEN OF LETTERS

[in an appeal to the conscience of the world.]

"WHERE IS YOUR GAIN, HITLER?"

U. S. INDICTMENT

"Where is your gain, Herr Hitler?" asks the *St. Louis Star and Times* in a vigorous open letter to the German leader:

Since it is man's nature to fool himself (says the writer) you may see no fault in anything you have done. But what is the truth? What lasting good have you done, and what have you gained by all your butcheries?

You shamed your people before the world by enslaving the Press, the radio, the school, the pulpit, and teach-

ing the people to believe that a falsehood was true.

You lied to your young men to make them fanatics, then used them as tools to butcher, rob and destroy your neighbours. A bully's power to kill is little consolation when he sees contempt in the eyes of all who surround him.

The world respected the old Germany for its learning and scientific achievements, its literature, philosophy, and music. But you have destroyed that Germany.

Where is your gain—Hitler?

VI

MUSES AND THE WAR

TESTS

We are not destined for disaster yet,
With all his engines Hitler waits in vain
To bring the long, dark ages back again,
Which only comes to peoples who forget
Just causes, such as those to which we turn
And such as Germany may never learn.

—LORD DUNSANY

TO ENGLAND

Always my heart, O England, England,
I have given to thee,
For a man must love his parent land
In fame and infamy;
But now—now that thy pain is making thee
Slowly, slowly great; and greater than all
thy past old ages tell,
Thou who hadst my heart, O England,
May take my soul as well.

—ERNEST RAYMOND

(HANGELING)

If fairies jealous of King Albert's fame
Once, in the cradle, changed his eldest son,
Surely in Elfland with a fairy name
There fights some hero till war is won.

—LORD DUNSANY

(From *The Sunday Times*.)

SILENT SERVICE

Now, multifold, let Britain's patient power
 Be proven within us for the world to see.
 None are exempt from service in this hour,
 And vanquished in ourselves we dare not be.

Now, for a sunlit future, we can show
 The clench resolved endurance that defies
 Daemons in dark, and toward that future go
 With earth's defended freedom in our eyes.

In every separate soul let courage shine
 A kneeling angel holding faith's front-line.

—SISOPHRIED SASOON

FOR THE FALLEN, 1914-1940.

Men smoke the poppy seed, and steal away
 From grief and agony and terror; gone
 Across the Frontier to Oblivion
 Where peaceful night slow falls on peaceful day.

The Flanders poppy springing endlessly
 Sheds from its bursting broken-hearted pod
 A seed that blossoms in the fields of God,
 A flower petalled by the memory.

Now a fresh wreath is laid on every grave
 Of scarlet poppies that their sons have bled.
 The sons they fought to save and could not save,
 Who followed proudly where their fathers led:
 Shall we forget these men who twice have died,
 Now father draws a son unto his side?

—PATRIC DICKINSON

(From *The Observer*)

VII

THE CARTOONIST IN WARTIME

In one way war makes a cartoonist's work simple because there is only one subject, though if one is conscientious there are, of course, many angles of it to deal with. There is nothing more boring, I think, than constant repetition of the point that the enemy is a fool and a blackguard and that our brave boys will kick his pants.

People know it is not so simple as all that, and they want to know how, why, and when, which means that cartoonists have to be students and when they have to work ahead they have also to be prophets, and to be a prophet these days is no joke. To-day I have been doing a cartoon which is to appear in a foreign newspaper one month hence. Normally one can say fairly well what the features of the international landscape that will 'stay put', so to speak, will be; but how would you like to guess what the situation is going to be one month hence in those times? If Hitler doesn't do what I think he is going to do, I shall have to eat that cartoon. I may say that I have taken long chances on that fellow and haven't had to eat one yet. Perhaps it's because we're both artists.

There used to be a technique for drawing war cartoons. You drew pictures of British lions, Russian bears and German eagles striking attitudes and saying things like, 'Bravo, little Belgium!' or 'This must not go on, Sir!' to each other. But this is all so foreign to the spirit of to-day as to seem like fairytale stuff. The British lion and what-not are nothing but a lot of obsolete rot. And the same may be said of the cartoon figures of Britannia, Germania and all of those statuesque females in Greek night-gowns who symbolised the imperialism of our fathers. That is, unless you hold that the present war

is one between rival imperialisms, in which case I should disagree with you. R. I. P. to all the Britannia stodge, I say. And that includes John Bull, that symbol of smug and narrow patriotism too, who bears no resemblance, inside or out, to the modern educated fit Briton.

If you believe, as I do, that human personalities are the appropriate symbols of the policies they represent, the personalities involved in the war are not a bad bunch to draw. The principal boy, so to speak—Hitler—is not, however, the best of his side. If I had been asked to choose a picturesque war-lord I should have had a big dark scowling one. Hitler has the will to be picturesque, he works at it, but whatever you do with his face his physiognomy is essentially weak to draw. It's probably because he is a mixed type unlike the purely Nordic of Goering, or the Mediterranean of Goebbels. One of my chief difficulties with Hitler is that when I have to send cartoons by radiogram to foreign countries, as I have lately, the transmission process cannot pick up all the fine lines Hitler's eyes are drawn in, and the pictures arrive at the other end with the eyes lost on the way. Goebbels, on the other hand, is good to draw. Dark, sharp, concentrated lines. As a citizen of the world I should not think it an improvement, but as a cartoonist I don't mind how soon Goebbels purges his friends and makes himself Public Enemy No. 1.

Now I am going to my studio to draw. The conditions are not too happy. One of my troubles is light in these black-out days. My studio is all glass on one side; but the light is dimmed by sheets of transparent paper stuck on to prevent my becoming a human pin-cushion if I happen to be there when a bomb drops in. That in itself has its humour.

At a time like this there is no dearth of material. The indignation generated at the spectacle of man's inhumanity to man always provokes a copious expression among cartoonists, just as the sight of a large man kicking a child might provoke you to copious speech. Although it may sound sententious, the deference of the decencies of like is part of a cartoonist's

business, too—that, and deflating the flocks of humbugs, hypocrites and incompetents that seem always to grow and flourish like the green bay tree in times of war.

That's the more serious side of cartooning. Then there's the lighter side. The surprise changes and contrasts from yesterday to to-day, however serious their significance, have their lighter aspects. Everybody walking around with their little gas mask boxes on their shoulders; people with luminous paint medals on their hats in the blackout; travellers sitting in trains in the dark staring at each other with cats' eyes; sedate suburbanites hopping out of bed and banging into holes in the ground at the sound of the siren's song; the statue of Charles the First buried in sandbags in Trafalgar Square.

You know that our income-tax was raised recently to 7s. 6d. in the pound. Would you believe it (money is a serious matter), when that was announced by the Chancellor in his Budget, the whole House of Commons *laughed*. Although I, like everybody else, was well and truly soaked, I was pleased.

Part of the cartoonist's social function (but not all of it) is to be a clown, which is just as it should be at a time like this. The strength of the British people is that it can see the joke and purge itself of bitterness in so doing. That, to me, as a professional satirist and a student of humanity, is a test of the greatness of a people.

—DAVID LOW
in the *Listener*.

VIII

BRITAIN'S WAR CABINET

WINSTON CHURCHILL

Why is Mr. Churchill, so often distrusted in the past, instinctively trusted to-day? Because of his buoyancy and cheerful courage, because he has put into memorable words the issues that unite us, because the country feels that he has been right. Amid tragic doubt and fatal hesitation Mr. Churchill has been unwavering and prophetic. His was the clearest voice warning the country of what Hitlerism meant, of the magnitude of German rearmament, and of the growing danger of an isolation which might leave us, alone with France, to meet the most ruthless and powerful war machine the world has known.

Mr. Churchill's career shows a gay versatility and an exuberant vitality. A talk with Mr. Churchill is a memorable experience; he has always found the time for talk in the intervals of governing the country, writing masterpieces, laying bricks and painting pictures. Ideas, brilliant phrases, topple over one another. As a writer his style is modelled, like his oratory, on the eighteenth century masters; in this age of short sentences and adjectival economy Mr. Churchill's prose has the richness, the balance and the thunder of Gibbon. Sometimes one feels that he has read Gibbon rather too much. His *Life of his father, Randolph Churchill*, his volumes on the Duke of Marlborough, and his great volumes on the "World Crisis" are all historical classics. Mr. Churchill's oratory will outlive his prose. Few people who hear his witticisms and his periods realise that he learns his speeches by heart. Such famous passages as those in which he seemed suddenly to visualise—Mr. Ramsay MacDonald as a "boneless wonder", and referred to Mr. Baldwin's habit of occasionally "stumbling over the

truth and then picking himself up and going on again as if nothing had happened"—such *mots* and images are all carefully prepared.

In this war, Mr. Churchill's oratory has found a new and more powerful range. As a broadcaster he alone among our public men has clothed in living language the realities of this war. The common man heard and understood when Mr. Churchill described the Nazi gangsters feeling "the long arm of British sea power on their shoulders"; they responded when he told them "to till the land, sail the ships..." Here at last one has got down to bed-rock, to the final and conclusive reason for Mr. Churchill's hold on the nation.

We have talked and theorised and argued and hesitated; we have doubted ourselves, seen our own faults, been inhabited by our scruples, by our comforts and by our perplexities.

In Mr. Churchill we have found a man of action, who sweeps all this aside and reminds us that, whatever else we are or think we are, we were born and bred British, and British we must now live or die.

KINGSLEY MARTIN.

* * * * *

NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN

Mr. Chamberlain draws strength from Nature, as Sir Edward Grey did, through fishing. He turns also in his leisure to classical music, which has not the same affinity with his practical duties as Mr. Baldwin's literature and philosophy. The two sides of his nature and his interests are more sharply divided. His vision is at once narrower in range and sharper in perception.

If we wish to find the closest analogy among statesmen of the first rank, we must turn to one of a different nation who pursued a very different, and in foreign affairs even a diametrically opposite, policy. Monsieur Poincaré, too, had a restricted range of habitual vision, and an unequalled clarity of vision within that range; what he saw, he saw precisely in

all its detail; what he did not see was altogether outside his consciousness; he had a complete mastery of all he knew, and a supreme disregard for what he did not. He was glacial and unresponsive. He had a coldly, frictionlessly functioning brain, which was a perfect instrument for his limited, inflexible purposes. The force of a strong nature, the determination of a strong will, the vigour of a robust physique were all increased by this concentration of effort and interest.

Mr. Chamberlain has all these characteristics, though all of them in a less extreme form: he is compact, cold correct, concentrated, with both the limitations and the strength which these qualities involve. The analogy is confirmed by the similarity of the personal reactions of the Celt of genius to the Lorrainer and to the Midland Englishman.

Mr. Chamberlain beyond doubt values free institutions: he desires no system of dictatorship here. But how in the scales of his own personal values does he weigh respectively the fate of a foreign democracy and the sovereignty of an outlying portion of the British Empire? Can he form, pursue, and present a policy which will identify our cause with the world's? He is handicapped by his record, by his apparent limitation of vision, and by the impression made by his personality.

—SIR ARTHUR SALTER.

CLEMENT R. ATTLEE

"Bob" Cecil (Lord Cecil of Chelwood) said some years ago: "There is in Attlee a Campbell Bannerman. The questions are: Will he get responsibility, and if he does, will it bring the vital qualities out?"

Attlee now has the responsibility, so the questions are bound to be answered. Arthur Henderson once said that Attlee had "large hidden reserves" and wondered if they would be used. So that, too, is about to be proved.

What manner of man is this who, at the age of 57, has suddenly gone into the War Cabinet at the most crucial point of his country's history? He is medium-sized, bald, spectacled, a pipe-smoker with a manner of speech that matches that of his movements—quick, sharp, nervous. It is easy enough to describe his appearance, but not so easy to delve down into the man himself.

What he has to say is close-knit, keenly argued and purposeful. He doesn't dramatise either himself or his subject. Now and then you sense the fire underneath but seldom, if ever, is it allowed to break out into open flame. Part and parcel of all this is a tenacity which sometimes seems almost grim. It most often displays itself in a committee meeting. He never speaks there until he is sure, and then he digs himself in.

Now he is in the War Cabinet, and the testing time has come for him as for many other people. It will be interesting to watch the working out of this shy, reserved, soldier Socialist. His greatest quality not one of his foes would deny him. The high standard of his integrity has never been successfully challenged and never will be.

LORD HALIFAX

What distinguishes Lord Halifax from the mass of his fellow-Tories is a certain genius of moral insight. You cannot be with him an hour without a sense of its authority. You know at once that he has not merely the great gift of utter sincerity.

The ideal of fair play really means something to him. If he cannot enter the mind of his fellows, he would rather not rule over them.

He has nothing of Lord Curzon's love for the panoply of power. He does not, like Lord Reading, love the subtleties of

authority for their own sake. He has the great virtue of inherent simplicity. He really does regard himself as the servant of those over whom he rules.

There are abler men than he—Mr. Churchill, for example, or Sir John Simon. But no man has that indefinable quality I can only call moral genius which Lord Halifax possesses.

Every man who works with him finds his self-respect increased to the degree that he respects Lord Halifax. Every opponent is a little uneasy when he differs from him. Every colleague finds a special inspiration in the selfless devotion Lord Halifax brings to his work.

He has the best qualities of the Englishman. Duty is a religion to him.

—HAROLD LASKI

• • • • •
ARTHUR GREENWOOD

Courage and comradeship you can bracket together among his other attributes. Nothing dismays or daunts him. He is a grand fighter, in the sense that he can attack or defend with equal zest, and he has a capacity for work that is almost terrifying.

Take glimpses of him at work (which he generally is) and at play (which he too infrequently is). Here he is at a meeting, say, of a Committee of the Labour Party. He listens for a while to a welter of facts and arguments. Then suddenly he weighs in, cuts clear-mindedly straight through to the basic things, whether he is dealing with a "situation" or with a detailed scheme. In a few minutes the unnecessary considerations are sloughed off. The matter under discussion takes shape because of his unerring grasp of essentials, and the almost uncanny accumulation of information which he carries in his head while most other men would have to go to the library to get it.

—H. R. S. Phillips

India's War Effort

i The Provinces

ii The States

In India, the Provinces and the States are vying with each other in their war effort. In these following pages are published accounts of the war effort in some of the Provinces and in some of the leading states.

ED. T. C.

BOMBAY

Once again the Province of Bombay is in the forefront in the mobilisation of the country's resources to fight the Nazi menace. Nearly 37 per cent. of India's total contributions to the interest-free war loans have come from Bombay. The Province has so far given Rs. 16,50,000 as a gift towards the cost of a fighter squadron and more contributions are pouring in. Civic Guard organisations have been set up all over the Province and more than 3,000 men, young and old, have been selected for training.

Hundreds of men and women are working at the various centres started by the Red Cross and Amenities to Troops Fund, the Hospitality Committee and the Silver Trinkets Committee. A special feature of these activities is that several ladies from well-to-do families, both Indian and European, have gladly volunteered their services.

Apart from the various Committees in the city of Bombay, a District War Committee has been set up in each district. So far 2,250 Civic Guards have been enrolled in the districts; about 20 lakhs of rupees have been contributed or promised towards defence loans; and contributions towards war gifts are nearing four lakhs of rupees.

The work of the various Committees in the city has necessarily to be most intensive, not only because it is the headquarters, but also because, as His Excellency the Viceroy said, "What Bombay says, or what Bombay believes today, has echoed right round this sub-continent to-morrow."

Today, Civic Guards are to be seen in the streets of Bombay in their attractive uniforms, doing some of the various work usually allotted to the Police. About 800 of them have already started their duties and it is intended to start a motorised unit of the Guards.

The War Publicity Committee in Bombay has been very active and His Excellency the Viceroy was so impressed with the Committee's loud-speaker scheme that he has recommended it to Committees in other provinces. Loud-speakers have been installed at central places in the city and lectures and talks are to be given to the people on the various aspects of the war and the war effort.

The city alone has subscribed Rs. 30,00,000 towards the interest-free defence loans, while the total contribution of the Province has been Rs. 60,00,000. Rs. 15,75,000 have been subscribed for defence savings certificates. To date, Rs. 2,96,00,000 have been subscribed by the Province to the new 3 per cent. Defence bonds.

The promise of the Bombay War Gifts Committee to provide for a squadron of fighters is well on the way to achievement and the contributions to the War Gifts Fund so far amount to Rs. 16,50,000, plus a monthly contribution of Rs. 18,000. The city of Bombay alone has contributed Rs. 10,00,000. When the Viceroy was in Bombay early this month, he was handed Rs. 10,00,000 towards the cost of a squadron of fighters for the Indian Air Force and £11,000 for a Spitfire for the Royal Air Force.

CENTRAL PROVINCES AND BERAR

On 3rd January, 1940, His Excellency Sir Francis Wylie convened a meeting of prominent citizens to discuss measures for the relief of the suffering occasioned by the present war. A Provincial War Relief Fund Appeal Committee was constituted with the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Vivian Bose as Chairman with the object of raising funds, primarily for the relief of the wounded, the suffering and the sick and also partly for His Excellency the Viceroy's War Purposes Fund. District Appeal Committees were formed in all the districts and their activities were co-ordinated by the Central Appeal Committee. The total collections in response to this appeal have so far amounted to a little over Rs. 3,75,000. This amount is to be distributed as under :—

	Rs.
Joint Committee of the Indian Red Cross and the St. John's Ambulance Association (Indian Branch)	1,52,000
St. Dunstan's Fund for the blind	24,000
King George's Fund for Sailors	8,000
His Excellency the Viceroy's War Purposes Fund (to be utilized for the relief of the wounded, the sick and the distressed)	48,000

The balance of Rs. 1,43,000 has been earmarked for the 'Aeroplane Fund' a reference to which is made later in this review. The Provincial Appeal Committee has already remitted a sum of Rs. 1,60,000 to His Excellency the Viceroy's War Purposes Fund for distribution to the Red Cross Society and other organizations.

2. The War took a critical turn in May 1940. In June District War Committees began to be formed and at a meeting held at Government House, Nagpur, on the 27th June, 1940, a Provincial War Committee was also formed with His Excellency the Governor as its President. District War Committees have now been formed in all districts. Sub-

divisional war committees have been formed in one or two independent Sub-divisions, such as Seoni and Narsinghpur. In most of the districts Tahsil War Committees have also been set up. Some District Committees have formed Sub-committees of their own instead of Tahsil Committees.

The main objects of the Provincial and District War Committees are :—

- (1) to disseminate correct information about the progress of the war and a proper appreciation of the military position in order to allay panic or nervousness on the part of the public ;
- (2) to discourage activities which tend to create panic in the public mind ;
- (3) to assist in recruitment and in the formation of civic guards ;
- (4) to encourage investment in defence loans floated by the Government of India.

3. An Executive Committee of the Provincial War Committee has been formed, and this Executive Committee has divided itself into two sub-committees, one for information and publicity and the other for recruitment and civic guards. The Recruitment and Civic Guards Sub-committee prepared a scheme for the organisation of civic guards in the province, and Government has since issued instructions to District Magistrates on the lines recommended by the Sub-committee, for the recruitment of civic guards. The main duty of the civic guards would be to assist the police in the maintenance of internal order.

District Committees have been doing very useful propaganda for the dissemination of correct information and counter-acting baseless and panicky rumours. The Provincial Government has already supplied battery radio sets to fourteen District War Committees and the remaining Committees will receive such sets shortly. Some of the District War Committees have also been able to obtain radio sets from private donors. The radio sets are also taken out with them by touring officers while on tour to broadcast news to the public in rural areas. The members of the District War Committees are arranging

for lecture tours in their districts and are giving talks to the public in bazar places where people gather in large numbers. The Amraoti District Committee publishes a weekly war bulletin named "Yuddha Varta." Ten thousand copies of this bulletin are printed every week and circulated all over Berar. Copies of this bulletin will also be soon circulated in the Marathi-speaking districts of the Central Provinces. The Provincial War Committee has constituted an Editorial Board at Nagpur for the issue of a weekly war bulletin in Hindi for the Hindi-speaking districts in the Central Provinces. The first issue of this publication—Yudha Samachar—came out on the 26th August, 1940. Twenty thousand copies of the bulletin are to be printed and distributed every week. The Jubbulpore and Balaghat District War Committees have decided to have their own war news bulletin financed from local subscriptions.

4. In addition to the dissemination of correct information the War Committees are also taking action to discourage all activities which tend to create panic in the public mind and to impress on the public the dangers of seeking to hoard coins by converting currency notes and of withdrawing Savings Banks deposits. Many District Committees are also encouraging the local public to invest their money in the Defence Loans.

5. Recruitment for the army is proceeding satisfactorily, particularly in the Marathi-speaking districts of the province. The formation of an Urban Unit consisting of two Companies has been sanctioned by the Government of India for the towns of Amraoti, Nagpur and Jubbulpore.

No. 1. Company ..	..	H. Q. 2 Platoons	.. Nagpur.
		2 Platoons	.. Jubbulpore.
No. 2. Company ..	..	H. Q. 2 Platoons	.. Nagpur.
		2 Platoons	.. Amraoti.

Recruitment for these Units is likely to commence soon.

6. In view of the unexpected and unfortunate turn which the general war situation has taken in which the need for

money for direct war purposes is more urgent His Excellency Mr. H. J. Twynam issued, on the 7th August, 1940, an appeal calling for donations for the purchase of one or more aeroplanes to be named "Central Provinces and Berar". He started the fund with a personal donation of Rs. 1,500. The Provincial War Relief Fund Appeal Committee has associated itself with His Excellency's appeal and has decided to make further collections towards this aeroplane fund. It has earmarked a sum of Rs. 1,43,000 out of its present collections for this fund. The response to this appeal is encouraging.

The Berar War Committees have decided to have a plane or planes named after their own division and have started a fund called the 'Berar Fighter Fund'.

7. A Silver Trinket Fund for women inaugurated by H. E. the Marchioness of Linlithgow has also been formed in this province, appealing for any unwanted pieces of jewellery or ornaments in gold or silver for conversion into money to provide Flying Ambulances, Mobile Field Hospitals, X-Ray Apparatus, etc. A good number of gold and silver trinkets have already been received in response to this appeal.

ORISSA

A Provincial War Committee for the province of Orissa was formed on the 18th June, 1940. Sir John Austen Hubback, K. C. S. I., I. C. S., Governor of Orissa, has with his consent been elected as the President of the Committee. Mr. E. C. Ansorge, C. I. E., I. C. S., Adviser to the Governor, is the Vice-President of the Committee and he is also the Chairman of its Executive Committee. Raja Bahadur, Khallikote, M. L. A., is the other Vice-President of the Committee and is also the Vice-Chairman of the Executive Committee. Rai Bahadur Uma Charan Das, member of the Committee, has been taken as the Secretary of these Committees.

District War Committees have been formed in all the districts of the province. The District Officer of each district is the President of the District War Committee. Divisional and Sub-Divisional War Committees have also been formed.

A Provincial War Fund has been started on an appeal issued by His Excellency the Governor. The aim is to provide money for a fighter aeroplane which will be named 'Orissa' in the first instance and to purchase more fighters if funds permit.

Vigorous attempts are being made to make the defence loans popular.

Arrangements have been made for dissemination of war news to the public through local newspapers having wide circulation in the province. Public meetings are being held in different parts of the province with a view to eradicating from the mind of the masses the effect of false rumours and misleading statements. Arrangements have also been made to broadcast in Oriya war news from the Calcutta Radio Station.

UNITED PROVINCES

The present war has run a whole year by now. India being far removed from the scene of operations, the realisation of the horrors of the war has taken somewhat long to reach this country. But with the conflagration spreading rapidly in Europe and with the British Empire becoming more and more involved in it, the realisation of the danger by the Indian public has been steadily growing, and almost everybody is now convinced of the imperative necessity of helping Britain, both in men and money, to meet and overcome the Nazi menace. With this end in view a Provincial War Board, consisting of influential and representative men of the province, was set up in the United Provinces on July 1 last, when the inaugural meeting was held. Previously, instructions had been issued to the district authorities for the establishment, in each of the 48 districts, of war committees to supervise and co-ordinate the district's war efforts. With the setting up of a provincial board at the apex, war activities in the province may be said to be now in full swing.

As soon as the war broke out police guards were posted, as a precautionary measure, for guarding vulnerable points, such as water works, power houses, bridges, wireless stations, and the like. These measures have, however, since been relaxed. A parole camp for interned aliens has been opened at Naini Tal. Again, as regards internal administration, the pre-war budget estimates allowed for a loan of Rs. 2 crores being floated in 1939-40, but in view of the then deteriorated international situation the loan programme was eventually dropped. Consequently, all capital expenditure programme was stopped or postponed and orders for the strictest economy in revenue expenditure and savings were issued by the Government to all concerned. Orders were similarly passed for the most

thorough scrutiny of applications for commutation of pensions and the like and the budget provisions under those heads have been substantially cut down. As a result of these economy measures, the Province has now been able to turn a deficit budget into a surplus one. The recall of officers on leave was another matter which the Government immediately considered on the outbreak of hostilities and in pursuance of the decision arrived at, 23 Indian Civil Service, 14 Imperial Police Service, 5 Indian Medical Service and Indian Medical Department, 7 Indian Service of Engineers and 4 Indian Forest Service officers and 3 officers of the United Provinces Police Service, who were on leave out of India, were recalled and instructions were simultaneously issued defining the scope within which leave could thereafter be allowed during the emergency. Moreover, in order to cope with the increase in work, a number of retired executive or police service officers have been recalled while a few other temporary posts have also been created, such as an officer on special duty as Superintendent of Police in charge of an Armed Emergency Reserve Battalion, at Sitapur; of a Labour Officer at the Clothing Factory, Shahjahanpur, and a special officer to tour the districts of Lucknow, Unao, Rae Bareilly and Barabanki with a view to getting into touch with the families of soldiers and finding out their grievances. Headquarters work too has accounted for the addition of a few posts, namely, those of a Secretary, a Deputy Secretary, Under-Secretary; a Price Controller and a Provincial Press Adviser. Besides these, a Supply Board has been established at Cawnpore; a Central Recruiting Office with the Chairman, Public Service Commission, United Provinces, as Chairman has been set up at Allahabad and an officer with the rank of Deputy Secretary has been appointed at the headquarters of the Government in the newly created Air Raid Precaution Department.

With the intensification of the War there occurred a currency panic in the market and the prices of most articles began to shoot up. The silver panic was controlled principally

by meeting the demand foursquare, by satisfying applicants for withdrawals from banks and post offices and by educating public opinion on right healthy lines. As regards prices, District Magistrates were asked to exercise control over them and to forward fortnightly reports of the price situation in their districts. A Provincial Price Advisory Board was also set up to advise the Government generally on matters relating to the control of prices and to keep it in touch with the course of trade as it affected the traders, consumers and agriculturists. Certain articles were declared to be 'Essential Commodities'. As a result of these measures the rush on banks and post offices has died down and prices have either returned or are gradually returning to the normal. Again, as the supply of drugs had become inadequate owing to the rise in prices, a committee with the Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals as Chairman was set up to consider the question of forming a trade association for placing orders for drugs and chemicals with the Government of India and as a preliminary step a sum of Rs. 6,000 was allotted by the Government for purchasing drugs from the stock with the Controller of Enemy Property. Similarly, in order to guard against a breakdown in water works and the hydro-electric works on account of difficulties in obtaining supplies, a scheme for the immediate purchase and stocking of pipes, etc., was drawn up and a loan to the municipal boards for that purpose was decided upon. The shortage of liquid chlorine was another serious difficulty and was immediately tackled and surmounted without any loss of time.

The appointment of a special officer to tour certain districts with a view to establishing contact with the families of soldiers and discovering their grievances, if any, has already been mentioned. In addition, special instructions were also issued as soon as the war broke out by the Honorary Secretary of the Provincial Soldiers' Board to all the district soldiers' boards in the province to ensure strict compliance with their duties in this respect and to see that the families of the soldiers absent from their homes during the emergency were fully

protected. They were also asked to see that no difficulties were experienced by the dependants of the soldiers in obtaining letters and full amounts of the money-orders sent to them by their relations serving in the war. Arrangements have been made for giving the soldiers' families free legal advice in actions affecting their property, and the United Provinces Tenancy Act has been amended with a view to exempting persons in the military service of the Crown from the restrictions imposed by that Act on sub-letting of holdings. Two new district soldiers' boards were formed and efforts are being made to establish more of them. Last but not least, a sum of Rs. 5,000 was made available by H. E. the Governor from his War Purposes Fund to encourage and foster district soldiers' boards with a view generally to looking after and protecting the interests of serving ex-soldiers. Technical recruitment in the province for skilled artisans and labourers is also proceeding briskly. Side by side, necessary details to build up the aerial defences of the province are being feverishly worked out by the newly-constituted Air Raid Precautions Department and the machinery to deal with this form of enemy aggression, if it ever materialises, is expected to be in full working order very shortly. Meanwhile, the enlistment of Civic Guards continues to make steady progress and recruits of the approved type are being steadily enrolled throughout the province. This force, when fully trained, will also be available to supplement the air raid precautionary measures in the province. The Government have also taken in hand the training of a certain number of subsidized pilots as well as the raising of some battalions of the Territorial Force and the award of Emergency Commissions to suitable educated candidates under the aegis of the recently constituted Central Recruiting Office at Allahabad. In this connection, it has been decided that notwithstanding anything contained in any rule regarding the maximum age of recruitment to any civil service or post under the Crown in connection with the United Provinces, the period spent by a candidate after

the 3rd September, 1939, in the service of His Majesty's naval, military or air forces shall be excluded in computing his age for recruitment to the service or post.

Lastly, the Provincial War Board has appointed four sub-committees from among its members, with powers to co-opt, to co-ordinate and guide provincial war effort as a whole. These sub-committees are styled the Beneficent Activities, War Fund, Publicity and Propaganda, and Recruitment sub-committees. The first is mainly concerned with the organisation of First Aid and Nursing classes and the setting up of Work Parties in the districts for the provision of comforts to soldiers serving in the War. The second has for its object the collection of funds and investments in the various defence loans. The third is engaged in the diffusion of correct war news, while the last is busy harnessing the man-power of the province and devising ways and means to afford every possible facility to would-be recruits and their families.

In the end, it is gratifying to note that the Government's war efforts have been splendidly responded to by the public in this province. The various appeals for funds have been liberally subscribed to and according to all calculations still larger sums are likely to be soon made available as the provincial quota to India's war effort. So far, till the end of July, the voluntary contribution made by the province exceeded Rs. 7 lakhs. It has, however, since been decided to amalgamate all the funds into one general fund, namely, H. E. the Governor's War Purposes Fund, and thus leave the allocation of amounts under the different projects and schemes to one central authority alone. The Silver Thimble Fund started by Lady Hallett has also evoked satisfactory response. Numerous offers of help in the war, both from officials and non-officials have been received, and everybody, high or low, rich or poor, is cheerfully pulling his weight in the total war effort of the United Provinces with the single object of defeating the common enemy.

BARODA

Ever since the outbreak of the war Baroda has been second to none among the States in India in its vigilance and readiness to extend all possible help in the struggle of the democracies against the dark forces of Nazism. It was on Jan. 17 last, at the Banquet given in honour of H. E. the Viceroy at Baroda, that H. H. the Maharaja Saheb said with deep feeling :

To-day, the Empire is at war again after a little over 20 years. There can be no doubt about the issues involved; this is a war against wanton aggression by a regime of national and racial arrogance based on ruthless tyranny. The war is for ideals and ways of life for which the Empire stands and for the faith which holds the moral elements of the world together. Our attitude is due to the spontaneous loyalty we feel for the cause; and we are confident that in the end right and justice will prevail. This deep-seated conviction—and not merely treaty obligations—prompted me, immediately on the declaration of the war, to place all the resources of the State at the disposal of His Majesty the King-Emperor for the successful prosecution of the war.

In his reply H. E. the Viceroy gladly acknowledged that H. H. the Maharaja Saheb's offer was one of the first of its kind.

Besides the munificent donation of Rs. 6 lakhs given by His Highness to H. E. the Viceroy's War Purposes Fund for the purchase of a flight of Lysander planes, steps were taken, to give assistance to war effort as outlined by His Excellency the Crown Representative in his statement of 5th June, 1940, when the following committees were formed: 1. Central Committee, 2. Civic Guards Committee, 3. Defence Loans and War Gifts Committee, and 4. Propaganda Committee, under the chairmanship of Sir V. T. Krishnamachari, the Dewan Saheb; Col. Kumar Shivraj Singh, Naib Dewan; Mr. K. V. Uplap, Naib Dewan; and Rao Bahadur G. H. Desai, ex-Naib Dewan; respectively.

Under the personal direction and inspiration of H. E. the Dewan Sahab these sub-committees have already set to work in varied directions.

A Ladies Central Committee has also been set up with Lady Krishnamachari as its Chairman, and it has already set up several sub-committees, each with a specific programme of action.

The committees lost no time in embarking on their activities with energy. The Propaganda Committee chalked out a programme of work which includes publication of a periodical *Baroda Patrika* and its wide-spread distribution in all parts of the State including the remotest villages.

His Highness the Maharaja Sahab has recently ordered the purchase of Government of India Interest-Free Defence Bonds of the value of Rs. 25 lakhs.

The speech made by H. E. the Dewan Sahab, Sir V. T. Krishnamachari, in inaugurating the Central Committee on July 6, is characteristic of the intensity of war effort in Baroda:

It gives me much pleasure to welcome you all here this evening. It is unnecessary for me to speak about the great issues that are involved in the struggle that is now going on in this world. His Highness the Maharaja Sahab in the speech that was made at the banquet given to H. E. the Viceroy defined his attitude and the attitude of his subjects towards the efforts made by His Majesty's Government and the people of India for the effective prosecution of the war. That attitude has now been further strengthened because now the struggle against the ruthless force that has been let loose on this world has become keener and more countries have had to surrender to unashamed aggression. About our ultimate victory over these forces, however, there can be no doubt.

I shall now speak to you about the steps that have been taken so far. War committees have been set up in every district of the State. To-day we have called a meeting of the Central Committee for the State. This Central Committee has three sub-committees. The first is the Propaganda Committee. It has as its Chairman Rao Bahadur G. H. Desai. This is a very important sub-committee and in order that its work may be organised well, other gentlemen who can help will be added. The sub-committee has power to co-opt members. It is necessary that we should publish reliable news, correct misleading and false information, and keep the people in touch with the facts about the war and India's duty in it. The second is the

Defence Loans and War Gifts Sub-Committee. Its Chairman is Mr. Uplap. The Accountant-General is the Secretary of the Committee. Here again the intention is to co-opt more members so that the Sub-Committee may be thoroughly representative. Thirdly, we have decided to form Civic Guards in the State. The Government issued a notification of this on 5th July. These civic guards will supplement the police forces of the State and will perform duties assigned to them. Their duties will not be so heavy as to interfere with the daily avocations of those who join the civic guards.

The best course now will be for these sub-committees to begin work immediately. They should frame a programme of work for themselves. The Propaganda Sub-Committee should publish weekly summaries of news and take steps to counteract any misleading news that may be circulated. It should see that the tone of the press is helpful in the prosecution of our war efforts and that its summaries reach the remotest villages.

The Government also naturally attach the utmost importance to the Defence Loans and War Gifts Committee.

HYDERABAD

Since the outbreak of war, His Exalted Highness the Nizam and his Government have made available to the British and Indian Governments over one crore of rupees, besides meeting charges incidental to the training of technical staff and other activities for war purposes.

When the war broke out, the Nizam extended his offer of help and appealed to all Indians to contribute their best to help the British in the successful prosecution of the war.

The Hyderabad Government immediately made a gift of £100,000 to the British Air Ministry for the formation of a fighter squadron and also offered the services of a cavalry unit and an infantry battalion of the Nizam's Regular Forces to the Indian Government towards the upkeep of which the Hyderabad Government has been contributing Rs. 1½ lakhs monthly for the duration of the war. The gift to the Air Ministry was further enhanced by £50,000 for the maintenance of the new squadron and also of the squadron 110 of the British Air Forces which was formed out of the gift made for submarine warfare by the Hyderabad Government in the last war. Both these squadrons have played distinguished part in the aerial warfare, having bombed many enemy objectives and "left their mark on the enemy" according to the Air Ministry.

In addition, a war fund was launched in the State by the Prince of Berar under His Exalted Highness' patronage to which His Exalted Highness himself donated Rs. one lakh, earmarking it for the Indian Red Cross Society Fund.

When the Defence of India bonds were introduced, the Hyderabad Government invested Rs. 50 lakhs in the interest free bonds, the generosity of which contribution may be assessed from the fact that the total of the subscriptions realised for all the various bonds throughout India has been about Rs. 166 lakhs.

The Hyderabad War Fund has meanwhile been accumulating satisfactorily and the total collected so far excluding the Nizam's contributions amounts to Rs. 1,64,000. Disbursements have been made from it for the purchase of six motor ambulance buses for the use of the British Red Cross Society in London and for donations of Rs. 5,000 each to the British Sailors Society, the Ballon Barrage Comforts Fund and King George's Fund for Sailors, and also of Rs. 1,000 for the Polish Relief Fund.

Private effort is not lacking and many State subjects have come forward to subscribe generously to the various schemes of war contributions. In order to afford increasing opportunities to the public for co-operation in the war effort, Sir Akbar Hydari and Mr. C. H. Gidney, Resident, launched an appeal called "The Hurricane Fund Appeal" for the collection of three lakhs from among the public to be donated towards the cost of one Hurricane plane. This appeal has received enthusiastic support both in the State and the Administered Areas, and even Government employees have voluntarily surrendered some percentage of their salaries for the current month towards the Fund.

While the collections for this fund are progressing satisfactorily and so far Rs. 1,81,500 have been collected, the nobles and Jagirdars of the State have generously come forward and announced their intention to make a gift of three more planes to the British Government. Nawab Salar Jung Bahadur will himself meet the cost of one fighter plane while the three Paigah estate will contribute towards a bomber, the third plane will be donated from among the subscriptions collected from other Jagirdars, and Nawab Kamal Yar Jung's donation heads the list with an amount of Rs. 50,000.

To crown these efforts, on July 4, His Exalted Highness himself made a personal donation of £50,000 towards the cost either of a fighter aeroplane squadron, or a corps of mechanised

tanks or anything else that may be decided upon by the British Government for Imperial Defence. Two days later His Exalted Highness offered another sum of Rs. 5 lakhs from his Sarfikhhas (personal) estate to make up the deficit in the Indian War Purposes Fund caused by the announcement by the Viceroy of an equivalent gift to the French Army last month.

Other efforts include the placing of the State Railway workshop on a manufacturing basis to produce war materials in co-ordination with the State Public Works Department. The Air Transport Department of the State Railway is concentrating on a training scheme which will enable the Hyderabad Government to offer to His Majesty's Government a complete cadre of the staff sufficient to form the nucleus of a flight unit. The Road Transport Department has undertaken to train mechanic drivers for the Indian Army, and buses and goods lorries will be placed at the disposal of the Government of India, if required to relieve the pressure on the railways for transport of men and material for war purposes. The Commerce and Industries Department is co-operating in the supply of handwoven blankets for troops. Two new Infantry Battalions are being added to the Regular Forces while the Hyderabad Defence Committee has recently sanctioned a scheme of temporary commissions for purposes of a reserve of officers.

Apart from the financial and technical side of the war effort of the State, the work of the authorities in mobilising public opinion to the realities of the war and its danger to India needs mention. His Exalted Highness has from time to time during the last few months issued "Firmans" enjoining upon his subjects to support actively the cause for which Britain was fighting, and recalling the fact that during the British rule in India the country has enjoyed unparalleled peace, prosperity and security of life and property, in contrast to the conditions of life in countries under Nazi domination.

These sentiments have been echoed in the speeches of Sir Akbar Hydari, President of the Executive Council; Nawab Mehdi Yar Jung, Finance and Education Member; Sir Theodore Tasker, Revenue Member; Mr. Syed Abdul Aziz, Judicial Member and other Government officials and public men. Besides, intensive propaganda both in the city and in the districts has been organised through the medium of broadcasting and the press for disseminating accurate information and news as regards the war.

Co-operation between the Railway and the Broadcasting Departments is shortly to result in weekly digests of news published both for Railway employees and for wide distribution in the districts while similar literature will be sent to the War Relief Committees recently set up in the districts and the taluqas for keeping them posted with correct news and information regarding the war. These Committees include representatives of all committees and of all schools of thought, and people have been encouraged through them to invest the Defence of India Savings movement.

An interesting feature of propaganda and collection is the sending out of wireless receiving vans to different localities in the city where the programmes, including news, from London, Delhi and Hyderabad Stations were broadcast through loud-speakers.

Hyderabad's war efforts would be incomplete without the mention of the efforts of the Hyderabad ladies, who under the chairmanship of the late lady Hydari, organised a Women's War Relief Committee. This Committee has done splendid work, having sent several parcels of articles for the comfort of the Indian troops abroad and of the Hyderabad units serving in India. The return of the Princes will yet intensify these efforts.

JAMMU AND KASHMIR

The Jammu and Kashmir State is maintaining her tradition of loyal co-operation with the Crown in the task of defending the Empire. During the Great War of 1914-1918 the State had the distinction of contributing 31,000 men (the highest among Indian States) to the British Indian army, and the State forces saw active service abroad. The expenditure of the State on the maintenance of troops sent overseas amounted to over a crore of rupees. In addition, the State contributed three-fourths of a crore to the War loan. Battle Honours were won by the 1st Kashmir Pack Battery, 1st Kashmir Raghu Pratap Battalion, 2nd Kashmir Body Guard Rifles Battalion, and 3rd Kashmir Raghu Pratap Battalion for gallantry in the theatres of War in East Africa and Palestine.

With the declaration of war on Sept. 2, 1939, H. H. the Maharaja Bahadur offered to H. M. the King-Emperor his personal services and placed the two earmarked units at the disposal of His Excellency the Crown Representative for employment with His Majesty's Forces. His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur also offered an additional infantry battalion for active service. His Highness issued an appeal to all his subjects, calling upon them

to identify themselves, whatever the cost, with the cause which is as much ours as it is that of Great Britain and France, in fact, of every human being who believes that the maintenance of elementary moral principles in human conduct is the foundation of civilized life.

His Highness added :

India must stand shoulder to shoulder with England in this emergency. The settlement of their political differences must wait for the return of peace.

Concluding the appeal, His Highness said :

This war may be long or short. But let us all resolve that we shall not lay down our arms until righteousness has triumphed over an unprecedented combination of greed and inhuman heartlessness. We may

confidently hope that God will inspire us to vindicate the Right and thereby fulfil His Will.

Subsequently a proclamation was issued by the Government, which reads as follows :

His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur, with his unfailing regard for all his subjects in general and his Army in particular, has been graciously pleased to order that the officers and men of the Units of his Army who may be sent on active service during the present war, shall continue to receive their pay and ration allowance from the State.

As field rations and other field requirements are sure to be provided by the British Government, His Highness has ruled that the State shall not save the ration allowance, but during the absence of the Units from the State, pay that allowance to the families of those who are on active service, and such payments shall continue until the mobilised Units remain on service outside the State.

Let every man, who may hereafter enlist under His Highness' banner realise that, when he goes to fight at the bidding of his master, he does so as the soldier of a sovereign who will not only look after him while he is in the battlefield, but also look after his family. And should he lose his life, his master will, in the absence of the bread-winner, not leave his family uncared for.

So far as those are concerned who are already serving in some Unit or other of His Highness' Army, let them themselves and their families take heart that the master, who may order them to go and fight, will make it his case to do all that is possible, not to allow their families to suffer destitution or to be involved in abject poverty.

When the Praja Sabha met for its Srinagar session on Sept. 18, 1939, the Prime Minister read a message from His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur, in which His Highness after referring to the constitutional advance sanctioned earlier during the year, stated :

I cannot, on this occasion, omit to refer to the war into which we have been forced despite all the strenuous efforts made by Great Britain, and her allies to avoid it. In entering this war, our conscience is clear ; the issue is simple. It is whether international differences shall be settled by the principles and methods which are everywhere recognised to be applicable as between civilised men, or by what His Excellency the Viceroy the other day very properly termed 'the law of the jungle.' There can be only one answer to this question, and if we have to fight a war in defence of the higher principle, it is in every sense a Dharma Yudh, a righteous war. Towards the prosecution of this war, as you are aware, I have already placed my personal services and the resources of the State at the disposal

of His Majesty the King-Emperor. My offer of Units of the State Army for active service has been accepted and there can be no doubt that when these Units go into action, they will add another brilliant chapter to the record of conspicuous gallantry, reliability and efficiency which they established for themselves in the last Great War. If the war develops and is prolonged, there will be heavy demands on the man-power and resources of the State, and we shall cheerfully meet them. I have little to add to the separate appeals I have already issued and broadcast in this connection, and I feel sure that I can count upon every one of you to support that appeal wholeheartedly and enthusiastically and actively to help in making our contribution to the victory of the just cause worthy of this State, and its time-honoured high traditions.

The same day an address was submitted to His Highness by the Praja Sabha, which expressed the gratitude of the Sabha to His Highness for constitutional advance granted by him, and referred to the State's war efforts in the following words :

This Praja Sabha representing all classes, communities and interests in the State, expresses its unflinching devotion to Your Highness and supports wholeheartedly and unreservedly Your Highness, determination to offer all the resources of the State, both in men and material, in the furtherance of the righteous cause, in which the armies of His Majesty the King-Emperor are engaged, namely, the cause of the prevalence of right over might and of upholding the reign of law over brute force.

His Highness has presented eighteen completely equipped motor ambulances, six for the British Expeditionary Force in France, six for the Indian Army, and six for the French Army. It is hoped that these last will now be used by the British Force prosecuting the war in Europe.

Further, on the suggestion of Her Highness that as the State was already doing its duty in the war and the men of the State would be doing theirs, it was time that the ladies of the State should also take a hand in war work, His Highness was pleased in June last to appoint an influential War Aid Committee with Her Highness the Maharani as President to raise funds by its own unaided efforts for providing comforts of all kinds for the troops. To give a lead in the matter His Highness offered to subscribe a sum of Rs. 1,000 per mensem, from his privy purse towards the aims and objects of the Committee. The rest of the members of His Highness' family

also agreed to contribute another Rs. 1,000 per mensem. Besides the monthly contribution, His Highness has made a donation of Rs. 25,800 to the funds of the Kashmir War Aid Committee. This donation represents savings due to reduction in a number of ceremonies connected with His Highness' person. Following this lead, the Government employees have gladly offered to contribute one per cent. of their monthly gross salaries to the Funds of the War Aid Committee. This, it is expected, will result in a substantial monthly contribution. Besides these, Provincial, District and Tehsil War Committees, affiliated to the Central Committee have been formed to collect funds in aid of this war and to disseminate correct information regarding the happenings in connection with the war."

Her Highness the Maharani, President of the War Aid Committee, has just issued an appeal for "trinkets of gold or silver, no matter how small or how broken, broken bits of gold or silver ornaments, toys, etc., old sari borders of brocade which are no longer in use," to be sent to the War Aid Committee for contribution to Her Excellency the Marchioness of Linlithgow's Silver Trinket Fund.

His Highness' Government have besides the two units earmarked for Imperial service, offered two other units from the State Forces. This offer has been accepted, and one unit has already been sent on active service. The cost of maintenance of all these units on active service is expected to increase the military expenditure during the current financial year by Rs. 9 lakhs and make for greater expenditure in each succeeding year for the duration of the war.

For the internal security of the State, His Highness has sanctioned the formation of Maharaja's Guards. There is already a great demand from the public for enlistment in this body, and it is hoped that the total number to be enrolled, which has been for the present fixed at the total number of the regular Police force in the State, will be forthcoming without difficulty.

MYSORE

At the outset of war, before any appeals for help were made, "War Effort" started in Mysore under the direction of the Joint War Committee and the Ladies Committee which were started in connection with the Red Cross.

On Dec. 9, 1939, the Yuvaraja made an appeal on behalf of the work.

On Feb. 17, 1940, a War Relief Fund was inaugurated for the whole of Mysore at which the Yuvaraja presided. His Highness sent the following message to his people, which the Yuvaraja read out at the meeting :

As the weeks go by since the commencement of what threatens to be the greatest war in all history, the need becomes more and more urgent for all who love freedom to play their part. In the past twelve months, we have seen one nation after another deprived of its independence. Mysore is a lover of liberty, and wishes to take her share in the battle for liberty. I have assured His Excellency the Viceroy of my readiness to make every sacrifice to protect our common interests; and of the willingness of my people and myself cheerfully to respond to any call made on us in such a crisis.

There are several opportunities for people who wish to help the cause of freedom to do so by service or by money. Principal among the latter are the funds organized under the authority of His Excellency the Viceroy for collection for War Purposes generally, for the Indian Red Cross and St. John's Ambulance, for St. Dunstan's Hostel for Blinded Soldiers, and for Amenities for Troops.

I am confident that Mysore will be only too ready and willing to take her full share in their activities. It is in realization of this and with the desire that Mysore should play her proper part at this critical juncture as in the past that I commend the appeals issued by His Excellency the Viceroy to the earnest consideration of my people.

At this public meeting, a War Relief Fund was organised with the object of keeping the people of Mysore advised through newspapers, leaflets, lectures and otherwise as to the aims and the purposes for which Great Britain is fighting, as

to the progress of the War, and as to the needs of those who are suffering in consequence of it.

Arrangements were also made for the training of men and women in Ambulance work and Nursing, to supply information regarding opportunities that may arise in connection with the War for service in His Majesty's Forces or otherwise, to collect funds for the relief of the suffering in any of the countries affected by the War now being waged; and, as a special case, also for those suffering as a consequence of the disastrous earthquake in Turkey.

The total contributions from all sources amount to Rs. 2,05,000 which includes one lakh of rupees donated by His Highness the Maharaja. Of these, an amount Rs. 10,000 was earmarked to specific funds and disbursed in accordance with the wishes of the donors.

The Ladies' Auxiliary Committee took considerable interest in preparing woollies and hospital requirements. Gifts, particularly Balaclava caps, pullovers, socks, etc., and hospital requirements such as bandages, bag-covers valued at nearly Rs. 2,000 was sent to the Red Cross Assistant Commissioner, Bombay. A sum of Rs. 5,000 has been spent for purchase of these materials and Ambulance equipment.

The Entertainment Committee have organized a series of entertainments and benefit performances to raise funds not only in the cities but also in the mofussil. The Committee also organized an exhibition and *fete* at Sampangi Tank, which was opened by the Yuvaraja of Mysore on May 25, 1940.

The Mysore Branch of the Sea War Library Service appealed for contributions of books. In the request made, every sort of book is asked for, the idea being that those suitable for the Navy would be picked out and sent to Bombay and the rest offered for sale at the *fete* or through a second-hand bookseller and the sale proceeds applied to the cost of packing and despatching, or if there is surplus over, to the purchase of suitable books.

Several hundreds of books have already been collected and the sorting of them is in progress. The sorting is roughly into five categories as follows : books suitable for the Navy ; novels, general literature—French books—books suitable for the Navy, but requiring binding—books for sale, for example, school books, law books, etc., and incomplete books, catalogues and other matter that is suitable neither for the Navy nor for sale. These may be put together in sacks and sold to the Bhadravati Paper Mills as waste paper.

The masters and boys of the School for Deaf and Blind Boys, Mysore, have offered to bind a hundred books free of charge as their contribution to the Fund. About seventy books which required rebinding have been sent to the School already.

The War Publicity Committee publish periodically a summary of war news and leaflets in Kannada explaining particular aspects of the War and the purpose for which it is being waged.

Arrangements are also made with local vernacular dailies for publication of special war supplements periodically for the benefit of people in rural areas.

The Mysore Branch of the Silver Thimble Fund is under the patronage of Lady Mirza Ismail who has personally signed a large number of letters to the leading ladies of the State. Other letters will be signed by other members of the Ladies' Committee or leading ladies in the districts.

Public appeals have been made from time to time by His Highness the Maharaja, the Yuvaraja and the Dewan.

This is a time of very great anxiety all over the world. The forces of His Majesty the King-Emperor and of his whole Empire are engaged in a deadly struggle against aggressors who care nothing for right and justice. For a time the forces of evil may appear to succeed ; but we know that we are fighting for the victory of the human spirit against mere brutal force. Therefore, we believe firmly that in the end with the blessing of God our cause will prevail.

That is an extract from His Highness's message to his people, delivered through the Dewan to the members of the Legislative Council

The Yuvaraja of Mysore spoke as follows in May :

In surveying this war, let us not look at things from a local point of view alone, forgetting the vital and humanitarian issues, immediately involved. In the future world, when the fear of wars is removed and reason is enthroned, India has a great role to play in its construction and in order that she may play her great part she should champion the cause of civilization unflinchingly.

The Dewan, while announcing His Highness's message to the people, said :

While all is quiet here we must not for a moment forget the fearful struggle that is going on in Europe, a struggle in which the fate of this country is also directly involved. The war will soon reach a crucial stage. Britain has to fight alone not only for her liberties but for her life. It may well be, and it is very likely to be, the most desperate struggle that the world has seen. Our hopes and prayers are with England in this hour of her grave peril.

TRAVANCORE

Travancore has thrown herself heart and soul into the task of mobilizing all her resources to assist Great Britain in her titanic struggle against the menace of Nazi aggression and brutality.

Immediately on the declaration of war, H. H. the Maharaja offered to place the State's entire resources at the disposal of His Majesty's Government, and has followed this up by notable contributions to the fighting forces on land, sea and in the air. His Highness has donated a sum of Rs. 6,50,000, a larger sum than has been offered by any Indian State save Hyderabad, and it is being utilized by His Majesty's Government, according to his Highness' desire, to provide a trawler to be called H. M. I. S. Travancore, as a unit of the Royal Indian Navy, for submarine detection and mine-sweeping purposes. His Highness has promised to make good any further amount that may be required for the full equipment of the vessel.

His Highness has also offered a fighter plane to the Royal Air Force, and has commanded the First Infantry of the Travancore State Forces to keep itself in readiness to proceed to the Front at a very short notice.

His Highness's Government are also helping the British Government in a variety of ways. As soon as the War broke out, certain commodities which until then had not been counted as of much use became of fundamental value. For instance, the value of cocoanut shell as war material was not recognised until recently. It was found that the burnt shell was one of the most essential necessities for munition production. Although naturally the production and the supply of burnt cocoanut shell should have been and would have been left to private enterprise, the Government of Travancore came to the conclusion that the collection of large quantities of cocoanut shell

from the various plantations and gardens throughout the State, the burning of them with proper precautions and with proper appurtenances and their storing and shipping would not be possible unless this Government threw themselves into the work. About 4,000 tons have already been shipped and more quantities are under preparation. The Government of Travancore have also agreed to the suggestion of the Government of India to take steps through the State University to give technical training to young men to fit them for the several manufacturing industries connected with the war. The University has also consented to admit to its courses Indian students whose studies in British Universities were interrupted by the war.

Inspired by the lead given by His Highness and His Highness's Government, the people of Travancore too, have organised themselves for war effort, and are making rapid progress in their work. A representative organisation styled the Travancore War Purposes Central Committee, with Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar as President, has been formed and it is tackling the various problems connected with war effort through its several sub-committees, which include in addition to the Executive Sub-Committee and a Finance Sub-Committee, sub-committees for co-ordinating women's efforts for giving training in first aid and fire-fighting and for doing propaganda. In the mofussil, district, taluk and municipal committees are being formed, each having functions similar to those of the Central Committee in its own locality.

The work of the Executive Sub-committee consists in guiding and advising the other sub-committees and it meets from time to time to control their work. For facility of work, the Finance Sub-Committee has constituted two Sub-Committees of its own, viz., (a) a Collection Sub-Committee which confines its work to the collection of subscriptions and an Entertainment Sub-Committee which arranges or supervises entertainments, benefit shows, dramas, etc., in aid of the War

Fund. The work of raising funds in the mofussil has been delegated to the district, taluk and municipal committees, and contributions that are being collected through their agency are in due course being forwarded to the Treasurer of the Central Committee.

The Women's Sub-Committee, inspired by the example of Her Highness Maharani Setu Parvati Bayi who has contributed Rs. 4,000 earmarked for the purchase of a Field Ambulance Unit, is giving a great lead by collecting funds through benefit shows and entertainments. It has already raised about Rs. 10,000 and besides money, is busily collecting articles for Lady Linlithgow's Gold and Silver Trinket Fund.

The Sub-Committee for training in First Aid and Fire Fighting has made arrangements for starting First Aid Classes in several centres of Trivandrum, and in one or two centres training for St. John Ambulance certificate course is given. First Aid classes are being opened in the mofussil also under the auspices of the district, taluk and municipal committees. Arrangements are also being made for giving proper training in Fire-Fighting with the help of the Police and Public Works Departments of the State.

There is splendid response from every section of the population to make voluntary sacrifices to contribute to the success of the war. Government servants have agreed to surrender 10 per cent. of their salaries and the employees of private firms and business houses are doing likewise. Particular mention may be made of the staff and employees of Messrs. Hopkins & Williams who have through their manager, Mr. Crowther, promised to contribute about Rs. 1,000 per month, and of the members of the Saturday Club, Trivandrum, who have agreed to present a well-equipped ambulance car.

CHRONICLE OF THE WAR

September 1, 1939 :

Germany invades Poland without warning ; five Polish towns including Warsaw bombed.

Britain and France order general mobilisation.

September 2 :

Germany attacks Poland from East Prussia in the North and from Slovakia in the South ; Polish towns bombed indiscriminately.

Roosevelt appeals to potential belligerents to give a pledge against bombardment of civilians or open towns ; Britain and France agree.

September 3 :

German planes bomb Polish refugee train and open towns ; the Poles resist tenaciously.

Britain declares war on Germany. France follows suit.

British liner 'Athenia' torpedoed off the Hebrides.

September 4 :

British R. A. F. bomb German warships at the entrance to the Kiel canal.

France begins operations by land, sea and air.

September 7 :

French troops break through the German lines in the direction of Saarbrücken.

Poles claim to have stemmed German advance.

Roosevelt declares a limited state of emergency.

September 9 :

Fierce fighting near Saarbrücken.

German troops claim entry into Warsaw.

Moscow admits partial mobilisation on Polish frontier.

September 13 :

Landing of British troops in France revealed.

September 14 :

Germans converge on Warsaw ; Poles retreat towards capital from South and East.

September 15 :

Poles recaptured Lodz and Germans repulsed at Lwow.

Germany agrees to refrain from using poison gas.

September 16 :

French occupy 500 square miles of German territory.

Germany delivers an ultimatum to Warsaw to surrender within 12 hours.

September 17 :

Soviet troops cross Polish frontier.

Soviet and German forces meet at Brest Litovsk.

September 19 :

Hitler enters Danzig and says that he is prepared to consider the cessation of war ; he also hints at a secret German military weapon of incredible power.

September 20 :

Polish refugees pour into Rumania, Lithuania and Hungary.

September 22 :

The demarcation line between German and Russian armies is established along the river Pissa and its confluence with the river Narew ; along the Narew to its confluence with the river Bug ; along the Bug to its confluence with the river Vistula ; along the Vistula to the mouth of the river San ; along the San to its source.

September 26 :

German warning ignored by Warsaw and capture of the city ordered by German military authorities.

September 28 :

Warsaw surrenders after a siege lasting three weeks.

September 29 :

Twelve German planes delivered to Rumania in exchange for Rumanian oil.

October 1 :

In a broadcast Churchill declares that the Allies have captured 150,000 tons of supplies more than they would have got if war had not been declared.

October 5 :

Germans evacuate six towns on the Western Front.

Hitler enters Warsaw.

October 11 :

An agreement between Britain and Russia to exchange Russian timber for certain quantities of rubber and tin is concluded.

October 14 :

The British battleship "Royal Oak" sunk at anchor by a U-boat at Scapa Flow. More than 800 officers and men lost their lives.

November 7 :

Hitler orders Marshal Goering to prepare for a five years' war.

November 23 :

The war is costing Britain about £6,000,000 a day, announces Sir John Simon in the Commons.

November 28 :

Russia denounces the Soviet-Finnish Pact of non-aggression.

November 20 :

Russians invade Finland and bomb civilian towns.

December 2 :

A treaty of mutual assistance signed between the Soviet and the "Government of the Finnish Democratic Republic" (the puppet administration set up at Terijoki). Under the treaty the Soviet undertakes to hand over to Finland 70,000 square kilometres of Soviet Karelia in exchange for 3,970 square kilometres from the Karelian Isthmus north of Leningrad. The Soviet is granted a 30 years' lease of the Hango Peninsula and adjacent territorial waters. A number of islands are ceded to Russia.

December 7 :

Russians reach outposts of Finnish main defences ; Finnish warplanes bomb the Russian base at the Estonian port of Baltiski.

December 14 :

The German battleship "Graf Spee", after being badly damaged in a running fight by the British cruisers "Exeter", "Ajax" and "Achilles" seeks refuge in Montevideo harbour. Thirty-six of her crew are killed and many wounded. "Ajax" and "Achilles" wait further outside Montevideo.

December 16 :

The Uruguayan Government gives the "Graf Spee" orders to leave by tomorrow or be interned.

December 17 :

The "Graf Spee" emerges without a pilot from Montevideo at 8-15 p. m. and, on Hitler's orders, blows herself up when still in the fairway three miles from port.

December 19 :

Captain Langsdorf, the Captain of the "Graf Spee", commits suicide.

December 20 :

Soviet troops reach Norwegian frontier.

Two Soviet divisions reported to have been wiped out near Suomussalmi ; nearly 20,000 Russians are said to have been killed.

December 28 :

Within ten days, Russians retreat altogether 50 miles from their most advanced point when they were nearly half-way across the "waist" of Finland.

January 4, 1940 :

Goering takes over complete direction of Germany's war economy.

January 6 :

Mr. Hore-Belisha, Secretary of War, resigns and Mr. Oliver Stanley is appointed in his place.

January 19 :

Russians retreat from Salla Front.

February 1 :

Denmark and Sweden decide to increase their fortifications and defence services, Denmark making additions to the fleet and air force and Sweden spending £1,445,000 on fortifications and aerodromes.

February 3 :

Forty-seven Soviet planes pour bombs on the Finnish town of Viborg.

February 6 :

It is learnt in Helsinki that the Finns have wiped out the 18th Soviet Division for over a week at Kitela, N. E. of Lake Ladoga. Over 15,000 men killed, captured or dead of cold and hunger.

Three million Poles are reported to have died since September due to German oppression.

February 11 :

Mr. Cordell Hull states that peace and economic sanity in the post-war period are the aims of the talks between the U. S. A. and neutrals and of Mr. Sumner Welles' mission in Europe.

February 13 :

The Soviet Army, despite a furious offensive (using 70 ton tanks) against the Mannerheim Line, is held up at all points. Soviet casualties are put at 3,000 a day.

February 14 :

A Finnish communique admits that Russians have occupied advanced points on the Mannerheim Line.

February 16 :

Finnish troops, under terrific Russian pressure, have withdrawn from first-line positions at several points in the Summa sector. Lack of reserves causes serious anxiety about the position of the Karelian Isthmus.

February 17 :

Finns claim big victory at Kumo, N. E. of Lake Ladoga, where, 1,800 Russians were killed and three battalions and one reconnaissance detachment destroyed.

Finns have bombed the railway from Leningrad to the Karelian Isthmus, damaging a vital Russian supply line.

February 25 :

The Soviet air armada has been trying to terrorise the civil population of Finland. Over 1,000 planes have taken part in massed attacks, many have been killed, but the people remain calm.

February 26 :

Mr. Sumner Welles interviews Signor Mussolini and Count Ciano.

March 1 :

Russians claim to be within two miles of Viipuri.

Mr. Sumner Welles reaches Berlin and meets Herr von Ribbentrop.

March 3 :

Mr. Sumner Welles sees Herr Hess and Marshal Goering.

Russians occupy the outskirts of Viipuri.

German troops are reported to be in South Russia.

March 9 :

Peace move in Finland is initiated by Sweden.

March 10 :

Ribbentrop meets the Duce.

Hitler speaking in Berlin attacks the democracies.

March 16 :

Germans raid Scapa Flow.

March 17 :

Finnish-Soviet Peace is signed.

March 18 :

Herr Hitler and Mussolini meet at a place on the frontier of Italy.

April 7 :

A Nazi 10-year plan to conquer Europe is unearthed.

April 8 :

Allies lay mine in Norwegian waters to intensify the blockade against Germany.

April 9 :

Germany invades Denmark and Norway. Denmark is occupied while Norway is resisting.

April 10 :

Fierce naval battle in North Sea.

Mr. Chamberlain promises full help to Norway.

April 11 :

In the House of Commons Mr. Churchill gives a thrilling account of the naval war and the occupation of the Faroe Islands.

April 12 :

Norwegian forces are fighting fierce battles on many fronts.

April 13 :

Vigorous sea battle in Narvik Bay.

April 20 :

German-Russian-Italian agreement regarding the Balkan area.

April 27 :

Hitler proclaims state of war between Germans and Norway.

May 3 :

H. M. the King and leaders of the Norwegian Government leave for an unknown destination.

May 4 :

Allies' withdrawal from Southern Norway is reported in British and French Press.

May 9 :

Germany invades Holland, Belgium and Luxemburg.

May 10 :

Allied troops rush to rescue Belgium and Holland.

Mr. Chamberlain resigns and Mr. Churchill forms a National Cabinet.

May 15 :

Holland surrenders: Amsterdam is thrown open to the Germans.

May 17 :

German troops march into Brussels.

May 21 :

Arras and Amiens are occupied by Germans.

CHRONICLE OF THE WAR

May 22 :

Emergency Powers (Defence) Bill becomes Law.

The French recapture Arras.

May 24 :

Violent fighting in the region of Valenciennes.

May 28 :

King Leopold of Belgium surrenders.

May 29 :

Belgian Ministers denounce King Leopold's action as unconstitutional.

May 30 :

Fierce fighting in Flanders.

June 1 :

Lord Gort and the B. E. F. successfully land in England.

June 3 :

Paris bombed by Germans.

June 4 :

Mr. Churchill announces in Parliament that 335,000 men have been rescued from Flanders.

June 5 :

German drive to Paris on 120 mile front.

June 7 :

A furious battle on the Somme front.

June 10 :

Italy declares war on the Allies.

June 11 :

President Roosevelt indicts Italy for "stabbing a neighbour in the back" and offers full assistance in supplies to the Allies.

June 13 :

M. Reynaud's final appeal for American aid.

It is announced that Paris is not to be defended.

June 14 :

Germans enter Paris.

June 17 :

Marshal Petain, new Premier of France, announces cessation of fighting between France and Germany.

June 18 :

Hitler and Mussolini confer at Munich.

June 22 :

Mr. Churchill expresses firm determination to continue the war with Hitler in spite of French surrender.

June 23 :

Armistice terms between France and Germany are announced.

June 24 :

Marshal Petain's Government signs the armistice with Germany.

June 25 :

Terms of armistice with Italy signed by France.

June 27 :

Soviet troops cross Rumanian frontier.

June 29 :

Marshal Balbo is reported killed.

July 2 :

Mahatma Gandhi appeals to Britain to accept the method of non-violence, instead of war with Hitler.

July 4 :

Mr. Churchill announces Anglo-French engagement in the Mediterranean.

July 5 :

Germany rejects "Monroe" doctrine as "untenable".

S

Petain Government breaks diplomatic relations with Britain.

July 19 :

Hitler addressing the Reichstag asks Britain to accept his terms in preference to a war of annihilation.

July 22 :

Estonia Lithuania and Latvia join U. S. S. R.

July 27 :

Havana plan for trusteeship of European colonies in the New World.

Nazis set another zero hour for attack on Britain.

July 28 :

Arrest of nine Britons in Japan.

Aug. 3 :

Germanisation of Alsace and Lorraine.

Aug. 4 :

R. A. F. attack on Massawa.

Italian attack on Somaliland.

Aug. 5 :

Italian offensive in Africa.

Aug. 9 :

Sixty German planes destroyed by R. A. F. in grim Channel encounter.

Aug. 11 :

Nazis lost another 50 planes in Channel battle.

Aug. 14 :

Italian aircraft works bombed ; Milan and Turin factories in flames.

Aug. 15 :

88 German raiders destroyed ; Italy's threat to Greece ; Albania used as pretext.

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Aug. 16 :

169 Nazi planes shot down.

Aug. 18 :

German air losses revealed ; 552 planes and 1,000 airmen during week.

Aug. 19 :

141 out of 600 Nazi raiders destroyed ; Somaliland successfully evacuated.

Aug. 21 :

"Britain ready for campaign in 1941-42", said Mr. Churchill in war review. Rumania ceded two provinces of the Dobrudja to Bulgaria.

Aug. 22 :

R. A. F. in Middle East reinforced ; Egypt, if attacked, to fight with Britain ; Official figures revealed enemy losses of 1,072 planes over Britain since war began.

Aug. 25 :

70 Nazi aircraft destroyed in two days.

Aug. 26 :

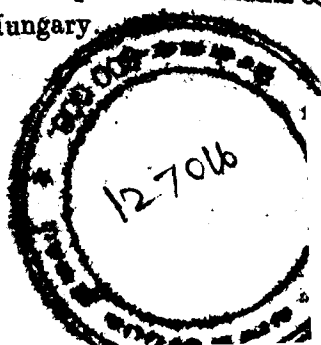
R. A. F. planes raid Berlin ; armament factories bombed.

Aug. 29 :

Cameroons and French Congo, following the decision of Chad, a French colony in equatorial Africa, decided to fight on with Britain.

Aug. 30 :

Under Axis pressure Rumania ceded greater part of Transylvania to Hungary.



JL

V/m 1477 1 W

N 39