S T R A W S I N T H E W I N D

and

ARTICLES , REVIEWS , LETTERS, ETC.

BY

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THE METROPOLITANS' CONFERENCE

It is with deep feeling of gratitude to God that any Indian Catholic would go through the records of "The Conference of the Metropolitans of India", published lately from the Good Pastor Press, Madras. In two-hundred and odd neatly printed pages are contained an immense treasure house of plans and ideas, vital for the progress of the Church in India. One impression that stands uppermost in the mind after reading this admirable document is that a great work lies ahead of us Catholics in the India of tomorrow. We read on page 117 in the report of His Grace, the Archbishop of Madras, on "The Church and Social Action": "If ever a country was in need of a helping hand from the Church to bring it back to a true order and to lift it up, it is the India of our day. Need we refer to the mass poverty and destitution that stares the world in the face? India, 'the brightest jewel in the British Crown does not give one square meal a day to the majority of her people. Her children die like flies before they are even one year old. Scores of millions of her grown-ups are weak and sickly because they are underfed, have no protection against the changes of the climate, have no medicines, have no possible hygiene. The economic standard of the masses is so low that in normal circumstances they are just able to keep alive, but should any crisis occur it simply mows them down. India's starving millions constitute the most formidable problem for the nation. With our divine Master we repeat: *'Misereor super turbam.'*

Every Catholic heartily hopes that posterity will have reason to look back to the Conference in Madras as a landmark in the history of the Church in India.

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THE JOCS

The quick revival of the Jocs (Young Catholic Workers) after the liberation of Belgium by the Allies is a silent commentary on conditions of German occupation. Within a week after the liberation the Jocist organ renewed its publication. For the very first issue it printed 240,000 copies in French (*La Jeunesse Ouvriere Catholique*) and 460,000 copies in Flemish (*Katholieke Arbeiders Jeugd*).

THE A. I. S. F.

The Communist's skill in making somersaults in policy was recently displayed in the students' Conference of Lucknow. The A.I.S.F. (All India Students' Federation) which the Communist Party of India carefully cherishes under its wing, has been making frantic efforts in recent years to absorb other student organizations of India. On the plea that disunity is our common weakness they invite all student bodies to be affiliated to them and to make common cause with them. But the A.I.S. Congress, the Student Unions of the university towns, and other similar bodies persist in meeting often and passing strong resolutions condemning the A.I.S.F. They want no affiliation with a federation of which the declared policy is "People's War"; much less do they want absorption into it. The Lucknow Students' Congress accused the A.I.S.F. to be Communist, and stated that they would have nothing to do with it. The A.I.S.F. organ with deft acrobatic skill now parries the blow by stating that the A.I.S.F. if not a Communist body, though, as it admits, a few of the members are Communists. The A.I.S.F. does well to admit that a few members are Communists; but is it not these few who run the whole federation, and is it not thanks to them that Indian students are continually being fed on Communist doctrines all through the federation organ?

Straws in the Wind

AS THEY SEE US

THE ignorance of non-Catholics about the Church and her teachings is often very surprising, and sometimes produces amusing results. The *"Hindustan Hamara"* publishers brought out recently a timely book "Twenty-eight Questions about Russia" by H. W. Henderson. We call the book timely, because at present the country is riddled with "Bolshevists," "Communists", and other "ists" who for all one can see in their publications id proclamations are more intent on upholding the cause of the U.S.S.R.'s Communist Party than that of India. But it is not with the book but with its review in "The Social Reformer" (March 10) that we are concerned now.

The reviewer after giving the contents of the book looks about for a confirmation and seems to discover for the first time that the Catholic Church has certain definite views on Communism. He writes: "Confirmation of Henderson's view comes from Catholic quarters. The Pope has, it seems, issued an encyclical on 'Atheistic Communism', and as a companion document, the *Catholic Worker* has issued a pamphlet. 'The Red menace in Australia' (Price 2d.) Communism stands not for the freedom of democracy, but for the tyrannical dictatorship of a self-appointed bureaucracy, utterly intolerant of all views but its own, is a typical sentence from the pamphlet."

The reviewer is not yet too sure of the encyclical on Communism which was published more than eight years ago by the late Pope; and he hails the twopenny pamphlet as 'a companion document' to *"Divini Redemptoris"*. In point of fact, pamphlets on Communism by Catholics are almost innumerable; in English a very large number have been published by the C. T. S., and the Catholic Social Guild in England, by *The Catholic Worker*, *The Queen's Work*, and *Our Sunday Visitor*, in America. Besides these there are the many standard works by Belloc, Ryan, Husslein, Cathrein and other eminent writers. Catholic literature on Communism and allied questions is so abundant that one would hesitate long before picking any book out and setting it up on a pedestal as the companion document to the Papal Encyclical.

COMMUNISTS VERSUS ST. XAVIER'S, BOMBAY

Catholic Colleges have ever been hard nuts for Communist propagandists to crack. Recent incidents in Bombay go to confirm this. In January Communists had been trying to absorb the many rival student organizations of Bombay on the pretext of having joint demonstrations for Independence Day, January 26th. After some parleying some agreement was reached; and the Communist controlled fortnightly, *The Student*, reported with great satisfaction that even "the Catholics especially in St. Xavier's College" had agreed to join: true, but not until all had resolved that the aim of the demonstrations should be "constructive work"—a very nebulous term, indeed—and release of the Congress leaders, and nothing more. Meetings were held, according to the account of *The Student*, in the three Medical Colleges of Bombay, the R.I.S. and Wilson College. In St. Xavier's College too a handful of students gathered for a joint meeting, but the meeting was anything but a success. As the Reds began to appear in their true colours, the others felt it necessary to show their protest; a party leader with his following walked out of the room. Far from being the triumph the meeting was hoped to be, it was a hard disillusionment. It is to be desired that this experience will teach the Communists not to try to vend their wares in Catholic Colleges where there is no demand for them.

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CASTES IN INDIA AND THE WORLD

Sri Sankaracharia of Kanch Kamakoti Peeam has protested strongly against the attempts of the Rau Committee of Hindu Law reform to tamper with the caste system among the Hindus. He exhorts all Hindus to go back to the Vedas and to learn from them the *Dharma* of each caste and the need of maintaining caste exclusiveness. This exhortation, evidently, must have great weight with Hindus since it comes from one of the highest spiritual heads of Hinduism. At about the same time comes another exhortation, not to Hindus, but to the Western world, from Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, to come to the Vedas to learn how racial colour prejudices may be dispelled and world-unity may be secured. Sir C. P. is both an acute politician and an ardent Hindu missionary. His political analysis is right when he says that racial and colour prejudices are at the bottom of much of the present unrest and injustice in the world. But we beg to question, especially after reading Sri Sankaracharia's speech whether it is from the Vedas that one can learn to dispel prejudices of group against group.

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THE RAU COMMITTEE

The Hindu Law Reform contemplated by the Rau Committee is attracting a great deal of attention in the secular press. Many hail the reform as most necessary and opportune, while others condemn it in the strongest terms. M. N. Roy's *Independent India* reports one phase of the orthodox opposition. It took place at Lahore. A crowd of 10,000 women were instigated by the Sanathan Dharma Sabha to raid the Lahore Museum where the Committee was holding its sessions. Slogans and counter-slogans were heard; a confused melee followed; window-panes and furniture were smashed; and the Committee had to leave the museum for a safer place.

Three important changes are recommended by the new code. The right to the joint-family property is no more acquired by every male child on its

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birth. Secondly, the right to the father's property will be for each daughter half that of each son. And thirdly, as regards Hindu marriage, monogamy will be the law, inter-caste marriages will be valid, and divorce will be permitted by law.

The last part of the third item in the reform raises an important issue, and that alone interests us for the present. Civil laws are but the application of the natural law which binds on all men, and of which the authority is from God. Hence no civil law is just unless it conforms to the natural law. Catholics have always opposed divorce, not merely because Church legislation forbids it, but for a more fundamental reason. Unity and indissolubility are the two essential characteristics of the marriage contract; and hence bigamy and divorce are opposed to the natural law as well as homicide and theft. Any one who respects the natural law and God's right over the consciences of men must admit that legalizing divorce is legalizing a violation of God's law

Letter to the Editor

// SPAIN & FASCISM

Spain is in focus in the secular press. Malicious, blustering propaganda that affirms white as black and presents sympathetic by-standers as murderous enemies is once more busying itself about that country. It was this fact that called forth Franco's reply reported in the "HERALD" of April 8. We know how powerful and eminently successful such propaganda was during the Spanish Civil War of 1936. Its achievement during that war was to make most people in Europe and India believe the foreign-controlled robber government of pre-war Spain to be the supreme ideal of democracy and the leaders of the national reaction to be rebels and homicides. As Belloc pointed out in "G. K.'s Weekly" (June 24, 1937) two special characteristics of this species of propaganda were, first, specific and detailed affirmation, often reiterated, and second, a complete indifference to reality—in other words, barefaced and outrageous lying. Anti-Spanish propaganda to-day also retains the same noble characteristics thus to give evidence to the illustrious source whence it springs. It

"Nazi spy network in Madrid" and "German military information services in all Spanish ports" exist only in the imagination of the correspondent whose concern is not to give news but to create a sensation; and one might ignore them with contempt.

A point that deserves some attention is the charge often levelled against the Spanish government that it is fascist. One should remember that "Pravda," which is for "The People's War" the brightest star in the firmament of journalism, called even the Vatican and the Pope fascist. If a fascist is any one who is opposed to materialism, atheism and communism, then decidedly the Pope, and also Franco, and most part of humanity are fascists. But to right-thinking minds, fascism is not that; it is an ideology that glorifies the State at the expense of the rights of God and the human person. It is the theory that men exist for the sake of the State and not vice versa, as the Church teaches. Comrade Joseph Stalin is as much a fascist as Herr Adolph Hitler, but one would hesitate much before calling Franco a fascist. It is true that Franco and his people undertook a great campaign in order to preserve the integrity of their country and to rid the land of suborned traitors who had burnt down 20,000 of their churches and had slain 11,000 defenceless priests and nuns. But this is not being a fascist.

Addressing the youth of Spain in October, 1942, Franco said: "Our policy built upon the eternal principles of the Gospel of Christ, seeks as I have often told you, the kingdom of God, the greatness of our fatherland, and the general weal of our common people . . . with the social subservient to the spiritual realm." These words are not exactly those of a fascist.

H.T.K.R.

VATICAN POLICY

THE war is approaching its end, the disgusting carnage is nearly over, new hopes are rising. But there appears on the horizon a new frightful spectre, uglier than that of war itself, the spectre of a Peace which will bring us no *peace* but will lead up to more struggle and strife.

Time and again the Pope has insisted that only a just peace on equitable terms for all can give to the world the order and tranquillity it needs so badly to heal its wounds and repair its destruction. The common people like all right minded men fully agree with the Pope. Not so that boisterous section of ambitious political leaders who want a peace imposed at the point of the sword, a peace that crushes and cripples the people of the vanquished nations, that will create discontent and unrest and sow the seed of revolution. That is what the Pope wants to prevent, but that is just what these politicians want as a stepping stone towards the establishment of their dictatorship.

THE VATICAN ATTACKED

No accusation is too base for these politicians to discredit the efforts of the Vatican for a 'just Peace'. The following sentence from the editorial of the *Indo-Soviet Journal* (March 7) is indicative of the attitude of the press at their disposal :—"Advocates of the so-called soft peace with Germany in those circles of Catholic reaction which are grouped around the Vatican, and among industrialists and financiers who place profit above patriotism, conceal their real aim by hypocritical appeals to Christian forgiveness and humanity, and by specious economic arguments, about the necessity of preserving the economic power of Germany for the sake of world trade, about the fatal effects of reparation-deliveries on trade, labour market and so forth." Perverse propaganda this is of those committed to follow the Moscow Party Line, or of blind hatred for whatever the Vatican stands for.

THE VATICAN AND THE PEOPLE

The effrontery of these gentlemen linking the Pope with the special interests of industrialists and financiers is shameless. For scores of years now the Popes have been denouncing in no veiled terms the crying abuses of perverse Capitalism. No Communists have delivered a more slashing attack on its crimes than did for instance Pius XI in his encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno*. Nor has the present Pope Pius XII softened in any way the indictment. On the contrary, witness the reaction the reaction of the secular press to his constant strong condemnation of ill-distributed wealth, of oppression of the poor and the weak. But just this hurts the enemies of the Vatican, for they fear that the common people would see in the Pope the champion of their cause and the defender of their rights; they fear Pope and Church as a rival, a powerful opponent of their bid to enslave the people to their wicked designs.

PRINCIPLES OF PEACE

It is perfectly true that "since 1939 the Pope has pleaded with the belligerents to put an end to the war by a negotiated peace based upon respect for the cultural and political rights of each nation, great and small, a peace with justice which would appease the passions aroused by the war and give some hope of lasting reconciliation." (The *Economist*, September 11, 1943.) The Pope is strongly opposed to a travesty of peace based on mere force and dictated by the vengeful mood of a conqueror standing over his prostrate foe. The concept of unconditional surrender and utter annihilation is a denial of the moral rights of the nations; it ignores the fact that both the victor and the vanquished will have to face the problem of reconstruction together. On June 2, 1944, the Pope said: "The conviction of a real or supposed will on the part of the enemy to destroy national life to the very roots smothers all other reflections and instils in many a courage of desperation. They advance as in a hpynotic sleep, and constrain others to a war of extermination that drains their very life-blood."

The peace programme advocated by the Pope, far from leaving the road open for fresh aggressions in the future, is the most effective provision against them.

NO MERE CONDONATION

The Pope does not envisage economic equality to be restored between the nations immediately after the conclu-

sion of the war. Reparation for damages, says the Pope, may be necessary, and will be legitimate within just limits. But in imposing these, nations must not overlook the fact that "war to-day, no less than in the past, cannot easily be laid to the account of peoples and nations as such" (Allocution, June 2, 1944). Neither does the Pope deny the necessity of certain security measures, the burden of which will be felt at first more by those nations to whom the direct responsibility for the war is attributed. (Christmas message, 1944). But whatever be the reparations, whatever be the security measures, a peace which is not the work of justice and denies to any nation its fundamental rights cannot but be condemned in the strongest terms. Politically it is a mortal danger to the future world; economically it is fateful shortsightedness; morally it is a crime that cries to heaven for vengeance.

"THE GANDHIAN PLAN" FOR POST-WAR INDIA

There is much in "The Gandhian Plan" (Padma Publications, Bombay) of S. N. Agarwal, Principal, Wardha Commerce College, that we would heartily agree with. As the war is coming to an end, economists and politicians all over the world are busying themselves with post-war plans. It is evident that plans which may suit the countries of Europe and America will hardly be ideal ones for India. An agricultural country, with ninety per cent of the people scattered in villages, with industry still in an incipient stage, with the masses living in extreme poverty, presents problems far different from those of capitalistic and industrial countries. India must plan on its own lines. The failure of certain systems in the West will teach us valuable lessons; but their partial successes are no guarantee that they would meet with the same success in India. Prof. Agarwal rightly condemns the *laissez-faire* policy of capitalism as "a round about process of first allowing the capitalists to exploit the poor and then throwing crumbs of financial help to the exploited." He is no less correct when he castigates the totalitarian systems as a rigorous curtailment of human liberty. There is a safe middle-course and what Indian economists have to see is how that course should in practice be fol-

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lowed in India. We doubt whether "the self-sufficient village community" which Prof. Agarwal holds as the ideal will be practicable in an age when the whole world is growing highly industrialized. The importance of cottage-industries should not be minimized; but they are valuable not as the main source of national production, but as a help to the *under-employed* riot, as a second string to his bow. Pundit Nehru rightly wrote on 4th June, 1939 in one of his notes to the National Planning Committee: "The very resolution appointing the Planning Committee calls upon us to provide for the development of heavy key industries, medium scale industries, and cottage industries. It lays down that the economic regeneration of the country connot take place without industrialization." A plan that fails to visualize India as a member of the Commonwealth of nations cannot secure the welfare of the people. India's economic problems are different from those of other countries; but at the same time it should be remembered that India cannot exist isolated from other countries. Machinery has its evils, and grave evils too. The solution is not to scrap machinery but to cure the evils.

SCIENCE TURNS TO PATRONIZING RELIGION.

Efforts of contemporary Science to patronize religion seem often comic. An example is afforded by certain interesting statements made by Francis Perrin, French Physicist, to press representatives in U.S.A. They form the basis of a very misleading article in the recent issue of *France-Orient*, March, 1945: "Modern Physics reconciles the Spiritual and the Material" M. Perrin says: "Quantum physics has made a fundamental discovery. . . . It permits us to conceive an active role for conscience in this world without contradicting science." That discovery turns out to be the theory of probabilities,—that all observations in the domain of matter are of large scale phenomena, that certain effects seem always to follow only because the probability for the contrary effects is very small, that in small-scale phenomena no effect can be predicted with certainty. Hence the scientists conclude that the determinism of the nineteenth century should be discarded and that there is no strict casuality in nature.

The temptation of physicists to wander into the realms of philosophy and religion has always been strong. Not a few have yielded to that temptation, and the result has always been a great deal of nebulous thinking. Eddington writes in his book: "The nature of the physical world": "In the old conflict between free will and predestination it has seemed hitherto that science comes heavily on the side of pre-destination. It is the consequence of the advent of quantum theory that physics is no longer pledged to a scheme of deterministic law. . . . Science thereby withdraws its moral opposition to free will."

Attractive theories of this kind are being widely disseminated through magazines and books of popular science by scientists who dabble in philosophy. Common people who do not understand terms like determinism, quantum physics, macro-and micro-scopic phenomena, and probabilities come to believe that modern science is competent to sit in judgment on religion, and that religious truths must stand or fall according to the verdict of scientists. But one who understands that physics and metaphysics belong to different spheres of thought, will easily see that the physical sciences do not and cannot lend any support to one side or the other of questions like free-will and the law of casuality. The finite intellect of the scientist and the man-made instruments of his laboratory may not be able to predict what the future mode of activity of an atom, electron or quantum will be. But this does not in the least imply that the activity is not determined, or that a higher Intellect that knows all the circumstances cannot determine it. Science has in no way disproved the law of strict casuality. Nor does it lend any support to the concept of human free-will. Only a stark materialist who denies the spiritual element in man will maintain that intellect and will are subject to the same laws as atoms and quanta. The efforts of quantum physics to conciliate the spiritual and the material, far from achieving that purpose, destroy the very notion of the spiritual. *Ne sutor supra crepidam*, says a Latin proverb: Cobbler, stick to your last.

BOLSHEVIK PARTY PROGRAMME.

The programme of the Bolshevik Party of India will be read with interest by all those who have the welfare of India at heart. It was published by the party organ *'Independent Front'* which has resumed publication recently after being obliged by Government to discontinue for five months. "We are for building up unified mass organization throughout the country. Hence the unity of A.I.T.U.C. (Trade Union Congress) must be maintained and broadened. The disrupted Kisan Sabha and Student's Federation should be unified by the inclusion of all groups and political parties amongst the Kisans and students. We should work for the democratization of the A.I. Women's Conference. We must develop united front activities with the Muslim League, Momin-i-Ansar, Jamiat-ul-Ulema, Majlis-i-Ahrar, Scheduled Caste Organization, Congress Workers' Assemblies, and enter those organizations where conditions permit, in order to strengthen the progressive forces within them. . . . Since Marxists

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are the most consistent fighters for progress, it is incumbant for them to unite among themselves."

Indeed the term progress is attractive and non-committal. It includes such varied items as people's war, social revolution, nationalization of agriculture and industry, Slovakia's and Lubianka's, mass-executions and rule by an insignificant minority party. Democracy is the avowed ideal of the fighters for progress, but it is the type of democracy which exists in the homeland of the Bolsheviks. When Churchill recently applied the term democracy to Russia, Professor G. M. Young remarked: "The Prime Minister is very proud of his mastery of language and his ability to make words do what he wants them to do. He has extended the word 'democracy' to cover the government of Russia, and if the feat had not been performed in my presence. I would have said it was beyond the powers of Shakespeare himself."

Straws in the Wind

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CATHOLIC PROPAGANDA

CATHOLIC papers from England announce the establishment of a new Catholic News Service in English.. It will operate from the Capital cities of all the English speaking countries, and will be linked up with the N.C.W.C. news service of U.S.A. and the Information Bureau of Quebec in Canada. Its object is to gather and to distribute items of news which are of interest to Catholics and to federate Catholic activities throughout the world. A federation of Bishops in all English speaking countries is also proposed. In England the project is to be undertaken by Archbishop Griffin with the co-operation of the hierarchy of England and Wales.

The Power of the Press

This announcement must be heartening to every one who has the welfare of the Church and of the world at heart. The international press services, often controlled by small clipues, have become formidable forces in the world of today. On them depend more than ever the commerce, industry, and politics of the nations as well as the moral and material well-being of the peoples. The secular press services show little evidence of a fixed policy or sane philosophy. Innumerable instances can be quoted from recent years to show how they can be hot-beds of corruption. And yet the daily press is so popular in every country that the world needs must think as the press wants it to think.

The Church in the Modern World

The Catholic Church is the surest factor today for stability and reconstruction. It has a message of hope which mankind sorely needs. An international press service run by Catholics and putting before the world what the Church says about modern problems and how she strives to solve them, a press service that forces the world at large to think oftener of the Church's attitude towards socio-economic questions, cannot but be a great boon to humanity at large. It is needed in every country, but perhaps more in India than elsewhere. If the Church has made little headway among the intelligentsia of this land, is it not because the power of the Church has not been realized? Catholics in other lands might teach us that we should no longer be afraid of the fewness of our numbers or of the strength of the entrenched forces of evil, that instead of shunning publicity, we should boldly come out into the open and proclaim the Church's message to the world. The Pope said in his Christmas allocution of 1943: "To action then! To work, beloved children. Close your ranks; let not your courage fail you. Do not remain inactive in the midst of ruins, but emerge into the open to carve out a new world for Christ."

15

MONSTER PETITION, A MONSTROSITY

True followers of Christ in every country were shocked by the statements made by some Orthodox Patriarchs on January 31. A few weeks later certain Protestant factions in U.S.A. did a more surprising act by presenting a petition to Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin. It said in effect that any counsel or assistance which religion might offer towards a peace settlement should be rejected. The petition was signed by 1600 Protestant clergymen, headed by the radical Methodist Episcopal Bishop, F. J. McConnell, and by Rev. H. F. Ward. The instigator of this act, which all true Christians regard as a betrayal of Christ's cause, was one Kenneth Leslie, publisher of a pro-Communist periodicial designedly misnamed "The Protestant". The tenor of the petition clearly proves that it was intended to strengthen the attacks which Russian papers have been making against the Vatican from the begining of this year. Yet all right-minded people should admit that nothing can benefit the human race more than to give a fitting representation to the Vatican in the negotiations for peace.

Is it possible that in this dark hour Protestanism is forging an alliance with anti-Christianity for the complete secularization of society? Anti-Catholic virus is very powerful in certain sections of Protestantism, and evidence of that has not been lacking also in this country. It is clear that those imbued with this virus—Kenneth Leslie and his followers, for example—would rather prefer Protestantism itself to commit suicide than see the prestige of the Catholic Church on the increase. But what would be the effect of such an attitude except to force all good Christians into the Catholic Church?

16

TO CLEANSE OUR THEATRES

It is high time that the hard-headed film industry in India learnt the lesson that "slime doesn't pay." "The Song of Bernadette" is still attracting crowded houses whereever it is shown. "Going My Way", starring Bing Crosby, has been universally acclaimed as one of the best pictures of the day. The success of films, plays, and other entertainments centred round wholesome themes should prove to the studio owners that the call for decency in entertainment is not any show of pharisaical puritanism, but that it is the sincere desire of millions of decent people of every religious persuasion. And yet most of our theatres, those catering for a non-English audience not expected, continue to be deluged with smut that offends the eye and ear of self-respecting people. We would wish that Catholics in India took the lead for an efficient nation-wide campaign that would rid our country of this shameful blot on our civilization. The children of the world, wise though they be in their generation, have much to learn from the children of light. If they be slow to learn, let it not be due to our unwillingness to teach them.

17

CATHOLIC EDUCATION

The Catholic Church does not consider any expenditure in men or money too great for the all-important duty of securing Catholic education for her children. In India our 22 colleges, 750 secondary schools, 5,000 elementary schools, and 150 industrial schools are a sufficient proof for this. In England we have seen how strong the reaction was when new government schemes threatened the Catholic educational system. In the U.S.A., the Catholics have had to build up a large number of schools and universities out of their own resources, though paying at the same time heavy taxes to keep up the state educational institutions for non-Catholics. But they find that what they have already is far from sufficient to satisfy the claims of higher education and research. Recently it was announced from St. Louis Catholic University that its president, Fr. Patrick J. Holloran, S.J., is conducting a two million dollar drive to finance seven new buildings for the university. The scheme includes a new library, a class-room building, a nurses' home, a residence hall, extension of the physics, chemistry, biology, and geophysics departments, and a new addition worth half a million dollars to the department of medicine.

Our own educational system as we have it at present is no mean achievement. But the bold planning of St. Louis University should bring home to us once more the urgent need we have of a Medical College, an Engineering College, an Agricultural College. Higher education is not an expensive luxury under the present circumstances, it is a strict necessity.

Straws in the Wind

DANGEROUS ALLIANCE

ALL the Communist papers in India consider as a windfall of supreme importance Molotov's brief reference to India in his talk at San Francisco. Photographs of Molotov are appearing everywhere with the new title "Champion of Freedom", and Indians are bidden to look to Russia as their only hope of salvation. But, in truth, Molotov's statement in no way justifies all the exaggerated construction that has been put on it. All he said was: "We have at this conference a delegation from India. But India is not an independent country. We all understand that a time will come when the voice of an independent India will be heard". Has not even Amery himself time and again repeated such platitudes? What is there so spectacular in these non-committal phrases of Molotov? They come from the foreign minister of a country whose consistent policy it is to obtain a dominant influence over other peoples and nations, and which to save its face, keeps on singing empty eulogies to freedom. These words of Molotov are just another way of telling Britain that those who live in glass-houses should not throw stones. Russia must be left free to do what it likes with Central and Eastern Europe, or else it will throw the Indian question in the face of Britain. This is an accepted method of counter-attack in power-politics. Before Indians hail the astute Foriegn Minister of Russia as the champion of India's freedom, they should make sure that his interference is sufficiently disinterested. Experience ever since 1917 shows how hollow is the Communists' lip-service to freedom. "Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes," wrote Virgil: "I fear the Greeks even when they bring presents." Certain types of men who feign to be allies are even more dangerous than open enemies. Indians certainly have no desire to fall from the frying pan into the fire.

"Comrade" Roy

Comrade Roy's original antics in politics, sociology, economics, religion and other fields are apt to amuse any one unless one knows he is so dead serious about it all. He and his so-called Radical Democratic Party, which, for all one can see consists of a few adoring, unquestioning hangers-on, are singular in many ways. They constitute a high caste among the many varieties of "comrades" in the country, and give themselves the privilege of treating the others as falling below the ideal of pure Marxians. It is not only "Comrades" of the Communist Party of India (C.P.I.) who come in for the contempt and infective of these self-styled champions of democracy: Congressmen are sycophants licking the feet of the capitalists, the Muslim Leaguers are a group of Quislings, while the owners of industries and factories are no better than leeches on the body politic. The only group that Roy and party would view with some degree of approbation is the British Government. No doubt they have reason to do so. They must do their best to bring all the other Parties which have any power in the country at loggerheads among themselves. It is difficult to say how far they succeed in this novel 'patriotic' adventure, but it is certain that they distribute all round a generous share of sarcasm and ridicule for every one who fails to look on the great "Comrade Roy" with the same worshipful eyes as the men of the R.D.P. Of course they have no time to verify whether all they say is founded on fact or whether much of it is pure fiction.

20

NOTORIETY IN AUTHORSHIP

There is a certain class of foreigners who have made it a hobby to write books on India, when they lack more serious occupations. Beverly Nichols, author of 'Verdict on India', is an example. A smattering knowledge of things Indian coupled with the power to quibble with words is assumed to be a sufficient title for launching into the task of fathering books of this kind. "Verdict on India" quickly achieved a notoriety; but most critics are agreed that the book is at best silly and misinformed, and at worst malicious. But quite different has been the welcome accorded in many sections of the Indian Press to Penderel Moon's "Strangers in India" and "The Future of India." These books are supposed to have "a very personal and a very honest atmosphere" about them; it is claimed that they "grasp with a firm hand the nettle" of the complex of conflicts in the Indian problem. But we fail to see where that firm hand is. Is it that Mr. Moon advocates industrialization of India to be thrown into the background for the sake of agricultural replanning and village reconstruction? Or is Mr. Moon's firm hand revealed in the confident and bold assertion that birth-control is the only remedy for the stark poverty of the masses?

Mr. Moon retired from the I.C.S. and went back to England two years ago at the early age of 38, having gained that little knowledge of India which can be acquired by one who lives carefully shielded by heavy banks of office files from the real India of the common people. Before he advocates 'ultra-modern' views on birth-control and the like for the Indian people, we would wish that he compared his opinions with those of other men like Dr. P. J. Thomas, an Indian economist, who is at present the economic adviser to the Indian Delegation at San Francisco. Dr. Thomas strongly condemns the fallacious theory of birth-control, not only because birth-control is a heinous crime, which by itself is a valid reason, but also because the theory is based on an unsound and flimsy view of the economic problems of India.

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THE DOMINICANS

Lovers of Catholic culture have reason to look foreward eagerly to every new issue of 'Blackfriars', the scholarly review published by the English Dominicans. A recent number, March 1943, succeeds in giving to the readers a just idea of the great religious Order which conducts the review. Its three main articles, all written by eminent English Dominicans, are devoted to (1.) the Dominican Spirit, 2. three high-lights of the Order and 3. the Dominican speciality of religious scholarship. The second of the three articles is by Fr. Hugh Pope O.P. With a few deft touches the author gives us a comprehensive pen-picture of the great luminaries St. Thomas Aquinas, Cardinal Cajetan, and Pere Lagrange. Readers would heartily agree with the high praise bestowed, especially, on the last of the trio, Pere Lagrange, whose work, perhaps, because too close to us in time, is less known than it deserves, except among Biblical scholars.

There are no two views on what the Church and Catholic theology owe to the Dominican Order. And it is to be regretted that for many Catholics in India the Order itself is as unfamiliar as the name of Pere Lagrange. Is a a partial explantion for this to be sought in the fact that the Diocese of Multan with its twenty Dominican priests and 25,000 Catholics lies in the North-West corner of India, far away from the main body of Catholic India?

Straws in the Wind

WAR AND POST-WAR

A. L. MOREINO asks in THE HERALD of May 17th why the Russian Anthem was not played in the Catholic thanksgiving service. The Editor has answered satisfactorily. But the question seems further to imply that Catholics are unwilling to admit the fact of Russia's overwhelming share in the gaining of the victory. We have certainly no desire to deny or to overlook facts; but we refuse to draw wrong conclusions from them.

Russian War-Effort

Here are some figures publicized by P. C. Joshi in Communist circles in India. British papers have little interest in propagandizing them, and hence it is not often that we hear them. In the last war Germany had 220 divisions of which 135 were on the Western Front and only 85 on the Eastern Front. In June 1941 Germany attacked Russia with 170 divisions, that is, more than that the Western allies had to face in the last war. In November 1942, 70 German divisions faced the Western allies; 66 garrisoned Europe, and 240 faced Russia. Of these 240, 179 were German and the rest satellite. In November 1944, there were 204 divisions on the Eastern Front, of which 180 were German, while on the Western Front there were 75. In February 1945, Germany had 170 German divisions facing the East, 70 facing the West, 28 in Italy, 15 in Yugoslavia, 12 in Norway, that is 125 in all on fronts other that the Eastern. In April 1945, 44 more divisions were transferred to the East so that there were 214 divisions engaging the Russians and 81 on all the other fronts.

These figures show that Germany early in her military campaign realized the formidable power of Russian militarism. Of course one should not forget that Russian resistance was to a large extent made possible by the continuous supply of material from U.S.A. and Britain. Up to 1st April 1945 from U.S.A. alone Russia had received nearly 8½ billion dollars worth of material under the lend-lease act. Yet the fact remains that in man power Russia's contribution has been the greatest. Mussolini observed to Cardinal Schuster shortly before his capture and execution: "Germans sacrificed fifteen million lives; Russia millions also, and the British only 266,000, besides 300,000 Colonials."

Might Becomes Right

What is the conclusion from all this? Russia's own conclusion is that now "might is right." Having had a predominant share in the gaining of the victory, Russia can now dictate to its Allies the clauses for armistice. And whatever it dictates must be considered just and reasonable. Poland that lost ten million of its best sons and daughters must be dismembered. Germany which has been bled white, and of which every city and town has been annihilated, must submit to the harsh sentence: "Woe to the vanquished". There shall be one supreme power in the world, the U.S.S.R. Its ideology and its domination must be accepted by every other power which confessedly is weaker.

> "Why, man, he doth bestride the narrow world
> Like a Colossus, and we petty men
> Walk under his huge legs, and peep about
> To find ourselves dishonourable graves" (Shakespeare: *Julius Caesar*)

Militarism a Moral Danger

Our conclusion is quite different. Might is not right. Justice, charity and equity alone can be the principles of a lasting peace. We rightly condemn the Nazi Regime as having been an abominable militarism of the totalitarian type. The Soviet regime has been a more powerful militarism; and the fact that it has helped our forces to vanquish the Nazi regime does not prove that militarism should be the supreme goal of human endeavour. Gigantic is the task of reconstruction after the catastrophe of this war; and it is a task in which all nations must be allowed to participate without sacrificing their independence and honour. Militarism is a monster that grows by devouring other nations; its hunger is never sated; it ever looks for more victims to devour. The prospect for the world is more gloomy now than it was in August 1939.

Straws in the Wind

"A TRIPLE CROWN"

"COMPLETION of a triple crown for a minority community"-that is the felicitous phrase used to describe the election of a Catholic as Vice-President of Secunderabad Cantonment Board. Mr. Alban de Souza is Mayor of India's second city, Bombay. Mr. Misquita is Mayor of Karachi. And Mr. Joe de Santana Fernes is Vice-President of Secunderabad Cantonment Board. All three are Catholics of whom their community, which comprises only one per cent of the population of India, is rightly proud. All three occupy in their respective cities the highest postion which citizens have freely conferred upon them as a recognition of their efficiency and peronal merit.

This is a fact of considerable importance. Too often Catholics in India are inclined to view the dark side of the picture. Forces entrenched against the progress of the Church in India are many and formidable. Racial and religious prejudices are strong among most sections of the people. Christian missionaries are viewed with suspicion, perhaps even dislike by those infected by an unhealthy and unreasoning "nationalism". Under these circumstances the strongest argument to show that Catholics are far from being opposed or indifferent to India's legimate interests, is the concrete evidence of three Catholics being elected by their co-citizens to the highest honour that can be paid to civic workers. The position of a Mayor or that of a Vice-President of Cantonment Board is one that carries with it heavy responsibilities and great powers. We are confident that the three eminent men who are in the public eye today will fully justify the trustful esteem their electors have manifested and at the same time will add lustre to their community.

Social Service a Duty

R.J.M. writes in THE HERALD of June 3: "The duty of every Catholic who has the qualifications becomes clear. The name of every eligible Catholic should be on the electoral rolls—that is a Catholic duty". Patriotism is true service; it is a social duty. Where there is talent and capability certain forms of patriotic service are even obligatory and are due in strict social justice. Dr. De Souza, Mr. Misquitta and Mr. Santana Fernes are an example to their co-religionists. They are also an encouragement. They show how prejudices can be overcome; how merit will necessarily be recognized; how service will be genuinely appreciated. We hope that there will be many among the Catholics of India who will follow the lead of these three who have so nobly blazed the trail.

News About Catholic India

It will be not out of place in this connection to remark the scant attention which these three elections have received in the Catholic Press of India. A complaint has often been voiced that the Catholic Press in India is largely too universal in tone and outlook to be truly in the interests of the Church in India. This is true not only of our weeklies but of ninety per cent of our magazines and periodicals. Notable exceptions are a few vernacular publications mainly of South India, and even these not always. Contrast with these the *Sunday Visitor* of U.S.A., *La Croix* of France, or the *Catholic Herald* of England. For all these papers the main concern is the news and events and problems of the respective countries in which they are published. But in the Catholic papers of India the editors are forced to deal mostly with what interests the Catholic world in general.

Who is to Blame?

The fault lies not with the editors, but rather with the Catholic community as a whole. Editors do not manufacture news; they publish what is given to them and what they can manage to collect. Is it not high time that we organized something comparable to the N.C.W.C. News service of U.S.A. ? The Communists in U.S.S.R. mobilized a vast army of 50,000 journalists in order to sell their ideology to the Russian people. Their confreres in India are doing the same though on a minor scale. Communist publicists are to be found in every nook and corner of India; they make it their job to give to every little Communist manifestation in obscure towns and villages a notoriety out of all proportion to actual achievement. Is the Catholic Church of India still living in the catacombs that it should be afraid of publicity? Or is it that Catholics obstinately shut their eyes to the power of the press and to the necessity of propaganda?

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CHRISTIANS AND THE ISMS

A recent number of *The Christian Newsletter* published by J. H. Oldham from Cowley, Oxford, contains a striking letter from India on the position of Christianity in India as seen by a sincere English Protestant. The letter reads: "I confess that I come back every time to the Church as the only place where there is a rock foundation. Let me hasten to say that I don't mean anything so foolish as that Christianity is a significant political force in India. That is an idea only tenable at a distance of serveral thousand miles. The significant political forces are Congress nationalism, Muslim nationalism and Marxist universalism. Doubtless these are the forces that are going to shape the immediate future—in so far as ideas do shape things at all." We shall for the present pass over the very special sense which the correspondent gives to the Church and its rock foundation. We agree with him that Christianity is not a political force in the country, nor is it intended to be. If there are some who insist on regarding the eight million Christians of India as a powerful fifth-columnist block, they are free to nurse their illusion. Christianity is not intended to be a political force; but it is intended to be, and must necessarily be, an ideological force. The force of an idea depends on its intrinsic value and not on the

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number of those who render lip-service to it. The correspondent rightly picks out three "isms" as determining factors for the shaping of things to come. Do all these three isms belong to the same category, and should the attitude of Christianity to all three be the same unqualified hostility? All three are professedly non-Christian; but all three are not professedly anti-Christian, at least not to the same degree. If Christianity has a mission in this world, and that no less in the pagan world than in the Christian world, it is incumbant on all Christians to study the problem of how they are to co-operate with those forces which are going to shape the future. This problem is vital not only for the continued existence of Christianity in the pagan world, but for the true welfare of the world itself. Yet unhappily, to judge from the many Christian publications in the country, this a problem which all seem blissfully to ignore.

Straws in the Wind

THE CRUSADE OF PRAYER

A WEEKLY from Bombay, called by a curious misnomer "The Indian Social *Reformer*," distinguishes itself by its persistent attack on everything Christian and thus finds favour with certain sections of the Indian public. Some time back it published a long-winded argument for polytheism as opposed to Christian monotheism and for the innumerable gods and goddesses of the Hindu pantheon. The logic of the article was so preposterous that we judged it beneath a comment. Now the "Reformer" comes out with a derisive attack on the crusade of prayer Christians conducted during the war. The attack is based on an appeal for prayer published by the Anglican Church in India. The appeal, it is true, was couched in terms that most Catholics would find revolting.

The Reformer Comments

And here is the "Reformer's" comment on it: "The appeal takes us straight back to ancient Homeric warriors fighting on the windy plains of Troy and crying to their gods for aid—or to Joshia invading Canaan with Jehovah 'mightly in battle' at his right hand. It is a mingling of barbarism and superstition. . . . But this invitation to prayer is not only naive—it is outrageous as well. Outrageous in its complacent assumption that God is on our side in this war and its presentation of a Deity who allows the battle to go against the 'Forces of Light' if prayers for any reason cease."

Christian Aims

It is beside our purpose to answer this malicious, sarcastic comment. But it is worth while for us Catholics to consider the real purpose of our Crusade of Prayer. We did not take the cue for our prayer crusade from the harangues of political leaders. It was started by the call of the Pope Pius XII, and the Pope did not ask us to pray for the ruthless extermination of any one side. We prayed that charity may prevail, that the world may have a *just* and lasting peace. And if we prayed for victory, it was in so far as victory was to be the means for something better—the concord between nations, justice to weak and dependent races, peaceful reconstruction after the carnage and devastation of the war.

No thinking Catholic is so naive as to suppose or wish that God will condone, much less aid, all the misdemeanour of Capitalism, Imperialism and Communism. Our prayer crusade is not over yet, because victory has not yet yielded what it was intended to yield. The prayer of the true Christian is not barbarism or superstition; it is based on a profound conviction that the 'City of God' needs rebuilding in this world—and this in India as elsewhere—and that "unless the Lord build the city they labour in vain that build it'.'

Criminal Wastage

It is reported in the press that 17,500 maunds of potatoes were lying in a highly deteriorating condition in the godowns of Bombay. They could not be removed earlier because apparently no one thought of the transport. And now it had to be destroyed because of the danger to new stocks coming in, and to the health of the people. This wastage of precious food stuffs is not an isolated instance of its kind. Scores of cases like this have occured in the past; and it was these that account for the famines that sweep away humans in their thousands, for the sky-rocketing of the living index, for the increasing number of victims of tuberculosis. "Why should this waste have been permitted?' asks the puzzled peasant whom starvation stares in the face. He will be told that high finance and economic equilibrium and what not require such periodic destruction. But it is evident that some one has committed a flagrant crime against social justice; big words and high-sounding reasons cannot whitewash this shameful deed. Of course, this is not theft; this is not murder; but this is as bad; and if the bourgeoisie criminal code of this country cannot fit this crime into its well-defined categories, and makes no scruple about condoning its felony, it were better that the code itself were thrown to the winds.

THE C.A.S. OF MADURA

Catholic Actionists all over India will be genuinely interested in the letter recently sent to the Bishop of Madura

by Cardinal Fumasoni Biondi, Prefect of the Congregation for the Propagation of Faith: "News of the splendid developments of the organizations of Catholic Action during this time of war in your Diocese have recently reached this Sacred Congregation. I am glad to hear that in Madura, Catholic Action and Work for the propagation of Faith are intimately united to meet the needs of a missionary country. I congratulate you and your co-operators on the success of the Catholic Action Conference and Missionary Exhibition held last year in Palamkottah."

There is no need for us to describe in detail all that the Catholic Actionists of Madura under the leadership of young, energetic Fr. Ignatius Sama, S.J. have achieved during the past five years. Propagation of Catholic literature, yearly conferences which bring together thousands of enthusiastic young men and women, brilliant books and periodicals which develop Catholic propagadists and make of them masters in that polished Tamil diction which hitherto had been the exclusive preserve of a Hindu elite, combined action with non-Catholics in literary and cultural fields—these are but a few aspects of the many sided activities of the Madura C.A.S. These strike the public eye, and give to the workers a sense of large achievement and rapid progress.

But far more vital, far more significant is the intense, silent, unceasing activity in the villages where "Catholic Action and the work of the propagation of the faith are intimately united." The Congregation of Propaganda has rightly singled this out for special encomium. Statistics about this may be lacking; and its achievements may not be of a nature to elicit blazing headlines in newspapers. But one who has travelled in the villages where C.A.S. workers have penetrated cannot fail to notice its influence.

Progressive

Apostolate and conversion constitute the real problem that faces the Catholic Church in India today. Consolidation is

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indeed necessary; but consolidation is only a stage in the forward march of the Church. In too many parts of India the stress seems to be exclusively on consolidation; and hence has come about the lamentalble state of stagnation which is only too apparent. There is little or no forward movement. There are even grave causes for fearing a retrogression; renascent aggressive Hinduism, the uncertain political future and smouldering revolutionary tendencies in a too long oppressed proletariate are factors that militate strongly against an ideology that is essentially superatural. In an atmosphere heavily laden with storm-clouds, not only the common people but even the leaders find it difficult to define policy and orientate action. But the uncertainties and cross-currents of the present day warn Catholics to be on the alert, to strain every nerve to find a remedy for the stagnation and to take steps against possible retrogression. Our policy and methods today cannot be those of the past; the example of eminent Catholic leaders in the Western countries affords but little guidance. We ourselves have to solve our problems here and now.

It is this that the C.A.S. of Madura has tried to do. Its work is not solely or mainly one of consolidation, of preserving the faith of the 200,000 Catholics; it is one of reaching outwards, of bridging the gulf that separates the Catholics from the non-Catholics who are nearly 25 times as many as they. It is a work that one might naturally expect from men inbued with the noble traditions of Beschi and De Nobili.

MARTYRED POLAND

The Polish Government in exile has protested against the iniquitous deal of San Francisco. It was a woeful swan-song lost in a wilderness. For many a long year Poland has been victimized by powerful neighbours. In future it is to be the victim of only one Power. But under that Power it fears it will have to suffer more and deadlier outrages than in all past history. Russian savagery has already murdered the Polish people by the tens of thousands, and driven them by the hundreds of thousands into exile or into Siberian prisons. Polish blood has been poured out in ghastly profusion, and yet not only expiation, but even elementary justice is to be denied to the martyred nation. How hollow now sounds the loudly voiced homage which leaders of nations paid in years gone by to international justice!

Straws in the Wind

THE FRISCO CONFERENCE

THE San Francisco Conference has ended happily though after many hitches which were far from happy. The great charter in five languages—English, Russian, French, Chinese and Spanish—has been signed by the numerous delegates, and all seem satisfied with the outcome, Even Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pundit who was present at San Francisco, though unofficially, expressed herself satisfied with the charter on the whole. But the more realistic editors of the newspapers all stress the truth that it is not the signing of the charter but its faithful observance that matters. None is too sanguine after the bitter memory of what happened to the now defunct League of Nations which a similar charter brought into being nearly three decades ago.

India's Part

Reuter has despatched for consumption in India a very lengthy eighteen-point report on the work of the India delegation at the Conference. The many amendments and the like which the delegation proposed from the delegates of a country which has nearly one-fifth of the poulation of the world, but which is far from being one of the sponsoring powers of the Conference.

Fundamental Human Rights

However, we note with satisfaction the fifteenth point in Reuter's despatch: "The India delegation laid considerable stress on the need of providing for the recognition of the fundamental human rights. They accordingly submitted the following clause to be included in 'purposes' of the Organization (for world security): 'To promote the recognition of fundamental human rights for all men and women.

"This proposal was subsequently embodied in one of the amendments proposed by the four sponsoring powers. Effect was given to it in the final draft of Chapter One."

We recognize that the term 'fundamental rights' can be interpreted in many ways. Generalissimo Stalin's interpretation might widely vary from that of Gandhiji, and Gandhiji's interpretation from that of Pius XII. However, the words are there; and we are happy to be told that the words were pressed forward by the Indian delegation. One of its members was also President of the Committee for Economic and Social Co-operation, and among its economic advisers was Dr. P. J. Thomas, one of the outstanding Roman Catholics in this country.

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DR. SAHA ON SOVIET STATE PLANNING

Much publicity has been given in the press to a laudatory statement of Dr. M. N. Saha on Russia. Dr. Saha is a scientist and not an economist or politician. He has made signal contributions to physics and astrophysics and won for himself a foremost place among the theoretical physicists of the world. He has gone to Moscow as one of India's delegates for the Russian Academy of Sciences, and in that capacity we believe he will bring credit to his country. But as for his self-imposed mission of studying the Soviet system of government because, as he says, he is a firm believer in state-planning, we do not believe that his discoveries in that line will profit India to any considerable extent. Whether state-planning in Russia has been along just, sound and healthy lines, and whether its results are exactly what one would desire, should be judged not from the statements of scientists who pay a passing visit, but from those of others who have studied Russia for a long period and have the trained minds of economists.

The True Picture

Mr. Henry Cassidy, Associated Press Correspondent, has recently published his impressions gathered during a stay of four years in Russia. From him we can learn what state-planning has done in Russia. "Soviets," he says, "have so far retreated from Communism that a number of capitalistic stores have been set up where anybody with sufficient money can purchase any article in stock. The new stores are ration free and are not black markets since the prices are posted publicly."

Mr. Cassidy quotes the prices that prevailed there on August 1st. A man's woollen suit, 4,500 roubles (a rouble is about 10 annas); a pair of men's shoes, 1,600 to 3,700 roubles; a pair of rayon stockings, 380 roubles; a bar of toilet soap, 85 to 150 roubles; a pound of butter, 366 roubles; a pound of sugar, 295 roubles; and eggs 15 roubles each By this index a member of the working class in Russia who receives 600 roubles a month—and this is twice the pay received before the war—would have to labour more than seven months to buy a suit of clothes, and nearly three weeks for a pound of unrationed butter.

"The ordinary labourer," says Mr. Cassidy, "has just one room for his family of three or four, and generally the kitchen and bathroom in houses are shared by several families. The beds are separated by screens, and cupboard and table and chair are all in the same room."

This is not a cheerful picture, and if this is all that a star-planning which has been lauded to the skies can give to its people, evidently much cannot be said in favour of it even from a purely materialistic point of view.

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RECONSIDERING SOCIALISM

Mr. Minoo Masani is an author who has put his countrymen heavily in his debt by his admirable little book "Our India". As a simple handbook on India's economic problems "Our India" has few like it. Another publication of his is "Socialism Reconsidered". Socialism does need reconsidering at the present day and that chiefly in our country. As never before in our lives there is need of clear thinking on social relationships and the much-vaunted experiments of other nations. No one can deny Russia's increasing influence; and there are many well-meaning but misguided persons in our country who will not admit the plain truth that all vestiges of democracy have completely disappeared from the Russian soil. In "Socialism Reconsidered" Mr. Masani sums up his impressions gathered during his two visits to the U.S.S.R. in 1927 and 1938. He maintains that class differences do exist in Russia as in any other country, perhaps more there than elsewhere, and that the country is neither democratic nor international in its outlook. Power is concentrated in the hands of an exclusive bureaucracy.

Two Camps

Communists and their sympathisers would dismiss these verdicts as mere propaganda. They would not hear of anything approaching an adverse criticism of their pet ideology, and of the monstrous system in which it has been worked out.

We would readily admit that in certain lines Russia shows an admirable example of rapid economic progress. In our attitude towards the Soviet regime we would avoid both extremes; for unmeasured adulation and unreasoned dislike are both unwarranted by facts. What we wish to stress is that the democracy which the Communists wish to see established in India is nothing but a parody of that much abused word, and that Communism and Fascism though ranged in opposite camps are twin-brothers and every whit like each other.

of an enlightened conception not only of the rights and privileges, but of duties and obligations, and above all, the practical example of those servants of the faith who exemplify in themselves a life of simplicity and dedicated service—these assets will always be welcome, and will eventually be appreciated at their true worth."

Dr. Lakshmana Swami Mudaliar's weighty words stand out in bolder relief when one contrasts the atmosphere of our Catholic educational institutions with that of other places where irresponsible leaders of youth have worked havoc.

WHITHER STUDENTS ?

HORRIFYING things have been happening in the exam halls of Bengal. An Associated Press release gave the ugly story of a free fight in Darbhanga Hall, Calcutta University, between 500 B. Com. examinees and the University Staff. In Danajpur, during the Matriculation exams five invigilators were assaulted. At Rangpur police and C.I.D. had to be posted outside the hall; and yet after the exam an invigilator was so seriously injured by students that he had to be carried to the hospital in a precarious condition. The most unpleasant incident is that on April 8th one Calcutta invigilator Makhan Lal Chandra was found mysteriously dead. The inquest showed that Mr. Chandra had committed "a crime against the student world" by reporting on a B.A. examinee who cheated in the hall. Things have gone so far that 15 Mofussil exam centres in Bengal were obliged to request the University to close their centres since they could neither stop cheating nor protect the invigilators from assault.

Organized Revolt

Incidents similar to the above have been reported from other parts of India as well, and are clear proofs of a very lamentable state of affairs. Students are never satisfied that their exam questions are suffeciently easy; so either they will stage walk-outs from the exam halls, or begin mass 'civil disobedience' to all the rules of exams. If invigilators try to prevent them, the next step is a free fight and bloodshed. After the exams, students will hold mass meetings under the auspices of their Federation, throw all the blame on the University, pass resolutions demanding paper setters and invigilators to be changed, and strongly protest against 'disciplinary measures' taken against culprits.

The various students' organizations are a mighty power, and the Universities of Government seem powerless against them. If the local authorities anywhere talk of supressing the organization, a hue and cry is raised in the students' papers and meetings: "Down with repression! Fight against terrorism! Defend Students' privileges!"

The Students' Federations

Students' organizations and their federation might be a good thing if they worked for the real good of the students and of the country. But often enough they harm the students and do no good to the country. We fail to see what purpose many of these riotous and irresponsible Students' Organizations and Federations serve in India, except to undermine discipline and incite revolt against the authority. Exam hall atrocities seem to be most frequent in places where the organizations have instilled a herd mentality into the student body. Students take to cheating in the exams because during the year they have been busy not with their books or studies but with mass demonstrations and political propaganda. Assault on staff members occurs only where India's traditional reverence for the Guru has completely disappeared below a flood of revolutionary slogans.

Possibly for the good of the Students themselves and for the good of the country the authorities may soon be induced to follow the bold step of the Headmaster of the Government High English School, Bargarh, Orissa, who sent the following circular to the parents of his students: "Sir, I am informed your son—ward— . . . . . is taking active interest in forming a Students' Federation here, which is detrimental to the interests of this institution. . . . If he continues to do so in the future I shall be under the painful necessity of requesting you to withdraw him from the school. . . ."

In the interests of a better India, more disciplined, more cultured, will students and educationalists realize that what our students need is not more of Federations and political activity, but more of solid intellectual work, more of the sense of decency and order?

CATHOLIC COLLEGES

It is refreshing to turn from the above picture of unfettered rowdyism to the harmony and peace which cannot but strike any one who visits our Catholic colleges and schools. Is it a mere accident that so many non-Catholic parents are anxious to send their children to Catholic colleges, and that the number of applications is often over twenty times the number of places available? Communists and other trouble-seekers know that their agitators are least welcome in the Catholic colleges of Bombay, Madras, Trichinopoly and other places. Of late they have been trying much clever strategy to wedge their way in. For example in Trichinopoly they organized an elaborate exhibition to prove that Russia is the finest example of religious tolerance. It is needless to say that such clever attempts fail completely through excess of zeal.

Lt. Col. Sir A. Lakshmana Swami Mudaliar, Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University, while presiding over the Centenary celebrations of St. Joseph's College, Trichinopoly, said: "What place will missionary institutions like this occupy in the India of tomorrow? I have no doubts in my mind that such institutions will not only flourish but will be welcomed. The spirit of devotion to duty, of service to humanity,

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HATE-MONGERS

THE Leaders' Conference in Simla ended in a manner different from what many in this country hoped and wished for. Party propaganda, more embittered than ever before, and fomenting mutual hatred and suspicions continues to eat like a cancer into the body politic. It is a period of crisis and the most challenging of the social problems that faces the Indian people is national unity. All other problems, however formidable they may seem—prevalence of disease, poor housing conditions, mass poverty, low vitality, appalling illiteracy—all can be solved with careful planning; but the solution of none of these is worth having if men are divided into mutually hostile groups and warring factions. You can legislate planned economy, but not love of one's neighbour; its sacred springs rise from within. Intolerance endangers not only the small groups against whom it is directed, but the nation as a whole. Prejudice does not pay. Harping on the real or supposed grievances against others is destructive of harmony. The hate-mongers, whether they be the popular newspapers with their screaming headlines or the mob-orators with their flaming invectives, are the greatest obstacles to a constructive evolution. There are many in our country who still cling to the myth that economic progress can be attained on the principle of an unbalanced see-saw. They refuse to learn a lesson from the recent civil wars in other countries and the many signal failures in our own contemporary history.

The core of any lasting social system is the recognition of the sacred dignity of the human being, regardless of race or class or religion. Individual freedom and liberty, within a frame-work of law, is essential to progress. Our demand for justice should not be a pretext for driving hard bargains and inflicting injustice all around.

"Where the mind is without fear
and the head is held high . . .
Where the world has not been broken
up into fragments by narrow
domestic walls . . . .
Where the clear stream of reason
has not lost its way into the dreary
desert sand of dead habit".

—such is the "heaven of freedom" into which Tagore wished our country to arise.

VATICAN AND NAZISM

The Russian Press and Radio have been clamouring for some time past for instant and ruthless punishment to be meted out to large groups of Germans and others whom they have classed as war criminals. They are impatient of all delay, for says a recent issue of the *Indo-Soviet Journal*, "today, too, dark forces in various countries are doing their utmost to save war criminals from punishment." The first of these dark forces is the American magazine *Life*, and next comes the Vatican. The article cited above says: "There is cause for alarms also, in the manoeuvre of other defenders of Nazi criminals, as for example, the head of the Catholic and Vatican State, Pope Pius XI" (*sic*). The writer does not seem to be aware that Pope Pius XI who wrote the *Mit brennender Sorge*, against the Nazis died in 1939 some time before the Nazis and the Soviets became sworn friends in virtue of a secret treaty. But probably, the writer means the present Pope though he gives him a wrong name. We have often in the past heard the Soviets accusing the Pope as a defender of Fascism; now he is made a defender of Nazi criminals as well. By a coincidence this article of the Communist paper appeared about the same time as The Herald published the Pope's speech on "The Church and the Third Reich." Hatred, like love, is blind; and it is the characteristic of the Communist press all the world over to publicize the most patent falsehood, obstinately closing its eyes against all contrary evidence.

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STORMBURST OVER COMMUNISM

The reactions of the Communists to the recent political developments in the country are symptomatic. As soon as it was bruited about that Congress leaders might be released, the Communists began to be anxious. They sent their correspondents to various Congressmen, and succeeded in getting a few testimonials in their favour from a few not too important personages. These seemed to allay their fears that the Communists might soon be expelled from the Congress, and hence they gave the widest possible publicity to these favourable verdicts. But all too soon came a most devastating statement of Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru against the Communists. It was made at a press conference in Bombay. Punditji condemned in the strongest terms the activities and policies of the Communist Party of India, roundly accused the dictatorial regime of Stalin, and categorically stated that "the general policy of the Communists has not only been wrong, but injurious not to India's cause alone, but to the larger cause of world freedom." (People's War, July 1.)

This uncompromising statement was all the more disconcerting, because a few years ago, Nehru, after a carefully chaperoned visit to the U.S.S.R., had given to many in this country the impression that he was the foremost supporter of Communism for India.

Wherein lies the danger?

We would agree with Nehru's conclusion regarding the Communists, though not perhaps for the same reasons. We hold that the Communist slogan of people's war cannot but have a baneful influence on the country. Their propaganda breeds class-hatred, and decreases the possiblities for that constructive "evolution through concord" in which alone lies a lasting hope for the country. Their denial of the right of private property is a flat contradiction to the first chapter of the San. Francisco Charter which affirmed the fundamental rights of every man and woman. Their flooding the country with the works of Marx and Engels is a grossly immoral and dangerous piece of propaganda.

Though it be true that in India the Communists artfully veil for the present all the criminal aspects of their plan, there is no doubt but that India has nothing to gain but everything to lose by having in her political parties and key positions men who are the admiring followers of Stalin and his iniquitous regime.

The Muslim League also

Disavowal of the Communists is feared not only from the Congress High Command, but also from the Muslim

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League. With a specious propaganda slogan of Congress-League Unity the Communists had for long been trying to win adherents both from Congress and League; and it is not unnatural that the Muslim League should discountenance such subversive activities. The League is already in a minority, and does not want to run the risk of a split in its ranks. Hence it is that the General Secretary of the Muslim League speaking at a meeting of the Bengal Muslim Students' League sounded a strong note of warning against the Communists.

The Communists are finding that it is not an easy feat to travel astride two boats at the same time, especially when the two boats are pulling in opposite ways. What will be the next move for the C.P.I.? To join the Radical Democrats or to go back to Russia?

A CENTENARY MEMORIAL

THE St. Joseph's College (Trichinopoly) Centenary Memorial Volume has recently been published. It has been ably edited by Rev. Fr. L. Leguen, S.J. Its large size and the uniform excellence of its contents are a fitting tribute to the silent and fruitful work which the College has achieved during the past century. The enthusiasm which the celebrations of the centenary last February evoked from thousands of former pupils and the lengthy accounts which then appeared in the press make it superfluous for us here to comment on the achievements of the College. And in addition the Centenary Volume now presents to its readers in fifty pages a few of the many hundreds of messages which were received by the Rector of the College. The messages include those from His Holiness Pope Pius XII, the Apostolic Delegate, the Bishops of South India, Princes of Native States, Vice-Chancellors of Universities, prominent educationalists and officials, groups of former pupils in every part of India. It is a matter of just pride to the whole of Catholic India that one of its pioneer educational institutions has elicited such warm praise from so many public men of varying creeds and political views.

A Catholic and Educational Effort

The essays that make up the Centenary volume are each a remarkable study on one or another of the aspects of the College. They have been nobly planned and brilliantly executed. They are well knitted together and give a satisfying picture of a vast Catholic and educational effort. The first in the series is an article by Mgr. Leonard, the Bishop of Madura, on the ideal pursued: *'Pro Bono et Vero'*. Then follow articles on the history of the College, on the training and studies, on the personnel, and the pupils. As is naturally to be expected, one of the contributions is on Conversions; it gives the thrilling story of Rao Saheb Mahadeva Iyer and his group of the Mary's Tope Colony. Another is on religious and priestly vocations. From the Catholic point of view the fact that the College has yielded 900 vocations and helped to make many of the dioceses in South India indigenous is of far greater importance than other better known aspects of the College. Archbishop Mathias of Madras wrote of St. Joseph's: "Nine hundred priests! eight bishops, not counting other prelates, Monsignori, Chamberlains, Domestic Prelates, etc! No institution in India, no institution in the East, let me say, very few, if any, in Europe and America, have such records. This has to be made known more than to emphasize that 7,000 graduates have passed through the College. This has to be proclaimed *ad aedificationem et ad aemulationem*. To give a priest to the Church is an honour; to give a priest to the world is to make a precious gift to the world; to give nine hundred such priests is to acquire a right to the blessings of God. And for me this is the real reason of the strength, influence, growth and marvellous aehievements of St. Joseph's... Well done, St. Joseph's! *Ad multos et faustissimos annos.*"

Moral and Religious Training

Perhaps the most striking of the contributions to the Centenary Volume is Fr. Jerome De Souza's on "The moral and religious training." It gives a convincing answer to those carping critics who pretend that the Catholic Colleges have little or no influence for good on the non-Catholics whom they receive for eduction. The essay it not defensive in its tone. It is an exposition addressed to the parents of the pupils, of what Catholic Colleges intend to give and do succeed in giving. Even the thorny subject of conversions in the College has not been overlooked. Fr. Jerome De Souza's article is surprisingly frank and penetrative, and is based on years of close association with the educational work of St. Joseph's, Trichy, and Loyola, Madras. It reveals the deep undercurrents, often unsuspected by a superficial observer, of an educational policy which has been evolved by missionaries who were first and foremost men of God, and who in Catholic education stressed the adjective far more than the substantive. It is true that the Catholic Colleges in this country are not novitiates, nor are they intended to be. But neither are they just portals to University degrees and public offices.

The Alumni

A practical illustration of the moral and religious training is afforded by the delightful pages of reminiscences and biographical sketches in the Memorial Volume. The reminiscences have been contributed by Archbishop Attipetty, four bishops, Mr. Antony Isar, Administrator, Baghelkhand States Group, Dr. P. J. Thomas, Director of Research, National Investment Finance Department, New Delhi, and other pre-eminent former pupils. Among the biographical sketches are those of Mr. L. D. Swamikannu Pillai by Chevalier M. Ruthnasamy, of Dr. F. X. De Souza by Chevalier C. J. Varkey, of Rao Sahib Mahadeva Iyer by Rao Bahadur C. J. Paul.

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CONGRESS AND THE COMMUNISTS

A leading Congress journal of Delhi has recently delivered a trenchant attack on the Communists in India. "The Indian Communists, having bitched Indian nationalism in the back, are trying to rehabilitate themselves; Communism in Jawahar jackets and Khadi pants needs more than its appearance for such easy acceptance. . . . One of the charms of the Indian comrade is his persistence in selling papers and pamphlets and putting the tails between the legs whenever necessary. The coffee-house comrade without risks, a kind of intellectual insurance agent, may be a joke, but he is a reality . . . . More meaningless are the slogans which the Communists have been shouting in their effort at de-intellectualization to the mass level. *Intellectual dishonesty* has never descended to lower depths. The poor masses can take it, but the Indian middle-class, the breeding class of Indian Communism, feels it insulting that instead of *useful Marxist studies* it is given week-end carrots. . . . They have to explain much and atone for much—unless under the dictation of the dialectics which they have cheapened so much, they end as *fifth columnists* on behalf of foreign causes." (Italics ours.)

But have not the Communists been always fifth columnists on behalf of a foreign cause, namely, that of Russia? Has not intellectual dishonesty been the hallmark of the Communist Press propaganda all along the line? And what are those 'useful Marxist studies' which the Communists can give for the benefit of the Indian middle-class?

We believe that the Communists serve no useful purpose in the country. Their presence in the political parties, in the Trade Unions, the Kisan Sabha and the Student Federations, has always had a baneful effect.

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VERNACULAR MEDIUM FOR SCHOOLS

The Tinnevelli District Teachers' Guild (Madras Province) has recently published a symposium on "the teaching of high school subjects in the mother tongue. It has been edited by Rev. Fr. T. N. Sequiera S.J., Rector and Principal, St. Xavier's College Palamkottah, who is the president of the Guild. The subject which is one of considerable importance at the present time in all parts of India, had been studied by the Guild for over two years; and hence the symposium rightly claims to "stand for a wealth of collective experience which would be hard to equal in any part of the Presidency, for many of the teachers who have set down their remarks have been a life time in the same school, teaching the same subject; and they have the country's future at heart rather than any pet theory or interest."

These studies forcibly bring out the conclusion which most educationalists in India have already agreed upon, that in places where the mother tongue has been introduced as a medium there can be no question of coming back to the English medium. The knowledge given through the foreign medium is verbal or notional, never real; it is not available for practical use by the pupil. The chief disadvantage of the new system is the lack of continuity with the Universities which for various reasons will long continue to use the English medium. To remedy this defect Fr. Sequeira suggests a separation in the High School of those who intend to go up to the university and those who do not. The former should be taught through the medium of English. As for the deterioration in the standard of English which is only a too apparent result of the new system, it might be asked whether it is not more than counterbalanced by the gain in the knowledge of the other subjects. However, Fr. Sequeira suggests that the deterioration can be checked by going back to the method which was used in Indian schools half a century ago, "before the easy and quick 'direct' methods were unintelligently introduced here".

Straws in the Wind

ASTROLOGY IN THE MODERN WORLD

Hitler's Astrologers

REUTER'S London Correspondent has given to the news-world a highly amusing account of astrology being used by the British War Office to defeat Hitler. Shortly after the outbreak of the war in 1939, the British General Staff engaged the services of "a competent astrologer" so says the report. The reason was not that the General Staff had become superstitious. They had come to know that Herr Hitler, across the Channel, never made an important decision without first consulting his pet team of astrologers. For launching attacks, for appointing generals, for inaugurating new weapons, in fact for every major military move, the great German dictator, like Napoleon before him, waited for the propitious moment to be shown to him by his star-gazers. Through secret agents the British War office had previously obtained detailed information about Hitler's astrologers, the star charts they used, and their usual method of forecasting. With this information a clever dabbler in this psendo science sitting in London, could guess what his confreres in Berlin would whisper into Hitler's ear. The correspondent writes: "This gave the War Office valuable information enabling them to attack first, while the German army was still in the throes of reorganization and still awaiting Hitler's personal orders. Time after time the Germans were outwitted because the War Office knew in advance what type of information and advice Hitler's astrologers would give him and how he would react to it."

Incredible

On a first reading the story looks ridiculous and absurd. It seems to tax our credulity too much to tell us that a vulgar superstition had such sway over the Fuehrer of one of the most cultured of the peoples of the twentieth century, over an expert military leader, who for years kept at bay the combined forces of three huge military powers. But the tenor of Reuter's report seems to leave no doubt that Hitler did pin his faith on the verict of star-gazers, and that his enemies exploited this weakness of his to their own advantage.

Astrology in India

This curious item of news is of some interest to us here in India. Astrologers hold a place of prime importance among the more uneducated people of India. In most of the Hindu castes no marriage is settled without comparing the star charts of the bride and the groom; and the propitious moment for solemnizing a marriage has to be determined from the conjunction of stars and planets. Stars, according to the crafty astrologers have a mysterious power over the lives of men and women. The uneducated, simple folk have been made to believe this firmly, and their conviction will not be shaken, though modern science should affirm that the stars are inert masses of burning gas, situated millions of miles away from our dark planet, the earth, and that their conjunctions with the planets are only apparent, being due to the double movement of the earth on its axis and round the sun.

Perversion of the Religious Instinct

Plain commonsense tells us that the practice of astrology is at best a silly superstition. We commonly believe that education is all that is required to cure men of the star-gazing mania. But it is not only the ignorant villagers who practice astrology. Napoleon was not ignorant, nor was Hitler. Till quite recently there was a Brahmin professor, an expert in his subject, in one of our Catholic Colleges in India, who was

thoroughly convinced of his power to foretell future events through horoscopes, and he used to warn privately his Hindu pupils about the 'propitious moment' for journeys and important business. He is certainly not ignorant, but he is a firm believer in the influence of the stars.

Ignorance is an insufficient explanation for the practice of astrology. Like other superstitions, crystal-gazing, augury, cheiromancy, cup-reading, necromancy, dream-omens and the like, astrology also is in reality a perversion of the religious instinct. Man knows that he is not his own absolute master; that there is some power above him which knows his future and can influence his actions. True religion proclaims that this power is God and that the supreme arbiter of the destiny of each human individual is God's all wise, all powerful Providence. But when faith in God has partially or fully been obscured, man turns foolishly to other mysterious objects which have no relation at all to him, but which he fondly believes to hold the secrets of his destiny. There are no depths of silly stupedity to which one whose true religious instincts have been preverted may not descend.

The superstition of astrology can be cured by education; but a more certain cure is a belief in God and a right notion of Divine Providence

VERDICT ON BEVERLEY NICHOLS"

"Verdict on Beverley Nichols", (Hind Kitabs, Bombay) is a spirited and convincing reply to Mr. Nichols' mixture of diatribe and invective entitled "Verdict on India". We are happy that the book has come from the pen of Gertrude Murray who is a Roman Catholic and belongs to the same nationality as Nichols. We had refused to admit that "Verdict on India" represented the attitude of the average Britisher towards the people Britain ruled, though unhappily it is only too true that many an Indian took it to be so, while on the other hand, many in England and

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U.S.A., whose knowledge of India is only second or third hand, might very well have taken Nichols' book to be a just and objective verdict on India Hence G. Murray's book is to be considered most timely.

G. Murray has had a stay of four years in India, a period of time which, though not long enough to form a verdict on the country and its people, is more than sufficient for any one with a pair of eyes and an average intellect to see that Nichols had blundered most egregiously. Murray's reply is written in the form of an open letter to Nichols. Its tone is at first gently bantering, but gradually becomes more sharp and ironical as the book exposes with convincing logic and a foreceful array of facts the many inaccuracies, misstatements, unfounded generalizations and distortions on which Nichols based his pompous verdict on a country which he had little time to see and no desire to understand.

THE BIRTH-CONTROL MENACE

THE Public Health Sub-Committee of the Post-War Reconstruction General Committee has passed a resolution re-commending the opening of birth-control clinics in the country. Twenty-three members voted for the measure and six against, while Government members preferred not to take sides. Those responsible for passing of this resolution are probably congratulating themselves on what they think is a success. If this is supposed to be a 'reconstructive' item on a programme of 'reconstruction' it is better not to have any reconstruction at all. The post-war world must be a better world than the pre-war one, and the advocacy of birth-control does not make for betterment. Or is India too expected to keep step with modern 'civilization', and ape countries where the sanctity of marriage is coming to mean less and less?

Morally Wrong

Birth-control advocates try to justify their pernicious practices by assuming that the end justifies the means. The end never justifies means that are sinful and unnatural. Hence, positive prevention of conception can never be justified. By perverting the use of conjugal rights through artificial means, those who practice birth-control frustrate the very purpose for which those rights were bestowed. Again, birth-control will without fail lead to every sort of disorder and excess. Chesterton gave the exact verdict: "Birth-Control means no births and no control". It is not the Catholic Church, but nature and nature's God that prohibit birth-control, whether by a mere unnatural act, or through the use of contraceptives. The Catholic Church is the only institution, that has had the courage of condemning this foul practice.

Economically Unsound

Birth-control has been advocated on economic grounds. The usual argument in India is: Our population has outstripped our food supply. With the present rate of increase in population, gigantic efforts to increase the food supply would still leave this an undernourished nation. (Helen C. Lall in *India Needs Birth-Control*.) Every person has a right to marry and raise a family; to deny this to a person is to deprive him or her of a fundamental, natural right. Besides, birth-control does not *solve* the problem; it just *cuts* the Gordian knot. A land is considered over-populated when the total food supply is insuffient for the population, after every possible means of increasing the supply has been tried and found inadequate. Can it truly be said that all India's resources have been exploited? Further, would not a more equable distribution of wealth lift much of India's dire poverty? Our fiery reformers call for the limitation of births as a solution to the economic problem. Has it ever struck them that their energies would be better and more fruitfully employed, were they, for instance to tackle the problem of a just wage for all, especially for overworked and under-paid labourers?

If we, Indians, allow this virus to enter our country, we shall be sorry about it ere long. Indian conditions, as they are today, are just the sort of soil where birth-control would thrive. It is up to every Indian, and every Catholic in particular, to prevent its gaining a hold, before it is too late.

TEN MILLION CATHOLICS

By a placet of the all-powerful Big Three in Potsdam, the legitimate government of the Polish people has been given the lethal dose and it has promptly expired. A puppet of a government, manufactured by the expert craftsmen of the Kremlin has been imported and and given power to rule a dismembered Poland. According to the very laws of its being, it executes no movements independently of the dextrous pulling of many wires and strings. Stalin is a master showman, and he will see to it that his dolly raises no voice of protest against the rank injustice of having sliced off Poland in ruthless fashion.

But from elsewhere the voice of protest rises, and cannot be silenced. Stanislas Sopicki was the Polish Minister of Reconstruction and Administrative planning of the now defunct government in exile. He gives alarming news of what the depredations of Russia have meant for Catholics. At the outbreak of the war, there were 7,713,000 Catholics in the part of Poland now ceded to Russia. Adding the Catholic population of the Baltic countries, Lithuania, which is 86 per cent Catholic, Carpatho-Russia Bukovia, Transylvania, and other territories between the Baltic and the Black seas, there is a total of over ten million Catholics now coming directly under the rule of the hammer and the sickle.

Mr. Sopicki expresses grave concern regarding the future of these ten million Catholics. Open persecution may not be the Russian policy in the immediate future; but Sopicki thinks that Russia will do all it can to force the Catholics into schism by bringing them under the jurisdiction of the Orthodox Patriarch of Moscow.

THE UNRRA

The Deputy Administrator of the UNRRA, Mr. Roy F. Hendrickson announces that The Soviet Union has asked for 700 million dollars (that is,

about Rs. 234 crores) worth of relief and rehabilitation assistance from the UNRRA. This huge amount when added to the 900 million dollars asked for by China would exhaust practically all the funds for the UNRRA. leaving little for other countries which require reflief in an equal or greater measure.

Very tall claims had been made in favour of the UNRRA by its sponsors when it was established more than two years ago on June 10, 1943 Its high-sounding complete title is United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. It promised not to commit the blunder of the Hoover Food Mission which administered relief in Europe at the end of last war, but which was said to be using its authority of granting or withholding of food supplies as a political weapon, to plant or to overthrow governments. The UNRRA on the other hand claims "to administer food and relief according to need, irrespective of race, creed or politics." Mr. R. K. Law, formerly British Minister of State, said: "The object of the UNRRA is to eliminate the principles of the auction-room in the post-war world. The longest purse will not be the final arbiter."

Equity and Justice

We would not quarrel with Law's statement. But is the object of the UNRRA being fulfilled? If not the longest purse, at least the loudest voice, seems to be the final arbiter. Though the agreement of the UNRRA was signed by 44 nations, its Central Committee represents only the four big powers, U.S.A., British, U.S.S.R., and China; the other signatories are allowed to be advisors, but they are not to complain if their advice is not heeded.

Post-war relief, if it is to be equtable and the means for a lasting understanding between nations, should extend to every nation that has suffered directly or indirectly for the war and therefore requires relief. The victorious powers should not be the sole beneficiaries of relief; "Woe to the Vanquished" should not be the guiding principle. Nor is it just to maintain that relief is required only where cities have been bombed or human bodies disabled. Those countries which were below subsistence level already before the war and which due to the economic hardships of the war have lost thousands through famine and pestilence also call for relief. The golden principle for post-war economic policy and also for relief work should be the words of Pope Pius XII: "The goods of the world created by God for all men should in the same manner reach all, justice guiding and charity helping."

'FELLOWSHIP OF SOCIALIST CHRISTIANS'

The Forman Christian College of Lahore sponsors a movement called "The Followship of Socialist Christians" It is another contribution of doubtful value to the Babel of economic and social ideologies current in the country. A pamphlet "Christionity challenges Capitalism", a recent publication of this movement, helps one to see what direction the mevement is taking. The forward by Dr. E. D. Lucas says that the example of what the Government of Russia has done for the people is the most important reason for Christians "to make plans for the more rapid coming of the Kingdom of God in the economic, social and political realms." The contributors to the pamphlet leave

(*Continued on next col.*)

us in no doubt as to what they mean by the "Kingdom of God"; it is closely akin to the kingdom of Stalin.

A Hindu Weekly has some interesting comments to make on the movement and the pamphlet. It quotes against the writers of the pamphlet Pope Pius XI's encyclical of 1937 which says: "Communism is intrinsically wrong and no one that would save the Christian civilization may collaborate with it in any undertaking whatsoever;" and continues later on: "We may add that we are not disposed to accept the undiluted praise of Soviet achievements by high Protestant Church dignitaries like the Archbishop of York and, more recently, the Primate of England, the Archbishop of Canterbury. The part played by Soviet Russia as the Ally of Britain and the United States in the war against Germany, has induced in both countries, less in the States than in Britain, a strong tendency to discover points to admire in the Soviet system unsuspected they five years ago."

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THE MARIAN SODALITY

The S.S.C.A.

DURING these last weeks of August the Sodality of Our Lady in the U.S.A. is holding its Summer Schools of Catholic Action, S.S.C.A., at Fordham University, New York, and Morrison Hotel, Chicago. It was a happy idea that inaugurated the SSCA in 1931, and since then they have been held every year in various important cities of the U.S.A. and Canada. The attendance which was 407 in 1931 rose steadily till it reached the imposing figure of 9735 in 1944. The guiding principles of the SSCA, says the Prospectus, are:

"1. Leaders may be born, but leaders can be made.

2. All the good will in the world will not, in the case of a religious lay leader, be sufficient without clear-cut knowledge, high ideals, and what nowadays is called 'the know-how'.

3. Hence there is need for the systematic training that would give to the Catholic leaders a certainty about what to do, mastered skill—how to do, and motives—why to do."

To one who studies the progress and working of the Marian Sodality in U. S. A. in the past fifteen years there can be no doubt of the tremendous power for Catholic Action which an efficient Sodality movement can be. The S.S.C.A. have given to the Bishops lay leaders fully trained and equipped to play a prominent role in every aspect of Catholic lay apostolate. And the Bishops have used these leaders in large numbers.

The Sodality in U.S.A.

As early as 1930 Mgr. Schrembs wrote to Fr. Daniel A. Lord on behalf of the Administrative Board of the N. C. W. C: "In my capacity as Episcopal Chairman of Catholic Lay Associations I wish to express to you my hearty approval of the National Federation of Sodalities to the Blessed Virgin Mary which have been such a power for Catholic Action in past ages, and which are now being revived for the same purpose. It is time indeed that the true character and scope of the Sodalities of the Blessed Virgin be brought back to the knowledge of our people."

Fifteen years of the S.S.C.A. and the brilliant record of work done by the Central Secretariate, "The Queen's Work," have more than fulfilled this wish of Bishop Schrembs. There are today in the U.S.A. 806,000 Sodalists who carry out a many-sided Catholic Action programme in 11,198 Centres.

The Pope Says:

But it is not only in the U.S.A. that the Sodality has proved its value as a means for promoting Catholic Action and training leaders. Spain, Brazil, Austria, Holland, and many other countries can show a similar record of achievments. Hence it is that His Holiness, Pope Pius XII in his allocution to Sodalists in January this year eulogized in the highest terms the ideals and the work of the Sodality. He said: "The Church counts upon you, as it counted on past generations of the Sodality. Her hopes were not disappointed. Your ancestors have nobly blazed the trail. . . We venture even to say that the image of a true Catholic as the Sodality outlines it has never been more in tune with an era's needs and happenings that at the present time. In truth what does life in the world today demand? . . . Catholics—genuine, well-trained, strong Catholics . . . It has always been the aim of the Sodality to form such men, such Catholics."

The Sodality In India

Writing in India one would naturally turn from the Sodalities of the world to those of India. The Sodality is not only widely spread in Catholic India; one might even venture to say that it is the best-known and most representative of the many Catholic lay associations in this country. A series of articles have been appearing recently in the Bombay "Examiner" which show that the Sodality had a long and eventful record of history in India. In our own days Bishops in various dioceses have repeatedly extolled the work of the Sodality.

The reason for the popularity of the Marian Sodality is not far to seek. It is not a new, unproved venture, but one that has been tested and has shown its worth in many lands under different circumstances through nearly four centuries of glorious past. Unlike some of the more recent associations it does not bear the mark of any particular nationality where it originated, so that it is equally acceptable to all, it is as Catholic as the Church is Catholic. It possesses a Catholic Action programme which is most easily adaptable to varying local conditions, and hence in a country where the Catholic communities are so widely different in economic and social status and in cultural and historical background, the Sodality specially recommends itself. Above all the Sodality, as the S.S.C.A. programme points out, is in an unusual manner an organization that belongs to the Bishops. It is the Bishop of a diocese who establishes all the Sodalities within his parishes and schools with a very few canonical exceptions. Of these Sodalities the bishop remains the head. The priest whom he appoints to act as the director receives the power delegated to him by the bishop.

Look to the Future

The Sodality of Our Lady in India has a great mission to accomplish. It is potentially a tremendous force for the building of the Church in this country. It can weld the unity of Catholic India. It can train leaders for our community. It can bridge the gulf that too often separates the masses of the Indian people from the representatives of a Church which false propaganda has unhappily branded as alien.

But to effect all this we need in India a capable machinery and considerable reorganization. The notion which still persists in some quarters, that the Sodality is merely a pious association must be rooted out. We need scores of energetic local units which will impart a new life to all dormant groups. We need national federation and a central secretariate as they exist in other countries like the U.S.A. and Brazil.

The Sodality in many countries has achieved much in recent years. In India too in several centres, notably in the diocese of Nellore and the city of Bombay, it has created a brilliant record. One looks hopefully to a near future when it will prove its efficiency on a greater scale and in every part of Catholic India.

WAR-TIME PRICES

The rising cost of living is an ugly fact which employers would like to ignor, and of which the poor are only too painfully conscious. The Economic Advisor's All-India Index of wholesale prices of food articles for the end of July, 1945, was 238.5 (worked out on the base 100 for the last week of August. 1939.) All through the years of war, prices have been soaring; the index 238.5 is far from being the peak-value, and is certain to rise still more during the ensuing months. Comparative studies published from the International Labour Office show that in no country of the world have prices risen so high as in India.

Besides, it should be remembered that the oficial price indices, especially those of India, hide more than they reveal. The actual prices that the poor have to pay are often far higher than what government records state. Bengal may be taken as an example. At the end of June, price of rice per maund was quoted in the papers at Rs 17 in Manickganj, Rs 20 in Narayanganj, Rs 21 in Madripur, Rs 20 in Barisal. Government agents were supposed to buy rice from the surplus districts at Rs 11-4 per maund, but in actual fact, in Mymensingh and Kishoreganj at least, it was bought at far lower prices, according to newspaper reports. It was rice bought in this way which, after passing through an endless chain of middlemen, was sold at Rs 16-4 to the public, and happy the few who could get it at that price. The victims of this man-made tragedy of prices were the million and a half—if not many more—who perished in the Bengal famine. But they are not all. There are milions more all over the country, whose sunken eyes and tell-tale bones proclaim a state that is but one step away from the grave.

The Root Cause

All this sounds incredible in a country which is predominantly agricultural, and was never directly in the war zone. But the reasons are not far to seek. With corruption in the high places, and no efficient rationing scheme, black markets hold supreme sway in commercial practice. Who is to blame? Not the government alone, nor the political leaders who cannot unite. The root cause lies deeper. It is the lack of moral consciousness among large sections of the wealthier classes. Pope Pius XII touched upon a fundamental problem of our time when he said: "The present time which has engulfed so many nations and peoples in blood and sorrow ought to make us listen to the commandments of God, not as to the voice of burdensome compulsion, but as to a happy tiding, a promise of shelter, emancipation and salvation."

Straws in the Wind

WOMEN AND SOCIAL REFORM

MR. C. Rajagopalachari Ex Premier of Madras, in his recent Convocation Address to the N. D. Thackersey Indian Women's University expressed what to us seems some very just views on women's role in the home and the need of a specialized women's education different from that of men. But the ultra-modern 'social thinkers' in the country seem deeply offended about this address. P. A. Wadia in *The Indian Social Reformer* calls it a curious mixture of medievalism and modernism. S. Natarajan in his editorial in the same paper makes of the address an occasion to attack what to him was always an eyesore, the Sophia College for women in Bombay, which he says is a "retrograde educational adventure," "avowedly an institution for denominational propaganda." Joseph John in K. M. Munshi's *Social Welfare*, favours Rajaji with a lecture on the state being more important than the family, since "the whole is greater than any part, and the emphasis should rather be on the necessity of building up that whole without needless waste of attention on its units."

Clever Sophisms

It is futile for us to expose all the sophisms contained in these jejune attacks on Rajaji's views. But we would ask whether the much-vanuted "emancipation of women" as understood in Europe and America has really been for the benefit of the human society in general and of women in particular. We doubt. Has it not rather brought on women a new slavery—slavery to social tyranny and human lust? Even Russia found it necessary to institute separate education for men and women. U.S.A., which many of our social reformers would like to ape, has a sad story to tell about its "emancipated" women in neo-pagan milieu. The San Fransisco *Monitor* says that one out of every twelve births in 1944 in U.S.A. was illegitimate. Another U.S.A. paper, *The Women*, attacking wasteful expenditure by women, deplores that last year 65 million dollars were spent on perfumes, not more than one million for the cure of tuberculosis; 50 million dollars were spent on shampoos and hair-lotions, and half a million to cure cancer. The U.S.A. record of divorces is still more revealing. In 1900, one in every 12 marriages ended in the divorce court; in 1920 the ration was one in 8; in 1945 it is one in 6; and at the present rate of increase, in 1975, one in every two marriages will end in suit for divorce.

What the mis-informed social reformers want is to rob the woman of her rightful place in the home and in the affections of husband and children. They would flood the country with propaganda for birth-control clinics and for women's careers. This, we consider, is flagrant injustice to the dignity of women in the first place, and not less to the whole of society and to the coming generation.

HOPEFUL SIGNS

The reaction that prominent newspaper editors showed to the barbarism of the atomic bomb stands in refreshing contrast to much that is deplorable in present day trends in the secular press. That the editors should have taken this stand proves that genuine feelings of humanity are often latent behind much political antagonism, and that the human race, whatever be the warring factions, cannot be blind to its essential unity. That they have expressed their views in such unequivocal terms is another healthy sign of the times. In spite of many insidious forms of state absolutism and bureaucratic control, the press still retains some vestiges of freedom in the non-totalitarian countries, which is far from being so elsewhere. Woe to the people of a country where no mouth may open except slavishly to echo the voice of one man.

The Papers Say

Soon after the atom bomb was dropped on Japan, *The Statesman* of Calcutta published under the caption 'Naked Terror' editorial on this dreadful weapon that showed a righteous and strongly voiced indignation. Another Calcutta paper, *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, wrote more recently: "The question that has naturally risen all over the Allied world is whether the use of such a weapon is not in itself a greater barbarity than the barbarities for which the Axis powers have been condemned." The Patrika was not unaware of the strong opposition of English Roman Catholics to the use of such methods of warfare; but it believed that the demand they were to put forward in the debates in parliament would not, however, alter the resolve of U.S.A. to use the weapon to finish. Happily the war is over, and there is no further use of the atom bomb, at least for the present. Let us hope that humanity will rethink its ideals of war and peace in terms of all the horror that has just ended, and devolve clean methods of fighting, if fight they must, so as not completely to wipe civilization off the face of the earth.

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COTTAGE INDUSTRIES

Gandhiji's message to the Indian people on grave presentday problem often seem to some pitifully inadequate. They are a puzzle to many, and to those who do not share the average Indian's respect for Gandhiji, they seem just dreamy Utopianism. The following is Gandhiji's Liberty Week message addressed to 'forty crores of people through the All-India Spinners' Association: "I say, spin. Swaraj lies in every thread of yarn. If all Indians spin and come to me, I will give them Swaraj. Forty crores of people live in India. Leaving children aside, if all the rest spin, it will be a great achievement. I have been, therefore, laying stress on spinning. Spinning is not a small thing. This is my message for the Liberty Week. I am not joking. Great power lies in spinning."

Rural Uplift

One would naturally wonder what fanciful connection Gandhiji has discovered between spinning and political freedom, especially in an age of increasing industrialism. But Gandhiji knows as well as any other leader that it would not do to convert India overnight from an agricultural to an industrial country. The farm-labourer whose annual returns are far below his barest needs and who spends several months in the year in enforced idleness needs some extra occupation to eke out his income. Spinning is a cottage industry that is most easily learnt and requires little initial capital. Hence Gandhiji's insistence on spinning.

Not Spinning Alone

But we believe that an efficient worker for rural uplift should not allow spinning to absorb all his attention. There are other cottage industries which may be better suited to the conditions of his village and would give a far greater financial return. Gandhi stresses spinning as the greatest common factor for Indian villages and one that has yielded most fruit. Spencer Hatch, a prominent Protestant social worker in South India believes weaving to be preferable to spinning as being far more economical; but it requires greater skill, organizing ability, and initial outlay. In places where cotton is not grown scores of other cottage industries may be thought of. What is certain is that wide propaganda in favour of cottage industries will go a long way in solving the peculiar social problems of our country. Is not this a fertile field as yet little explored by the Catholic social worker, whether in the slums of the towns and cities or in the rural districts? We have none but the highest praise for the Vincent de Paul worker and his spirit of generous self-sacrifice; but we believe that imparting self-sufficiency, wherever possible, is a greater boon than distributing charities.

CHRISTIANITY AND THE UNION JACK

Non-Denominational

IT is not likely that any of the readers of **The Herald** was present at the thanksgiving service for victory held at Victoria Memorial, Calcutta. But many will have seen the impressive photograph of the service published in *The Statesman*, and not a few will have been surprised at the total absence of any religious emblem on what looked like an altar in the middle. Instead there was the Union Jack. "Homa" in his poular column 'Thoughts for Low-browns' in the *Hindusthan Standard* draws pointed attention to this feature of the ceremony. He writes: "The abscence of the traditional wooden cross, and the substitution by the Union Jack in its place is an interesting innovation, being the elevation of the British flag to the divine honour as symbolical of Christianity" We wonder whether any such symbolism was intended. It had been officially announced that the service would be "non-denominational"; and possibly what the authorities meant was that it would be non-religious

Patriotism and Religion

Homa continues: "The idea of representing Christ through the imperial emblem of Britain is, indeed, wonderful; and Indians should not be accused if they are a bit suspicious of the Christianity that comes with the national flags of the western Countries". Here Homa seems to have lost his historical perspective. Christianity came to India at a time when Britons still practised druidic rites, five centuries before Britain became Christian, seventeen centuries before Britons and their Union Jack came to India. There are eight million Christians in India today for whom Christ is *not* represented by the "Imperial emblem of Britain". At least about the four million Catholics one can be quite certain of no nebulous mixing up of religion and politics; they know Christ's words: 'Give to Caesar what is Caesar's and to God what is God's; and since India is their motherland, they are no whit less Indian and patriotic than the rest of their fellow countrymen. To affirm the contrary without positive proof is sheer calumny. Homa says that "a non-Christian girl" on seeing the *Statesman* photograph put to him the question: "By becoming a Christian should one worship the Union Jack and the Stars and Stripes?" Homa might assure that girl that Christianity positively forbids worshipping anything beside God, and that to worship the State or its symbol, the flag, is a dangerous perversion of totalitarian states like Germany that was and Russia that is. And incidentally, if the said "non-Christian girl" thinks that because we are Indians we should worship the Indian flag, Homa would do well to disabuse her of the error. We should honour our country's flag, rally round it for our civic duties, but not worship it or set it up in God's place.

Catholics and Protestants

Homa rightly makes a distinction between the Protestants who conducted the ceremony in Victoria Memorial and and the Catholics. He writes: 'The pride and honour in the service was not given to the humble and simple wooden cross, symbolically representing the death of the Saviour and the redemption of mankind, instead it went to the Anglo-American flag much to the discomfort of the Catholic section of Christians, to whom it is improper to substitute the Union Jack for the Cross for prayer. Will the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Calcutta enlighten Homa on the point?"

We wonder why Homa should ask the Roman Catholic Archbishop to answer for what the Protestants have done. Roman Catholics have long ceased to be surprised at the many strange manifestations of Protestant Christianity. Everything is possible if heads of so-called Christian Churches can condone divorce and birth control

Prevalent unbelief

Some years back Prof. G. H. Betts of U.S.A. sent a questionnaire of 56 questions to 500 ministers and 200 theological schools, representing 20 Protestant denominations. We quote below a few of the questions and the percentage of of those who expressed uncertainty or disbelief:

Question	Percentage Uncertain	Percentage Unbelieving
Is God omnipotent?	4	9
Did God perform miracles?	8	24
Was the Bible written by men supernaturally endowed?	2	43
Is Jesus equal to God?	3	33
Is the death of Jesus for remission of sins?	5	44
Do you believe in the resurrection of the body?	3	33
Do you believe in the resurrection of Jesus?	1	2
Is there a devil?	3	33
Is there a hell?	3	34
Is there an actual place called heaven?	15	28
Is it essential to belong to a Church to be a Christian?	6	50

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THE MAHRATTA ATTACKS CHRISTIANITY

Mr. Nichols' *Verdict on India* was a deplorable book. No less deplorable are some of the 'counter-attacks' it has called forth from writers in India. *The Mahratta*, a Bombay paper, which recently published Mrs. Savitri Devi's attack on Christianity, began in its issue of 24th August a series of articles entitled "Verdict on Beverley Nichols—The psychological background of prejudice."

The writer starts from the hasty assumption that the Christian faith of Mr. Nichols (has he any?) is the true explanation for his notorious book, and then goes on to pour scurrilous abuse on Christians in general and on their religion. It is beside our purpose to dwell on the many instances of unwarranted generalizations, twisting of historical facts, mis-quotations, and manifest falsehoods which make up this caricature of the supposed psychological background of Mr. Nichols. It is a very strong argument in favour of Christianity that its attackers have to resort to such methods which are a disgrace to any one who respects his sense of logic and history.

The writer bases himself on the authority of men like the "arch-liar' Froud, and the materialist Aldous Huxley; and one can surmise what a travesty of truth the product would be. He makes a learned reference to the massacre of St. Bartholomew (*sic*), and says that the Pope sent a special messenger to the King of France to felicitate him for this heinous crime. One wonders where the author has dug up this precious piece of news. The truth is that the Pope, being first misinformed that the king had escaped a dangerous plot against his life congratulated him about it, but later learning of the massacre, expressed his strong disapproval. The writer expresses dismay about the terror of the Inquisition; but forgets that all its most advertised crimes were committed by autocratic kings for their private ends, that the Popes were ever pleading for justice and leniency, and that the terror of the Inquisition at its worst did not amount to a millionth part of what men are now contemplating with blank indulgence, for example, the ocean of crimes committed in the name of Communism. A powerful plea of Pope Pius XI against the anti-Semitism of Germany has been taken out of its context by the author and twisted with manifest disregard of logic to substantiate Christian intolerance. Christianity is certainly intolerant, but it distinguishes the sinner from the sin. It is intolerant of wickedness and falsehood; but it has all along shown a wonderful tolerance for wicked men and for propagators of falsehood.

BIRTH-CONTROL AGAIN

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Mrs Margaret Sanger is once more busy in New York at her homicidal hobby of birth-control for India. In U.S.A. in spite of the stout opposition of the Knights of Columbus and many other powerful groups, she has had no small measure of success. But her propaganda tour in India some years ago was a dismal failure. Still being a woman of stout heart she will not give up her hopes. Her recent statement to the press on 21st August on this pet subject was occasioned by what Sir Ardeshir Dalal, planning member of the Indian Government, said in Ottawa. "Population is India's biggest problem," said Sir Ardeshir, and he added, as though consoling himself, that developement of Indian economy would bring "habits of sophistication" which would result in voluntary birth control. Mrs. Sanger is quite dissatisfied at such slow progress; she wants positive and immediate legislation enforcing birth-control. She believes that it is the apathy and indifference of the rulers of India that keeps the common people from learning and practising birth-control. And so she insists. Any attempt to raise living standards without corresponding and equal efforts to help India control its fertility through birth-control will be a complete failure."

Planning Though Crime

We in India have many good points about national planning to learn from U.S.A., but not from unnatural human anomalies like Mrs. Sanger. We hope our Planning Members now touring in foreign countries will come back with what is sane and sound, not with plans for legalised crime and extensive race suicide.

As for Mrs. Sanger of U.S.A. and her admirers in this country, we would remind them of a Boston meeting, several years ago, at which David Goldstein, the celebrated convert Jew and "Campaigner for Christ", had been scheduled to speak against Mrs. Sanger. The socialists in the front row began to hiss and hoot and prevent Goldstein from speaking. Goldstein shouted: "My dear socialists, if your mothers had committed birth-control, you would not be in this majestic theatre to-night, using, your Red tactics to try and break down the effectiveness of my arguments against immorality." The tremendous applause that followed kept Mrs. Sanger's henchmen quiet for the rest of the night; and many left the meeting with the conviction that nothing in the world can justify the heinous crime which prevents birth and dispenses with control.

Straws in the Wind

PROGRESSIVE LITERATURE

MUCH noise is made nowadays in advocacy of what has been euphemistically called 'Progressive Literature'. The term has the advantage of catching popular attention. Progress means moving forward, going away from a point. But it does not follow that the movement is in the direction of something desirable or away from something undesirable. In actual fact, much of what goes under the name of progressive literature is of a highly undesirable type and augurs ill for the generation that is trained in it. It is a specious propaganda for revolutionary ideology, crude pornography, and at best for an outlook on life that is entirely divorced from morality. Progressive literature is making fearful inroads on the educated section of the Indian public, and mainly through the vernaculars. In dispensaries for medicine there is the custom of labelling certain bottles as 'poison'; this is thought a necessary precaution for safeguarding the physical health of the people. The custom in literature seems to be just the reverse. Bookstalls and publishing houses are dispensaries of mental diet; they give to all poison-containers an innocuous and even attractive title so as to inveigle an unthinking public. If mental health and a right outlook on life are at least as essential as physical health and safeguards against disease, there is great need at the present time for a systematic and determined propaganda against the so-called 'progressive literature'. We would suggest subversive literature or deadly poison as a more correct label for books and pamphlets of this category.

CHRISTIANITY IN THE MARKET PLACE

M. de la Bedoyere has given to Catholic readers a wonderful book 'Christianity in the Market place'. "Why" asks the author, "has Christianity which once converted and civilized a pagan empire, failed to impress the contemporary world?" The fault lies not with Christianity but with Christians who fail to imbibe its full message. Modern man for the most part has ceased to worship the God of Christianity, and the reason is that the true worshippers have kept Him for the inner sanctuary of the Sunday rest. For fifty years the Popes have laid down the principles of social justice, but the world does not know these principles. Hence men are trying frantically to set up a new order on shifting sands, an order that cannot rise higher than purely human standards, convictions and aspirations.

There is in India today an awakening of social consciousness which protests loudly against the flagrant abuses of landlordism and land tenure in agriculture, and of exploiting indigent workmen in industry. Movements for uplift have been sponsored by Hindu social workers, Protestant missionaries and in a few cases by the government. Leaders, enlightened or otherwise, are capturing the allegiance of the masses through the platform and the press. Grandiloquent post-war plans have been put forward by the Simla and Bombay planners, by the Communists and by numerous other non-descript bodies.

"Where is God in all this nascent social consciousness?" we ask impatiently, dejectedly. But have we done anything to bring God into the world of the common man? Christianity is not for the church and sacristy; it is for the market place where the common man lives and struggles. We need to realize that, and to act in accordance with that realization. Pope Pius XII wrote in his first Encyclical: "The Christian if he is worthy of the name is always an apostle. It is never permitted for him to quit the battlefield."

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INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGE

With elections looming on the horizon and a nationalist government in the making, a persistent cry to oust the English language bag and baggage from India, is once more being raised in many quarters. In this, we believe, nationalism is showing an unhealthy sign. Indeed everything has to be said in favour of the vernacular being the medium of instruction in the schools. But India will lose much and gain little by sacrificing the one unifying link of a common language for all its intelligentsia. Hindi or any of its unnumbered forms as a *lingua franca* is a chimera; no group of people that has a literature of its own to be proud of—the Bengalees, Tamilians and Malayalees for instances—will accept the proposition of a complete transition to Hindi. Indians have spent so much of time, money and energy to acquire the English language; let not all this be made a waste by an ill-conceived nationalism. Another weighty consideration is the value of English in international relations. One of the greatest assets of India at the present time is the fact that its political spokesmen can make themselves understood with relative ease by the most influential peoples of the world. Isolation behind the barrier of strange languages would be suicidal in an age when international economy holds such a prime place in the world. A correspondent wrote recently to the American Magazine *Time* (23rd July): "We seem to be trying to forge some sort of international union without that most indispensable of all links—an international language. May be the boys at San Francisco think that Morse Code will be sufficient. The spectacle of the heads of great powers having to rely on interpreters for even a simple exchange of salutations looms grotesque and barbaric in a world that has utilized the tool of language since the dawn of its history.

Language is power; and the wider the language the greater is the power.

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THE TROJAN HORSE

On 25th August congressmen held a meeting at Lahore which was addressed by Nehru. The organizers had earlier put some conditions on those willing to attend, by which Communists and Akalis were practically excluded. The Communists as usual raised an uproar, Nehru thought it fit to make concessions. He said: "As long as the Working Committee does not arrive at a final decision about the Communists, no congressman having any sort of view can be stopped from participating in any Congress meeting." Pandit Nehru in his communication said that the feelings of Congressmen about the Communists were known to him and that he himself had already expressed his opinion; but that nobody had any right to exclude any group from the Congress till the Working Committee had made a decision.

Is the Congress going to be taken in by the Communist policy of the Trojan Horse? The threat of civil war which till recently was so imminent in China and the octopus hold of Russia on so many countries should serve as a salutary example for the political leaders of India.

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WAR AND PEACE

The war is over, but the peace that was promised to the world seems to be a long way off. U.S.A. War Department has ordered its aircraft production to be cut down to a thirtieth part of what it was during the War; but it is noteworthy that the mighty plants set up for the production of the atom bomb are to continue working with unabated energy. Before the atom bomb all other destructive machinery of modern warfare pales into insignificance; and hence the continued production of that weapon raises an unpleasant note of interrogation.

Straws in the Wind

56 THE NEWMAN CENTENARY

Newmanist in India

THE *Indian Social Reformer* is not a paper where one would normally have expected an appreciative echo of the Newman Centenary celebrations held last month at Windsor, England. The *Reformer* writes: "Cardinal Newman's writings in prose and poetry had an abiding influence on some of the finest minds of India outside the Catholic fold. In many respects Newman's prose is the noblest in the English language. His sermons breathe the spirit of lofty devotion. His beautiful hymn 'Lead kindly light' has been an inspiration to many Indians. . . ." According to the editor of the *Reformer*, Newman's writings contain a special message for the world of today; men are apt to condemn everything as medieval; but Newman shows that there was much that was beautiful and pure and lofty in the medieval times, especially in the conception of an international economy based on a spiritual idealism. The international organizations proposed today lack the promise of stability because they lack the essential 'keystone.' But what is the true nature of that keystone? Few of the warm admirers of Newman outside the Catholic Church seem to show any desire to understand it. For Newman nature is essentially the basis for super-nature; international economy is subservient to a divine economy. So long as this fundamental truth is not grasped one remains on the fringe of Newman's superb system of thought. It is pleasing indeed to look at, say, Taj Mahal from a distance; but quite different is the experience of one who comes close to it, walks through its halls, and can drink in the beauty of the wreaths and scrolls and frets and of the exqisite trellis work of white marble.

The Conversion Of Newman

About the central fact of Newman's life, his conversion in 1845, the *Reformer* comments: "Cardinal Newman left the Church of England in which he was born and brought up, for the Catholic Church which in his time was far more odious in Protestant England than it is now. The *Reformer* has a rooted dislike to religious proselytism, but, if conversion is ever justifiable, it is in cases like Cardinal Newman's. A towering intellect like his, with foundations in a deeply religious nature would have carried him to the highest position in his ancestral Church. It was a tremendous sacrifice which Newman made when he chose to join a more or less despised sect. Such men are the salt of the earth, and we, on behalf of India, associate ourselves with the tributes which are being paid to his memory in the centenary conference."

Intellectual Honesty

It is indeed gratifying that the *Reformer*, which grows so indignant every time it hears of a conversion to the Catholic Church, for once at least deigns to condone such a step. But would it not be right to inquire why Newman made that "tremendous sacrifice"? Such an inquiry should uproot the *Reformer's* "rooted dislike" to conversions. Intellectual honesty was the hallmark of the life and thought of Newman. Not only of Newman, but of thousands of others, who like Newman, have realized in adult life the paramount rights of individual conscience. More than sixty thousand people embrace Catholicism each year in one country, U.S.A., alone. These people are not born Catholics, nor are they educated in Catholic schools. They become converts in adult life after considering religion from every angle, and after a thorough course of study required for such a step. One could easily fill a page of The Herald with a list, all too incomplete, of brilliant minds in the literary field, representing many nationalities, who like Newman entered the Catholic Church in adult life with their eyes wide open.

Brilliant Minds All

We give below the names of a few, chosen at random, fully conscious that we are leaving out many, perhaps far more important: Maurice Baring, R. H. Benson, Orestes Brownson, Cecil Chesterton, G. K. Cheterton, Isabel Clarke, Paul Claudel, A. A. Curtis, Dorothy Day, Christopher Dawson, Joyce Kilmer, Ronald Knox, Shane Leslie, Wynham Lewis, Arnold Lunn, Compton Mackenzie, C. C. Martindale, Jacques Maritain, Theodore Maynard, Alice Meynell, Alfred Noyes, Giovanni Papini, O. F. Dudley, Sir Philip Gibbs, Eric Gill, David Goldstein, Christopher Hollis, Johannes Jorgensen, Vernon Johnson, John Swinnerton, "Guy Thorne", Sigrid Undset, Aubrey de Vere, "Artemus Ward", Evelyn Waugh, Sir Bertram Windle, Coventry Patmore, Ferdinand Brunetiere, F. W. Faber, Joris Huysmans, Henry Edward Manning, and last but not least, John Henry Newman.

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FOOD-PLANNING

IT was by no means a cheerful picture that Sir J. P. Srivastava, Food Member, Government of India, had to present in his recent speech before the Central Food Advisory Council. He said: "The monsoon has not been quite satisfactory this year in the north-eastern region, particularly in Western Bengal, Northern Bihar and some districts of Orissa, and the output of rice in this region 1945-46, it is feared, will be below normal." With the well-chosen phrases 'not quite satisfactory', 'it is feared' and the like, Sir Srivastava has tried to cast a veil over a very ugly spectre that appears on the horizon. In truth, the rice available in 1946 will be far short of what the country needs. Even in normal years rice grown in India falls short of India's minimum requirement by a million and a half tons. Even with the imported rice—which at present is not available. —the vast majority of the poor people did not get one square meal a day. Statistics from various Provinces show clearly that the food situation in the country is rapidly deteriorating But the poor peasant in the villages who knows how badly the present drought has hit him, and remembers what happened to thousands of his fellow men in 1943, does not need statistics, and will not easily be deceived. He can read the signs of the times, and bitter experience has taught him that fair-seeming promises from the great control centres often come to nought.

Check Profiteering

Sir Srivastava discussed the main factors which led to the breakdown of the food administration in the country in 1943, and said that he was going to appoint a committee composed of representatives of the Provinces, States, producers, consumers and traders. The purpose of this new committee in to advice on the relaxation of food controls. It is essential that the food controls should remain as long as large masses of the people are facing imminent threat of famine. But what is more essential is that these controls should not remain merely on paper, entangled in an intricate maze of red tape, but should become really effective on the all too corrupt channels of distribution. The number of hoarders and profiteers does not seem to show any decrease. Bengal which is still bleeding from the after effects of the great famine, is a typical example. On August 13, in Betai Bandar, Howrah, the price of paddy shot up from the maximum control rate of Rs. 6-14 to Rs. 15 per maund. On that day there were about 3,000 maunds of paddy stocked in the market. On August 21, a Zemindar of Tajpur openly sold 3,000 maunds of paldy to semi-starving people at the rate of Rs. 10/8 per maund. Belloc writes in his book "Cruise of the Noara": "There are very vile commercial transactions which certainly excite admiration today as surely as they would have excited in our fathers the determination to hang the culprit." It is strange that profiteering is so rampant, and yet nothing can be done to check it. Until the profiteers, whom Mr. Casey, the Governor of Bengal, aptly called leeches on the body politic, can be brought within a strong control system, food conditions in the country will necessarily be chaotic. The producers will be cheated of the fruit of their labours, and the needy people will not get food even if they have the money to but it. And since not all have sufficient money for the exorbitant prices, famine will mow down thousands more as it did two years ago.

THE LATE MGR. LEO PROSERPIO

The death of Mgr. Proserpio which took place in Bowring Hospital, Bangalore, on September 8, is a great loss not only to the infant diocese of Calicut of which he was its second bishop, but to the whole of Catholic India. During the thirty-two years of his missionary career in India, the first part of which was spent as Professor of English in St. Aloysius' College, Mangalore, and the last seven years as bishop of Calicut, he endeared himself to thousands of people, Catholics and non-Catholics alike. He was a popular preacher of retreats, a writer of rare distinction, a powerful speaker, a brilliant organizing genius, and above all, a man of God. The Government of India which showed itself so wantonly suspicous of Italian missionaries during the war, and forced hundreds of them into internment camps in spite of loud protests from the people, did not, however, display the same unbending attitude towards Mgr. Proserpio. He was allowed to remain at his post, though many of his able collaborators were taken from him, and for a time the sphere of his activity was considerably curtailed. He worked against heavy odds, and yet his achievements are of no mean order. Others will reap where he has sown. May he rest in peace.

Interned Missionaries

The name of Mgr. Proserpio recalls to one's mind the many other missionaries who were needlessly wrenched from the field of their labours, some of whom are still in internment camps, though it is a long time since the war against Italy and the war in Europe is over. The whole of India, not only Catholic India, owes a great deal to the missionaries from foreign lands. They are giving of their very best with heroic self-sacrifice, for the cause of the people of India. They have left their home and country and adopted this land as their own. Politics are no concern of theirs. But for education, social uplift, defence of the poor, safeguarding of national health, and protection of the country against moral bankruptcy, their contributions are far greater than the much advertized work of other so-called servants of the public. It is more than injustice that any of them should still be kept behind barbed wires and that in a period of reconstruction and economic crisis the people should be deprived of their enlightened guidance and help.

Straws in the Wind

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PAKISTAN GEOGRAPHY

The Pakistan Geography, invented by Choudhary Rahmat Ali, the founder-president of the so-called Pakistan National Movement, is a veritable puzzle to those who are used to the present names current in India. Rahmat Ali's chief qualification, we are told, is his mystic faith in his own destiny. A hero-hungry biographer, Khan A. Ahmad, says: "It is said that when he (Rahmat Ali) was only five, a Faqeer foretold a grilliant future for him, and bade him prepare himself for the great role which was preordained for him by Allah". So it is this Faqeer whom Indians have to thank for the new geography and all the present mess in Indian politics.

All new names

Pakistan is the name invented by Rahmat Ali in 1932 to unite into one the five names of the Punjab, Afghania, Kashmir, Sindh, and Balochistan. For eight years, Pakistan remained little more than a name. But since the Mullim League's Lahore resolution of 26th March, 1940, it has become the rallying point of large sections of the Muslims. But the Pakistani revolution in names is not restricted to the five arid and thinly populated provinces in N.W. India. India itself is to be converted into Dinia; and Pakistan dependencies are to be picked out from all over India. Hyderabad will become Osmanistan; Bengal and Assam will turn into Bangistan. South Canara and North Malabar, where the Moplahs live, will be called Maplistan. Bihar and Chotanagpur also will be a Muslim preserve with a new name, Faruquistan. There are several more such names which being too unpronounceable we leave out. According to this new geography, the name of India or Hindustan, which now means the whole subcontinent, will be restricted to tiny Nepal. The revolution in names extends even to the sea. Across the Bay of Bengal will be written three new names, Bangian Sea, Osmanian Sea and Nasarian Sea; and portions of the Arabian sea will be converted into Pakian Sea, Maplian Sea and Safian Sea.

Will the shape of things to come transfer these names from the curious maps of party office files to the geography classes of our Indian (or Dinian!) schools?. And if the transfer takes place, will it not raise some problems for certain of our Catholic Communities, especially those of Mangalore and Chotanagpore?

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MINIATURE STALIN

Stalin is now on the pinnacle of glory, for he can proudly point out that the casualty list of his country is thrice as long as that of Germany and twenty times as long as that of U.S.A. Perhaps that is the reason why little men in other parts of the world are turning into miniature Stalins. Hero worship is after all a normal instinct in man. A few months back there appeared in a South Indian Tamil Weekly a striking cartoon of Marshal Stalin's dressing room. The Marshal was shown standing before a mirror, with a protrait of Hitler by his side. He had combed his hair down on the forehead and was cropping his moustache short so as to look like Hitler. The British Premier and the U.S.A. President were shown peeping in at the door; and their faces expressed great apprehension about the new turn Stalin was taking. Another equally striking cartoon might be drawn from Sir C. P.'s dressing room. Imagine the powerful Dewan doffing his turban, combing his bushy hair back and growing a fierce moustache. Such a cartoon cannot of course appear in Travancore; for Sir C. P. in his little domain is almost as omnipotent as Stalin is in Soviet Russia. Some years back transport was made a State monopoly; possibly that was good. Now schools are to be also a State monopoly, certainly that is bad. The last vestiges of what was once called freedom of the Press have disappeared. Only recently a prominent daily which published a guarded criticism of the Dewan's Legislative Assembly was obliged to offer humiliating apology for speaking the truth. The quasi-Ogpu is ubiquitous. The Trivandrum Central Jail can turn into a Lubianka at short notice, and a Siberia too might be discovered somewhere in the Western Ghats. What else is required to turn Travancore into a little U.S.S.R.?

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The Student World

BRILLIANT MINDS ALL.

The Governor of Bombay said in his convocation address that students instead of being engrossed in politics should mind their immediate task of studying so as to make themselves efficient citizens of tomorrow. It was a timely piece of advice. But, we believe demoralization in the student world of India has gone too far to be checked merely by advice. Students are suffering not only from an overdose of politics, but from an entirely wrong conception of their duty as students.

The English and history papers of the M.A. exam in the Patna University were out this year before time; and students naturally prepared only what they knew to be "sure questions". But a day or two before the exam the Vice-Chancellor heard of the leakage and changed the papers, with the result that a good percentage of the students dropped out of the exam. College libraries used to be places of intense work, and books were held sacred. But nowadays, with a large mass of students who care little for study, librarians in many places complain of precious books disappearing into the blackmarket or being filled with obscene scribbling. The Poddar College of Commerce, Bombay, has suffered heavily from such mean sabotage. In Carmichael Medical College Hostel, Calcutta, a gang of students have made themselves into masters, with no little harm to the management of the hostel. In almost every important university town, constant feuds between the rival Congress and Communist Student organizations, meetings and processions, strikes and demonstrations, elections campaigns and propaganda for students' papers, and a thousand other things keep the students in a continual uproar, and prevent even the serious-minded students from attending to their job.

Straws in the Wind

THE DAMODAR VALLEY SCHEME

INDIA'S Central Technical Power Board has at last emerged from cold storage and has begun to investigate a gigantic scheme for the development of the Damodar Valley. It is estimated to cost Rs. 55 crores. A series of dams and reservoirs are to be built in the Damodar Valley which will provide water for irrigation and hydro-electric power generation, and at the same time control the floods which in past years used to render millions of people homeless. An area of 750,000 acres will come under more efficient irrigation, and the hydro-electric and thermal power station will supply 300,000 kw. The scheme is designed to benefit a a large population of five million people in the valley itself, and another of 2½ million in the neighbouring towns and cities, including Calcutta.

There can be no doubt about the necessity of such a scheme or rather of several such schemes for India. In an agricultural country irrigation canals are the arteries that carry life-blood to the people. In a country with no petrol resources and comparatively few coal fields, cheap power such as can be obtained from hydro-electric generation is a vital necessity for industrial development. Electric power has the advantage over other forms of power in that it is easily transferable over long distances and readily convertible to mechanical energy. Electricity can benefit even the rural population in a hundred different ways.

Only a Scheme

The Damodar Valley dams, highly desirable though they may be, are still only a scheme, rather hazy, and far from being a positive achievement. The administrative officer is still to be appointed, and an expensive technical mission will have to come early next year from the U.S.A. to advise on the type of dams to be constructed. Meanwhile, objections against the scheme are being raised by those who have vested interests in the valley, and are not too ready to sacrifice them. The public should not be unduly surprised therefore if the whole scheme bursts like a multi-coloured soap bubble.

ANOTHER RUSSIAN Advocate

Mr. K. T. Shah of Bombay who achieved a certain amount of notoriety in Catholic circles last year through the unholy zeal he displayed against the Sophia College, is a prolific writer on political and economic questions. One of this latest productions is entitled *'Changing Ideals in Soviet Russia'*. It starts with an imposing array of twenty-five other titles of works in English by the same author. In the preface to the present brochure the author protests that he is a scientific student who will not express any opinion, favourable or otherwise, but will simply note the changes in Russia and explain their bearing. But the reader, before he labours through many pages, will realize that this "scientific student" has looked at Russia through glasses coloured in deep red. Most of the things he has to say about Russia are the usual propaganda stuff with which Moscow journals and the Tass agency have deluged the world. The fulsome praise of the Russian "democratic" (!) system and the obstinate refusal to look at the reverse side of the picture will not surprise readers who for long have been used to this sort of writing.

Revolting Aspects Advocated

But when Mr. Shah goes on to laud to the skies even those aspects of the Russian social system which are positively revolting and which the Russians themselves would rather prefer to hide from the outer world, one cannot help feeling that the writer is attempting to play not so much on the excess of credulity as on the possible lack of mental sanity in his readers. Mr. Shah informs us that Russia is making furious attempts to increase population by taxing those who have no children and issuing subsidies to those who have to maintain large families. State protection is extended also to "unmarried mothers" for says K. T. Shah: "Unmarried mothers, if they desire to bring up their children, need not now sue to establish paternity and demand alimony from the father of their children; but are entitled to allowances merely by the

fact of motherhood." An excellent precaution, indeed, in a country where widespread prostitution is not always followed by abortion. It is strange that Mr. Shah does not ask the government of India to pass some similar law, and that he does not encourage Indian women to create a demand for it. It is not in India but in the countries of Western and Central Europe that Prof. Shah wants such a law to be passed. He writes: "Such measures are calculated to solve the problem of surplus women in the reproductive age-periods, a problem which is bound to face every European country after the war, but which no other country seems yet to have dared to tackle in this straightforward and effective manner." So here is Prof. Shah's advice to "Surplus women." They are to bring forth children anyhow and demand subsidies for them from the State. But Prof. Shah seems to forget that common decency and an immutable moral law forbid methods of cattle-breeding to be applied to the human race.

BOOK REVIEWS

AN AMERICAN WOMAN by Leonard Feeney, S.J., Catholic Book Crusade, St. Xavier's Patna.

The reviewer's task might be quickly accomplished by stating the bare fact that this is a book by Fr. Feeney. Fr. Feeney, the author of *Fish on Friday*, *You'd better come quietly'* and other works, is one who has elicited the warmest eulogies as well as the hottest criticism. He does not readily fit into the usual mental categories of sedate reviewers; and a first acquaintance with him comes as a rude shock to those who measure all writing by the yardstick of dignified conventions. But Fr. Feeney writes his books not for reviewers, but for readers; and he talks not *at* them but *to* them. He hates declaiming from a rostrum; instead he gets down to the market-place where his fellowmen live and work, buttonholes one or another in friendly fashion, and chats with him, being less intent on cutting a fine figure than getting his thought across. His apparent lack of gravity embarrasses the reviewer, but puts the reader entirely at ease. If you are not already familiar with Fr. Feeney's way, the present work, the biography of Elizabeth Seton, is an excellent opportunity, and most probably, before you have gone through many pages, you will be a Feeney-fan yourself.

Elizabeth Seton, the subject of the present biography, was truly a remarkable woman, with a strong resemblance to her French contemporary St. Sophie Barat. She founded the Sisters of Charity, who formed the vanguard of Catholic Sisterhood in America. Her cause has recently been introduced in Rome. Elizabeth Seton's was a life filled with the most unexpected turns. She was born into a Protestant family, and grew up in the midst of anti-Catholic prejudices to be the mother of five children, and then a widow. After a long period of doubt and conflict she became a convert to the Catholic faith, and eventually became a nun and the foundress of a religious institute. Today her institute counts nearly 9,000 nuns and conducts 8 colleges, nearly 700 schools, and scores of hospitals, asylums, and other charitable institutions.

This book is a C. B. C. publication, and is priced considerably lower than the American original edition. However, we wish that the Deccan Press, Calicut, which printed it, had made a better job of this excellent book.

—M. T.

Straws in the Wind

SIR C. P.'S PRESS PROPAGANDA

THANKS to Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayar's clever tactics, the Catholic educational system in Travancore is not only the victim of an iniquitous legislation, but is being made the target of a fierce press propaganda. The Catholic papers of Travancore are compelled to preserve an austere silence on the subject; and if at all they open their mouth in timid complaint, even the complaint should be heavily larded with e praise of the Dewan and his hated administration. On the other hand the secular papers which were always jealous of Catholic prestige, are given unrestricted freedom to publicize whatever lies they fancy about Catholics and their schools. The more vehemently they attack the Catholic schools, the more confidently they may hope for the smiling approval of the "Fuehrer". They have thrown truth and justice to the winds. They have only one aim; to flatter the "Fuehrer" and to laud his policy. They have before them a victim whose mouth is gagged and whose hands are pinioned; and they seem to delight in their mean and cowardly game of bear-baiting.

THE CATHOLIC PAPERS

We have received from Malabar a large number of press cuttings in Malayalam and English on the Travancore question. The one Catholic paper in Malayalam that has spoken fearlessly for its cause is the Cochin daily "The Malabar Mail." We are not sure whether "The Malabar Mail" may not have to pay heavily for its boldness, by being banned in Travancore and hence being deprived of a large proportion of its subscribers. It was for slighter cause than this that last year The Herald was banned in Travancore. As for the other two Catholic dailies of Malabar, *The Deepika* and *The Paura Dhwani* which are published in Travancore itself, we are pained, but not surprised at their being so cautious. Who does not see the Damocles sword hanging over their heads? Kelappan, the sneering columnist of MATHRU BHOOMI, a prominent Malayalam daily, has poured unrestrained abuse on the Bishop of Changanacherry and the entire Catholic body. In a free country such abuse would promptly have been answered by Catholic papers; but it is a plain fact that Travancore has long since ceased to be a free country.

ENGLISH AND TAMIL PRESS

Sir C. P. is not satisfied with press propaganda in Malayalam. He has roped in certain sectarian sections of the English and Tamil press as well. *The Indian Express* of Madras, *The Social Reformer* of Bombay, as well as *Dina Mani*, *Vikatan* and other Tamil papers are growing frantic over the education question of Travancore. The long string of palpable absurdities and untruths they publish in their columns would have sounded comically absurd, were not the reality of the harm they do so tragic. We do not believe that all these papers are deliberately closing their eyes to the truth. Sir C.P.'s interminable "Statements to the Press", filled with venomous falsehood, have given to people outside Travancore a completely distorted picture of what the the Catholics in Travancore are fighting for.

MR. SASTRI

One of the public men misled by Sir C.P. is Hon. V.S. Srinivasa Sastri. An answer to Mr. Sastri's attack on

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THE COMMUNISTS RESIGN

Mr. P.C. Joshi, the General Secretary of the Communist Party of India issued from Bombay on October 5t an important statement, asking all Communists to resign from the Congress. The Communist members of the A.I.C.C. alone are exempted from this order; they are not to resign but should remain "in order to answer the charges made against the Communists by the Congress Working Co

THE CONGRESS ATTITUDE

Comrade Joshi had been carrying on a long correspondence with Gandhiji, trying to prove that he and his men were truly patriotic, that the charges of treason and immorality and violence brought against them were false, that

(*Continued on page 3*).

the Catholic position appeared in the columns of The Herald recently. Mr. Sastri, as Pundit Nehru rightly wrote about him, "is always eloquent, and has the orator's love for fine words and their musical use. But he is apt to be carried away by his enthusiasms, and the word magic that he creates blurs his meaning to others, and perhaps to himself." In the present case his enthusiasm for his friend Sir C.P. has certainly carried him far away from the truth. His attack on conversions to Christianity is as ill-founded as it is mischievous. His exposition of the case for Catholic schools betrays a surprising ignorance of the just demands Catholics have made. They have not asked for liberty to force religion classes on non-Catholic pupils or for freedom from government supervision. The picture Mr. Sastri paints of the alleged inefficiency of Catholic schools bears no relation to truth. And Mr. Sastri's love for fine words had made him flout all logic when he tries elaborately to prove that the new government policy does not subject the Catholics to a system of double taxation.

On the many gratuitous assumptions of Mr. Sastri a palpable case can indeed be made for Sir C.P.'s victimization of Catholics. And it is little wonder that Sir C.P. in a statement to the Associated Press of India expresses himself immensely gratified with this defence by Mr. Sastri, and quotes him at length.

A statement of the minimum Catholic demand has been published by the Educational Committee of the Kerala Catholic Congress (PAURA DHWANI September 27). This statement is based not on gratuitions assumptions like those of Mr. Sastri but on proven facts. Sir C.P.'s policy may be that of Nazism or Bolshevism or the law of the jungle; but not that of a just democratic government. The word-magic of Mr. Sastri will deceive only those who refuse to think.

the Congress should follow the Communist lead, and so on. Gandhiji remained as unconvinced as before in spite of all the fine-spun phrases of the clever Comrade; and at last when he had enough of this correspondence he brought it to a sudden close by expressing his regret that he had wasted so much of his energy over it.

Pundit Nehru stated in Bombay recently that the sub-committee appointed by the Congress had presented the Communist members of the A.I.C.C. with a charge sheet that they had acted against the declared policy of the Congress and that a time limit of 15 days had been given for a rejoinder as to why disciplinary action should not be taken against them.

This charge-sheet had made Comrade Joshi furious; and his reply was the order to his men to break away from the Congress. The order has been promptly obeyed. In Bengal on the day following the order from Joshi Comrade Bhowani Sen, Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Committee of the C.P.I. declared the intention of his group to quit the Congress. All over India Communists are sending in their resignations.

CIVIL WAR

It is noteworthy that Comrade Joshi in his statement declares that civil war would come to India soon on account of the present Congress policy. Indeed it would if fifth columnist Quislings of the C.P.I. variety flood the country with their propaganda. It is not a mere coincidence that the first news of fighting in Chekiang and of the imminent threat of civil war in China reached us at about the same time as Joshi made his sinister prophecy about India. The Kuomintang-Communist relations in China are a close parallel to the Congress-Communist relations in India.

But we hope that henceforth wiser counsels will prevail in India and that unthinking folk who have been deceived into support of the C.P.I. will not at least open their eyes to the danger.

Straws in the Wind

CULTURAL STRANGULATION

AS Catholic opposition in Travancore grows, there grows also the Diwan's determination to crush the Catholics. In the secular press, news of the mass meetings of Catholics is almost completely blacked out; on the other hand no little fuss is made over other meetings held to support the government. What the reporters fail to mention about these counter-protests is that they are engineered by the government itself, that attendance at them is invariably only a handful, and that more than once meetings that had been announced as pro-government actually turned out to be pro-Catholic and bitterly anti-C. P. But Sir C. P. is not satisfied with these dummy-shows as would throw dust in the eyes of the outer world. His goal is "cultural strangulation"—the same as the U.S.S.R. had set before itself in 1924. The law against primary schools already proves that. And another proof is the government order of 8th October allowing a small Hindu religious body called the Nair Service Society (N.S.S.) to start a college next June in Changanacherry. Changanacherry already has a Catholic College, the best in the State for efficiency. There has been no formal petition, no deliberations, no University Commission to examine and report on the necessity of the new college, no inquiry as to whether the N.S.S. has funds enough to run a college in arts and science courses Besides starting new mofussil colleges is contrary to the declared policy of the Travancore University to have al. new colleges in Trivandrum itself. On October 3rd, a few members of the N.S.S. had gathered together—or perhaps had been made to gather together —to discuss about a college. And just five days later, on 8th October there comes the Government order that 35 acres of land will be requisitioned by the government and given to the N.S.S. along with unspecified liberal grants of money, and that the college will be in working order from next June One suspects that it is not zeal alone for higher education that brings the new college into existence The government knows, as well as anybody alse, that the N.S.S. College would be a hard direct hit on the St. Berchmans' College; it would be the government's answer to the offending pastoral of the Bishop of Changanacherry.

ARCHBISHOP MATHIAS IN TRAVANCORE

Reports from Travancore show that the journey of His Grace the Archbishop of Madras from Alwaye to Kottayam was, all along the way, an ovation of unprecedented splendour. Whole parishes had come out from the sea coast and the hillsides to line up along the road and to honour the Prelate who had so nobly defended their cause. As the road wound its way across the undulating country, at every turn immense crowds were to be seen awaiting his arrival. The gold and silver crosses of the churches and the huge silken umbrellas showed the traditional welcome of the Syrian rite to a Prince of the Church. The ringing of many church bells and the masses of flower garlands spoke the gratitude of a victimized, yet unconquered people

Mgr. Mathias had gone to Travancore to assist at the consecration of Mgr. Tharayil, the Coadjutor Bishop of Kottayam. From Kottayam His Grace went to Changanacherry to preside over what was perhaps the largest of the innumerable meetings held to protest against the Travancore decision. It was raining heavily. The meeting lasted for full three hours. The audience which numbered not a few hundreds but over fifty thousand, stood all the time, unsheltered from the pouring rain, on the soaked, slushy soil thus expressing by their very posture and attention a grim determination to fight for their schools in spite of the powerful government that was ranged against them.

FAMINE COMMISSION REPORT

The Bengal Famine Inquiry Commission released to the press last month its 'Final Report'. Already in May the first part of the report had been published dealing exclusively with Bengal. In this 'Final Report' which is a sequel to the first part, the Commission rightly view the Bengal famine against the background of the whole of India. Bengal's unnumbered victims are a striking evidence—the most tragic, but not the only evidence—of a blight that lies upon the whole land, upon its surging, seething, dumb millions, under-nourished, exploited, riddled with a hundred agues. The Report of the Inquiry Commission is packed with statistical data and grandiose plans and schemes,—for preventing future famines, for improving the health of the people, for supplying them with a more nourishing diet. The schemes are indeed excellent, as indeed most schemes when printed in clear type on fine paper.

DREADFUL APATHY

But sceptically the reader of the report asks himself whether any of these schemes will be translated into a reality beneficial to the people. The learned members of the commission cannot be credited with a signal discovery when they state that India lies exposed to the recurrent threat of famine. One has only to leave the stately mansions in the city suburbs, and make a tour of the dry, parched villages to see for oneself the masses of the people ever on a starvation fare.

The dreadful tragedy of these lives was known for decades, and the possible remedies too. Yet, little or nothing has been done. Why? The causes are many. Bourgeois isolationism, political discontent, corruption of officialdom, a lumbering governmental machinery —these lie as a leaden weight stifling every attempt at social reform.

Against this depressing background of callous indifference to human misery, it is most refreshing to view those social workers scattered here and there, missionary and hospital Sisters, nuns in charge of orphanages and poor homes, St. Vincent de Paul workers,—all too few indeed when compared to the masses that need succour,— selfless, heroic social workers who without any blare of publicity expecting no earthly awards, quietly, humbly, are carrying on a relentless struggle against poverty, sickness and utter physical destitution.

UNDER-EMPLOYMENT

The Commission's treatment of the most important of all rural economic problems, namely, under-employment, deserves careful study. The following wise measures are suggested: (1) Intensive farming, involving the adoption of various measures for increasing yield, such as irrigation, manuring, improved seeds, mixed farming, etc (2) Cottage industry, such as handloom weaving. (3) Agro-industry, for which the Commission proposes Walachandnagar in Bombay Presidency as a model. (4) Organization of village works through Panchayats, with powers to raise money by taxation and with grants-in-aid from public revenues. (5) Migration from over-populated to under-populated rural areas. (6) Large scale industry with the development of hydro-eletric power.

All these are excellent measures, and it is some of these, at least, that we would like to see realized in actual practice. Among the masses of the people, apathy and defeatism have been and still are all too prevalent, and selfishness and indifference among those who can or should think for the people The ryot submerged in misery has but a narrow, restricted vision; and those who can plan and excute are bemuddled in political deadlocks.

In particular we would ask a greater measure of aid and encouragement on the part of the government to those social help organizations which are already in existence. Foremost among these are the charitable institutions run by Roman Catholic Sisterhoods. Hitherto the government has shown itself far too niggardly in recognizing their immense contribution to the welfare of the people. For funds, and

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largely also for personnel they were dependent on the Catholic countries of Europe. Now that Europe is bleeding from the after-effects of a terrible war, these charitable institutions face a grave crisis. It would be a great loss to the country if they were allowed to die of inanition. Government should realize that funds allotted to them will be spent by them far more wisely and economically than through the corrupt governmental channels.

Straws in the Wind

THE COMING ELECTIONS

To judge from our chief Catholic papers, we Catholics of India seem pitifully irresponsive to the coming elections. In Italy the Sacred Consistorial Congregation itself—of which the Holy Father is the prefect—has gone out of its way to remind Italian Catholics of their duty as electors. Is it possible that the Catholics of India are unconscious of the grave issues that hang in the balance? The coming elections are of far greater importance to the future of the country than any we have had in the past. On its results may depend an instrument which as far as India is concerned would perhaps be comparable in importance to the *Magna Carta* of England or the American "Declaration of Independence."

Lord Wavell said in his broadcast of September 19th: "After the elections I propose to hold discussions with representatives of those elected and of the Indian States to determine the form which the constitution-making Body should take, its powers and procedure. The draft declaration of 1942 proposed a method of setting up a Constitution making Body, but H. M.'s govt. have authorised me to ascertain whether those proposals are acceptable or some alternative or modified scheme is preferable."

And in the Cripps Offer of 1942 to which Lord Wavell refers we read the following: "Immediately upon result being known of the Provincial elections the entire membership of the Provincial Legislative assemblies shall, as a single electoral college, proceed to the election of the Constitution-making Body by the system of proportional representation. This new body shall be in about one-tenth of the electoral college.

158 members out of the 1585 M.L.A.'s to be elected and some 50 members from the Native States—who by the way will represent not the people but the Rajas—will presumably form the "Constitution-making Body." It is this Body that will decide some all-important issues regarding the future of Catholics in India, as to how far fundamental religious rights will be safeguarded, what will be the future of our schools, and so on.

If in the future constitution Catholics are made the victims of an unjust legislation, let not posterity have reason to complain that the cause of it was our inaction and apathy at a critical period in the nation's history.

INDIA'S STERLING BALANCE

The Indian Press watches with grave concern and misgiving what Britain is planning to do with her war-debt to India. The debt amounts to Rs. 1042 crores in sterling securities and another Rs. 408 crores as balances in the banking department, the total being equivalent to 4.6 billion dollars. The sum is only one-third of Britain's total war debt of 14 billion dollars. The suggestion has sometimes been made in the British press that a few of the zeros in the war debt figures should unceremoniously be wiped off, and that of what remains Britain may pay as it is convenient.

THE U.S. FINANCIAL SCHEME

The new financial scheme presented by U.S.A. to Britain envisages such a scaling down of war-debts. According to this scheme, the debt of 14 billion dollars should first be reduced to 7.5, and then should be paid off in part or full to the creditor countries in yearly instalments. There is no doubt that the needs of India and its just claims have been entirely ignored in drawing up this scheme. U.S.A. will have its share fully repayed in 55 years, whereas India even at the end of that long period will have only a fraction of its debt repayed. In repayment to U.S.A. account is taken of interest on the loan, whereas in repayment to India there is no mention of interest.

This financial scheme and the discussions about it in the British press are just another example of how the "big powers" run the affairs of the world all to their own exclusive advantage. The smaller powers, even though they may represent many more millions of human beings, are presumed to have no just claims, nor have they any means to make even their requests known. They may sit at the doorstep without, and deem themselves fortunate if occasionally a crust of bread is thrown out to them. Power politics that rule the world today are a sad parody on the grandiloquent Atlantic Charter and the Frisco resolutions.

JUSTICE TO THE POOR

Whatever may be the reasons for scaling down Britain's war-debt to other countries, those reasons do not apply to India. Inflation had nothing to do with India's credit mounting so high. This must be clearly grasped in spite of affirmations to the contrary. The goods were taken from India at control prices and often at pre-war prices. It is the masses of the poor that suffered most from the huge demands of the war-effort. As was recently pointed out by a London economist, the nation that was asked to tighten its belt was one of which the stomach had already touched the backbone. If millions perished through famine, and if the national health has sunk to a precariously low level, the reason is that the economic resources of the country were drained off into outer channels. Misery and privation reached the utmost limits during the war years. The plague that is now claiming hundreds of victims in the Bombay Province is just one proof of that. The dumb mass of the poor which ever remained below subsistence level cries for a just and equitable world-planning. But the "big powers" seem more intent on increasing the hoards of millionnaires of their own nationalities than on satisfying the just demands of the poor of the subject nations and minor powers

TO FIGHT PROFITEERING

Mr. R. E. Mathur, rationing controller of Simla has hit upon a novel plan to fight profiteering. The names of profiteers who are convicted and sentenced are published broadcast in all quarters of the town through posters displayed at important places on the roads and in the markets. It is hoped that the prospect of such unwelcome notoriety would act as a deterrent for those who would not be intimidated by more conviction or fine. The profiteer is public enemy No. 1; and it is but right that the public should know him. But he is one in whom the light of conscience has darkened and perhaps all self-respect too is extinguished; he is a degraded specimen of the human species. Men with the slightest spark of self-respect would not launch on a career of such mean thievery, especially when they are conscious that their victims are the poorest and most helpless of their fellowmen. So it is doubtful whether Mr. Mathur's novel plan would completely do away with profiteering. Perhaps in a small town like Simla it may have some good effects. But for the larger cities like Calcutta and for the rural districts where professional profiteers are rapidly on the increase, more drastic measures will be necessary. At present profiteering thrives in an atmosphere of comparative security. The law can be evaded in a hundred ways, and the officials who are to enforce the law are not always proof against corruption. Government machinery is apt to remind one of a house built on sand. Not even the best system of laws is of any value unless there exists in the bulk of the people a deep-rooted respect for morality and a sense of social justice.

Straws in the Wind

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"THE TEEMING MILLIONS"

DURING recent weeks the population problem of Bengal has once more been trumped up by propagandists to bolster their pet ideologies. With the failure of the year's harvest, the deterioration of vast quantities of food grains through inadequate storage, and the nefarious anti-social trade of hoarders and profiteers, the business of keeping the 65 millions of Bengal above famine level will prove a severe test on the skill of Government and food control boards. In many quarters the impression is gaining ground that the population is too great, and that its rate growth must forcibly be checked. And hence arises a renewed fury for birth-control propaganda.

The Woodhead Report

The Woodhead Commission Report which we commented on previously ("Herald," Oct. 28th), when treating of the population problem of India reflects a mentality that is widely prevalent. The members of the Commission seem rather over-wrought about the fact that India has a population of 400 million, and they predict woefully that within 20 or 25 years the number will rise to half a billion. It would seem that according to the Commission no worse tragedy can be imagined "An ultimate decrease," the Commission states, "in the rate of population is not only desirable, but necessary." The Commission leaves us in no doubt as to what means they would employ for this questionable purpose. The Report continues: "The most effective means of reducing numbers is, of course, family limitation. At present a deliberate State policy with the objective of encouraging the practice of birth-control among the mass of the population is impracticable." Only impracticable, not criminal; and hence the Commission crudely urges the government to take what it calls "legitimate steps" and impart as far as possible knowledge of birth-control methods in maternity and child welfare centres.

Notwithstanding other highly commendable aspects of the Report, in this place the Commission has betrayed lamentable muddleheadedness. They are treating men as economic units, cogs in the wheel of the State machine, not as human beings, each with an individual conscience. Train the people, if need be, to voluntary continence; it is far easier in India where many think; but do not train them to crime and sinful self-indulgence.

Popular Misconceptions

It was Mr. Amery who first advanced the thesis that the Bengal famine was due to the phenomenal increase of population in this country. Later Mr. Churchill, with his characteristic omniscience, asserted that the speed of increase of population in India has "exceeded any increase throughout the world." These statements are just false. During the half century preceding 1931 the population of England and Wales increased by 50%, that of Holland by 90%, that of Japan by 74%, those of Australia, New Zealand and U.S.A. by 166%, 172% and 186% respectively. Compared to these countries the increase in India in the same period was considerably smaller, only 35%.

As for the widely advertized remedy, birth-control, we wonder whether the members of the Woodhead Commission and others who frequently eulogize it, would lend their ears to the convincing arguments about its sinfulness which we have earlier exposed in these columns. However, Gandhiji's views on the subject should have some weight with most Indians. Gandhiji calls birth-control a "dismal abyss." He says (in "Self-restraint vs. Self-indulgence"): "Artificial methods are like putting a premium upon vice. They make man and woman reckless. . . . Adoption of artificial methods must result in imbecility and nervous prostration. The remedy will be found worse than the disease." And elsewhere: "Any union is a crime when the desire of progeny is absent."—"It is wrong and immoral to seek to escape the consequences of one's acts—. . . . It is bad for a man to indulge his appetite and then escape the consequences by taking tonics or other medicines. It is still worse for a person to indulge his animal passions and escape the consequences of his acts."

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"HINDUSTAN TIMES" PROPAGANDA

It is greatly to be regretted that "The Hindustan Times" of New Delhi, stooped so low as to join in the iniquitous campaign of lies against the just cause of the Catholics of Travancore. The "Hindustan Times" is one of the foremost Congress papers of India. Owned by Birla, and edited by Gandiji's son, Devadas Gandhi, the paper enjoys a well-deserved popularity with a large section of the Indian public. Most of the Congressmen of India have their political and social ideas served up to them daily by this leading paper. Wielding such tremendous power for moulding public opinion, the paper should not have rushed into print with its strong editorial condemning the Catholic agitation in Travancore, without first ascertaining the facts. The mischievous editorial was followed up by a long report on the controversy, said to be written by a Trivandrum correspondent. This correspondent, whoever he be, seems to be entirely ignorant of what the Catholics are asking for; his statistics are all wrong, either because he did not know better, or because he thought that the wrong statistics would make falsehood appear true; and the report itself can without exaggeration be said to be a string of lies. It is disgraceful for a powerful majority party that such mean tactics of lying and vilification have to be resorted to in order to fight down the elementary human rights of minorities.

The Voice of Protest

Mr. Thariathu Kunjithomman, President of the Kerala Catholic Congress, sent immediately by wire a fully substantiated reply to "The Hindustan Times," as well as to two other dailies of New Delhi, "The Statesman" and "The Dawn." Even if Mr. Kunjithomman's reply is published, it is not likely that the harm done by the editorial and the false report would be entirely repaired. First impressions always last, and would not easily be corrected.

This "Hindustan Times" incident holds a precious lesson for Catholics. Untold harm is being done and will be done in future to the Catholic cause through false propaganda simply because the secular press is misinformed; and it is misinformed because we have no agency to supply the correct information. Protests and correctives will necessarily be weak; letters from individual Catholics will be few and will achieve little. Our Catholic papers as they exist at present cannot interest a non-Catholic public. What is needed is a well-organized, efficient press agency that will bridge the gulf that separates the Catholics from the vast non-Catholic majority of this country.

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THE NATIVE STATES

Sir Manubhai Mehta, the Chairman of the States Ministers' Committee, in a recent press conference spoke at some length on the state of insecurity in which the Princes are looking towards the future. His statements unmistakably pointed to a feeling of deep fear and anxiety in the minds of the Princes. There is indeed ample reason for the Princes not to feel too secure. Going through some of the Native States one cannot help having the impression that those in power are making frantic efforts to put the clock of civilization backwards, or at best to prevent it from running faster than they would wish. There are certain limits beyond which unchecked autocracy and wasteful expenditure would not be tolerated by even the traditionally long-suffering peoples of the States. It is a vain dream to imagine that Native States in the present age and in a changing India could be kept as strongly guarded relics from the times of the Medes and the Persians.

On October 23, at a meeting in Jaipur State, Pandit Nehru addressed a severely worded warning to the Princes. The demand of the States' people, he said, was for responsible government which would allow the Princes to remain provided they handed over the reins of administration to the people's representatives. So far as the smaller states were concerned, their existence as independent entities was impossible in the future. The Princes, continued Nehru, have been repeatedly asked in resolutions and speeches to understand the significance of the changing times. Their reply has been to refer to treaties, engagements and sanads.

Whatever be the significance of these treaties at the present time, they should not become the pretext for perpetuating an intolerable system impatient of all progress. Governments, even if they are not 'of' and 'by' the people, should at least be 'for' the people.

Straws in the Wind

THIS MESS CALLED EDUCATION

PRIVATE ENTERPRISE HANDICAPPED

A MAJOR item in the annual budget of every civilized country is education. India is no exception to the general rule. By far the greater part of the amount set apart for education is appropriated by the government colleges and schools, and a very slender allowance is doled out to private institutions. These latter in order to pay adequate salaries to their teachers and to meet other current expenses are obliged to draw largely from their own funds or private benefactions, or to impose a higher scale of fees. According to the latest Quinquennial Report, for the year 1936-37, the total expenditure of Christian Mission educational institutions in British India was Rs. 308 lacs of which only 90 lacs came from the government, and 109 lacs were realized from fees. The remainder of the expense was met from mission funds or private donations. Since the government funds are the money of the common taxpayer, all institutions whether conducted by the government or by private bodies should have a proportionate share in it. Parents have the right to choose what institutions they prefer for their children. The present system of unequal grant-in-aid imposes a heavy handicap on parents who prefer private institutions for their children, and hence is a gross violation of distributive justice.

Deplorable Inefficiency

There would be some justification for this iniquitous system if it could be proved that private institutions do not spend the government grants in the true interests of the pupils or that the government institutions are giving a more efficient education. But facts prove just the reverse. The Catholic schools and colleges in this country are well-known for their thoroughness, efficiency and sense of discipline; whereas a quite different picture is presented by the government institutions.

Various reports that have been appearing in the press in recent months enable us to form a fairly correct picture of the deplorable state into which certain government institutions have fallen. It is an open secret that in the great colleges of Calcutta, perhaps also of other places, it is all too common for professors to while away their time in class or not to take classes at all. Rarely are the courses completed.

In the University College of Science, Calcutta, last year one of the eminent professors of the Chemistry department finished the full year's course in just two lectures. The students suffered while the professor went for "war work" which earned for him Rs. 3,000 a month in addition to the salary he was drawing from the college. A senior lecturer in Commerce delivered exactly fourteen lectures in a whole period of two years. College authorities are often so supremely oblivious of the needs of the college that laboratory work is at a standstill. In Vidyasagar College which is Calcutta's largest College with 3,000 students on the rolls the amount of chemicals available is reported to be only 5% and beakers and basins in stock only 4% of what the students require. Only 10 out of the 23 experiments necessary for the Intermediate course could be performed.

Sabotage

Criminal sabotage by students is often the cause of lack of facilities. From one of the medical colleges of Calcutta hundreds of beakers and a microscope have disappeared. Breakages and losses in Ripon College reached so high a figure at the end of the year that the students of Intermediate Science not only forfeited each his Rs. 5 caution money, but had to pay in Rs. 13-8 extra. Mismanagement of finances is a crying evil in many of the college sports clubs. Money given for sports material is used by the captains, often with the connivance of the professors in charge, for tea parties for their friends; and the sports material of the college not infrequently disappears into the private rooms of students or into the Chor Bazar. Such squandering of public money cannot occur in any college that is run efficiently. One is not surprised that a standing grievance of the Communist Student Organization against St. Xavier's College, Bombay, is that the professor in charge of sports in St. Xavier's keeps a careful watch over how the annual allotment of Rs. 20,000 is being spent.

Protest Called For

The irresponsible manner in which certain educational authorities are misspending the hard-earned money of the poor tax-payer should call for a vigorous protest from the public. Maintaining a student in the college is for

most parents a very heavy strain on their limited resources. And what is the return for all this expenditure? Hours wasted in the college halls without professor, strikes and demonstrations quite frequently, and two or four precious years given over for intellectual and ethical "demoralization!" And when exam approaches, the students find themselves no better than when they started the course. 2,000 answer papers of the maths. matric exam. held in Narayanjung last March were word for word alike, as though some one had dictated to the students through a loud-speaker what they should write. Even the best students feel obliged to take to cheating. The candidate who in '45 had stood sixth out of 40,000 matric examinees, had to be turned out of the hall for malpractice in the Inter exam of March '45.

Is this what is called education? Is this the way India's future generation is to be trained? We would suggest that some of the great principals and headmasters who are drawing fat salaries and pay no heed to the proper running of their institutions be forced to undergo a year's compulsory training in school and college management. A proper place where they could get such training are the Catholic colleges which have always shown a splendid record in spite of the very meagre subsidy they are receiving from the government.

MAN-MADE FAMINE

Pundit Nehru addressing a meeting in Moradabad was quoted by "The Statesman" of Nov. 3, as follows: "The Bengal famine was man-made, and the resultant of blindness and folly on the part of the Government of India and the Bengal Government. About 3,500,000 persons died, and about 10,000,00 were reduced to a state where death would have been better." These figures given by Nehru are considerably greater than those publicized for foreign consumption by the official sources, and the Woodhead Report; but collating evidence gathered from current reports it would seem that Pundit Nehru cannot be accused of any gross exaggeration. But we doubt whether it would be right to throw the whole blame of the famine on the Government. The Woodhead Report convincingly shows that the chief agents in the mass murder of Bengal's poor were some of our own unscrupulous, grabbing, greedy countrymen. Men of that ilk are still at large in Bengal's markets; and it is against them that the main blast of popular indignation should be directed.

However we believe that the Government is not altogether above blame. Negligence and the "laissez-faire" policy, though in normal circumstances may sometimes be overlooked, become grave social injustice in critical times. An A. P. I. Report from Burdwan, dated, Oct. 30th, says: "About five thousand bags of atta worth over one lakh of rupees, which became unfit for human consumption in local civil supply godowns, are being carried by motor trucks and thrown into the river Damodar. Several motor trucks have been engaged since yesterday, and each truck is carrying sixty bags in each trip." Destruction of precious food stuff—of which this is not an isolated instance—is too tragic to need comment. Why is it permitted in a famine-ridden country, and who is responsible for it?

Straws in the Wind

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PRESS CENSORSHIP

THE Provincial Government of Madras, ought to be congratulated for the lead it has given to the rest of India in abolishing from the beginning of November its war-time censorship of the press. Censorship of news used to be thorough during the war, though the officer in charge of that job was called by a rather less expressive and more pompous title, the Press Advisor. That was a piece of camouflage, and helped to deceive the outside world into a belief that the Indian press was not a censored press. Names do not matter so long as the job is done properly. As an example of the efficiency of the Government's censors may be cited the fact, mentioned by Dr. Mulk Raj Anand speaking at the Journalists' Club, Bombay, that news of the appalling situation created in Bengal by the famine trickled out to the British public only after six months. Even in India most items of news did not see the light of day, or when they did, they were so mutilated as to lose all their significance. We doubt whether there ever was any need for all that extensive and indiscriminating blacking out of news carried on in the name of national defence. Perhaps there was, for national defence is a big word, and one does not easily see all its implications. Whatever need there existed at one time, it has long since ceased to exist. The war is now a long time over. Still the complex machinery set up by the war to throttle facts and views continues in most Provinces its grinding process with unabated energy. Most District Magistrates still wield extensive powers to check up on reports of local correspondents. A huge staff for censorship still continues to be maintained at public expense to rob the public of what they have a right to. Madras has given the lead in getting rid of this most unwelcome feature in government machinery. It is to be hoped that other Provinces and the Central Government will soon follow suit, and that "Press Advisors" everywhere in the country will put up the "out-of-business" sign before their offices.

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FORCED EVICTIONS

We have spoken earlier in these columns ("Herald", Oct. 28th) of the new Hindu College, which Sir C. P's. Travancore University sanctioned last month. It was sanctioned without any of the usual investigations, and manifestly without any purpose except to strike at the already existing Catholic college at Changanacherry. More details are now available about the site of the college which bring out forcibly the iniquitous policy of the government directed against the Catholics. The Nair Service Society (N.S.S.) which will own the new college intends to acquire under government patronage thirty acres of land in addition to the twenty acres which it already possesses. Twenty acres in an overcrowded town would normally have been judged more than sufficient for a college of the type proposed. It is a college, not a university. What is more suprising is that the thirty acres to be acquired have been carved out from the northern and eastern side of the present N.S.S. property, where most of the inhabitants are Catholics. The southern side where the property belongs to Nairs (caste Hindus) is left untouched. According to this scheme of land acquisition, 25 Catholic families will be evicted from their homes, and 19 of these have no other place to go to. The total number of Nair families to be evicted is only 8, and of these 2 alone are without other homes. The system of roads about the site is such that any thoughtful planner would have considered it more in the interests of the college to acquire new property—if acquire it must—to the south of the present N.S.S. holding. One can discover no purpose in the C.P.-sponsored N.S.S. scheme except forcibly and unjustly to evict a large number of Catholics from their homes. This work of planned injustice is of a piece with all that Sir C. P's. administration has been doing all these eight years; and yet in press interviews Sir C. P. loudly protests that his government is a model for justice and toleration.

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THE HINDU TEMPLES OF TRAVANCORE

Travancore has been very much in the limelight during recent months thanks to its "fuehrer". It has often in the past been called a "progressive State" ruled by an "enlightened" diwan. But as one hears more and more of the State, the impression grows that these customary epithets are all too hollow. A rather obscure feature about the government of Travancore which is rarely spoken of in the press is the so-called "Devaswam" department. The Devaswam is in charge of the internal affairs of the Hindu temples. In the current year's budget a sum of Rs. 25,44,565 has been set apart for temple expenses. A paltry sum of Rs. 2,200 is entered as income to the government from the temples. entail a net loss of over Rs. 25 lakhs to the government for the current fiscal year. Rs. 25 lakhs is a considerable part of the total expenditure of a small native state, and the money for this comes from the general tax-payer, from the Christian and the Muslim as well as from the Hindu. The government which is so prodigal in wasting public money for Hindu temples shows itself extremely intransigent when the Christians ask permission to buy sites for churches and cemeteries. What the Christians ask for is not a favour, but just return for good currency. What the temple folk, mostly Brahmins from outside, get from the government is something they have no right to; it is the money of the poor. This is another example of how justice is understood in "a progressive State" under an "enlightened diwan".

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"COMICS" ARE TRAGIC

It is with great anxiety that educators view the growing popularity of "comics" among students of our English schools. The comics are not funny; they are tragic. They are mass-produced in America and glut the literary markets of the English speaking world. For most children they form the only reading besides class text books. The harm that is caused by feeding oneself on this type of unwholesome mental diet is incalculable. To-day's real battle is one of life's values, the future of the world depends on whether pagan or moral values prevail; and the comics bring the balance heavily on the side of the pagan values. The comics present to the youthful imagination of children the picture of a world of women scantily clad and doing stirring deeds, giving the impression that the less a woman wears the greater she is; of villains of all kinds of abnormalities and deformities who capture and hold the attention of the young; of crimes and methods of achieving them which convey a glamorous appeal for imitation. Experience of crime investigators in America has proved that the comics have given to the rising generation a comprehensive education in crime and criminal methods and a tendency towards the worst excesses of sexual depravity. They are the chief cause for the alarming increase of juvenile delinquency. Comics are in truth tragic; they destroy all that sound education is trying to give to the students.

Straws in the Wind

CORRUPT OFFICIALDOM

THE "Modern Review" writes: "Corruption in officialdom from top to bottom is now a common feature of the present-day British administration in India. One or two honest and well-meaning officials express their uneasiness here and there, but they seem helpless against a machinery steeped in wholesale corruption. . . . Administrative corruption is rampant all over India, and particularly in these war departments which deal with ready money. Nobody is immune, whether Indians or Englishmen."

This is a shameful state of affairs, and one which seems very difficult to remedy. Attention has been drawn to it several times by prominent national leaders, and particularly by Nehru and Bose. Not long ago a correspondent in "The Statesman" calculated that Rs. 60 crores pass annually as bribes.

The Nationalist and Communist papers commenting on the situation draw a convenient conclusion that the sole cause of corruption is the British Raj. The "Modern Review's" remark is typical of what one often finds in the current press: "The Government wants the public to believe that the British Officials of the steel-frame called the Indian Civil Service and the British Police Superintendents called the Indian Police know nothing of the corruption, and a government which seeks to crush four hundred millions of human beings under their heels, is powerless to detect and punish thieves, swindlers and profiteers."

CHRISTIANITY VERSUS IRRELIGION

This dislike for the foreign ruler is understandable; but what is not understandable is the insinuation that corruption and bribery are due to the supposedly Christian religion of the foreign ruler. The journal we have quoted above continues: "Corruption in administration is nothing new in India, particularly after the rise of the Christian power in this country."

It is difficult to see why the word "Christian" should have been dragged into this context. Perhaps among the hundreds of officials who are corrupt there are a few who bear Christian names; but they are Christians only in name; their conduct is a patent denial of what Christianity teaches. They have little or no religious belief. Some would call them "the modern pagans"; but to call them pagans is an insult to paganism itself. The pagans of Greece and Rome believed in many gods instead of in the one true God, and they had some sort of a moral code. But the so-called modern pagans know no deity except wealth and pleasure; their moral code is one of expediency and behaviourism. According to them any mean and dishonest act is justifiable so long as one is clever enough not to fall into the clutches of the law and does not lose his respectability before others. This is true of all the thieves, swindlers and profiteers, whether they bear Christian or non-Christian names.

THE MORAL CODE

"Thou shalt not steal" is a commandment not of Christianity alone. It arises from the natural divine law; it does not change with time and place; it binds the consciences of all men. Acts of injustice unlike other crimes remain unrepaired even after the guilty one repents of his misdeed; it calls for restitution of goods misappropriated and reparation for damages caused. It is not an efficient police force alone that can cure the whidespread corruption in officialdom. The civil and criminal law can check only the more blatant acts of dishonesty and injustice, and even these not always. Those who are clever enough to swindle are cleverer to evade the law.

The campaign against corruption in the secular press is singularly inefficient because the secularist code of life admits no fixed moral standards. It has no more cogent argument than the threat of punishment to show why one should not grab money wherever one can. And the only remedy it can suggest is a tightening of the police.

"No moral standards are immutable," wrote a correspondent a fortnight back in "The Statesman", warmly recommending polygamy for European countries. What a U.S.A. journalist said may sound cynical, but is none the less true—that in the world of international relations the four freedoms have been replaced by the four G's, Greed, Grab, Gain and Gold; and it is not surprising that the same mental outlook is seen reflected in the world of individual relations. "Everywhere the bitter and prolific root of all evils is the refusal to recognize the Divine Majesty and the neglect of the moral law whose origin is from heaven," wrote Pope Pius XII in his encyclical letter "Sertum Laetitiae".

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COMMUNISTS APPEAL FOR FUNDS

Comrade G. Adhikari, Editor of the Communist Party Organ, "People's War" sends out to his readers a fervid appeal to "give all they can to the Communist Party Five Lakh Fund." To every class of readers and subscribers a special appeal is made—to young clerks because they face the grim prospect of unemployment; to technicians because there is no prospect of their skill being properly harnessed to India's progress; to young officers in firms because they see ahead years of dull slavery in a dying society; to young intellectuals because they get paid little for hours of mechanical teaching. For all these evils which the youth of India rebel against, (the) "People's War" promises a sure remedy. The Rs. 5 lakh fund must be collected soon, and the "People's War" which is a weekly at present must "become the best national daily." It is no timid, diffident appeal that the Editor makes. He writes: "Send all you can—mark it: 'For the five lakh party fund'. . . . . If every one of you gives to the last pie he can afford, the five lakhs can be collected."

The reasons for which the Comrade asks such self-sacrificing donations from the people are interesting. Here are some of them: "People's War" alone gives you facts, facts, facts again, on every live national issue. . . . "People's War" alone exposes imperialism's game, blows up all Tory "Reuter's" lying propaganda, tells you the truth about the people's movements outside of our land and in particular of the people's civilization in the Soviet Union."

It is true that the P. W. is never tired of singing the praises of the Soviet Union. On many other issues too the P. W. has lashed out vigorously. If fervour of propaganda is all that is required to make a cause justifiable, the communist cause is certainly superior to all others. But at present the nationalist press in the country is, for reasons of its own, stoutly opposed to the Communist cause. And hence we doubt whether the present appeal for the Rs. 5 lakh fund will meet the same response from the public as the four similar appeals made previously, and apparently with great success.

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ROWDYISM UNLEASHED

THERE are few Indians who do not regret the recent outbursts of rowdyism among students. The trouble started in Calcutta and has its repercussions in many other cities and towns. Hatred had been fanned to white-heat by the nationalist speeches and writings. The I. N. A. trials were adding fresh fuel to the ravaging fire. Election propaganda, ever more vigorous because of the conflicting parties, had imparted an unbounded energy to the crowds. But these causes, even all taken together, would not have resulted in such lamentable excesses of mob-violence had not the leadership of students passed into wrong hands.

Students and Politics

The students are a class that can have leisure for the mere wishing of it; but that leisure is designed for great nation-building purpose, not for being misused by revolutionary parties for their election propaganda. The students in the colleges represent the best strata of society; they are the hope of the nation; from among them should rise for the India of to-morrow the leading scientists, economists, social workers and leaders of the people. Every minute of their period of preparation is precious. They should be brought up in an atmosphere of discipline and order, of undisturbed quiet and of sustained intellectual activity. Hence it is that all those who have the interests of the nation at heart—Gandhiji and Nehru among others—have repeatedly appealed to students not to get embroiled in the political struggle. Their youthful enthusiasm makes of them easy victims of the mob-mentality. On the other hand feverish activity of the nature demanded by politics cannot but be detrimental to the all-important work the students have to do.

Wrong Leadership

But unhappily, there are in our country to-day men prepared to risk the collapse of the nation for a passing election struggle. In their bid for power they deem any means fully justifiable. Since men who can think and who are traditionally peace-loving will not reecho their slogans, they commandeer the youthful and emotionally volatile student body. They stage demonstrations which they cannot keep under control, and of which they are too blind to see the dreadful consequences. It is such men who have captured the leadership of students at the present time. They are the "agents-provacateurs" against whom Sarat Chandra Bose warned the students in the vain attempt he made to check the excesses of student violence at Calcutta.

The recent happenings hold out a serious warning to the government which is responsible for law and order and to the national leaders who should plan for the true welfare of the country. Will they allow the students to be exploited by its present suicidal leadership, and thus jeopardize the future of the country as well as of thousands of the students? Or will they take effective measures to comb out the rowdy elements and to bring the student-world back to a sense of its duty and its high mission?

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BAD MOVIES

"Every one knows what damage is done to the soul by bad motion pictures. They are occasions of sin: they seduce young people along the ways of evil by glorifying the passions; they show life under a false light; they cloud ideals; they destroy pure love, respect for marriage and family affections. They are capable also of creating prejudices among individuals, misunderstandings among nations, among social classes and among entire races."

It was Pope Pius XI who spoke these words. He was one who had probed human nature deeply and was watching with great anxiety the rising tide of demoralization in the world. The harm done by bad movies was already so great at his time that he did not think this indictiment too strong. During the intervening years this corrupt industry has shown no signs of a change for the better; rather the contrary.

Hatred between nations and immorality are fundamentally the worst effects of a global war. The war has ended; but the harm that it has done to the nobler human ideals are like a universal conflagration that still spreads and consumes. Among the agencies that continually add fresh fuel to this fire, the most powerful is the film industry. Not long ago a British M. P. sounded a note of warning in the House of Commons that one of the worst influences on English youth was Hollywood, and that the State should take strong measures against it. What is true of English youth is true also of our Indian youth, and here there are many vernacular film producing companies to add their baneful influence to that of Hollywood.

The film magnates of India, bound no more by war-time restrictions are planning the release of a large number of new films. Mr. P. N. Thapar, Joint Secretary of the Government of India's

Broadcasting and Information Department, recently announced in Hollywood that a 1,000 mobile units for educational films are to be added to the 200 that are in India at present. It is a period at which the Indian public should be on the alert. Let the films that are to be released in India or to be brought from abroad for the nation's entertainment be worthy of a decent people. They should be such that no self-respecting father or mother of a family will be ashamed of seeing them in the company of their growing children. They should help to build a united India, culturally refined and morally strong.

"PRINCELY INDIA" ATTACKS "HERALD"

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One of our readers sends to us a copy of "Princely India", dated, Nov. 18, which contains a strong attack on "The Herald" for having published the report of the speeches made in Bombay by two Travancore Christians in the course of a protest meeting against the Travancore educational policy. "Princely India" is the staunch defender of a lost cause; its aim is to prove that the Native States are not after all such strongholds of tyranny and autocracy as every body says they are. And so we are not surprised that it should have waxed so furious when some of the misdemeanours of Sir C. P's. regime should have been exposed in the press. The article attacking "The Herald" has all the earmarks of emanating at least indirectly from the powerful propaganda machine of Trivandrum. It is one of the many misfortunes of the Travancoreans that a good part of their hard-earned money should be wasted by an outsider for building a niche for himself in public opinion, and for defending the indefensible in all that he does. "Princely India" writes "inter alia": "Even the worst enemies of the Diwan can never accuse him of distributing jobs to his friends." Perhaps in Travancore they cannot, lest they be clapped in prison. The iron-maced hand that repressed the State Congress agitation in Travancore a few years ago is enough proof for that. "Princely India" gives us a new version of the collapse of the T. N. & Q. Bank, which any one who knows the facts will immediately recognize as coming from the now famous Travancore Information Bureau. But we have no desire to refute all the misstatements of this mouthpiece of the Native States. There are few who will be credulous enough to believe all that it says. The propaganda that it makes shows the backing of much money, but is singularly misplaced and ineffective.

BOOK REVIEWS

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SPIRITUAL EXERCISES by Bellicio.

Any commendation would be superfluous for Bellecio's famous commentary on the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius. The original Exercises of St. Latin and its use was therefore considerably restricted. But the deep psychological insight and the rare unction of its pages made it imperative that the book should be made available to as vast a number of people as possible. Like *The Spiritual Exercises* themselves which are addressed to all men who are "created to praise, reverence and serve God our Lord," Fr. Bellecio's commentary was addressed not only to the clergy who are familiar with Latin but to all those for whom religion and the supernatural are nore than a mere set of *do's* and *don't's*. Hence the Latin original was soon translated into most of the modern languages. The present volume is a reprint of the widely popular English version by William Hutch D.D.

Christ came that men may have Life and have it more abundantly. The Spiritual Exercises present that Life in its full force, teach the means for imbibing it, help forward its growth, and safeguard it against decay and disease. The retreat movement which, thanks to the Encyclical of Pope Pius XI *Mens Nostra*, has become so widespread in the degree of supernatual life in the world. As all popular movements, the retreat movement also needs a large number of handy, cheap, easy manuals and guide-books. Fr. Bellecio's is one such manual, and decidedly among the best. For it's being presented in a handy, cheap edition, the credit goes to the Catholic Book Club, St. Xavier's, Patna. In consonance with the general aim of the C. A. B.—to furnish at low cost every Catholic home with excellent Catholic books—the present volume which is available in foreign firms at Rs. 10 is priced at just half that amount.

With this C.B.C. Edition of Bellecio, a retreat need not be any longer a luxury for those few who can afford to go to one of the retreat houses—which are unhappily far too few in India. Each person can have an excellent retreat preacher in one's own home.

STRAWS IN THE WIND

THESE CLEVER COMRADES

WE have little admiration for the aims of the Communists in India, much less for their methods. Their election manifesto was a pompous document filled with very tall claims, a clever argumentation based at best on half-truths, a rosy, over-drawn picture of a dreamy utopia. We believe that none but unthinking youth, hot for revolution would leave the destiny of India in the hands of the Communists to be shaped just as they please. As for their methods, no indictment, we believe, would be too strong. They are ever sowing seeds of hatred and rebellion, and fomenting strikes. Methods such as these, powerful though they be for the time being, will leave a host of evils in their train.

However strongly we disapprove of the aims and methods of the Communists, we cannot help admiring their consummate art in turning black into white, and giving a golden halo to the ugliest facts in contemporary history. None exemplifies as well as the Communists the truth of the Gospel text regarding children of this world being wiser in their generation. Mao Tse-Tung who has plunged his country into fratricidal war is the noblest hero of the present epoch. No one out-Herods Herod to such an extent as Franco of Spain. Reuter's news agency gives to the world nothing but lies, lies and more lies. Poland, Hungary and Rumania where millions have been exterminated and millions more are perishing through famine have turned overnight into a paradise under the benign heel of Russia. They are lands flowing with milk and honey, comparable only to the heaven upon earth, Soviet Russia. People who can dish up for public consumption such patently absurd travesty of truth, and can do the job without so much as winking an eye, certainly deserve admiration for their skill, though no one with moral sense would care to imitate them.

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SIR C. P. EULOGIZED

Princely India to which we made reference last week is always quick and true in its response to those who hold its puppet strings. Hence it is natural that the paper should be extremely displeased with us for some of the comments published in these columns on October 28th, and should our conments with a grand enlogy of of Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer. "'Thou shalt not judge' is a Christian precept", writes *Princely India*, quoting Scripture; and continues: "Sachivothama Sir C. P. is the most misjudged and misunderstood administrator. None of his detractors have tried to study and understand this practical statesman and intellectual genius." We fail to see any truth in this lugubrious complaint. For nearly ten years the Catholics of Travancore have been watching with grave concern the progress of Sir C. P.'s carefully laid out plans against the Catholics. *Princely India* asks: "If the Sachivothama had any grudge against a particular community like the Catholic, . . . and if he were anxious to "wreak vengeance, could he not do so by several other easy and inexpensive means?" Of course, he could. Does *Princely India* mean to suggest that he has not used other means? Discrimination in the allotment of government posts is just one example. The most coveted posts which yield the highest salaries are those of the thirty five departmental heads. Of these 22 are filled by Brahmins, men of Sir C. P.'s caste: 11 by non-Brahmin Hindus; and only two by Christians. It should be remembered that the Christians who are the most educated section of the people number nearly two million; the non-Brahmin Hindus are 4 million; while the Brahmins number only 75,000 in the State.

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CATHOLIC SCHOOLS MALIGNED

When *Princely India* goes on from its eulogy of Sir C. P.'s to baseless allegations against Catholic institutions, we find its conduct more reprehensible. We would readily pass over several of these allegations which are too absurd to deserve an examination. One, however, is interesting, namely, that "the prime object" of the Catholic institutions is "to enrich their respective missions by government grant-in-aid". If there is any truth in this, why did not Hindu missions start more schools and gain the benefit of grant-in-aid? Why is it that the four million Hindus in the State have been able to manage only 45 primary schools, whereas the Christians who are only half their number run nearly 2000 schools? On each primary school, the missions have spent on an average Rs. 3000 as initial expenditure. The schools are not allowed to levy any fees from the pupils since primary education in the State is free. The annual grant-in-aid for the 2,169 private schools in the State is Rs. 10½ lakhs, which comes to Rs. 40 per school per month.

It is out of this meagre allowance that the Christian management is expected to enrich itself, after paying the salary of four teachers and meeting the other current expenses of the school. It is clear that the establishment and management of primary schools entail a continuous drain on the mission funds.

We Catholics want the public to understand that the firm stand we have taken on this education question is solely because we consider our schools to be of paramount importance for the religious formation of our children. We would oppose with all our force any scheme that tends to strangle our schools. In justice we nave a right to our schools and to a greater share of government aid than we are receiving at present. The only weapons our enemies can bring against us are those of falsehood, blind prejudice, the force of greater numbers. In all the violent press controversy about our schools, not one shred of valid reason has yet been brought against us. We stand for justice; and we will continue our firm stand till our cause is gained.

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COMMUNISTS ABOUT ST. JOSEPH'S TRICHY

One who knows the Communists' skill in concocting lies will not be surprised at the following report published by the Communist Students' Organ, *The Student* (Nov. 30th) "St. Joseph's College, Trichy, is probably one of the few where the Jesuit Fathers have still managed to keep the students under a real feudal autocracy." The proofs for this statement are illuminating. 1) "The library does not issue Pundit Nehru's Autobiography to the students'-. But it just happens that the book in question is one of those that hold the record for maximum number of issues during the year. 2) "And of course no book on socialism or the Soviet Union is allowed even to research students". St. Joseph's is a college for pass and honours students; and there are no research students there. The College Library is one of the best equipped in South India on all social and economic questions. What the Communists may rightly complain about is that the library contains something more than the usual Tass agency propaganda. 3) "The college associations cannot be run damocratically; and for all practical purposes, the office-bearers are nominated." Evidently these associations do not conform to the Communists' idea of democracy which is that of despotism by a small clique. Office-bearers for the eleven academic associations of the college are all elected by the students. 4) "The hostels are known as the prisons of the college; and they fully justify their reputation." The reason given for this is: "Students have no voice in the management of the mess' which is another lie

In the whole of that lengthy report about the college there is not one statement that is true. Unlike many other Indian Colleges, those run by the Catholics have no place for trouble-mongers; the students in these colleges are more busy with their main task of study and of preparation for life, than with strikes and demonstrations and political electioneering. Communists have always found St. Joseph's an unwelcome place for their nefarious activity; having often failed in their propaganda, it is not surprising that they should display their disappointment by their usual blackmail tactics.

STRAWS IN THE WIND

CATHOLIC MEDICAL SISTERS

Catholic Hospital, Guntur

IT is the job of newspapers to give publicity to inanities that deserve no notice—big talk by mob-orators, empty election propaganda, endless discussions that lead nowhere. But the magnificent work achieved in silence by the world's truest heroes and heroines goes by unnoticed. It is this that ought to be blazed across front pages in huge characters. A case in point is what the Catholic Hospital of Guntur has been doing these twenty years through a heroic band of missionary sisters. In 1926 the hospital dealt with one maternity case. In 1927 the number was 60; in 1928 it was 120. Since that time the number has increased steadily to the present rate of 1,600 a year. In the latter part of this year more that 200 cases were being taken care of every month. "There are no empty cradles here" remarked a visitor. Cold figures by themselves reveal little. But when these figures are viewed against the background of the poverty and destitution and complete lack of hygiene in India, one can see what the Guntur Hospital means in this country—the alleviation of a terrific amount of human suffering and the saving of countless lives of mothers and infants.

Poor Government Aid

The Guntur Hospital is not the only one of its kind; there are scores more scattered all over the country and managed by self-sacrificing Roman Catholic sisterhoods. If they are not more numerous than they are, India has to thank its own blind religious prejudices, bureaucratic administration and unreasoned hatred of everything foreign. Government is extremely reluctant to give adequate aid to enterprising medical sisterhoods. It would rather prefer large sums of money to be wasted through its own leaky channels which absorb into the purses of rich middlemen far more than they transmit for the benefit of the poor. Formerly a large number of Sisters were working in the government hospitals; they were a perfect model of industry and self-sacrifice to the highly paid, and not infrequently otiose regular staff of these hospitals; but now in not a few places they are asked to leave, either because of intolerance or bigotry or because the heroism of the Sisters is a standing challenge to the others.

Nationalism Misled

A far stranger anomoly is that certain self-styled social reformers frown with displeasure on the help Catholic sisterhoods are receiving from foreign lands. Nationalist papers have not been lacking that grew absurdly indignant over the decision of the U.S. War Surplus Commission to give a certain preference to missionary bodies. This is intolerance pushed to its worst limits, an obstinate refusal to recognize the value of the magnificent work missionary Sisters are doing in this country. There are few aspects as revolting as this in the unhealthy nationalism that is now spreading in India and which ill-informed Hindu reformers are exploiting with no small detriment to public welfare.

Low National Health

Miss Mayo wrote an appalling book "Mother India", and Mother India loudly protested that it was one string of lies. Yet the fact remains that no country in the world can show so high a rate of mortality among mothers and infants as India. 245 out of every 10,000 mothers die in childbirth in India; the corresponding figure for England is 40 and that for U.S.A. is 85. The rate of infant mortality in India is 1,620 per 10,000 whereas in England and U.S.A., the rates are respectively 580 and 540 per 10,000. The All-India Conference of Medical Research Workers, 1924 and 1926, states that in India the number of deaths resulting annually from preventible diseases is about 5 to 6 millions; the average number of days lost to labour by each person from preventible disease is not less than 2 to 3 weeks in a year; the percentage loss of emciency of the average person in India from preventible mal-nutrition and disease is not less than 20 per cent.; and the percentage of infants born who reach a wage-earning age is about 50 whereas it is quite possible to raise this percentage to 99. To set aside for argument's sake all considerations except those of economic values, the wastage of life and emciency due to inadequate medical aids costs India every year several hundreds of crores of rupees. Malaria alone is calculated to entail an economic loss of Rs. 106 millions annually on account of the diminished earning capacity of the workers.

To Remedy the Situation

All this is sign of a callousness to human suffering and loss, and creates a situation too shameful for any civilized country. Government is deplorably slow in its plans for improvement. As illustration, it is interesting to note that in the grandiose five-year plan of the Bengal Province, out of the total planned amount of Rs. 159 crores, only Rs. 125 lakhs are set apart for improving hospital facilities. At present the Bengal government hospitals provide 6,400 permanent beds for a population of 65 million; and the plan proposes an addition of just 500 beds each year. The cost of hospital improvement may be compared to that of just two items of reform provided for the police department. The construction of buildings for the police and the strengthening of the Calcutta police alone are to cost over Rs. 200 lakhs; and Rs. 44 lakhs have been provided for the expansion of the jails.

What is more deplorable than inadequate medical plannings is the fact that the funds which the government provides disappear in great part as unjust profits for the agents. All nationalist papers have been attacking during recent months the corruption in officialdom and the scandal of profiteering middlemen in this country.

Roman Catholic sisterhoods are not only willing but are able to lend a helping hand to remedy this shameful situation. They constitute the most efficient, the most self-sacrificing, the most incorruptible army of volunteers for the relief of suffering humanity. Their work is so heroic because their ideal is so high. They see Christ in the poor. We do not expect of a secular government to appreciate their ideal; but it is in the interests of the poor masses that the government should show appreciation for their work and should help them in every possible way.

STRAWS IN THE WIND

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BUDENZ RETURNS TO THE CHURCH

LOUIS F. Budenz, till recently Communist and at present a Catholic and member of the Economics faculty in Notre-Dame University, has been for many years a national figure in the United States, At one time he was editor of *The Carpenter*, official organ of the then largest A. F. of L. union. He was the leader in the 1928 Kenosha strike. For the past six years he has been a member of the National Committee of the U. S. Communist Party. And in October last, when his return to the Church took place, he was the editor of *The Daily Worker*, and President of the Corporation which publishes that powerful organ of the Communist Party in U.S.A.

Mgr. Sheen's Approach

The story of his conversion is one that holds forth precious lessons to many in this country as well. The first chapter in that story was one of bitter hatred towards the Church, and was written nine years ago when Mr. Budenz published in *The Daily Worker* a long article attacking Mgr. Fulton Sheen and the Church's attitude towards Communism. Mgr. Sheen answered the attack in a booklet entitled "Communism Answers Questions of a Communist", in which he wrote: "The more I read about Communism the more I am convinced that its greatest propagandists know practically nothing concerning it. That is why I believe many Communists are in good faith. and here I include you, Mr. Budenz." Mgr. Sheen had struck the right note in the controversy; he was harsh as truth, relentless as reason, yet extremely sympathetic towards those who unknowingly twisted truth and perverted reason to suit their ends.

When the controversy was renewed in the columns of *The Daily Worker*. Mgr. Sheen invited Budez to dinner. The conversation opened with a discussion on the Soviet constitution. but Mgr. Sheen said he preferred to talk about Our Blessed Mother and sanctifying grace. For 45 minutes the conversation flowed, Mgr. Sheen opposing against the confusion of the Communist jargon the fulness of life which is Catholicism. The good seed sown at that time was not destined to die, though it looked as if it had fallen on barren ground. Shortly after the interview Budenz published an editorial in *The Daily Worker*, "Repudiate Mgr. Sheen" which seemed to close the door against all further discussion.

Two Ways of Life

Communism and Catholicism are two ways of life. Passing years were to show Budenz that the two are entirely opposed. and that the latter is the true one, Communism offered for mankind's ills a panacea which was but illusory, and it cut man asunder into two halves, the material and the spiritual. glorifying one by eliminating the other. On the occasion of his conversion Budenz said: "I have resigned from the managing editorship of *The Daily Worker*, and have necessarily severed all connection with the Communist movement. Communism and Catholicism are irreconcilable. Communism, I have found, aims to establish a tyranny over the human spirit. It is an unending conflict with religion and true freedom. Out of the benefits received from my return to the Church, it is my resolve, and that of my family. to make every contribution in our power to the advancement of our holy religion and the people's welfare."

For The People's Welfare

The advancement of Catholicism and the people's welfare—these two are inseparably connected, a fact which too many, even good Catholics, often ignore, and ignorance of which is the explanation of many of the popular attacks on Catholicism. The social outlook on life, as opposed to the individual or even personal outlook, is claiming an ever greater attention from the bulk of the people. The Catholic who is secure and contented in his possession of the truth and for whom the whole of religion consists in avoidance of sin and the saving of one's own individual soul, runs the risk of being left behind in the march of the world. If he talks a language which cannot be understood by the world which needs Catholicism, the fault lies not mainly with the world, but with the Catholic who has narrowed his vision of his religion. Budenz says in the statement we have quoted above: "The recitation of the creed is not merely an act of faith, we understand; it is also a proclamation of a view and a way of life. Catholicism contains the healing lesson, needed not only

by the individual, but by all mankind and all nations. When one says: 'I am a Catholic', he asserts a philosophy that gives the rule for general well-being and peace. The encyclicals of the Pope—specifically from Leo XIII to Pius XII—call for study over and over again, and for a response among the people. Were the voice of the Church heeded, there would be an end of that lust for power which has so seriously threatened—and still continues to threaten—the liberty of the individual."

The voice of the Church continues to be unheeded, perhaps even unheard, by many. It is a question which not a few Catholics might profitably put to themselves whether they themselves have understood it fully, and whether there is not much more that they could do to make the world hear it and understand it.

A CATHOLIC MEDICAL COLLEGE

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There are no two views on the urgent need of a Catholic Medical College for India. Views may differ as to location, size, management and the like; but that a medical college run by Catholics according to Catholic principles is a prime necessity in India is admitted by all. The Catholic Hospital Association, of which Sister Mary of the Sacred Heart, Cuntur, is the President, has been endeavouring now for some years to give concrete shape to this idea. The organ of the C.H.A., edited by Sister M. Laetitia, Patna, is doing a splendid work by collecting funds and enlisting public support for the Medical College. His Excellency Mgr. Thomas, Bishop of Bangalore, read a paper on the subject at the meeting of the standing committee of the Catholic Bishops' Conference of India, on Oct. 8, 1945. In this paper, which has been published in *The Clergy Monthly* for Dec. '45, Mgr. Thomas exposes the question with his characteristic thoroughness and lucidity. The Catholic Church conducts in India 53 hospitals and nearly 350 dispensaries. The number is indeed small when compared to the 250 hospitals and 500 dispensaries conducted by the protestant missions What is more regrettable is that most of our hospitals and dispensaries are understaffed. And they must necessarily remain so as long as we are unable to train our own staff. Reasons of efficiency and economy make it imperative that a good number of our missionary Sisters be trained as doctors and nurses; their influence for the progress of the Church will be very great indeed. In the absence of a Catholic Medical College, few Sisters can undergo the long training required for a nurse; and the number of young Catholic boys and girls who year after year are refused admission into the government medical colleges will go on increasing. The Church is thereby losing a powerful instrument for apostolate, and the country a greatly needed agency for human welfare. Mgr. Thomas writes: "The question of a medical college is mainly a financial one. It will come into existence as soon as adequate funds are available. A Catholic Medical College for India is a concern which every Indian Catholic would take to heart, devoutly pray for, and endeavour to promote according to each one's ability.

STRAWS IN THE WIND

CATHOLIC NEWS IN THE SECULAR PRESS

NEWS travels slowly in India unless it be about political squabbles and election campaigns Catholic news is particularly at a disadvantage. We have no dailies ourselves and seem to be in no mood to start one. It is only very rarely that outstanding Catholics events would be featured in the secular press. This may be due partially also to our "catacomb attitude", or an indolence which shirks striving for legitimate publicity.

Hence, it is with no little surprise that a reader would take up one of the recent issues of "*Tanthi*" to read there a fairly detailed report of the Catholic Action Conference of Madura, 15th to 17th December. Those of us who are in North India will perhaps have to be told what "*Tanthi*" is. It is the most widely circulated Tamil Daily of the South. Sandwiched between screaming headlines about Asaf Ali's Madras visit, Moscow's latest grabbing feats, I.N.A. trials, U.S.A. labour unrest, and the like, it is, to say the least, unusual to find a headline on a different matter, but in equally bold print : "Fourth Conference of Catholic Action Society." The report that follows describes item by item all that took place during the three day's Conference. The photographs of Mgr. T. Roche, S.J. D.D., who inaugurated the Conference, of Diwan Bahadur I. X. Pereira, M.Sc., the President, and of Fr. G. V. I. Samo, S.J., Director of the C.A.S., accompany the report.

On Holy Mass

The subject chosen for this year's conference was the Holy Mass. The choice was indeed highly appropriate. Even non-Catholics cannot fail to notice the great importance we Catholics attach to the Mass. It was a Protestant, Augustin Birrell, who wrote : "It is the Mass that matters. It is the Mass that makes the difference—so hard to define (so subtle is it) yet so perceptible—between a Catholic country and a Protestant one, between Havre and Cromer." Catholic Action is nothing but the Mass lived through the day. If the Mass is rightly understood, Catholic Action follows as a logical necessity. The whole of the Madura Conference was admirably planned to bring this idea out, as one who reads the "Tanthi" report will easily see. The all-important place was given in each day's proceedings to the celebration of the Holy Mass. An exhibition on the Mass had been got up which several thousands of people could profit by. The various sessions of the Conference—the hymns, the speeches and all, were centred on the Mass and showed to the 2,500 Catholic Action delegates who had gathered for the Conference that the Mass was not something merely to be seen and heard, that it was petreminently something to be lived. We congratulate the C.A.S. for the excellent work of the Conference and also the "Tanthi" for having shed for once the narrow selectivism of the journalistic fraternity.

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IS IT THE BEGINNING OF REPRESSION?

The tense situation created in Travancore by Sir C. P's. educational policy shows no signs of a change for the better. Government has made a small concession to the popular agitation by vetoing the eviction of Catholics for the proposed site of the Hindu College. But the main cause of the agitation, the law about primary schools, still remains on the Stature book. Until that law is repealed or considerably amended, Catholics must continue their protests and press their demands through legitimate channels.

Meanwhile news of a more alarming nature reaches us from Malabar. "The Malabar Mail", the Catholic Daily published from Ernakulam, carries in its issue of December 22, an editorial entitled "Will Catholic Congress President be arrested?" It appears that for some time past, it has been strongly rumoured that the government of Travancore has issued an order to put under arrest Mr. Tariathu Kunjithomman, President of the Kerala Catholic Congress. Mr. Kunjithomman himself in a public statement said that he had received through the police news of the arrest warrant having been issued. Even before this statement people had been anxiously calling at the Congress headquarters to learn the truth about the matter.

Mr. Kunjithomman is the most outstanding figure in the Catholic and political life of the country. He has behind him a long and brilliant record of political carreer equalled by that of few others. He has served as a nominated member on most of the public

fees appointed by the govern-
recent years. As President of
the Kerala Catholic Congress he has
certainly been the spear-head of the
Catholic resistance movement during
the past five months. But the cause
he fights for is most just; and none but
legitimate methods have been adopted.

Sir C. P's. government is one that has established a very woeful record for ruthless repressive measures.

We sincerely hope that it will not add to its past blunders by putting under arrest the President of the Catholic Congress. Such a step would in no way quench the Catholic resistance; it would only be like pouring oil over a raging fire.

Note : The above comments were written 3 days before we received news of the arrest of Mr. Kunjithomanam which took place at Kottayam on 22nd December.

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HOMES WITHOUT SERVANTS

America is the land for statistics. There are statistics for intelligence quotient of workmen, brainfag incidence in authors, hyperaesthesia in women, and many other things which people in India hardly care to think about. There are statistics also about things which we in India would do well to think a lot about. For example it has been revealed lately by elaborate statistics that only five per cent. of all American homes employ servants For the rest what in India one would call contemptuously household drudgery is part of the average daily routine of American men and women. This is surprising revelation about the richest country in the world. The case of U.S.A. is not unique. In England too even among the larger income groups households without servants are becoming the general rule. In India the general rule seems to be just the reverse.

Various causes may be adduced to explain this anomaly. The caste system, from the effects of which even Catholics are not quite immune, may be partially to blame. Another cause is the fondness for an elaborate culinary art, which, by the way, food experts inveigh against as it destroys much of the nutritive value of foodstuffs. Also there is a prevalent idea that social status is to be measured by the number and grade of one's servants. In a few rare cases servants are taken in solely out of pity for their poverty. But certainly the chief reason for such lavish and superfluous employment of servants is a totally false attitude towards the supposed indignity of what is wrongly called menial work. The sooner such an attitude disappears the better it is; and incidentally the better would also be the health of the people.

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A NATIONAL ISSUE

THE CATHOLICS OF GOA

A writer in "The Bombay Chronicle", December 29, writing under the title "Catholics and Education" has thought it fit to accuse the Goan Catholics for being thoroughly de-nationalized and unpatriotic. All those who have studied Goan life impartially will affirm that most of the proofs alleged for this surprising statement are false; others are half-truths more misleading than falsehood. The fashion in dress or the taste for music is not the touchstone for nationalism; if it were so, all the larger cities of India where the hybrid Indo-British civilization has pervaded to a greater or lesser extent should be dubbed de-nationalized. Every Goan, irrespective of being Christian or Hindu, looks forward to the day when India would be free, because he feels that he is no less an Indian than those in British India or the Native States. Goa, it should be remembered, is a Portuguese colony; freedom for India does not imply directly freedom for Goa; but Goans know that their moribund administration has greater chances of coming to well-deserved end once India becomes free and independent.

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THE TRAVANCORE STRUGGLE

This strange accusation against the Catholics of Goa is made the basis for another argument: that all Catholic educational institutions tend to denationalize the Indians, and that the Travancore government is showing itself too lenient in its attitude towards the Catholics of that country. The writer imagines that Catholicism in Travancore is an exotic, dangerous to India's national life. In truth, the Catholic community in Travancore is nineteen hundred years old, that is, roughly sixteen centuries older than the Western power in India. Travancore is a Native State where Indian India may be truly seen. None of those marks of Western or non-Indian culture, which according to the writer exist in Goa, will be seen in Travancore. Those who in Tranvancore are fighting for the continued existence of their schools are not foreigners but Indians, sons of the soil, who in patriotism will not yield an inch to any other Indian, and whose only fault,—if fault it is!—is that they consider the rights of conscience paramount. Let not any one without cause call them de-nationalized.

They have given to India men like the late Mr. George Thomas, formerly editor of Gandhiji's own paper and companion of Nehru in jail, and Mr. C. J. Varkey, ex-Minister of Education in Madras in the Congress Cabinet.

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COMMUNAL BITTERNESS

Articles like the one of "The Bombay Chronicle" have been frequent in the secular press during the past four months. They are unjust at all times; at this time they are also highly inopportune. It is in effect sabotaging the national effort to stir up communal bitterness at a time as this when the nation's best leaders are trying to forge unity and to dispel the fears of minorities. Viewed under this light Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer's policy in Travancore should be considered most harmful to India's true interests at the present time. Mr. Jinnah need not look for anything more striking than what has occurred in Travancore to confirm his worst fears as to what a minority might expect from a Hindu majority. Let us briefly recall the facts. A Hindu majority in the Legislative Assembly passed a resolution that would strangle out of existence about 1800 Christian Primary schools. The Christians in the country sent their protests to the government. The Hindu Rajah forthwith sanctioned the resolution and passed it into a law. Christians continued their protests. The Dewan then started a fierce propaganda in the Hindu papers in and out of Travancore; he succeeded in giving to the Indian public a completely false picture of the situation. Having secured a misinformed public opinion in his favour he started a new policy of repression unheard of in India. The chief Catholic daily in Malayalam has been banned from Travancore. Two leading Catholics have been incarcerated. The Catholic press in Travancore has been beaten into a humiliating silence on this vital educational question. An iron curtain has been dropped over Travancore; and the news blackout is now perfect.

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NOT A TEST CASE

Those Hindus in the rest of India who know the true facts would assure their fellow countrymen, the Christians,—and indeed most Christians in the interests of India would prefer to believe—that Travancore is not a test case, and that most Hindus, and especially the Congress leaders, have a greater sense of justice than Sir C. P.

Ramaswami Iyer. The remarks which Pundit Nehru makes in his Auto-biography about Sir C. P. are far from flattering; but even Pundit Nehru would not have surmised that during the next eight years Sir C. P. was to go to such limits of autocracy.

Travancore, let us grant, is not a test case; but it is a case which any alarmed minority leader might throw up in the face of those who are striving to build a united India. The Viceroy of India has received no less than 4000 protest telegrams from different parts of India; his attitude of rigid non-interference is eloquent.

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LORD RIPON AND SIXTY YEARS

Not long ago was celebrated all over India the Diamond Jubilee of the Indian National Congress. It is well to recall to-day one cause from "The objects of the Congress" as set forth in its first session: "The consolidation of those sentiments of national unity that had their origin in our beloved Lord Ripon's ever memorable reign."

"The beloved Lord Ripon"—an unusual epithet for a Viceroy of India and that given by the National Congress. Times are now long past when a Viceroy would be called beloved. But Lord Ripon remains even to-day in the memory of Indians truly beloved. None of those who represented the British power in India have elicted such unstinted praise, such warm admiration, such sincere love as Lord Ripon; and he fully deserved what the Indian people ungrudgingly gave him.

His was a unique personality. Six years before his appointment as Viceroy, in 1874, he had made a momentous decision of his life and joined the Catholic Church. The other Peers of the Realm were stunned; he seemed to them deliberately to shut the door against all future preferment by joining what was in England even then "a despised sect". On landing on the Indian soil his first act was to pay a visit to the Blessed Sacrament. During his tenure of office he initiated startling reforms which if followed up would have led to far happier relations between India and Great Britain than there exist at present.

Even Hindu and Muslim observers have not failed to point out that the secret of Lord Ripon's policy was his religion, or the fact that he possessed the correct attitude towards all life-problems, including international justice. As Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya said when presiding over the

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Annual Indian National Congress at Lahore in 1909, "He was respected because he was a God-fearing man, and showed by his conduct in the exalted office he filled as Viceroy of India that he believed in the truth of the teaching that righteousness exalteth a nation." Lord Ripon knew in principle what Pope Pius XII many years later was to enunciate in clear terms as the first of the Five Peace Points: "The fundamental condition of a just and honourable peace is to assure the right to life and independence of all nations, large, small, strong or weak. One nation's will to live must never involve a sentence of death upon another nation. (Christmas Message, 1939). Or more clearly still: "Within the limits of a new order founded on moral principles there is no room for the violation of the freedom, integrity and security of other States, no matter what may be their territorial expansion or their capacity for defence." (Christmas Message, 1941.)

SAFEGUARDS FOR CHRISTIANS

THE Fifth Annual Issue of Mr. K. M. Munshi's ably edited journal "The Social Welfare" contains a number of well-written and thought—provoking articles; there are also a few which are highly questionable, not to say indefensible. One such is Mr. P. Ooman Philip's "Do Christians Need Safeguards?" We entirely agree with Mr. Philip in condemning the attitude of those Christians, be they Catholics or Protestants, who are continually raising false alarms and making the minority problem of India more thorny than it is. They are, unconsciously perhaps, sabotaging the national effort towards freedom, through their ill-conceived zeal for unneeded self-defence. But we do not believe that the number of such people in the Christian Community is as great as Mr. Philip makes it out to be; nor do we think that their obstructionist policy will do any real harm to the national cause. However, they are a rift in the lute; the sooner they learn their mistake the better it is for the Christian Community which is exposed to misunderstanding on account of them.

Catholics And Nationalism

But raising false alarms is not the same as stating our legitimate fundamental rights as citizens of the State. Hence we strongly oppose the false stand which Mr. Philip has taken when he attacks the statement to the Press made by Mgr. T. Mathias, the Archbishop of Madras, in September 1945, regarding certain of the essential rights of Catholics. To one who knows the true attitude of Catholics in this country Mr. Philip's article makes strange reading. The writer in effect makes it appear that the Catholics make all kinds of impossible and unjustifiable demands. It would also seem that the Catholics have been consistently opposing the national cry for freedom, while the Protestants have been supporting it heart and soul. The Christian nationalists whose names he mentions are all non-Catholics. Mr. Philip writes: "Even today there are large groups of the Indian Christian community in different parts of the country who look upon foreign missionaries who work for them and in their midst as their *ma bap*. The influence of these missionaries has, on the whole, been in the direction of keeping their flock from being influenced by the national movement for political independence. Many Indian Christians, therefore, especially in rural areas, view with much concern the possibility of the administration of the country passing from the hands of the Britishers, who have always been friendly and helpful to foreign missions, into the hands of nationals." This facile generalization, if true at all, would be rather true of the Protestant and Anglican section of the Christian Community. The Christianity which the early British conquerors of India wished to see planted in this country was not Catholicism, which at that time was still a persecuted religion bearing deep scars of the penal times.

The latter half of Mr. Philip's article reflects all the unreasonable but customary prejudices of Protestants against Catholics. The writer emphatically denies the right of Christians to be helped by government grant-in-aid in maintaining schools of their own. On the question of conversions and especially mass conversions he maintains an attitude which one would hardly have expected from any Christian. It is to be deplored that Mr. Philip has chosen to answer the question "Do Christians Need Safeguards?" by an article of this nature. It is still more to be deplored that he has rushed into print with his all too unjust and false views in a non-Christian journal like the *Social Welfare*.

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RELIGION TRUE AND FALSE

India, we are often told, is a deeply *religious* country. This is one of those half-truths which are more mischievous than untruths. The conclusion is thence drawn that as far as religion is concerned India leaves nothing to be desired. God is in His heaven, and all is right with India—at least from God's point of view. But will this religion—or religiosity—of India stand the test of a close scrutiny? Excite it: it fumes and frets. But bring it under the rapier thrusts of reason; it will collapse like a straw-man. This, however, rarely happens. That vague undefinable which is called in India religion is entrenched behind strong barriers of indolence, inertia or traditionalism; and reason will never be allowed in dangerous proximity to it.

Pundit Nehru spoke his mind truly when he wrote in his Autobiography: "The spectacle of what is called religion, or at any rate organized religion, in India and elsewhere, has filled me with horror, and I have frequently condemned it, and wished to make a clean sweep of it." This is an instance of cutting the head to spite the nose. Nehru continues: "Almost always it (religion) seems to stand for blind belief and reaction, dogma and bigotry, superstition and exploitation, and the preservation of vested interests. And yet, I knew well there was something else in it; something which supplied a deeper craving of human beings."

Indeed religion answers a fundamental urge of the human mind; it is a completion of man's being, a necessity for his life both individually and socially. But religion that is all this is not some *ersatz*, inward, home-made 'religion of the heart', much less a

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mob psychology that parades in the garb of religion. This makeshift for religion, or perhaps its corruption, is unhappily what most people care for. They are satisfied with it and seem to prize it highly. It is in fact a very explosive article, made up for the most part of emotion and sentiment, its remaining ingredients being tradition, custom, pragmatism, mimicry of one's own and intolerance of others. It is little wonder that such an emotional complex fosters bemuddled thinking on spiritual realities and in communal life not infrequently leads to riots and breaking of heads.

What is the cure for this emotional complex misnamed religion? "None at all", says the atheist, "remove it, flower, leaf, root and all. It is a pestiferous weed." "Give in its place Communism," says one group; "Or rather nationalism," says another group. What is really required is some straight, clear thinking. But as Kipling once said, thinking "incurs change of mind which may be painful—therefore it isn't done." Men dare not look at truth for fear of finding it; they spend life in habitually 'looking the other way.' Certain questions are instinctively avoided, not because they are not essential or interesting, but just because they are so frightfully essential and absorbingly interesting; because if looked at too closely they would demand attention and some inconvenient personal consequences.

CASTE-RIDDEN INDIA

A revealing incident took place not long ago at the Hindu University of Benares. A certain Kalyana Devi applied for admission into the faculty of "Theology" in the University. The applicant was a non-Brahmin, and since the Sastras declare that the Vedic grammar and the Vedic mysteries are an exclusive privilege of the "twice-born", the application was rejected. The non-Brahmin section of the press and the public protested against this piece of anachronism; they pointed out that such caste-bigotry was out of place in the age of Gandhiji and in a seat of higher learning. But the University has thought it fit to maintain an unbending attitude. It is all well for leading Indian publicists to proclaim to the outer world that our country is no more caste-ridden and that the caste-tabooes have been done away with under the enlightened guidance of Gandhiji. But old customs die hard; and the privileged few are always jealously watchful for their ill-gotten rights. It is not only in the villages and among the illiterates that society is partitioned off into watertight compartments and a section of the human kind obliged to live on a sub-human level. Last month some of the leading Brahmins of South India, most of whom were advocates and highly placed government officials, gathered together in solemn convention to devise means for preserving their caste privileges intact. The resolutions of their convention, published in the daily papers, make strange reading side by side with fervid political speeches for democratic freedom. Democracy and freedom are goals worth striving for; but democracy is not autocracy by a few, and true freedom cannot co-exist with the slavery of caste-barriers.

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LABOUR UNREST

LABOUR unrest is spreading with alarming rapidity in India. In all the major cities agitators are at work, and are organizing labourers to make louder and more persistent demands. In tramways and railways, in motor transport and postal service, textiles, paper mills, steel and iron plants, municipal and corporation works, in fact in every avenue of labour employment, large scale strikes have either occurred or are threatening.

Strikes are the most powerful weapon of self-defence for workmen; but it is a weapon that should be used only in the last resort, when all other means have failed. When strikes occur with great frequency, and tend to bring industry and public works to a standstill, that is a sign either of a diseased state of the body politic, or of gangsterism and the spirit of revolution among the workers. We would not for a moment presume to maintain that the status of workers in India is ideal at present. We in India are still far from optimum desirable living conditions. But viewed against the general background of the appalling poverty of India, it can be maintained that the condition of the workers in the cities is not worse that of the large mass of the people, the village peasantry; perhaps it would seem to be even considerably better. But oddly enough, one hears continually of labour strikes ever on the increase, not of peasant riots.

A Ruthless Racket

It would be well worth the trouble to go into the inner story of several of these strikes, and to see how seeds of discontent were being sown, the ground was prepared and all forces carefully mobilized. We do not attempt to deny the justice of some at least of these strikes; but we cannot but deplore that in many places workmen are being made the victims of a ruthless racket. Men pose themselves as leaders, wave revolutionary flags, make inflammatory speeches, and drag unwilling workmen from their benches for futile demonstrations. The workmen know that have little to gain from these strikes; seventy-five per cent. of the strikes end in favour of the employers; and it is the workmen and their families that must starve while the strike is on, not the agitators. These latter run no risks; they are applauded for their leadership, and soar high in public esteem. Meanwhile labour writhes in agony; capital frets and fumes; the public is annoyed; the government is made to stand by as a stupid onlooker; and the gulf between capital and labour widens. Strikes are being fomented not for improving the lot of the working-men but for increasing the prestige of upstart leaders.

Helpfulness Analyzed

C. E. M. Joad was a leader beside whom many of those in our country would be intellectually pigimies. He wrote once in a mood of uncommon self-revelation: "If I gave evidence of a certain large good-will which led me to devote myself to causes which aimed at the amelioration of the lot of my less fortunate fellows, it was the approval of my neighbours and perhaps of myself, rather than the welfare of mankind that I sought. Moreover I was a good speaker, and public work fed the flames of complacency with the applause which my many appearances upon the platform brought me . . . but though pervaded by a vague humanitarianism in public, in private I was selfish, possessive and predatory. (*God and Evil*, page 180). We would wish that this unusual piece of self-accusation served as a looking-glass for all these men who do not scruple to make a name for themselves at the cost of terrific sacrifices for the labourers they draw behind them, and of great harm to the commonweal. Before they give the word of command for a strike they should carefully balance the reasons for and against, the justice of the demands, the probability of success, and the risks involved. The motive of their leadership should be genuine moral altruism, without any admixture of base selfishness and conceit.

Mgr. Ronald Knox once wrote half in humour, half in satire: "They analyzed helpfulness recently in the psychological laboratory at Pharsalia, Ore. The analysis showed, I am told, the following results:

Love of interference	...	32%
Pride of workmanship	...	22 ,,
Desire for gratitude	...	11 ,,
Desire for admiration	...	11 ,,
Self-importance	...	10 ,,
Reaction from suppressed contempt	...	9 ,,
Genuine moral altruism	...	5 ,,

One wonders whether this analysis is not true of the public spirit one finds at present in many of the self-styled protagonists of the masses.

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GANDHIJI'S CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME

A PAMPHLET has recently appeared from the pen of Gandhiji: *Constructive Programme—Its meaning and place.* It deserves careful reading, not only for the sake of the name that appears on its title-page, but much more on account of the wealth of constructive thinking that it contains. Gandhiji has been of late very sparing in his utterances to the public; it would seem that he has been deliberately retiring into the background in order to push younger men to the fore. Pressmen have been disappointed, but he seemed to be in no mood to oblige them. *Constructive Programme* comes to newspapers and the public as a welcome break in a long period of silence.

Comprehensive

Under eighteen headings the pamphlet reviews every aspect of India's economic and social life, chiefly those aspects which generally politicians prefer to ignore as being too thorny. One does not find here those strings of statistics which economists delight in, nor those Utopian claims which characterize Communist journalese. The stress throughout is on the mass of the people, the rural population, the poor and the neglected.

Lepers

We would dwell here on just two of the items which Gandhiji treats in his pamphlet. As regards *lepers*, Gandhiji says: "Leper is a word of bad odour. India is perhaps a home of lepers next only to central Africa. Yet they are as much a part of society as the tallest among us. But the tall absorb our attention though they are the least in need of it. The lot of the lepers who are much in need of attention is studied neglect. . . It is largely the missionary who, be it said to his credit, bestows care on him." We are glad to come across this acknowledgement in Gandhiji's pamphlet. It is not often that the Indian nationalist thinks it proper to acknowlege the immense debt that India owes to the Christian missionaries. It is easily assumed that all missionaries are foreign and that they are tools of foreign powers. Statistics will show that a good percentage of the missionaries working in India, whether men or women, are Indians themselves.

The Missionary

Religion is their main and only concern; as their very name suggests, they are sent for a purpose—to be heralds of God and of His revelation to mankind. They engage in social work because they see in such work a means of bringing men closer to God, because social injustice is a great evil which offends the just God as much as it harms its human victims. Service of lepers is very dear to the missionary, and chiefly to the Roman Catholic missionary, because no other form of service requires as great a spirit of sacrifice. A leper colony calls for high idealism and perfect disinterestedness. The world of politics and newspapers can boast of few heroes of the stature of Father Damian of Molokai but the Catholic Church can show thousands who like Damian have signed away their lives as servants of the lepers. It is well worth inquiring what it is that sustains their heroism.

To Students

Gandhiji treats at some length the problem of *students*. Two points in his appeal to students will, we fear, be unwelcome to firebrands and revolutionary leaders. But they are based on sound commonsense, and are the words of one who feels the political situation of India even more keenly than any of the students. Gandhiji speaks in this strain not because he is indifferent to India's future welfare or to the contribution students must make towards it, but because he is so frightfully earnest about both. His is not an emergency bid for power, at great stakes, but a long-range policy based on a true vision of the future.

Students In Politics

Gandhiji says: "(1) Students must not take part in party politics. They are students, searchers, not politicians. (2) They may not resort to political strikes. They must have their heroes, but their devotion to them is to be shown by copying the best in their heroes, not by going on strikes, if the heroes are imprisoned, or die or are even sent to the gallows. If their grief is unbearable, and if all the students feel equally, schools or colleges may be closed on such occasions, with the consent of their principals. If the principals will not listen, it is open to the students to leave their institutions in a becoming manner till the managers repent and recall them. On no account may they use coercion against dissentients or against the authorities. They

grand que celui-là. Une léproserie exige le plus haut idéal et la plus parfaite abnégation. Le monde de la politique et du journalisme possède bien peu de héros comparables au Père Damien et la léproserie de Molokaï, dont il puisse se glorifier. L'Eglise catholique, au contraire, compte par milliers ceux qui, à l'exemple du Père Damien, se sont voués au service des lépreux. Il vaut la peine que nous recherchions la source d'un pareil héroïsme ».

PHILIPPINES

L'indépendance des Philippines

Le 16 mars 1521, Magellan débarquait dans des îles du Pacifique que 20 ans plus tard, Ruy Lopez de Villobas appela les Philippines en honneur de Philippe II.

Ce prince prit ces filles adoptives en affection : il mit tout en œuvre pour les protéger contre la rapacité des conquistadors et pour y envoyer le plus de missionnaires possible.

Le résultat réjoignit ses espérances. De peuple arriéré qu'ils étaient, les filipinos étaient devenus, au XVIIIe s., un peuple chrétien civilisé, ayant emprunté, avec joie, à la culture espagnole tout ce qu'il n'avait pu trouver dans son propre fonds.

Malheureusement, au XIXe s., à l'époque où l'Europe ne jurait que par les doctrines du libéralisme individualiste quelques francs-maçons espagnols, dont plusieurs chassés d'Espagne, arrivèrent aux Philippines pour y déclarer la guerre au cléricalisme — qui n'était hélas, pas un mythe — et, ce qui est beaucoup plus grave : à l'Eglise. En 1860 ils fondaient la première loge à Manille, foyer d'excitation à la révolte anti-cléricale.

Une trentaine d'années plus tard, cette révolte éclata : 60 prêtres furent tués, 300 emprisonnés et 30.000 personnes environ perdirent la vie dans la bagarre. Un compromis fut signé en 1897. Mais quatre mois après que les Etats-Unis eussent déclaré la guerre à l'Espagne au sujet des Antilles, une escadre américaine détruisait la flotte espagnole qui défendait les Philippines et entrait dans le port de Manille en plein

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l'Angleterre reste fidèle jusqu'au bout à la générosité qui l'anime en ce moment, la collaboration sincère de l'Inde et de l'Empire britannique pourra coopérer puissamment à la prospérité et à la paix du monde.

Mais si l'Angleterre se laissait reprendre par des vues impérialistes, elle serait la première à devoir le regretter plus tard.

C'est là l'opinion de nombreuses personnes qui connaissent bien l'Inde et les Indiens.

Le Père Damien et le Mahatma Gandhi

TRES rares sont les missionnaires catholiques dont la renommée est éclatante, chez les non-catholiques, comme celle du Père Damien, l'apôtre des lépreux de Molokaï.

En ouvrant dans le voisinage de Tuticorin, une nouvelle léproserie, S. E. Mgr Roche s. j. évêque indien du diocèse, vient de rappeler les paroles du Mahatma Gandhi à l'éloge de l'apostolat catholique auprès des lépreux : « Le mot lèpre, a dit le Mahatma, est ici un mot malsonnant bien que les Indes puissent s'appeler la patrie des lépreux, n'étant guère dépassées, en ce domaine, que par l'Afrique Centrale. Et cependant les lépreux sont membres de la société humaine au même titre que les plus grands d'entre nous. Ce sont pourtant les grands qui retiennent toute notre attention, quoiqu'ils en aient moins besoin, alors que, dans l'ensemble, nous nous désintéressons des lépreux. A s'en occuper sérieusement, il y a surtout les missionnaires, nous le disons à leur honneur. La religion est ce qui intéresse les missionnaires. Comme leur nom l'indique, ils sont « envoyés » pour une mission précise : être, auprès du genre humain, les hérauts de Dieu et de sa révélation. Ils s'occupent aussi d'œuvres sociales, parce qu'ils y voient un moyen de rapprocher les hommes de Dieu et parce qu'ils savent que l'injustice est un grand mal qui offense le Dieu juste et nuit à ceux qui en sont les victimes. Si l'assistance aux lépreux est aussi chère aux missionnaires, surtout aux missionnaires catholiques, c'est parce qu'il n'est aucun autre service qui réclame un esprit de sacrifice plus

must have the confidence that, if they are united and dignified in their conduct, they are sure to win."

Let students carefully ponder over these lines when next time some upstart leader waves before them a red flag and calls them to strike. Students' strikes are today like a spreading contagion. Work and discipline suffer and students, even those who conscientiously object to these strikes, are obliged to waste precious hours in fruitless demonstrations. It is high time that a saner outlook is restored to the student world.

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PRESS SUNDAY

It was a welcome announcement that February 3rd would be observed as Press Sunday in the Archdiocese of Calcutta. Some highbrows are perturbed by this prevalent tendency to allot Sundays in the year to specific projects. The Pope gave us Mission Sunday; the C.B.C. in India gave a Social Justice Sunday; and now the Archbishop gives us a Press Sunday. The highbrows, who we fear are not a little inoculated by 'Jehovah's Witnesses', complain that all these new Sundays would crowd out the Lord's Day. Sunday is indeed the Lord's Day, and should be kept holy. But a little thought will show that specific projects which are essentially Catholic would only help to make Sundays more fully the Lord's Day.

Better Organization

The Catholic Press is certainly a project that befits the Lord's Day. The aim of the Press Sunday is not to increase the number of Catholic presses in India—perhaps we already have too many of them—but to increase the volume and efficiency of the Catholic Press Propaganda. What is needed is not a large number of little presses all putting out quantities of pious literature meant solely for Catholics, all competing among themselves and struggling to capture a restricted and poverty-ridden market, namely, the handful of scattered Catholics in India. Since the reading public and its purchasing capacity are limited, the greater the number of papers the smaller would be the circulation of each and the poorer would be the quality. It is not surprising that a paper like *Our Sunday Visitor* which prints every week 875,000 copies should be so immeasurably superior to any of our weeklies and monthlies in India. Poor circulation is a heavy handicap on the Catholic Press in India; and that handicap is bound to remain until we co-ordinate our efforts.

Wider Outlook

What is even more deplorable than poor circulation is the insular outlook. The press caters solely fo the Catholics; the ninety-nine sheep who are out of the fold are ignored if not positively excluded. A Catholic Press of the kind we have today would be the ideal one for a Catholic country where leakage is the main problem of the Church. But India is a non-Catholic Country where the problem is stagnation, not leakage. There is a bridgeless gulf separating the Catholics from the outside world; and no effort is made to stretch a friendly hand across the gulf. Colossal is the ignorance of the non-Catholics about our beliefs, our attitude to dogma, our social doctrines, our very existence. Not long ago the government of Travancore issued a statement that the Catholics are alligning themselves with the Communists; ignorance reaches its inglorious zenith in a statement of this sort. Will the Catholic press do aught to dispel such ignorance?

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STRAWS IN THE WIND

MUSLIMS IN TRAVANCORE

CHRISTIANS are not the only minority section in Travancore who find the present administration intolerable. The Muslims from another important minority in the State. Since they are economically and culturally more backward, they had not roused Sir C. P.'s Hinduising zeal to the same extent as the Christians. But of late events have been moving fast in Travancore; reforms have cropped up one after another from the fertile brains of the Dewan. It was inevitable that some of these should affect adversely the Muslims no less than the Christians.

Mr. Mohammed Voliulla writes in the "Star of India," the Muslim League daily of Calcutta: "The Hindu Mahasabha Leaders being powerless can only bark at the Muslims, but Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer knows how to bite also. Very recently he framed a law against the Christians. Now he has come out with his anti-Muslim reforms." The writer goes on to show how the new act if given effect to will take away all the political rights of Muslims, and will render them completely helpless, and "dependent on the whims and mercies of the non-Muslims in the State."

The L.M.A. Resolution

The Lajnathol Mohammadiya Association met together at Alleppey to voice its protest against the "reforms." In the resolution which was passed unanimously, the Association "notes with grave concern that in the new scheme of reforms announced by the Government of Travancore, the interests of the Muslims in the State have been totally ignored, by abolishing the reservation of seats and other arrangements necessary to safeguard the interests of the Muslims as the well-recognised and important minority in the State. It is regrettable that the Government of Travancore which had rightly recognised the necessity of these safeguards and conceded them, have in the name of progress now proposed to do away with them. The Committee wishes to record that any reforms without such safeguards will be unacceptable to Muslims."

Protests In Vain

The Muslims do well to protest against the high-handed policy of Sir C.P.'s government; but one doubts whether their protests will be of any avail. Sir C. P. is a seasoned politician; he is more than a match to all the minority groups whom he seeks to crush; and with unlimited funds at his disposal for buying up the non-party papers outside Travancore, and for ingratiating himself with the powers that be, there is no act of ruthless injustice which he need fear to commit. His term of office has lately been extended by another five years. The so-called reforms which the Muslims and Christians and all others who have a sense of fairplay deeply bemoan are only the first items in a long and sinister catalogue; one feels afraid even to imagine what the remaining items would be.

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ANGLO-INDIANS

In recent years much has been written on the future of Anglo-Indians in India; and the prevalent tendency is to paint the picture in deeply dark colours. Hitherto the Anglo-Indians have been to some extent a protected community, and it is inevitable that in the India of tomorrow there will be no such protection. It is even possible that the pendulum will swing the other way; racial intolerance and discrimination may affect adversely those who were favoured under a former regime. It is prudence to face facts; but it is foolishness to distort facts into spectres. The Anglo-Indians are indeed a minority community, numbering half a million according to the estimate of Mr. Frank R. Antony—according to official census they are only a fourth of this number. But in the political and social life of the country they have an importance which is out of all proportion to their numbres. In a country with an over-all literacy percentage of six or eight, the Anglo-Indians can show a cent per cent literacy. Their contribution to the armed forces during the present war has been immense. Out of about 14,000 officers in the Indian army, about 6,000 were Anglo-Indians; in other words nearly half the number of officers came out of a community which is only one thousandth of the population. In three of the chief government departments, railways, telegraph and customs, the Anglo-Indian community has supplied the main body of the staff.

Their Role In India

Mr. F. R. Antony during his visit to England rightly claimed that allowed to play their full role in India today, the Anglo-Indian community could form a tried and highly tempered link between India and Britain." "The Times" of England in its editorial columns paid a tribute to the "fine record of steadfast loyalty in peace and war" shown by the Anglo-Indians; and observed: "For long the position of the Anglo-Indian community was somewhat invidious, and their identification with the maintenance of British rule seemed to darken their future prospects. But they are now accepted as statutory natives of India and rank among the minority communities entitled to proper safeguards. . . . In view of the moral responsibility resting on this country to afford equal opportunity to all sections of the people of India to take their due place in the new dispensation, the claim of the Anglo-Indian community to be consulted, in common with other minorities, deserves to be frankly admitted."

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DEMONETIZATION

The public have warmly applauded the Demonetization Ordinance of the Government of India. It was a belated and half-hearted attempt to check the profiteering and corruption which had been alarmingly rampant during recent years. Inflation reached unprecedented heights; consumption goods were often cornered by ruthless rackets; while famine held vast districts in its mortal grip, quantities of foodstuff were deteriorating in godowns or were disappearing into blackmarkets. The High Denomination Bank Notes (Demonetization) Ordinance was directed chiefly against blackmarket operations. The Government 'communique' said: "This Ordinance is designed to achieve the purposes of bringing such operations within the knowledge of the Government, and of the Taxing authorities in particular, with results of considerable value, both to the Government and to the public."

Progressive Taxation

The next step after bringing to light the vile transactions of profiteers will be to subject them to a progressive taxation. It is a recognized principle of planned economy that heavy profits should be heavily taxed. The scheme of taxation in U.S.A. is well worth studying. Out of an income of $50,000 the earner pays the government $9,855; when this rises to $50,000 a year, he pays to the federal government $26,460. On an annual income of $100,000, he pays $66,885. And 85 per cent of an income of a million dollars goes to the federal government. This is all prior to any question of state taxes.

It will be many years before the lumbering governmental machinery of India secures any truthful accounts of the profits of the big commercial and industrial concerns in India; it will be many more years before these profits will be subjected to an equitable taxation beneficial to the country at large. To understand the evil and its remedy is at least a first step to the solution

STRAWS IN THE WIND

TRAVANCORE REFORMS

THE high praise showered on the Travancore reforms by the British Indian Press is, to say the least, ridiculous. It is a sad commentary on the state of journalism in India that responsible papers like the *Times of India* should have been taken in by a few catch phrases in the text of the reforms and should have expressed views so diametrically opposed to that of the people of Travancore.

Advocate Mr. A. P. Udayabhanu. B.A., B.L., M.L.A., deputy leader of the State Congress Party in the Travancore Legislature, has in a statement to the press issued the following 'sporting offer' to the army of eulogizers : "Even before the prospectus of the new reforms is out, from British India there come outbursts of praise wave after wave! Though the opinion of the people within the State is not consulted, it seems that congratulations of British Indian Liberals have been sought by wire. The lavish praise from British Indian leaders on the most illusory reforms show their attitude towards the people of the States. They want to break the bars of the vast prison house which is British India, but the people of the States should be content with a window or sky-light for their dismal police lock-ups. Will the army of congratulators be prepared to accept our sporting offer to exchange our constitutions ?"

A Parody of U.S.A.

The Illustrated Weekly of India informs the public that the new constitution of Travancore is closely modelled on that the United States of America. But the only proof of this statement is that the maker of the Travancore Constitution, Sir, C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar, has said so. One will have to hunt long before discovering any similarity in essentials. In Travancore the Dewan is the supreme power. He is irremovable, and no popular representation can check his autocracy. He and his clique of Brahmin executives are superior to all parties. Universal adult suffrage is but a shadowy phantom; the people are allowed to send their nominal representatives, but the representatives are not allowed to have their say in anything that concerns the good of the people, least of all in the change or appointment of the quasi-dictator. There is no provision in the constitution to protect the rights of the Harijans and other backward communities. The Muslims who do not have sufficient majority to contest any general seat will ever remain outside the legislature. The so-called socialization of land which is a move directed against the Christian community will be carried through in spite of the manifest injustice of the scheme. There is no attempt to modify the Primary Education Act which has called forth vehement protests from all sections of the people. It is a constitution such as this, an instrument of oppression, a jail-warrant for the people, which a misinformed press hails as the day-star of liberation.

Impartial Verdict

Mr. Cherian Manjuran L.L.B. writes : "In the case of Travancore since the advent of Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar as its Dewan, there has always been the public cry against his misdeeds and those of his government, and as a consequence Travancore has already earned proverbial notoriety for repression." The verdict on Travancore passed by Mr. Bottomley, member of the Parliamentary Delegation, is significant. His visit to Travancore though carefully chaperoned by the government could not but lift at least partially the heavy curtain which Sir C. P. had drawn over that country. He stated bluntly that Travancore is governed by a dictator and that he was opposed to all form of dictatorship. A deputation waited upon the delegation with the request that the Dewan be removed from the office in which he has remained already too long. We hope that the Delegation would read carefully the memorandum presented by the deputation in the name of the six million oppressed people of Travancore.

MR. THARIATHU KUNJITHOMMAN

We have read recently in the press an A.P.I. report describing the reasons for which Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar released from jail Mr. Thariathu Kunjithomman, the President of the Kerala Catholic Congress. This report, like most others which have emanated from Trivandrum in recent months, is a deplorable travesty of truth. The arrest of Mr. Kunjithomman, the cruel and unjust treatment given to him for four weeks in prison, his subsequent release as an emergency measure in preparation for the visit of the Parliamentary Delegation, and the alleged reasons for the release publicized from Trivandrum were all alike unworthy of any civilized government.

Mr. Kunjithomman was arrested on a series of false charges none of which could be proved in a court—except

perhaps in Travancore where the judiciary and the executive are scandalously merged into one. He himself was not given a charge sheet until three weeks after the arrest, nor was he given any opportunity to expose the lies spread about him in the government's press *communiques*. No newspapers were allowed him except the *Malayala Rajyam*, which is a semi-official spokesman of the government, and has long since been disowned by the people. Though Mr. Kunjithomman was the foremost leader of the Christian community, and though at the time of the arrest he was undergoing medical treatment, he was not shown the consideration to which his high social standing and his precarious bodily health entitled him. Bitterly cold nights, rigid solitude, and increasingly acute sufferings due to gastric ulcer made every day behind bars a severe test on his power of endurance. His only companions in prison were the Bible and the Imitation of Christ; in a few touching phrases he has described to his fellow-Christians what hidden sources of strength he discovered in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians and the Acts of the Apostles.

False Charges

Four days after the arrest he was told that he had been sentenced for six months; but what his guilt was still remained a secret to him. Three weeks passed during which the prisoner waited in vain for a formal trial in an open court or at least for a statement of the case against him. The trial never came.

At last on January 12th the jailer brought him a charge-sheet in English and translated it orally into Malayalam. On the following day Mr. Kunjithomman wrote a reply refuting all the charges and reaffirming his resolve to stand for the rights of his people. It was this reply which the government inspired press reports described variously as a memorandum, an apology and a petition for release. Much more passed behind the scenes of which Mr. Kunjithomman and the public knew little. Sir C. P. was worrying his head over the unhappy situation which his crooked politics had created. At long last, one evening, towards six o'clock, the prisoner was told that he was free.

At Work Again

Mr. Kunjithomman is now out of jail. His health is almost completely shattered; but his will is firmer than ever before to fight for the rights of his community. Huge crowds gather wherever he goes to get a glimpse of him and to hear his familiar voice. They are indeed happy that he is once more in their midst to lead them; but they cannot forget that one of Mr. Kunjithomman's most valuable co-workers, Mr. P. T. Chacko, is still in jail, and that none of the demands of the Catholics has yet been granted by the government.

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THE COMMUNISTS AND THE PEOPLE

The Communist Party of India is in a tight corner at present. In many places popular indignation against them has reached a feverish pitch. They had always claimed to stand for the mass of the people against what they call thhe "fascist and capitalistic" leaders of the Congress. By now they must have realized that all but themselves consider this claim to be hollow. It was the mass of the people, not their leaders who attacked their party headquarters in Bombay, set fire to their press, smashed up their linotype and printing machine, and caused damages which according to their estimate amount to Rs. one lakh. Lt. Dhillon, the released I.N.A. officer and Sjt. Dhirubhai, son of Bhulabhai Desai—two persons who could speak in the name of the Congress—rushed to the rescue of the Communists and finally succeeded in dispersing the crowd and prevening further damage. No red flag—"the flag of the people!"—could achieve this. The Congress went farther. It issued a forthright condemnation of the mob-attack and organized volunteer squads to aid the Communists in case any more attacks were to be made. Gandhiji, then on tour in Madras, issued a statement as follows: "If the report about the damages to Communist persons and properties is true, I consider it disgraceful. Whatever may be the differences between Communists and others, they must be respected as others will wish theirs to be respected." Every act of popular violence is detrimental to people's progress."

We condemn the mob-attack on the Communists in Bombay, Calcutta, the Punjab, Andra Desa, Assam and elsewhere, as strongly as we condemn the tactics of Communist propaganda all over India. "Eye for eye: tooth for tooth" is the slogan of barbarism; mob-violence as a method of attack is indefensible. Nor can the tactics of the Communists be used as a counter-weapon against them. Lying propaganda, exaggerated claims without relevance to facts, rousing of class-hatred, sowing seeds of revolution, coercion of the weak to tow in the party-line, and much besides are a speciality of the Communists; and let no one who has respect for moral values envy them for this, nor imitate them. It is true that in recent months such methods have yielded spectacular results in many countries of Central Europe; but their success in India is not likely. Let Communists cease their frantic attempts to pull India along the Russian way; let recent incidents teach them to be sober and to think with the rest of the people.

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INDIAN CHRISTIAN VIEW

IN *The Statesman* of Calcutta, February 12, has appeared an article "Through Indian Christian eyes" by "Amoht." It was a marvellously lucid and outspoken declaration of the Indian Christian standpoint on the political issues in India, and as such it was a necessary and long overdue addition to similar articles in *The Statesman* by "Shaheed", "Prodigal" and others. The writer disclaims any representative credentials for his views; but it often happens that it is not those who make an ostentatious display of credentials who are truly representative. A clear and convincing exposition of uniformly accepted views proves an instinctive sense of the public pulse and forms the most reliable credential. "Amoht" is an "Indian Christian who is as much opposed to the British raj in India as to a Hindu raj or Pakistan partition", and as such, we believe, he can claim unity in sentiment with practically all members of his community.

On Communalism

In a country like India it is easy to play on excited feelings, rouse religious fears and set up the scarecrow of communalism. This may be done consciously by scheming politicians or interested foreigners and unconsciously by ardent, but short-sighted, religious devotees. But communalism cannot but be detrimental to the unity of India which is essential for peaceful progress. Vivisection as a surgical operation is not the remedy for any ailment. "Amoht" writes truly: "The Indian Christian too has his own apprehensions about the attitude of those who visualize the creation of a Hindu State in India." Our comments on "Law Against conversions" which we publish below show clearly that such apprehensions are not altogether baseless. There are not lacking in India holders of responsible posts who deny in deeds that religious liberty and equality of rights which they admit in words. The authorities of Surjuga State are an instance in point; Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer whom "Amoht" severely castigates in his article is another. Such men are the most dangerous enemies to the national cause. It is to the credit of the Indian Christian that he meets such men not by a fervid communalism which is suicidal to the community and the nation. "His approach," writes Amoht, "to the solution is not a negative one obstructing national unity and progress. Rather he is positive in his activities, associating himself more and more with the common aspirations, fighting vigorously sectarian tendencies. To do otherwise is to accept defeat at the hands of communalists."

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LAW AGAINST CONVERSIONS

A correspondent informs us about a new Act passed by the Surjuga State in C. P. It is called "The Hindu Apostasy Act" and its manifest aim seems to be to prevent all future conversions from Hinduism to Christianity. According to the Act any Hindu who intends to change his religion should inform the Durbar of his intention at least three months earlier and obtain its sanction. The Durbar is free to withhold the sanction whenever it chooses not to be quite satisfied that the conversion is an entirely free and voluntary act. Converts who fail to obtain the sanction and others who assist at their conversion are liable to be fined up to Rs. 50.

The new law is still more severe towards missionaries and others who work for the propagation of their faith. They are threatened with imprisonment, simple or rigorous, for a term extending up to one year, or fine up to Rs. 500, or even both together. The description of the offence for which this heavy penalty may be incurred is most disconcertingly vague. Theoretically this penalty will be for inducing "wrongful" conversions; in practice it will be for any one who is in the least connected with conversions which the State does not approve of. It is all well for the Government to affirm in an appendix to the Act that the Surjuga Durbar allows "the fullest liberty" to its subjects in regard to reilgion. This lip-service to the accepted codes of civilization will not be taken seriously by any one who is familiar with the vagaries of legal administration in some of the Native States.

Naked Injustice

The Surjuga State is professedly Hindu, and has deeply rooted animosity against the other religions. The State authority reserves to itself the right to judge when a conversion is wrongful and when it is not. To prove a charge of coercion or deceit against any conversion effected by a missionary is easy under conditions that admit false witnesses and allows the judiciary to be overridden by the executive. If the "religious liberty" which the State allows to its subjects is real, and not fictitious, why should a law be enacted against conversions from Hinduism only? Have not Christianity and Mohammedanism equal rights to be protected against the so-called wrongful conversions? And will the State permit that the jury which will decide about the legitimacy of a conversion be composed equally of Christians and Muslims as well as of Hindus? As long as the Durbar remains what it is, totally Hindu, the Hindu Apostasy Act is nothing but an instrument for naked injustice. It is tantamount to outlawing from the Surjuga State all those who wish to follow other religions.

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STRAWS IN THE WIND

ANOTHER FAMINE

IN the Central Legislature the Government spokesman, Mr. Sen, Secretary of the Food Department, had a doleful tale to unfold when the debate on the food situation came up. The country that had been doped into sung security, all on a sudden woke to face a gruesome spectre. The famine was coming; it was already at the door. There had been not a word of it earlier in the elaborate sittings of the food commission and in the press communiques. All the worthy officials were doing their job magnificently; the fate of four hundred millions would be safe in their hands; India would never again see a famine like that of 1943: that was what all had been made to believe.

All unexpectedly, it transpires that the solemn assurances given earlier were but empty rhetoric. A famine—greater by far than that of 1943—is sure to come unless drastic measures are taken immediately. The area affected is not only Bengal, but the whole of India, and chiefly southern India and the West Coast. There is or soon will be a shortage of seven million tons of cereals in India. The Viceroy flew in haste to South India; a food commission flew to London; Sir Hutchins went on a special mission to Washington. Statements on the food situation, tragic in their realism, have been made by the Viceroy, several Governors of Provinces, and all the chief national leaders. The International press features the alarming news that the famine in India will be the no. 1 disaster of the world. And the result of it all is that no immediate or substantial help need be looked for from outside. India will have to meet the ugly situation as best as it can with its own resources. Perhaps it is even expected to help other countries. 7,000 tons of groundnuts; a very nutritious and cheap food for the poor of this land, have been shipped to Yugoslavia to make up for the deficiency material there to manufacture margarine.

Urgent Measures Called For

Meanwhile India is painfully and rather clumsily adjusting itself to famine conditions. The Viceroy's broadcast of the 17th has shown how this is to be done. Madras is already cutting its rations from 16 ounces to 12 ounces per day; other Provinces and the Native States are expected to follow suit soon. Millions of people who were ever living on starvation fare will be obliged to tighten their belts still more. Sixteen ounces of cereals a day, with nothing to supplement it, was already pitifully low; but the scientific unpreparedness of the country has been such that even this paltry allowance will have to be cut short. And it should be remembered that this rationing scheme, however inefficient, extends only to less than sixty million in British India. The rest of the people eat what little they can get or do not eat at all, and are at the mercy of the hoarders and landowners.

An economic crisis is the period at which the worst criminals in the country begin their shady, anti-social operations. The experience of 1943 in Bengal should teach the authorities that hoarding and profiteering are a far greater menace to the country than the woeful shortage of food supply. Bribery and corruption unless put down with a strong hand will account for more victims than the failure of the monsoon and the harvest.

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ROYISTS AND COMMUNISTS

The tacties for M. N. Roy's prolific journalism is to throw cartloads of vituperative abuse on every one that meets his eye. Roy's *Independent India* begins its issue of the 3rd February as follows: "With a remarkably insipid speech, uninspiring both in its content as well as the surroundings in which it was delivered, the Viceroy gave an idea as to what the Government wanted the Central Assembly to do. The speech contained a curious instance of deliberate affront to the people.' "The affront to the people" according to Roy, is that Wavell calls the members of the Assembly the "chosen representatives of India." Royists are conspicuous in the Assembly by their almost complete absence; and the conclusion evidently is that those who make up the Assembly do not represent India. How can they, since universal adult suffrage, Roy's panacea for India, has not yet been conceded by the government?

The Communists who in former times used to claim close kinship with Roy also comment on Wavell's speech in similar strain. *People's Age*— which is the new name for what was last year *People's War*, the Communist Weekly—carries an editorial "Wavell's Latest Sermon," in its issue of February 3rd. It begins: "The Viceroy's laconic and arrogant speech to the depleted benches of the Central Assembly stands in strange contrast to the welling upsurge for freedom which is sweeping the country. The Viceroy proposes, after the elections, to form an Executive Council at the centre having the support of the principal political parties and to set up a Constitution-making Body as soon as possible. But he warns that if the parties do not unite and make concessions, the task of setting up the interim Government and bringing about 'great constitutional changes' would be rendered impossible and he cannot set any date for India's freedom. Meanwhile he advised the central legislators to be good boys and to pass the new bills put up before them by his good and loyal Executive Councillors."

At Loggerheads

That both the Royists and the Communists were "good boys" for the government till recently will be denied only by those who are blessed with a very brief memory. Both these parties ardently supported the war, the-former because the Congress was out of it, the latter because Russia was in it. Both enjoyed thoroughly basking in the sunshine of the Government; and financially and numerically they thrived under such sunshine. Changing slogans and policies overnight is no inconvenience to parties that follow the sublime example of "our grand ally, Russia."

Atheistic Communism with minor variations is the basic philosophy of both these parties; but on the election platforms of India, instead of behaving like affectionate brothers dutiful to their distant fatherland, they are at the throats of each other *People's Age* in the issue we have quoted above carries a screaming headline "Election Rolls Scandal in Cawnpore; 9,000 false names passed as genuine—Revising Officer helps Royists." What follows is an account of the struggle between the Communist-led Cawnpore Mazdoor Sabha and the Royist Textile Labour Union. The Communists complain that the Royist T.L.U. had been formed under the inspiration of the Government, that it 'inflated' its 1,500 paper members of 1944 suddenly to 6,000 in 1945, and that the revising officer passed off these 6,000 and another 3,000 bogus names as genuine. We are not concerned with the truth of these complaints; but we wonder whether the benign Stalin of Russia would approve of the Communists and Royists in India being continually at loggerheads.

120 THE C.W.W.S., BOMBAY

The C.W.W.S. (Catholic Women's Welfare Society) of Bombay published last month a brief Report of its tremendous and highly necessary activity in salvaging what some might contemptuously call the dregs of a corrupt society. In a world of lax morality and nebulous ethical codes, the Catholic Church stands unique in its forthright condemnation of vice and immorality, but at the same time she is full of compassion for those who have fallen victims to vice. Degenerate society with its smart respectability would shove out of sight whatever hurts its pride and self-esteem. It has nothing but scorn for those who have sinned but were not clever enough to wipe away the unpleasant consequences of sin. It is for such as these that the C.W.W.S. exists. The nature of the work it has to do as explained in the Report makes certainly painful reading; one would instinctively shrink from it, and would heartily wish that the problem never existed. But to ignore a problem is never a solution to it, and the C.W.W.S. deserves to be congratulated for the courageous manner in which it has faced the problem.

Conditions in Bombay are peculiar, though, we believe, not altogether unique. Iniquitous conditions of work, promiscuous and crowded living, the breakdown of the protective barriers of a wellknit society and of a Christian home, severe economic stress, the strong pressure of temptation in a city and especially during the war-period, these and many other causes had contributed to making poor and unprotected working girls an easy prey to purveyors of vice. The manner in which the C.W.W.S. of Bombay has brought relief to hundreds of these unhappy victims is an example to other places in India where similar conditions exist. We appreciate the note of courage and determination with which the Report concludes: "We are of the Church Militant, and we are here on earth to fight evil."

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121 AN ELECTION MANIFESTO

An election manifesto has recently been issued in Calcutta for the Indian Christian constituency of the Bengal Legislative Assembly. It agrees with every other election manifesto that has appeared in recent months—and there are scores of them, representing widely conflicting views—in the common fundamental demand: "John Bull must go." This, one surmises, is a more polite expression for the more insistent "Quit India." The author of the manifesto takes an independent stand on the merits of which views will necessarily differ. However, every one would read with approval the sixteen-point, all-comprehensive "We demand." The second of the "Demands" is interesting, since it has rarely been seen in other manifestos, vitally necessary though it be. "2. We demand the establishment of a Department of National Unity employing the services of expert educationists and social psychologists, entrusted with the duty of initiating legislation and incurring expenditure on education propaganda, all designed to promote communal harmony."

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STRAWS IN THE WIND

APPEAL FOR BLOOD

WIDE publicity has been given lately in the press to an old speech of Subhas Chandra Bose asking for his countrymen's blood, "Give me blood, and I shall give you freedom." The speech had been made at a time when Subhas was at the nadir of his fortunes; and not much attention had then been paid to the words of this *enfant terrible* of the Congress. But now with the I.N.A. trials and the growing speculations about Subhas's mysterious disappearance, his speech has been dug out of a forgotten past to make front-line news. Blood is needed—the blood of four hundred million people. But there is no indication what use will be made of this vast sea of blood, to what chemical or other processes it will be subjected.

A Bombay weekly writes: "The preference of blood to ink is a noticeable feature of the times. Reports are appearing in the press of girl students signing freedom pledges in their blood, of portraits of national leaders being drawn in blood and there are profuse references in speeches to the possibilities and readiness for the shedding of blood."

Versus non-Violence

One wonders whether this nation-wide appeal for blood is quite in conformity with Gandhiji's programme of non-violent agitation. According to that programme blood is kept safely under one's own skin; the utmost that would be allowed is to weaken its quality by a hunger-strike. A Congress Working Committee resolution, passed not many months ago, strongly reiterated Gandhiji's creed. But perhaps many are beginning to feel that this is an obsolete creed.

We would wish that this readiness—real or feigned—for the shedding of blood does not degenerate into a frantic blood-thirstiness, much less into a civil war or revolutionary mass murder. The oft repeated and highly explosive "Inquilab Zindabal" does not augur well for the future. India's path to peace, progress and reconstruction does not lie through a sea of blood; there is too little blood beneath the dried-up skins of famine stricken peoples. Not revolution but evolution through concord is what India needs.

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AMIDST POVERTY

The most baffling problem of India is its appalling poverty; of all the civilized countries of the world India shows the lowest figure for per capita income; even now famine stalks the land, threatening to sweep millions into untimely graves.

But oddly enough, no other country in the world can show such a prodigious display of wealth as India can. A concrete proof of this will be seen in the Brabourne Stadium of Bombay on March 10th next. On that day His Highness the Aga Khan will be weighed against diamonds to commemorate the 60 years of his spiritual leadership of the Ismaili Community.

Prodigious Wealth

The details of this stupendous ceremony are interesting if only as a study in contrast. About 250 lbs. of uncut industrial diamonds, roughly representing the weight of His Highness, will be obtained as a loan from the Diamond Syndicate in England. The cost of insurance and transport will alone amount to nearly £2,000. Rs. 30 lakhs worth of polished diamonds will have to be used in addition to the above, and these will be kept as souvenirs by the followers of the Aga Khan. A giant pair of scales which will be shaped like a huge throne is being specially built by W. & T. Avery. The diamonds will pile as high as five feet when counterpoising His august Highness.

A running commentary of these breath-taking ceremonies will be broadcast by the All-India Radio for the benefit of those who will not be present at the Brabourne Stadium. Only 40,000 followers of the Aga Khan are expected to gather in the city for the occasion. One would presume that the others will have to be content with the graphic comments of the enthusiastic Radio speaker.

It is to be hoped that the A-I Radio will not be so tactless as to follow up these comments with its daily fare of lugubrious accounts of the worsening food situation and the increasing famine victims.

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BLOOD AND IRON METHODS

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WHEN the Communist Party Headquarters were attacked by a mob on Subhas Bose's day, the Congress President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, strongly condemned the action and said: "We must never forget that every one is entitled to his own views and every one has the right to express his views without running the risk of molestation." When the Methodist Church in Calcutta was attacked by the wanton hooliganism of a riotous mob, the Congress President again came forward with a generous statement. He visited the Church and expressed regret at the incident, and issued a statement from his Party Headquarters that the public should meet the cost of repair as an act of reparation.

We appreciate the noble and magnanimous sentiments which evoked these two timely statements. But we wonder why the Congress has consistently refused to make a similar statement in favour of the people of Travancore.

The Christians in Travancore have no freedom to express their views. The dictator who is ruling them can with impunity ban their newspapers, imprison their leaders and prohibit their meetings and processions. When lies are spread about them in press communiques and news services reports, they may not contradict them in the public press unless they are ready to pay at advertisment rate for every word that they wish to be published. And what is worse, the immense capital which has been invested on the lying propaganda against them is drawn from the taxes that they themselves have contributed. In the name of justice and truth, why hasn't the Congress issued a forthright condemnation of the dictator in Travancore? Why has that dictator been allowed to influence the Congress High Command and gain suspicious interviews with Gandhiji himself?

Against All The People

It is not the Christians alone who groan under the "blood and iron" methods of the so-called authorites. The State Congress movement in Travancore has none of the freedom which the National Congress enjoys in British India. The treatment meted out to the State Congress seven years ago would have been its death-blow but for the fine spirit of the people. The Tri-colour in banned in Travancore. When the State Congress held its fourth Annual Conference in Quilon, the authorities insolently demanded that the Tri-colour be removed from the Pandal. Nothing can justify the surprise swoop made when three leaders of the State Congress, Pattom Thanu Pillay, Narayana Swamy and Miss Annie Mascrene were arrested and detained.

Nor have the Muslims been spared. The Muslim Conference which was to be held at Balaramapuram under the Presidentship of Janab Abdul Hameed Khan, ex-Mayor of Madras, was banned. The Inspector General of the Police informed the organizers of the Conference that Janab A. H. Khan "was unwelcome to the State authorities on account of his expressed opinion against the present education scheme of the Dewan". Three conditions were laid down as essential for permitting the Conference: (1) No member of the Muslim League from outside the State should preside over the Conference. (2) The education scheme of the Dewan should not be criticized. (3) The Pakistan issue should not be discussed at the conference. The Muslims, naturally enough, refused to accept these conditions; and their Conference still remains banned.

But How Long?

The Travancore policy is one of "divide and rule." The State Congress is humiliated in the hope that the Muslims would be placated. The supporters of the Muslim League are put down with a view to please the Hindus in the State. The Christians are subjected to a ruthless persecution in order to rouse the support of the other communities.

But there are already signs that the system is cracking, and that the day of liberation for the six million people of Travancore is not far away. It is not only "bloody Macbeth" who could rightly speak of having judgement here, of bloody instructions which being taught return to plague the inventor, of even-handed justice that commends the ingredients of one's poisoned chalice to one's own lips.

It is to be hoped for that the National Congress of India does not retard the day of nemesis by its studied indifference which might be interpreted as passive acquiescence.

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NEW DEPARTURES

Catholic religious propaganda is ever changing and improving its methods according to the changing conditions of the ages. Till the fifteenth century preaching and public disputations were among the chief means. With the invention of the art of printing, the press began to claim greater attention. In recent years the radio and the screen have also been exploited to a considerable extent. But in no age has the knowledge of religious truths and of the moral law been so woefully lacking as at present. The very foundations of society have been shaken and mankind gropes in the dark towards a new order which it seeks to build on shifting sands. The heralds of God's truth cannot rest satisfied until every avenue is explored, and means are found to bring the truth home even to those who would not willingly come forward to receive it.

In India the Catholics of Bombay have set a splendid example by some of their novel ventures. The dramatic art has been resuscitated under the auspices of the Young Men's Sodality of St. Xavier's High School. Plays like *Quo Vadis*, *Saint In a Hurry* and *Kamiano* so excellently staged, are bound to produce a beneficent impression even on those who come merely for the sake of the entertainment. The Grand Rally and Catholic Action Parade organized by Rev. Fr. Valenti S.J. was a signal achievement

(Continued from col. 4)

which continued to produce its rich results even afterwards by being screened as newsreel in the principal theatres of the city. The work of the Catholic Women's Welfare Society which we commented on last week is an unusual though highly necessary form of apostolate.

The Church is not shy of new ventures though a few Churchmen here and there may be. *The Catholic Herald* of England gives the following piece of information which, we believe, would be read with interest: "In France all kinds of new ideas are afoot, including, we are told, the foundation of an order in which ordained priests are put to apostolic work as ordinary workmen in ordinary factories. Important changes in the mode of liturgical worship are also reported. And an Archbishop said to be closely associated with such new departures has been elected Cardinal."

THE BHORE COMMITTEE REPORT

THE Bhore Committee Report, recently published, is one more addition to the many grandiose post-war development plans for India; but unlike some of the others, it treats a matter of urgent necessity; whether the treatment is adequate is, however, open to dispute. "The Health Survey and Development Committee," more conveniently called the Bhore Committee, after its president Sir Joseph Bhore, had been appointed in 1943 by the Government of India in pursuance of its post-war reconstruction schemes. After innumerable sittings and much wrangling, the learned members of the Committee, 24 of them, have produced in two ponderous volumes their final report. The first volume of over 200 pages paints a vivid picture of the present state of health—or rather of the lack of it—in India. The second volume of 500 pages outlines a development plan which will take forty years for full realization, and will cost the enormous sum of Rs. 1,000 crores for the first ten years stage alone. At the end of this first stage, there will be one hospital or dispensary for every thousand people. When viewed against the background of the very meagre medical aid available in India at present, this development scheme is indeed very bold, perhaps too bold.

The Financial Aspect

Each planning committee works along its own line, oblivious of the other committees which also make equally heavy demands on the limited budget of a poor country. One important fact which the planners seem to forget is that medicine when pursued as a lucrative profession and not as a sacred vocation will not yield all that it should. Instead of alleviating physical misery it would add considerably to the sum total of physical and mental suffering. The department of medicine requires talent, and talent will not be forthcoming unless high salaries are offered. High salaries deplete the public exchequer which in turn will make heavy demands on the half-starved population and will cause higher incidence of ailments. The only escape from the vicious circle is that an attitude be developed which regards the medical profession as a noble form of service. It is precisely with such an attitude and for the sake of further developing it that there exist happily in our country at present those few hospitals and dispensaries of the Christian Missions, which be it noted, subsist in spite of continued lack of governmental support. Nor does the learned report make adequate provisions for encouraging these institutions which, as any one who is not blinded by prejudice should admit, offer the quickest means for health development in India.

Birth-Control Propaganda

A highly deplorable portion of the Bhore Committee Report is the one that advocates birth-control. It is a sorry piece of bemuddled thinking. The members of the Committee think that when child-bearing is likely to result in injury to mother or infant "there is every justification for the practice of contraception." They should realize that contraception is morally wrong under every circumstance. Natural law forbids it. No possible physical harm can justify something which is in itself a violation of the moral order. Some of the members of the Committee opine that "on economic grounds also contraception is justified." Here there is a still more lamentable perversion of truth.

When from baseless opinions the Committee goes on to make positive recommendations to the Government to allot funds for researches on contraceptives and for spreading knowledge about birth-control, we consider its action thoroughly reprehensible. Men are not beasts to be governed by laws of fodder and useful service. They are subject to laws of a higher order which the materially minded are too blind to see or obstinately refuse to see. God help the country which tramples underfoot God's laws!

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A CATHOLIC MEDICAL COLLEGE

Commenting on this topic on December 30th, 1945, we had quoted Mgr. P. Thomas saying: "The question of a medical college is mainly a financial one. It will come into existence as soon as adequate funds are available." The long-cherished dream now seems nearer fulfilment. We take the welcome news from the March-April issue of "The Catholic Hospital," organ of the Catholic Hospital Association of India. Sr. Mary Laetitia, S.C.M.M., the Editor, writes: "We are hoping that the medical college will soon prove a reality. It has been proposed to locate it in Patna."

A Medical College is highly expensive to maintain and difficult to direct. That would seem to be the main reason why the Jesuit Fathers who run several of India's most outstanding colleges for Arts and Science courses have not yet ventured in the medical line. The American Jesuits conduct five "Grade A" Medical Colleges in the United States, and the United States is perhaps the one country in the post-war world that can help to put on a sound financial basis the venture of missionary Medical College. Hence it is to be hoped that the proposal of the American Jesuit Missionaries of Patna to start a Catholic Medical College for India will become a glorious reality in the near future.

The choice of Patna for the location of the College might at first sight seem regrettable. The College is intended for the Catholics, and ninety per cent of the Catholic Inter Science students of India come from colleges over 1,500 miles away from Patna, from places all south of Bangalore. But the problem of distances is relatively far less important for a long and expensive course like that of medicine than it would be for arts and science courses. Another disadvantage is the nature of the University to which the new college will be affiliated. Among the Universities of India that of Patna shares along with the Calcutta University the not too enviable distinction for tolerating the worst corruption and malpractice in the conduct of examinations. This will evidently be a heavy handicap on a Catholic college which stresses moral integrity and expects results according to merit and not according to skill in sharp practices. But it is to be hoped that an outstanding medical college like the one proposed will rise above such a handicap, and might even succeed in raising the tone of the whole university.

That Patna is the headquarters of the American Jesuit Mission in India is not, we believe, among the main reasons that dictated the choice. It has been the tradition of Jesuits in India to run Colleges where they are most needed. Some of the foremost among the Jesuit Colleges of India, those of Madras, Trichinopoly, Mangalore and Bangalore, are all outside the respective mission fields of the Jesuits who conduct them. The Patna Jesuits have themselves started a school recently in Jaipur State, which is several hundreds of miles away from Patna.

The main reasons for the choice of Patna are, it would seem, medical; and a medical college should evidently be guided by medical reasons. Sr. Laetitia who is a doctor, and can speak with authority in the matter, writes: "For the training of doctors good clinical facilities are very important. In this Province (Bihar) are found all the tropical diseases of India, besides the ordinary ones, and hence students would get the most necessary practical experience of treating the various cases they will meet throughout India."

We hope that the choice of Patna will prove to be a happy one, and that the long-felt need of a Catholic medical college for India will be filled in the near future.

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STRAWS IN THE WIND

A QUESTION ABOUT FOOD

THE rapidity with which the question of food became front-line news in India has been a distressing feature of the times. But what is more distressing is that there is little in these news beyond more speeches made in America and more stringent rationing in India. Gandhiji published a detailed programme with practical suggestions; it would seem that the inertia of the country has discarded them all as unpractical. Politics still looms large in the thought and action of some of those who can render best aid under the circumstances. Mobs are still being whipped to fury by irresponsible revolutionaries to destroy grain-stores, and to impede quick supply. A lack of realism seems to lie like a curse upon the diseased body politic.

A Lesson From Germany.

India has a very timely lesson to learn from Germany in the present situation. Germany, defeated, crushed and famine-stricken, has shown a splendid nerve in resolving to fight starvation away. There are perhaps few places in Europe where the food situation is so tragic as Berlin with all its communications destroyed and all civic life in chaos. The weekly food rations per head in Berlin include 6 lbs. of potatoes, 4 lbs. of bread, 1/4 lb. of meat, besides small quantities of butter, fats, sugar and other food stuffs. All this might be thought ample, perhaps even luxurious, when compared to conditions in India. The weekly ration in this country for several Provinces is 5¼ lbs. of rice or other cereals, and for 90 per cent of the poorer classes this ration is all the food available; they have absolutely nothing to supplement this meagre intake of cereals of poor nutritive value.

The three million Berliners do not think that their weekly rations are sufficient. And they are right in thinking so. No one who knows what are the food requirements of a human body will pretend that the rations at present available in war-devastated Berlin are sufficient. Among the efforts made to alleviate the grim situation is an Institute for the Science of Nutrition which has a laboratory in the Berlin suburb of Dahlem. The findings of the Institute are constantly publicized by radio and leaflets; demonstrations are given to housewives and communal dwellers in tenements and hutment-towns; and the people are being instructed on various wild foods which they can collect from the woods and parks. Such foods include stinging-nettles, dandelions, the berries of mountain ash, acorns, horse-chestnuts, leaf-stalks of various plants, leaves of brambles and many varieties of roots. These apparently inedible fodder is gathered, scientifically processed, and turned into highly nutritional, though not perhaps very tasty, food-stuffs. Thus it has been shown that pine-needles can be brewed as a substitute for tea Horse-chestnuts when their bitter elements are removed serve as a valuable food containing starch and fat. Stinging nettle and other wild plants can go to make a nourishing soup. Where there is a will, a way is found, provided one does not succumb to defeatism.

A Question For India

In many parts of India the food situation is decidedly more tragic than in Berlin. The caloric value of the ration available at present in India is one-third that in Berlin; and soon this is bound to fall much lower. 100,000,000 inhabitants of South India are already facing the grim prospect of starvation. As Kwaja Sir Nazimuddin said at a press conference in New York, if relief is not found immediately, the death-roll through famine may have to be reckoned in the neighbourhood of ten million; and the death of ten million would mean that a hundred million will be living a subsistence level where death would be preferable to life.

Is there no way out? If the four million tons of cereals which India desires to buy from U.S.A. are not supplied, are vast hectacombs the only alternative?

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SCOUTS, GUIDES, CRUSADERS

We read recently an announcement by Mr. B. D'Netto, Commissioner, South India Catholic Scouts, of the union now established between the S.I.C. Scout and Guide Federation and the Apostleship of Prayer Eucharistic Crusade. Those who have known these two widely popular movements and the immense good they have achieved in their different spheres will be happy to hear that they are now joining forces for a more complete and Catholic formation of the Scouts and Guides of South India. The Eucharistic Crusade is a world-wide organization with a highly efficient technique for the spiritual formation of Catholic boys and girls. Started in 1915 by Fr. Bessieres, S.J., in France, it soon spread to almost every country of Europe, to South America, Canada and Austrtlia and to practically every mission country. Already in 1931 it counted a membership of 2½ million, and since that time its diffusion has been even more rapid. In India most of the Catholic schools and many parishes have organized active units of the A.P.E.C.; and helped by its efficient National Secretariate in Calicut and its brilliantly edited monthly organ the Eucharistic Crusade, it has proved itself to be the most valuable means for the formation of the future Catholic youth of this country. In the words of Pope Pius XI, the Crusade is the Primary school of Catho-

lic Action"; and as such it has been found to be indispensable wherever Catholic Action is organized. It is now proposed to adopt the E.C. technique for the Catholic Scouts and Guides of South India. All the Scouts and Guides will also be members of the E.C. and thus the E.C. will, as it were, become the soul of the Scout and Guide movement. While the Crusade retains its distinct world-wide character and its spiritual outlook, the adoption of the E.C. method for the S.I.C.S. and G.F. will not but be highly beneficial for the more complete formation of the Scouts and Guides.

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BIG BUSINESS

Mr. Bevin told the organized employers of Britain that "if India is given self-government, Britain could do better trade with that country than under present conditions." One can imagine the employers shaking their heads in sceptic unconviction. Has Mr. Bevin, the astute foreign secretary, been speaking the truth, or was it a desperate attempt to see the silver lining of an ominous black cloud? In an era of power politics a great deal depends on the ability to make accurate prophecies. Private British investments in India today amount to at least £200,000,000 on a modest estimate. If Mr. Bevin is gifted with the prophetic vein, it is well and good for this huge capital. Otherwise Business magnates of the City of London and their confreres in Clive Street and elsewhere in India have grave cause for alarm.

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BOOK REVIEW

THE SAVIOUR, By C. BULCKE S.J. 3rd. Edition. Pp. x—226. Calcutta: The Oriental Institute, 146, Bowbazar St. Price Rs. 1-8 (paper); Rs. 2 (cloth).

Fr. Bulcke's compilation of the four Gospels in one connected narrative had gained already in its two previous editions a well merited popularity in India. It presents the lifegiving story of Jesus in the words of the Evangelists themselves, but with events arranged in what the best scriptural scholars consider to be their more or less exact chronological sequence. There is no doubt that a complete survey of the life of Christ as is given in the *The Saviour*, avoiding all repetitions, yet presenting the full message without any omission, is highly welcome. The division of the narrative into chapters and paragraphs, each with its appropriate title and reference to date, makes the reading more easy for the average public. And a detailed highly

STRAWS IN THE WIND

IN FAMINE'S GRIP

THE Indian Food Delegation which had been sent to Washington has concluded its mission and has received the allotment for the first half of the year. The situation being equally grievous in many other parts of the world, it was not be expected that the whole of the food deficit in India would be made up for by the U.N.O. Food Council. But it is welcome news that 1,650,000 tons of wheat and other cereals have been allotted to India for the first half of the year.

The official figure for the year's deficit is seven million tons; the actual figure may prove to be higher on account of the deterioration in godowns and the leakage in distribution channels. Hence Gandhiji was right when he warned the people not to build an illusion of security on the expected help from the U.N.O. The temple Juggernaut marching forward to crush the millions is not a phobia of publicity; it is a stark reality. India must look for help primarily from its own soil and from the labour of its people. Current issues of The Harijan contain many timely articles on how this is to be done. The country must shake itself once for all from its lethargy and inertia which weigh it down like heavy iron chains. The bungling administration must come to an end. Inefficient methods of agriculture, sanctioned by custom and laziness and lack of co-operative effort, must be done away with.

Helpless Victims

But India is not a country easily to be roused from its inactivity. There is a danger that even a colossal tragedy like the one which we are witnessing now will fail to carry its message to the mass of the people who are ignorant and illiterate and do not see beyond their immediate wants. Tagore wanted for the country a "heaven of freedom" where "Tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection." But not only are we far from perfection in every line; many do not even conceive the possiblity of a state any better than the present.

According to food experts the human body requires per day food that will yield 2,600 calories in order to maintain normal health. Even before famine conditions began to prevail, the ill-balanced diet of the "average" Indian did not yield more than 1,800 calories. And at present, the amount allotted per head according the stringent rationing now prevalent yields just 960 calories. It is not difficult to see how staggering is the sum-total of physical suffering this food deficiency entails. In the towns men may show their discontent by strikes and riots, which unhappily will not remedy the situation, but will rather make it worse. In the villages hunger marches may be organized here and there. But the vast majority of the people, those who suffer most, will not have the strength for riots or marches. They will bend double and creep towards a slow and agonizing death.

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AN APPEAL TO STUDENTS

Mr. P. N. Banerjee, the new Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University has issued a fervent appeal to students to behave themselves during the Matric exams. He notes with grave concern how low the reputation of the University has fallen in recent years and confesses that stricter vigilance and more severe sanctions are not apt means to ensure a better observance of examination rules. Last year invigilators who tried to prevent mal-practice were in many places beaten up by the students. One of them was even murdered. No little damage was caused to the furniture of exam halls due to the mob-rule that prevailed. 565 cases of malpractice were actually reported last year; but it is common knowledge that mal-practice was almost universal, and that only in a very few cases did invigilators muster enough courage to hand over the culprits. The situation is shameful for any university; it is all the more shameful for Calcutta, one of the pioneer universities of India, which in the past had been an example to the rest of the country. The present state of the university is a strange contrast to its past with its brilliant record of discipline, industry and advanced research, and its close association with eminent educationalists and scientists like Asutosh Mukherjee, Palit, de Peneranda, J. C Bose, and C.V. Raman.

Too Late

The Vice-Chancellor is right in calling a halt in the present rapid decline, and in wishing a return to the discipline and orderliness of the past. But wherein lies the true remedy? Certainly not in enforcing discipline just on the eve of the exam, necessary though that be. Mobs which have lived without discipline throughout the year will not turn overnight into honest, disciplined, self-respecting students in an exam hall. An attempt to enforce discipline for a few weeks in the year will inevitably provoke the reaction of the mob which will show itself in violence, sabotage, assault, on invigilators, bloodshed, and even murder. The rot has eaten too deep into the student body. Strikes and demonstrations are all too frequent. There are too many agitators and too many red flags in the schools and colleges. The students have

been made the unwary victims of scheming party politics. In the Punjab Mr. Jinnah issued a general summons to the Muslim students to leave their benches, tour the villages and help in the election struggle. Minor luminaries did the same in Bengal, though not so openly, yet with greater success.

The crumbling educational fabric of Bengal urgently calls for a systematic building up. The role of students in politics should be carefully defined and limited. Agitators must be combed out. Students' strikes should, if necessary, be declared illegal; sufficient causes can hardly ever exist for students to strike work; and extraordinary situations which may arise are not beyond arbitration. A spirit of discipline and of serious application to work must carefully be fostered. The welfare of the students themselves requires this; the future of the country requires this. No country is exposed to a greater danger than one in which the intellectuals have turned into ill-disciplined mobs.

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A UNIQUE TEMPLE

At Shripur in Beguserai Division a temple has been newly built which is unique in the world. The presiding deity of the temple is a living person, Mahatma Gandhi; his image occupies the place of honour in the inner shrine, and it is after him that the temple has been named. The time-honoured deities of the Hindu pantheon have been relegated to a second place. The villages gather in large numbers for pilgrimage to the shrine; and they do so not to honour the minor deities, but to honour Gandhi.

Gandhi himself has issued a vigorous protest aganst what he calls "this gross form of idolatry." "My life has been caricatured," he writes in the Parjan. "It would be welcome relief if the owner of the temple removed my image and converted the temple into a spinning centre." It is to be feared that this advice of Gandhi will go unheeded.

BOOK REVIEW

WOPSY: THE ADVENTURES OF A GUARDIAN ANGEL By Gerard F. Scriven, W.F. Pp. 68. Patna: The Catholic Book Crusade, 1945. Price Rs. 2-8.

"Wopsy" is a delightful book for children; but it is not children only who would enjoy it. Even grown-ups would, and perhaps they more than children. There is much in it that reminds one of the dreamlands of fairies and elfins familiar to childhood. The dreamlands of the fairy stories are too beautiful to be true. But the world of Wopsy which is more beautiful than that of any fairy story is perfectly true, the whole of it, —or rather it is a faint human expression of a perfectly true reality which is too beautiful to be expressed adequately. Science and rationalism have vainly attempted to make of nature and the human race a closed system, governed by self-made laws, impervious to all influences save those of matter and the human mind. But science and rationalism cannot do away with God's providence as the ostrich might deny the light of day by hiding its head under the sand. God's providence and His ministering angels are not seen except by the eye of faith; and what is not seen is often forgotten. Hence it is that on June 29, Feast of St. Peter and St. Paul, 1941, the Holy Father addressed to the world a stirring broadcast on "Divine Providence in human affairs." All of us, grown-ups no less than children, need to be reminded from time to time of the staggering invisible realities with which we are surrounded. A delightful story book like "Wopsy" might serve for many a more forceful reminder than many doctrinal instructions.

The scene of the story is laid in the mission field of the White Fathers in Africa. The chief figure in the story is a Guardian Angel who is entrusted with the care of a Negro baby. Adventures there are in plenty, such as children would enjoy; but each adventure, so charmingly told, reveals for the thinking mind a new aspect of the supernatural world that invisibly envelops man. The chief merit of the story lies in this

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marvellous blending of the natural and the supernatural. The reader is made to move effortlessly from earth to heaven and from heaven to earth, and to feel that one throbs with life as much as the other. The story is cockfull of vivid imagery which serves as allegory or illustration for the sublime truths of the spiritual life.

"It all looks very promising indeed," said the Bishop.

"Well, my Lord," replied his secretary, "don't forget that you owe it all to the Guardian Angels."

"I am not likely to," replied the Bishop. . . ."I am glad we thought of praying to the angels though. We are rather inclined to forget about them." (Epilogue page 68).

All who read "Wopsy" will agree with the Bishop and his secretary; and will feel their devotion to the Guardian Angel rekindled.

"Wopsy contains a number of excellent illustrations by Sister Mary Barbara, C.R.I. The "Times of India" Press, Bombay, which printed the present Catholic Book Crusade edition of the book ought to be congratulated for the attractive get-up.

M.T.

STRAWS IN THE WIND

THE COMMUNISTS' OUTSTRETCHED HAND

Palme Dutt in India

MR. Palme Dutt, Vice-Chairman of the Communist Party of Great Britain, has recently arrived in India for a visiting tour. Last year during the British elections Mr. Dutt used to figure largely in the Communist papers of India. The "comrades" were proud to let Indians know that he was opposing Mr. Amery in the elections. They dilated on his many titles to the love and veneration of Indians and predicted a sure victory for him. They made it appear that a seat for Mr. Dutt in Parliament was all that was lacking before India could gain freedom. When the election results were out the "comrades" became suddenly silent. They wrote, of course, about Amery's defeat, but forgot to mention that Dutt had not only been defeated but had even forfeited his deposit. A Labour candidate had won.

Mr. Dutt who then sank into oblivion has once more become front-line news for the Communist papers of India. His visit to India will evidently be used as an attempt to boost up the waning prestige of the Communist Party of India. Mr. Dutt is, after all a true inter-nationalist. He says that by birth he is British; for he was born in Cambridge. His father was an Indian from Bengal. His mother was Swedish. In political allegiance he is an outstanding Russian, as all true Communists are. Inter-national Communism, in spite of Stalin's energetic disclaimers, is still his Utopia. The present Anglo-Russian relations have made England not too comfortable to his group. He is coming to India for six weeks, as he says, but he confesses a fear that perhaps he may never be allowed to return to England.

For The Communist Cause

The "Comrades" in India are evidently very happy to welcome him in their midst. They have seemingly reached the nadir of their fortunes, and are rapidly fading out of the political scene in this country. In the recent general elections they have lost in practically every constituency which they contested; no other party has contributed as much to the government funds through forfeited election deposits as the C.P.I.

C. P. I.

But Mr. Palme Dutt hopes to rehabilitate the fallen fortune of his Indian brethren. His aim is to bring about a "close and friendly association" between the Communist party and the Congress, as he avowed to the London Correspondent of the "Amrita Bazar Patrika." According to Mr. Dutt, "there is no basic difference between these two parties, the aims of both being identical . . . Differences are very secondary, differences in tactics. It is highly desirable that they should be overcome."

Congress and Communists

It is not surprising that Mr. Dutt should desire to graft the Communist Party on to the Congress. Alone and unaided, the Party cannot long survive and it is quite in tune with a time-server's policy to seek favour of the powers that be. During the war the British Government had power, and the Communists were all tooth and nail in the defence of the Government. During the elections when the Congress and the League were fighting each other on the Pakistan issue, the Communist policy was a scramble for the spoils; in the Muslim constituencies they supported the League against the minor Muslim groups which the Congress favoured; and in other constituencies they fought against the Congress and lost practically all their funds. Now the Congress is apparently in power, and what remains to be done except to draw a veil over the past and to profess heartfelt sympathy with the aims of the Congress and to seek for a reconciliation? Perhaps, they fear that their loud professions of sympathy will not be believed; but will Palme Dutt who has come all the way from England have a greater success?

Deep Cleavage

Not many Congressists would admit Mr. Dutt's contention that the differences between the Congress and the Communist Party of India are "very secondary." Mr. Minoo Masani, once an enthusiastic

supporter of the Communists, writes in *Socialism Reconsidered*: "In our own country, the anti-national record of the Communist Party of India has been plain for all to see. There is not a mass movement of the people in the effort to gain independence that they have not opposed. That was so in 1930-31 and in 1932-33. This record was crowned in August 1942 and thereafter . . . Today the Communists are, along with the princes and communal organizations, a prop of British rule in India."

Acharya Kripalani, General Secretary of the Congress, analyzing the basic differences between the economic policies of the Congress and Communists writes: "Gandhiji's socialism in the economic field is attached to family life, limited private property and decentralized industry. While orthodox socialism. . . is yoked to the idea of big and centralized industry and is against all private property, and its supposed basis, the family."

These differences are not "very secondary." They concern the very fundamentals of social reconstruction. Truth and non-violence are the cardinal points of the Congress creed. In modern times no political party has shown as scant a respect for truth as the Communists; the ceaseless propaganda of lies from Moscow is a clear illustration; nor have the Indian "comrades" ever been remarkable for their love of truth. As for non-violence, the Communist attitude is too plain to need a proof. For mob-violence and bloodshed they have established a new record in recent months in India And the Russian record of violence liquidation and purge, of artificial famines, concentration camps and Lubianka is without a parallel in history.

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TEACHER'S STRIKE

The strike epidemic has been spreading to all classes of people of India. Mill hands, railway workmen, tram and 'bus employees, servicemen in the navy and air force, students in schools and colleges, all know what it is to strike work and paralyse the smooth functioning of public services. Last month Bombay Province witnessed the strike epidemic spreading to a new class which had hitherto been left unaffected,—the teachers. In the past when schools interrupted their work, it was due to students preferring processions to text-books. The teachers always stood for unmitigated application to work. The Bombay incident marks a new departure. 40,000 teachers of the Primary Schools of the Bombay Province stopped teaching from March 1st, and a million and a half young children had the questionable satisfaction of having a long vacation in the middle of the final term. We have reasons to presume that the demands of the teachers are just. The teaching profession has been for long the most ill-used of the liberal professions of India. But it is greatly to be regretted that a strike on such a large scale and affecting the

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schooling of so many young children should have been deemed necessary to remedy the situation.

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CO-OPERATIVES

Khan Tiwana, the Punjab Premier, outlined recently a laudable scheme for the reconstruction of his Province. He will keep the Punjab for the Punjabees, and will take effective measures to replace the village Bania by people's co-operatives. The co-operative movement deserves to be widely known and warmly welcomed not only in the Punjab but all over India. In it lies the true remedy to the curse of rural indebtedness. It will educate the people to thrift and self-help and enhanced effort. Wasteful expenditure will be eliminated, and the blood-sucking Banias and Mahajans will cease to thrive on the penury of the ryot. The land will be kept for the people who cultivate it. If any one is still sceptical about the marvels which a well organized co-operative society can achieve, he should pay a visit to the Roman Catholic Mission of Chotanagpore. In that place one will see India's finest object lesson for what the co-operative movement can do for the uplift of an economically and culturally backward people.

STRAWS IN THE WIND

GANDHIAN COMMUNISM

A RECENT issue of *The Harijan* contains a timely discussion of what is called Gandhiji's "Communism." The Communist firebrands in this country will not be happy to read it. There is no thinking mind today but condemns the gross inequalities of wealth and the rampant injustice and exploitation which the capitalistic system has created. The Communists may flatter themselves in vain as the only enemies of exploitation. All those who have the welfare of humanity at large desire a certain degree of economic equality. "Every one must have," writes Gandhi, "a balanced diet, a decent house to live in, facilities for the education of one's children, and adequate medical relief." To meet these fundamental rights of the human person is what constitutes economic equality or "communism" for Gandhiji, and not a dead level of equal wealth, which is a Utopian ideal and has not been realized any where, despite all make-belief to the contrary. In Russia the salary of foremen in factories is eighty times that of ordinary workmen. Such vast differences do not exist even in India, a country which the Izvestia of Moscow condemned recently as the least progressive in social equality. In the Gandhian planned economy, a certain inevitable inequality of wealth would continue to exist; the highest salary might be a dozen times the minimum living wage; but no one, even the poorest, should lack the bare necessaries of life. A "communism" of this sort seems evidently preferable to the Russian brand.

Hatred Versus Love

Gandhiji's communism differs from that of the Communists not so much in the goal aimed at as in the means to be adopted. Gandhiji was asked: "What is the difference between your technique and that of the Communists or Socialists in realizing the goal of economic equality?" He answered: "The Socialists and Communists say they can do nothing to bring about economic equality today. They will just carry on propaganda in its favour, and to that end they believe in generating and accentuating hatred. They say, 'When they get control over the State they will enforce equality.' Under my plan the State will be there to carry out the will of the people, not to dictate to them or force them to do its will. I shall bring about economic equality through non-violence, by converting the people to my point of view by harnessing the forces of love as against hatred." Love and unity are greater forces than hatred and class war. Gandhiji, along with the world's best leaders and thinkers, is never tired of repeating this truth; but it is a truth to which the Communists are obtuse in spite of thirty years of disillusionment in the home of Communism. Marx has preached the gospel of hatred, and hence according to the Communists, there can be no gainsaying it. Marx propounded a social theory based on hatred, violence, class-war, and forced liquidation of opponents. But what the Communists forget is that Marx himself was quite aware of the danger of being too sure of social theories. Towards the end of his life he once said: "Thank God, that I am not a Marxist."

Faith In Man

The Marxist theory is based on a misconception of human nature. Man for Marx is a compound of greed, avarice, ambition and hatred. He is red in tooth and claw, and is ever grasping for what is another's. If man were really that, we should despair of ever building up a sane society. Faith in man is the first requisite of social planning. Behind all that is evil in the exterior, there is in man a basic vein of honesty and generous feelings. The aim of society should be to strengthen and accentuate the good in man, and to weed out the evil. The social fabric is highly complex in the present age; its well-being requires the co-operation of all classes and groups of men. Our aim is not to destroy but to build up. Hatred and class-war is self-destructive; love and unity are the stone and mortar of social reconstruction.

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POLICE ON STRIKE

The strike epidemic in India at the present day is so virulent that no class of people can be considered immune from it. The turn has now come to the members of the police force who always stood for law and discipline, and whose office it was to restore order after the chaos of other people's strikes. Now the policemen themselves are creating chaos, to the great delight of the criminal underworld. The lead was given from Delhi where unpleasant scenes occurred under the very gaze of the sedate Central Assembly. Lesser towns followed suit. Among the Provinces Bihar seems to be the one most affected. Patna, Monghyr, Bhagalpur, all have seen their police marching in close array not to enforce discipline but to break it. The newly installed Congress ministers of Bihar, who not many months ago were the prisoners of these policemen, are now witnessing a strange reversal of roles. They had striven against the police which represented authority; now they have to represent authority and teach the police what submission to authority means.

Justice in Strikes

India had since 1920 the reputation of being an efficient police-state. That reputation is now crumbling. Evidently the police too have just rights; their duty of maintaining justice does not mean that justice should be denied them. But justice has a top-ceiling somewhere. A foolhardy attempt to knock against it will only end in the breaking of one's own head. The Delhi policemen struck work to demand an increase of wages from Rs. 22 to Rs. 44. Perhaps that demand was just. The Patna policemen would go much farther than their Delhi brethren; they demand an increase to Rs. 100 with free quarters for their families and free education for their children.

When is a strike justifiable? According to most strike organizers in India it would seem that only two conditions are necessary: some chances of a successful showdown, and the certainty that the leaders will escape with impunity. The strike mentality needs a radical cure. No country can progress with public services continually in chaos. India at the present time, with the people facing starvation and the leaders engrossed in politics, is the last country that can afford the expensive luxury of needless strikes.

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EXAM HALL WALK-OUT

Staging spectacular walk-outs in the midst of weighty discussions has been a familiar scene in the Provincial Legislative Assemblies, notably in the Punjab. Graduate students of Calcutta seem to have taken their cue from the M.L.A.'s. On April 6th B.Sc. students had assembled in the University examination centre of Darbhanga Buildings, Senate Hall and Asutosh Buildings to answer the II Paper in Physics. After the question papers had been distributed, one of the students —a "leader" evidently—found that the paper was too difficult for his scant knowledge of the subject. Word was quickly passed round among the other examinees; and the surprised invigilators saw the students rise in a body. A walk-out had been decided upon. And in order to make it more spectacular, the students smashed up a good deal of the Examination Hall furniture, shouted 'Jai Hind' with lusty voices, and rushed pell mell out of the hall.

We wonder how the slogan 'Jai Hind' is connected with this unruly demonstration of ignorance. Victory to Hindusthan will never be won by this class of ill-disciplined intellectuals. They had neglected their duty during the year; they had learnt more of Chittagong arson case and Howrah mob violence than of the laws of physics; their days had been spent in marching behind revolutionary flags. The Vice-Chancellor instituted an inquiry immediately. Professors, paper-setters, and moderators all unanimously declared that the paper was quite within the appointed syllabus and not above the standard of previous years. The examination had been conducted peacefully in all other centres. The Vice-Chancellor has rightly condemned the behaviour of the students in the University Examination centre. He said: "Indiscipline of this nature must cease. It not only brings discredit to the students, but reacts against their best interests." We hope that the University will for once take a firm stand and make the students feel the rigour of the law.

STRAWS IN THE WIND

FURTHER REPRESSION IN TRAVANCORE

A FORTNIGHT back appeared in **The Herald** a report of the new law in Travancore on three places of worship and of the stringent orders served on three Catholic leaders restricting their civil liberties. The reporter expressed surprise and regret that no voice of protest had been raised in the Catholic papers of Travancore about this new display of fascist autocracy. We have commented on several previous occasions on the rigid press censorship and other unjustifiable excesses of the government of Travancore. Lord Acton said truly : "All powers corrupt and absolute powers corrupt absolutely." Recent political developments in India have helped to push the astute Dewan of Travancore into the limelight of uncritical eulogy and to strengthen his absolutism. He has contacted the Cabinet Mission on behalf of the Native State of India and has thereby been rocketed into fame. He has put forward laudable and much-advertised five-point programme for the status of princely India in the New Constitution. His forthright condemnation of the Pakistan theory has pleased all who hate the vivisection of India. And what is more, he has won golden opinions from nationalities at large by giving for I.N.A. rellief, a princely donation of Rs. 10,000 from his 'private' funds. Money is power in India of to-day. Are the Catholics of Travancore in a positnon to emulate the munificence of their Dewan ? If not, they bemoan in vain the extinction of their schools, the laws against their places of worship, the imprisonment of their leaders, silencing of their press, the ban on their meetings and processions, the calumnious campaign against them in the secular press, and the hundred other devices of an intolerable persecution.

And in Cochin Too

What is even more regrettable is that Sir C.P.'s anti-Christian policy which hitherto had been restricted to Travancore has now extended to the neighbouring Native State of Cochin. On April 6th. the Government of Cochin brought the naked might of executive law to bear on three of the outstanding Catholic leaders who had been the spearhead of the Catholic resistance movement. The only charge against them presumably is that they used to speak in public and write in the press pleading for their persecuted co-religionists of Travancore. Mr. Cherian Manjooran L. L. B. was arrested and taken into custody in the Viyyur Central Jail. Mr. M. O. Joseph, a Travancorean, who for the past fifteen years had settled in Cochin, was ordered to leave the State within twenty-four hours. And Mr. M. M. Varkey has been forbidden ever to speak or write about the burning question for the Catholics, the Travancore education policy : Thus the Cochin Government, apparently under the pressure of its neighbour, has in one day deprived the Catholics of three of their foremost defenders ; it imprisoned one, exiled another and silenced a third. Such action could not go without protest from the people who have a sense of justice. Not long after, Mr. Govinda Menon, Panampilly, a member of the Cochin Legislative Assembly, gave notice for an adjournment motion in the Assembly to discuss these government orders. The Chief Secretary objected to the motion arguing that it would rouse criticism of neighbouring government and create "bad blood." And the President of the Assembly obsequiously ruled out the motion. Govinda Menon had to submit ; but he registered his protest in a scathing criticism of the highhandedness of the executive and its unjustifiable incursion on the civil liberties of law-abiding citizens Following this statement he walked out of the Assembly along with eleven members of the People's Party.

Whither is all this repression and Stalinism leading ? India is getting ready for a new Constitution, which, we are told, would ensure freedom for its people and protect the rights of minorities. Travancore and Cochin are setting up an ignoble precedent as to how the rights of minorities are to be secured.

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WHITHER INDIA?

The Cabinet Mission is in Delhi, and all India is on the tiptoe of expectation. Will this Mission too turn out a failure as others in times gone by ?But there seems to be more good will on the part of the British than ever before. Mr. Attlee's concession that an intransigent minority should not any more block the way of progress was indeed a new departure.

The British politician who saddled India with communal electorates had said with a touch of realism; "We are sowing dragon's teeth. The harvest will be bitter." The harvest has indeed been more bitter than the worst enemies of India could wish. The sorry parody of an election in the midst of bnereaucratic corruption and unchecked hooliganism has raised communal hostility to a feverish pitch. The Convention of Muslim League Legislators in Delhi has cast a lurid glow of light on the dark mystery of the Pakistan. We are solemnly assured that if Pakistan is not granted there will be civil war and bloodshed all over the country. The horrors of the League revolution, we are told, will throw into the shade all that India experienced under its Mohammedan conquerors of old. One legislator announced that his people had governed the country for a thousand years, and will not now submit to being governed. Another threatened that if neither the British nor the Hindus would grant them Pakistan, then Russia would be their ally.

League Intransigence

The nebulous boundaries of the proposed Pakistan seem to be ever widening. Pakistan, according to Mr. Jinnah should include not only four Provinces in the West and two in the East, but also a neutral corridor cutting right across the Hindu State of Central India. It is strange that Mr. Jinnah does not realize the irony of the situation. He has no majority in the Punjab which he proposes as corner stone of Pakistan. North Western Frontier Province is by a strong majority against him. His hold on Sind depends on the good will of three Englishmen. In Assam he can claim no strong foothold. In Bengal, the existence of his ministry cannot but be precarious. And in the neutral corridor not a single voice will extend to him a friendly greeting.

But all this will not change the unbending attitude of Mr. Mohammed Ali Jinnah. He has lately proclaimed that he is not an Indian. He is a man without a country and looks for one that is to be. But he has laid down his terms and and is in no mood to compromise. Ever since 1939 when the cry of Pakistan was raised, the Congress has been making concession. The Sapru Committee has equalised 90 millions of Muslims to 240 million Hindus. The C. R. formula offers even more. Intransigence seems to win in power politics. Hitler did win quite a lot until the bubble of his ambition burst. Stalin is every day winning more and more from his invertebrate allies. Mr. Jinnah can find in these dictators a tempting precedent.

And Communal Hatred

One is afraid even to imagine what will be the fate of the smaller minorities like the Christians if Pakistan hardens into a reality. From Pakistan states the Christians may expect no kinder treatment than from the Muslim states of Western Asia which once completely wiped out flourishing communities of early Christians. Tippu Sultan and Seringapatam area lasting memory for the Catholics of South Kanara. Once Pakistan is fomed Hindustan might by an inevitable reaction turn into a Ramraj. When strong factions fight each other with tooth and nail, and the Hindus in Pakistan and the Muslims in Hindustan begin to be regarded as hostages to ensure justice for their respective groups, a small group which has neither voice nor power must necessarily suffer outrages from both the larger groups. Harmonious co-operation between the different elements of society and united endeavour for reconstruction will be at an end. An era of peace will yield to an era of perpetual internecine conflicts. But may wiser counsels prevail!

STRAWS IN THE WIND

PERSECUTION IN TRAVANCORE

NEWS about Travancore leaks out with difficulty through the heavy iron curtain that surrounds that country. And the little that leaks out is of an ever more alarming nature. After the arrest of two prominent Catholic leaders and the banning of the *Malabar Mail* last December, there was a temporary lull in the orgy of persecution. And those who are ever optimistic interpreted it as the long expected dawn of peace and justice.

But recent events have been a sad disillusionment. The pilgrimage which the Travancore Catholics had planned has been banned by the Government. His Excellency Mgr. Tharayil, the Coadjutor Bishop of Kottayam, has been served with a prohibition order against organizing, leading or taking part in any pilgrimage for a month. Leading members of the clergy and laity who had already left their places were stopped on the way by agents of the police and obliged to turn back. And this concerted action against the Catholic pilgrimage has been taken at a season when the Hindus in the State are holding their annual pilgrimage to Sabari Mala with unprecedented pomp. No one can now pretend that there is no religious discrimination in the Hindu State of Travancore. More and more of prominent Catholic laymen are being served with detention orders which prevent them from speaking in public or writing for the press. The press censorship has become so rigid that newspapers can not raise the faintest voice of criticism against the misdemeanours of the persecuting government. Meanwhile the government shows no signs of yielding in its unsound scheme of nationalizing primary education. A recent press note announces that all private primary schools in three Taluks of Travancore lose their recognition from this June.

For Free India

At the present time when the whole nation is painfully at grips with communal discord, and the forces at work to disrupt the unity of India are many, it is far from agreeable for a small minority community to speak of its fundamental rights being trampled upon. In order to promote communal peace and to avoid the unjust suspicion of sabotaging the national effort for unity, the victimized would willingly resign themselves to a self-imposed silence, if that were possible. But when a ruthless dictator takes unfair advantage of this silence and adds still more to the insupportable burden of iniquities, one cannot but cry that it is past endurance.

However, in spite of all that Sir C. P. and his satellites are doing, we are confident that the Christians in this country will not be dragged into the camp of India's vivisectionists. As the Indian Christian contributor "Amoht" wrote in *The Statesman* of March 26th: "The Christians do not want a Christianstan and they are willing to accept a majority rule based on democratic principles and religious tolerance. The same view has been recently expressed by another Indian Christian leader, Raja Sir Mahraj Singh, that his community as a whole prefers a united to a divided India, subject to the grant of statutory protection to all religious minorities including the right to practise and preach their religion."

What is happening in Travancore today is the exact reverse of what Christians and all who respect justice look for in a free and democratic India.

INDIAN MICA INDUSTRY

The Rege Committee Report on the Indian Mica Industry has brought to light a doleful tale of "exploitation" and "lawlessness," But for the cumulative force of a great deal of factual evidence one would have thought that such gross injustice against the poor is impossible in any country in the present century. Labour laws are being openly defied. Conditions in and about the mines are most deplorable. Wages, especially of the splitters, are according to the Report perhaps the lowest in the world. The employers carry on their infamous trade with impunity since the mica mines are in forest areas far from civilization. The workers live in malaria infested jungles, inaccessible by proper roads or transport. They have to walk several miles to and from their homes, often in complete darkness. The dirty pondwater which they have to drink breeds all manner of disease; and there are no hospital facilities. The mines are dark, unhealthy, damp, illventilated, and often as deep as coal mines. The shafts are narrow, and there are no lifts. Workers climb up and down by wooden ladders, and injuries due to falls are not infrequent. With such scant respect for justice towards the workers and such poor wages, it is not surprising that the mine owners and middlemen secure enormous profits.

India holds a certain degree of monopoly in the mica trade. Nearly three-fourths of the total world production of mica comes from the mines in India. The Hazaribagh belt in Bihar alone supplies over 80 per cent of the world's requirements of the better quality sheet mica. As a light and efficient insulator mica is indispensable for various kinds of electrical appliances. At present about 2½ lakhs of workers are employed directly or indirectly in the mica industry; and 5 lakhs of people more are dependent on them for their livelihood. The workmen are too illiterate to perceive the necessity of organization, or to agitate for their rights. It is deplorable that so important an industry and one that brings such profits to the monopolists should thrive in utter disregard of the rights of the poor.

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STATE FARMING IN SOUTH INDIA

Private profiteering and unchecked competition are certainly an unmitigated curse. And there are some who think that nationalization of all enterprises is a remedy for it. We wish that the hawkers of this panacea were present in the visitors' gallery of the Cochin Legislative Assembly on April 10th. Cochin is a "progressive" Native State; in point of literacy it stands head and shoulders over the rest of India. But we fear that in attempting the "sovietized" vegetable farm of Nelliampathi the State has been rather over-progressive. We do not know what reasons induced the government to embark on this scheme. Was it an implicit faith in the tall statistics of Comrade Stalin's farming adventures? If so, the Cochin State can console itself as being not the first to be misled by Russian propaganda. Russia advertized how many thousands of tons of wheat were harvested from the state farms; but did not advertize how many millions of roubles were spent to produce that wheat, and how many millions of lives perished through famine in the course of the experiment. The vegetable farm adventure of Cochin has been hitherto a lamentable drain for public money. In the Legislative Assembly a few uncomfortable questions were put to the Hon. Minister about this heavy financial loss. The Minister tried to explain by throwing the blame on the first manager who was paid only Rs. 250 per month. A new manager has now been appointed on an enhanced salary of Rs. 750 a month plus car allowance and house rent; and the government hopes thereby to make the farm a profitable concern. On further questioning, the Govt. spokesman avowed that this new manager had been in charge all along, but that his recommendations were not carried out. On reading through the press reports, one gets the impression that the State vegetable farm is a puzzle wrapt in a mystery; and the only clear fact about it is the drain on the exchequer. One M.L.A., Mr. Chelur, asked quite logically: "If the loss will turn to profit by appointing a Rs. 750 man for a 250 one, will not far more huge profit come by appointing a man on Rs. 1,500?" The reports do not say what answer Mr. Chelur received from the ruffled Government spokesman.

STRAWS IN THE WIND

JESUIT COLLEGE MALIGNED

THE *Indian Social Reformer* of Bombay has established a new record for journalistic calumny through its recently published article on a Catholic institution in India. Catholics in India know St. Mary's College, Kurseong, as the theological faculty of the Jesuits, a place of earnest work and silent prayer, where Jesuit Scholastics prepare themselves for the priesthood. The *Reformer* has published a description of it which is apt to scare any nationalist in India who does not know that worthy journal's propensity for fantastic lies.

Serious Charges

The readers are informed with ridiculous solemnity that St. Mary's is the place where Jesuits are being trained in the use of firearms and other weapons of war by British army officials who regularly visit the place. It is thus that these scheming militarists are preparing to conquer India for Christ. Evidently India should be on its guard. It is not Feroz Khan Noon and the Muslim Leaguers, but the notorious Jesuits who would make India experience once again the atrocities of the Ghengis Khan days. The writer then goes on to plead earnestly that the Jesuits should abandon such methods since they are contrary to the spirit of the Gospel. The only shadow of truth in this charge is that a certain number of lay people, not all British, nor all soldiers, have resided in the Jesuit house from time to time to make a closed retreat under the direction of the Fathers.

Another charge against the college is that all its inmates, Indians as well as Westerners, are sworn enemies of the freedom of India; and if they cannot prevent India becoming free, they would rather prefer to see the country divided into Pakistan and Hindustan. But it requires no deep thinking to see that no one has greater reason to dread the division of India into Hindu and Muslim states than the small religious minorities like the Christians. Does the *Reformer* want its readers to believe that the Jesuits are suicidal maniacs to wish for a Muslim stronghold in India where religious tolerance will be unknown? None but hard-boiled imperialists would wish to perpetuate the subjection of India to a foreign yoke; and a Jesuit College usually contains people who are too sane to belong to that class. All would like to see India free; but the Christians certainly dread the possibility of a divided India which would reenact the horrors of penal times.

There are several other charges which the *Reformer* brings against the Jesuit College—that it has a rule which excludes all Indians from its staff, that it is a place of unmitigated Western domination, and so on and so on. These lies are too despicable to need an answer. The article raises a scare that Italians and Germans recently released from camp are going to start a similar college in Poona, "to teach a Fascist Christianity." It would appear from the tone of the article that a free India has no greater danger to fear than these two Jesuit Colleges of Kurseong and Poona. The writer concludes his grotesque piece of hatemongering by earnestly begging the future government of India to wipe away such anti-national institutions.

Hate-Mongering

Religious fanaticism and rankling hatred cannot reach worse depths than is evidenced in this bizarre specimen of shamefaced lying. It was indeed a *tour-de-force* of monstrous imagination to change a place of silent, laborious scholarship into a hot-bed of anti-patriotic corruption, a breeding ground for revolutionaries, a fifth column for imperialism. There is not a single true statement in that long article which defaces a column and a half of the *Reformer*. But we are not surprised that such articles appear in that illustrious paper. It has been notorious in the past for attacks on Christians, and on Catholics in particular, on every conceivable occasion. On the Sophia College case and the Travancore Educational Question it was an earnest propagandist for religious intolerance and open persecution. Fervid nationalism is apt to make certain ill-balanced minds blind to elementary notions of truth and right. The anonymous writer who has mendaciously signed himself as "A Christian lover of Hinduism" and the paper which has aired before the public his freaks of imagination probably act on the belief that if one slings enough mud something will stick. But let them know that mud of this type has an uncanny way of falling back on the face of those who sling it.

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FREEDOM FOR CEYLON

An impression is gaining ground in many quarters that the Labour Government of Great Britain is sincerely intent on liquidating the highly centralized empire and granting certain fundamental rights to subject races. Recent gestures towards India have been variously interpreted by the Indian and world press; but perhaps time has yet to show which is the correct interpretation. Meanwhile the neighbouring "Crown Colony" of Ceylon is also preparing for what it believes to be an era of freedom. The new constitution of Ceylon is based upon the Soulbury Report which was drawn up by an all-White Commission. Though territorially small Ceylon is of great strategic importance in any scheme for the defence of India, and hence Indians cannot afford to ignore some of the interesting clauses in Ceylon's new constitution. As usual in British colonies, defence and external affairs are exclusively the Governor's concern; because, says the Constitution, "the Governor—General's powers in a



nce matter of importance should not circumscribed by the necessity to obn the concurrence of his ministers". he ministers will be chosen from a lower chamber elected on the basis of universal adult suffrage. There will be a second chamber of which half will be elected by indirect election. The purpose of this chamber is to "fill the gap created by the diminution of the powers of the Governor." There is a wide range of bills which the Governor may "reserve for the significance of His Majesty's pleasure." These bills include defence, currency, foreign relations, and also "any bill whereby the rights and property of British subjects residing in Ceylon may be prejudiced." This clause is of extreme importance since for 80% of the tea plantations and 60% of the rubber plantations, all the banking and almost all the foreign trade are owned by Britishers and other non-Ceylonese.

Of Ceylon's 6½ million population, 65% are Singhalese, 20% are Tamils or "Indians" and the rest are Europeans, Moors, etc. The Ceylon National Congress of the Singhalese accepted the Soulbury Constitution, since the other alternative was communal electorates with weightage for the minorities. That would evidently have weakened the dominant position of the majority in the country. Mr. Senanayake, Leader of the Ceylon National Congress said last October: "Every one knows that it is the Tamil and Indian people who mostly stand in the way of making our Constitution a free one. If any attempts are made to mislead the people by saying that justice should be done to these people, it is our duty to be careful of any such thing."

Is Mr. Senanayake openly denying the rights of minorities for a just treatment? The magic word democracy has no intrinsic value unless it is linked with justice. It is the age-old policy of aliens in power to divide and rule. If Ceylon too succumbs to that policy, the future will not be happy for that country or for her neighbour India either. Democracy and freedom thrive in an atmosphere of justice to all and united efforts by all; they are stifled where mutual distrust and communal hatred are rife.

VATICAN ATTACKED

ONE of Calcutta's popular nationalist dailies has whipped itself into an unholy indignation against the Vatican and the reason is that it came to hear recently from a Reuters' Report about a Vatican broadcast on the persecution of Catholics in Sovietized Poland and Germany. The editorial column of April 30th observes: "The Vatican's belated appearance on the stage in the role of a Soviet-baiter will hardly impress any impartial observer of world events." In the first place we would remark that it is bad journalism to call names before being sure of one's facts. Only colossal ignorance of Vatican and its policy can explain the mischief of those who rank the Vatican radio along with the loud-mouthed propaganda machines of the "great powers". The only voice that stands for unimpeachable truth in the present world, riddled with false propaganda, is that of the Vatican. The Vatican has been exposing the Russian atrocities to the truth seeking public of all nations ever since 1921 when atheistic Communism launched its diabolic attack on the Christian religion. But such has been the force of Russian propaganda that flooded the world and the gullibility of those who swam in it, that a quarter of a century later, when the Reuters' agency begins for the first time to quote a few of the Vatican broadcasts, our worthy Calcutta paper feigns astonishment at the "belated appearance" of a "Soviet-baiter," and informs its readers that the Vatican broadcasts are "very much at variance with non-Catholic eyewitness accounts published by reliable and known pressmen."

Inside Blacked Out Russia

We wonder who these "reliable and known pressmen" are. The *Reader's Digest* not long ago carried an article on Moscow being the only window through which pressmen can view the vast network of Soviet occupation. All Allied pressmen are centred in the capital, watched over by the lynx-eyed censors of the Kremlin; and no report goes out unless it is shorn of all that might shed the least light on the workings of Russian tyranny. Who does not know the iron-curtain that separates the Soviet zones from the rest of Europe? Churchill once aptly called Russia "a riddle wrapt in a mystery inside an enigma." Persecution of Catholics in Poland and Eastern Germany is the greatest tragedy of the present day. Our contemporary in Calcutta may cry itself hoarse along with *People's Age* and *Indo-Soviet Journal* that the Communists are the gentlest and most tolerant of humans. But the blood of martyred millions cries to heaven, and its voice will not be silenced. The Catholic Church today is passing through a period that rivals in heroism the ages of Imperial Rome and Elizabethan England. The amphitheatre, the rack and the scaffold have been replaced by concentration camps, incendiary bombs and death chambers. Persecution today may be less spectacular; but it is more ruthless and counts many times more victims.

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ABOUT RICKSHAWS

The move to abolish rickshaws from our towns and cities is one that should elicit the whole-hearted approval of the public. China has given the lead and has passed some drastic resolutions to diminish progressively but no less effectively the number of rickshaw-pullers in that country. Within three years, it is reported, all the rickshaws in China will disappear. India does not wish to lag behind other eastern countries, and so it has been a laudable gesture on the part of the Government of India to bring out a 61 page Report on the rickshaw-pullers' trade.

But it is to be feared that like most Government sponsored Reports, the number of which is legion, the present one also will serve no nobler purpose than that of adorning library shelves and filling newspaper columns, and incidentally also of diverting public money into the purses of Report-makers. Drawing up of Reports is a pleasant enough job for highly placed officials whose routine work of placing signatures on papers leaves them ample leisure. The job is also richly remunerative; and that perhaps explains the plethora of Reports the public has been blessed with in recent times. There is no dearth of planning: what is signally lacking is execution.

A Blot on Society

The present Report asserts in many words the truism that rickshaw pulling is derogatory to man's dignity. No one would question that truth. It is indeed revolting to most decent folk to see a weak fellow-being who is mere skin and bones, dragging with painful effort a 250 pound mass of lethargy cradled in cushions. The health of the upper middle class would show considerable improvement if they shed their love of being dragged along, and took to walking on their legs. Love of the rickshaw is not a weakness exclusively of the wealthy oriental. Calcutta streets are familiar with the highly incongruous spectacle of heavy specimens of British and American soldiery being dragged along by humans who look pitifully tiny beside them.

The rickshaw is a blot on civilized society, and the sooner it disappears, the better it is. The Report referred to above would wish to see rickshaws driven by motor cycles. Since such Utopianism is not immediately feasible, would the authorities blandly put in cold storage the other recommendations of the Report? The Bangalore Cantonment Munici-

panty has set an example in abolishing these superannuated parambulators. The Cantonment area has at present 300 single rickshaws and 100 double rickshaws. As proposed by Mr. J. M. Green, Commissioner of Police, licences of half this number will be discontinued in March '47, and of the remaining half in March '48. But it is to be hoped that the reforming Municipality would take measures to provide honourable employment to the men who will be deprived of their rickshaw pulling. Reform is necessary, but it should be such as to improve, not worsen, the lot of the poor rickshaw pullers.

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PERFECTIONISM

A bill is to be introduced in the Central Assembly for the decimalization of coinage in India. Several months ago when the question first began to claim public attention we published a note in these columns expressing cordial welcome to the proposal. Since then much water has flown through the Ganges and varying views have appeared in the press, mostly of approval, and a few of disapproval. One argument often brought forward against decimalization of coinage is that unless the weights and measures are also standardized in multiples and submultiples of ten, it would make confusion worse confounded. "Whole cake or nothing at all" is the attitude of these perfectionists who inveigh against partial reforms. The whole of India has at present a common standard of barter in the rupee, though in its fractions many native states have their own vagaries. The difficulties against introducing the decimal system for the rupees are not insurmountable. Not so when one attempts to apply the same system to weights and measures. Each Province and linguistic area has its own units; liquid measure is not the same as solid measure; milk, water, oil, and native medicines all have their different units Unmitigated chaos reigns among the innumerable units used by the people for weights and measures; and being illiterate they would not easily be persuaded to discard their traditional ways. Nothing short of a miracle, we believe, will bring order into the chaos of rooted customs. Reform in weights and measures is a consummation devoutly to be wished for; but let not partial reforms be condemned because total reform cannot be had immediately.

FREEDOM UNDER GOD BY FULTON J. SHEEN. Pp 305. Patna: The Catholic Book Crusade. 1945. Price Rs. 3-8.

"Freedom under God" is a collection of thirteen brilliant essays by Fulton J. Sheen on various aspects of that much abused word Freedom. Freedom is the defined goal towards which humanity gropes after the cataclysm of the most devastating war in history. The word has occurred continually in newspaper headlines, radio broadcasts, and election speeches. It has been worn threadbare by continual usage; and the reality which it signifies has become very tenuous indeed, thanks to the power politics of the post-war world. Roosevelt enunciated the historic Four Freedoms; and the heads of victorious nations have promised the four F's to all peoples and classes. The four F's have been replaced, wrote a U.S. journalist, by the four G's—Greed, Grab, Gold and Gain. Freedom as understood by the world of power-politics means little more than freedom to crush the weak. For the poor man it means freedom to starve. For the Capitalists it is freedom to exploit the poor. For the Dictators it is freedom to treat men as chattels and beasts of burden.

There is no time like the present when the notion of freedom needs to be correctly understood. There are too many powerful agents of evil in the world who try to distort freedom to mean slavery. Freedom is man's birthright; and we do not want it to be exchanged for a sovereign blueprint neatly tied up in red tape. The stifling of individual initiative by an all powerful superman, the state or the dictator,—call it State Capitalism or Dictatorship of the Proletariat—is the negation of freedom. Nor is freedom secure under the *laissez—faire* policy of economic liberalism. It should be the effort of statesmen to arrive at the correct mean between dangerous

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extremes; and the correct mean is not a freedom that would leave each man his supreme master; it is freedom under God.

Fulton Sheen discusses in his book all the burning problems of the day in his characteristically gripping style, with trenchant logic and a bracing width of vision. It is refreshing to turn to these lucid pages from the miasma of current journalese and political propaganda. The problems are discussed against the background of U.S.A., but they are problems which affect India no less than U.S.A. Freedom is the loudest word in India at present; and it means primarily freedom from the foreign rule. But all efforts to be rid of the foreign rule will have been made in vain if the country is to be precipitated from one slavery into another of a more painful and humiliating type.

"Freedom under God" was first published by The Bruce Publication Company, Milwaukee, U.S.A. Its republication in India at a far lower cost is thanks to the enterprise of the Catholic Book Crusade, Patna.

M. T.

STRAWS IN THE WIND

COMMUNISTS IN THE ELECTIONS

THE signal defeat of the Communists in the recent elections is sufficient proof that their barking power is far in excess of their biting capacity. It is clear from the Election Supplements of *People's Age* that Communist candidates had been put up in scores of constituencies. But the polling threw them out by a landslide. Most of them lost their deposits and the few that came out successful did so by a narrow margin. The one exception to this general rule is the Darjeeling Tea Gardens constituency. The Communist candidate, Rattanlal Brahman polled 1,113 votes; he was opposed by two candidates, one Congress and the other Independent, who polled 76 and 126 votes respectively and lost their deposits. In Madras Railway Trade Union, too, the Communists scored a success of which they boast loudly; their candidate, K. A. Nambiar, polled 12,974 votes, nearly 8,000 more than the opposing Congress candidate. These relatively remarkable successes are not however of great significance. The total number of Communist M.L.A.'s in the Provincial Legislative Assemblies is very small. There is one in the Orissa Assembly in a total of 56 members; there are two in Bombay in a total of 175, two in Madras in a total of 215, and three in Bengal in a total of 250. In the seven other Provincial Assemblies no Communist has secured a seat. Thus out of 1581 M.L.A.'s in the Provincial Assemblies of British India, only eight are Communists.

The Failure

Two reasons would explain this rather unexpected rout of the Communists. However strong may be the hold of the Communists on the students, the general public in India view with disfavour their anti-Congress and anti-national policy; and the indictment of the Congress Working Committee against the Communists had gone a long way in undermining their meagre prestige. Another reason is that the political issue before the country today is one of two alternatives: a united India or Pakistan. Very few are in a mood to listen to the compromise formula of the Communists. The elections have shown both the Congress and the League far stronger now than they were in 1937. Several of the minor parties which figured largely in the Provincial Assemblies of '37 to '39 have now shrunk considerably; others have totally disappeared. It should also be noted that the recent general elections were conducted in an atmosphere of unprecedented hooliganism and intimidation, and that the results cannot be considered to be a correct indication of public opinion in the country. The strength of the Communist Party of India is certainly far less than what one would surmise from its noisy demonstrations and blatant propaganda; but perhaps it is just to admit that the party is slightly stronger outside the Assemblies than within.

And The Partial Success

It is significant that seven out of the eight Communist M.L.A.'s have been returned from labour constituencies. The Railway Trade Unions of Madras. Bombay and Bengal are all represented by Communist M.L.A.'s. Also in Bombay Textile Trade Union and West Godavari Factory Labour the seats were captured by the C.P.I. candidate. The only general constituency in which the C.P.I. candidate was not defeated is that of the Scheduled Castes in Dinajpur, Bengal. One may note also that there is one Indian Christian M.L.A. for whose election the Communists take the credit. Mr. T. J. M. Wilson who represents the Northern Circar Indian Christian Constituency in Andhra, Madras, was an independent, but had the full support of the Communist Party. He polled 9,406 votes as against 5,841 polled by J. Samuel, the Congress nominee. These results are a sufficient indication as to where Communist activities are most concentrated. The Communists have captured leadership in the relatively limited labour circles where organization is compact and the Communist slogans are easily believed.

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THE FOOD SITUATION

The worsening food situation in the country is to all a cause of the deepest anxiety. Speeches are made, articles are written and commissions move to and fro. But the shipments of grain promised from surplus countries have not yet arrived, nor is there any sign of their arriving, at least not to any extent as would meet the needs of the country. The American Catholics made a splendid act of generous giving when they presented to India a valuable quantity of flour through the Archbishop of Bombay. This gift, we regret to say, did not receive in the press the notice it deserved. Shortly after occurred the dramatic and most unexpected gesture of the Food Member of the Government of India who refused the May allocation

from the U.N.O. as it fell far too short of what India needed and what was promised.

The deficit in food in India is reckoned in figures that would make one's head reel. The deficit areas have resolved to tighten the belt to such an extent as to be satisfied with a ration of 1400 calories a day, which is just half the normal requirements of the human body. But there is not food enough in the country even to keep up that bare minimum. According to official estimates, the need in the deficit areas is 346,000 tons of cereals in May, 315,000 tons in June and 441,000 tons in July. Of these only 300,000 tons may be expected from the U.N.O.; and time has yet to show how great will be the difference between what is expected and what will actually arrive in India.

Meanwhile the authorities are alive to the danger of a serious breakdown of the Government's rationing machinery. Last week's press note announced a further reduction of the daily ration and an extension of rationing to new areas. Food deficit areas are to be found in almost every part of India. According to Mr. Hoover who recently visited India, the following will be the deficit in various Provinces and States between May 1 and September 30: (in thousands of tons of cereals) Bombay, 330; Mysore, 114; Madras, 890; Travancore, 58; Cochin, 36; Deccan 119; U.P. 144; Behar, 93; Bengal, 302; Other Provinces, 250.

Fight on Two Fronts

Contrary to all that was published in the press a month ago, it is now certain that India's needs have not secured the deserved attention in the food councils of the U.N.O. authorities. Much less has there been any recognition of priority. There is too much evidence to show that the reverse is the case. The statement made by Sir Manilal Nanavati about the working of the Combined Food Board reveals a very disheartening reality. India had planned to wage its war against famine on two fronts: against maladministration within the country and against the indifference of surplus countries abroad. Facts have proved that not much success may be expected on the second front. But what about the first?

We quote the following paragraph from a responsible Bombay journal, not quite willing to admit the disagreeable truth of what it says, and yet unable to deny it. "Poverty has been worsened during the war by the 'efficient prosecution of the war.' In the name of the war a callous bureaucracy denuded the country of its available margin of food supplies. By virtue of the bunglings and muddlings, they landed the country in absolute confusion, in planless production and inefficient distribution. The vital problem of producing enough food for the people was overlooked by men put up to fight nationalism and enrich their own purses." Bunglings and muddlings there certainly were. The four million dead of Bengal are proof enough. But will they continue? Let us hope not.

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COMMUNIST JUSTICE

When the Communists reach the top of the heap anywhere truth and justice are the first casualties. At Scutari in Albania

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a trial was lately staged by the Russian controlled puppets who governed the country. The criminals were three members of the Society of Jesus. The charge against them was formidable—they were revolutionaries, enemies of the State, for they had started a "Fascist organization." And the proof was the statement of a villager: "I wanted to do propaganda work, and they would not listen to me." The public prosecution began its harangue with a first-rate howler: "Here you have before you, honourable judges, the Jesuit Minister of Foreign Affairs." He pointed to one of the priests whom the other Jesuits used, indeed, to call "Minister." In Jesuit houses the "Minister"—meaning in its original Latin, "one who serves"—is a title given to the person who has to look after the material concerns of the community. It was to this unpretentious official that the Communist Prosecutor gave the imposing title of "Minister of Foreign Affairs." Indeed, what else was needed to paint the Jesuit Organization as a fearful super-state? The howler served its purpose. The honourable judges gave the verdict: "Found guilty."

CHRISTIANITY REVIEWED IN THE CONTEXT OF PRESENT-DAY CONDITIONS IN INDIA

By M. Thekaekara, S.J.

THE problems of the Church in India are many. That of conversions is certainly not the least important of these. The Church in India is very old; there is at least one section of it that dates back to apostolic times. Missionary activity too in India is old; the pioneer of modern missionaries, St. Francis Xavier, had India as the chief field of his labours. Since his time hundreds of missionaries have come to this country. New missions have been opened. The hierarchy was established; the whole area of this sub-continent has been divided into dioceses and vicariates apostolic, and has been entrusted to numerous missionary organizations. And yet the progress made is tragically insignificant.

Even after so long a period only four out of the four hundred millions of India are Catholic. And of those four millions, by far the greater part is confined to a narrow strip of land along the West Coast.

The populous Indo-Gangetic plain, here many political conquerors have succeeded one another, has consistently withstood the religious conquest of Christendom. That strange complex of caste prejudices and social conventions, popularly called Hinduism, shows no sign of breakdown or change in spite of the continued witness of an historical, supernatural religion for twenty centuries. And not the slightest indentation has been made on Islam "the heresy," which once wiped out Christianity from its historic places of origin and which in India, though relatively a newcomer, counts many times more followers.

CHURCH DEPENDENT

Christianity in India is old in point of time; but in point of growth it is still in its infancy. Missionary personnel in India is largely foreign, and it is maintained in most places by funds from foreign lands. The Church cannot be said to be rooted in the soil of a country until it attains a degree of economic and administrative self-sufficiency.

CHURCH STRANGLED

The present does not permit one to be too sanguine about the future either. In an era of power-politics those who are weak go under; they have no voice and they are presumed to have no rights. Democracy without morality may turn easily into an instrument of oppression; it will be wielded by the majority for the exploitation and even extinction of the minorities. Modern persecutors need not resort to the spectacular devices of the amphitheatre and the wild beasts, the rack and the scaffold, not even of the lethal chamber. Economic discrimination and cultural strangulation are methods far more effective. Certain places in India have already begun to employ them.

Not merely the progress and development of the Catholic Church in India, even its continued existence, emphatically requires that it become a greater power in the land; it must grow in strength and effectiveness of expression.

JUST DEMANDS

It is not only immunity from persecutions or a grudging tolerance that we, as a minority, demand from the majority groups. Though few in number we have our human rights; and our human rights include also the religious rights. Our right to make known our religion to sincere inquirers and to receive them into our religion if they so desire, needs to be specially stressed at the present moment. Not that Catholics ever needed to be reminded of this plain fact.

But even among those best instructed there creeps in from time to time a

tendency to soft-pedal certain convictions either as a concession to circumstances or as a misguided long-term policy. Whatever other convictions we may soft-pedal, our right to propagate our religion is not one of them.

The two major religions of India have unhappily been confused with the two powerful political parties. The political struggle in India, whatever may be its inner springs—the jealousy of the bourgeoisie, the interference from the outside, or something else—is to all outward appearances sustained by religious antagonism. Hence attempts made by a minority group to increase its religious following becomes subject to a sinister interpretation as a bid for political power. This mistaken notion puts the majorities on their guard and makes them resist all attempts at conversion; while the minorities for the sake of communal peace and for safeguarding their economic and social rights grow resigned to sacrificing some of their religious rights.

It is significant that when a statement of fundamental rights was presented to the Sapru Conciliation Board by its Catholic member, the Board consented to incorporate into its final draft all economic and social rights, but discarded the clause legitimizing the right to make conversions. One of the Native States of Central India has recently passed a law imposing heavy penalties on missionaries and others who attempt to gain converts from Hinduism. The anti-Christian policy of the Dewan of Travancore is too well known to require a special mention here.

CHRISTIANITY NOT FOREIGN

The antagonism to Christianity among some of the leading spirits of India is further heightened by an unhappy identification of Christianity with the foreign power in this country. Many statements have appeared in the current daily press which prove that such a misconception is widely prevalent. In recent outbursts of mob-violence in Calcutta Christian places of worship have been attacked along with English firms. A correspondent in a Bombay daily wrote recently that Christianity tends to denationalize the Indian people. This charge is as baseless as it is fraught with grave consequences. While Catholics will be on their guard not to give any handle to such an accusation, they will see in this a new threat to the apostolic activity of the Church.

CHURCH'S MISSION

The apostolic activity of the Church is fundamental to her very being. Her bold assertion of being the only true religion and her unique claim to infallible teaching authority are unintelligible without an apostolic spirit. The Church is the eternal witness of truth; it is with this mission that she has been constituted. The command, "Go and teach ye all nations" continues to have the same binding force today as when it was first given. Missionary propaganda ever has been, and must ever remain an essential part of the saving programme of the Church. The Incarnation is the central fact in the history of the human race; the Church is the completion of that fact. The world needs Christ; India needs Christ: a Catholic can never waver in his conviction about this truth. The supernatural economy of grace and the social character of the Gospel message are not idle theological speculations; they are the most momentous facts in the present order of human existence. That a world imbued with false prejudices denies them does not justify those who know the truth in concealing it. The tenacity of false beliefs and cults and the fanaticism of false religions should only serve as an incentive to more energetic action. It is inevitable that the Church will be accused of undue interference, of proud arrogance, of narrow-mindedness.

She interferes because it is her God-given mission to do so; and her interference does not go beyond that of clearly asserting the truth. Her refusal to subscribe to the blind statement that all religions are equally good may appear as arrogance; but such arrogance is inseparable from respect for revealed truth. The Church's attitude appears as narrow-mindedness, because it is narrowed down to truth; truth is one, not many.

Missionary propaganda is a divinely imposed duty on the Church, and a duty of that sort carries with it the right to exercise it, a right which is more important than economic and social rights, and which no political exigency and no majority votes can take away.

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STRAWS IN THE WIND

THE CABINET MISSION

THE Cabinet Mission is fast approaching the end of its sojourn in India. It had seemed at one time that the mighty empire over which the sun never sets was about to be liquidated; and even the obdurate Mr. Churchill, his former glories vanished, was resigning himself to the inevitable. But such is the wonderful resilience of the empire that though dying, it still lives. The fates and the powers that be have concurred to give it a new lease of life. Though vanishing the empire cannot disappear. There is an interim government to be formed which contrary to all expectations is still not an Indian government. One group of executives is resigning to give place to another group. The former executives were unpopular; the new ones will be popular—but not in the sense of being of the people; they are the executives of the Viceroy.

Best Of A Bad Job

Perhaps it is not right to cast the blame on the Cabinet mission. Theirs was to fish for success where success seemed impossible. Over the seething cauldron of Delhi they sat through many patient evenings; but the bait did not catch. Then they moved to the peaceful lakes of Kashmir; and here, the reporters say, the bait did catch, but not as 10 Downing Street wanted. Back to Delhi, up to Simla, and then fresh attempts and long parleys, leading up to the same unhappy frustration. At last came the proposals of the Cabinet Mission, an attempt to make the best of a bad job, "a melancholy document" as Mr. Churchill called it. Mr. Churchill is wroth about it because it intends to give more than Dominion Status and the tutelage under Great Britain. The Indian people are wroth about it because it does not *give* independence. One point the National Congress had made absolutely clear in its demands, and that was that the Interim Government should be that of a free country, enjoying full powers. Most of the other demands of the Congress have been met with in the "melancholy document", but not this basic demand.

Meandering Maze

Morning Standard, a pro-Congress daily of Bombay has characterized the Cabinet Mission's proposals as "a meandering maze, without direction, without finality and full of pitfalls. It leads neither to Pakistan not to a united India, neither to peace nor to democracy." In fact the pitfalls are many and only too evident to the wary reader. A Union Centre which controls defence, foreign affairs and transport is indeed a strict necessity in wartime; but in peacetime it is at best cumbersome. Poverty of the masses is the crying evil of the land, and economic development the most urgent need. Planning, customs and currency are subjects vital to reconstruction in peacetime, though in the miasma of these postwar days their importance is not easily recognized. The groups A.B.C. and the unnumbered Native States, each pulling in its own way, in opposite directions, and with conflicting interests, will make of India a knotty economic problem, ever incapable of extricating itself from the maze of red tape.

Princedom And Pitfalls

The position of the Native States in the proposals is most disconcertingly vague. The 93 million peoples of Princely India see no prospect of being freed from the unchecked autocracy that now holds them in chains. The "Negotiating Committee" will be a creation of the Princes, and will be used by them as a prop to tottering privileges. Mr. C. J. Varkey said at the Bombay Youth Conference: "When the Congress is well seated in British India, then there will be no room in Indian States for men of the type of Diocletian and Nero, Calles and Hitler, and my friend Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer." Indeed, it would have been so if the Congress plan of a strong centralized and united India had materialized. According to the present nebulous scheme, each prince in his realm is the monarch of all he surveys, and no power on earth can check his vagaries, except he meddles in foreign affairs and starts on the war path.

The provision that no major communal issue may be decided except with majority votes from both groups is another sore point. It seems as if every communal question will flounder on this provision and that no decision will ever be reached. Constitution-makers will find themselves at every turn in a cul-de-sac unless they carry with them a great stock of the spirit of compromise, of which unhappily they have too little at present. The same difficulty will be experienced by the Minorities' Commission, which has to protect the rights of the small groups like the Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians, tribal groups, etc. It has too many heterogeneous subjects to advise about and no voice in the decisions.

A Changed Attitude

Politics is an unpleasant game if played in a spirit of bargaining and suspicious hostility. The deadlocks of the U.N.O. Councils are a close parallel to the deadlocks in India and rise from similar causes. What politicians and leaders of

the people need is a strong dose of the spirit of justice and fair play, and less of the attitude which Russia brings to the councils of the great powers. The Cabinet Mission is, we believe, less than satisfied with the success they have achieved. And those who criticize them most will be gracious enough to admit that the fault was not theirs.

Pope Pius XII wrote in his encyclical "Summi Pontificatus": "From the immense vortex of error and anti-Christian movements there has come forth a crop of such poignant disasters as to constitute a condemnation far surpassing in its conclusiveness any merely theoretical refutation." This might sound an irrelevant truism. But if sufficiently pondered on, it will be seen to point out the only sure way out of the unhappy situation in India no less than in the world.

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STUDENT HOOLIGANISM

The vagaries of organized student bodies are becoming ever more exasperating. Bengal and Bihar used to be the worst offenders in this respect; and Madras had enjoyed a creditable reputation for comparatively better behaviour. An incident which occurred recently in Kumbakonam in Madras Province now seems to tilt the balance in favour of the northern Provinces. Some students having failed to qualify for promotion, removed the school records, burnt them in the street, damaged the school building and fled away before the police arrived. This type of hooliganism shows a woeful lack of discipline and augurs ill for the India of tomorrow when these same students, having more or less successfully crossed university hurdles, will take in their hands the reins of the government. The country expects healthy leadership from its educated classes. Rowdyism of the type frequently manifested by student organizations destroys the sense of authority, perverts all ideas of social order and propriety, prevents the students from applying themselves seriously to their foremost duty, namely, study, and militates against the best interests of the students themselves. Many a wrecked career may be traced back to an unwary lapse into organizations which the immaturity of early youth was too weak to resist. A heavy responsibility rests on students who organize these unwholesome cliques; and perhaps still heavier is the responsibility of parents, teachers, headmasters and principals, and of government authorities to watch and control such cliques. Student organizations while they can help to develop leadership and encourage co-operation, may, and often do deteriorate into a social menace. Let the remedy be applied before it is too late.

STRAWS IN THE WIND

UNITY AND ORGANIZATION

CHEVALIER C. J. Varkey's presidential address at the Bombay Youth Conference is one that deserves to be carefully pondered over. It brought to the surface many complex problems; it posed many uncomfortable questions. The speech was apt to shake every passive spectator from his snug security; and is it an exaggeration to say that we needed such a shaking? There is perhaps ingrained in us too much of that optimism of Poet Browning: "God is in His heaven and all is right with the world." But the children of this world are wiser in their generation; and it is high time we realized that we are living on the edge of a precipice. There is no need to play the role of a Cassandra; one has only to look round oneself and view the impending political and social changes in the country and the lack of preparedness in one's own community.

Said Mr. C. J. Varkey: "While we Catholics, unlike any other religious body or community under the sun, possess a wonderfully complete unity of Faith in the Catholic Religion and an astonishingly perfect organization throughout the world in the Catholic Church, we are in actual practical life, completely lacking in unity and organization." We certainly value our unity of faith above all else; but does not its very preservation under modern conditions of life demand a unity in a lower, a material plane? To underestimate the need of unity in social and political action would be suicidal in an age when power politics rules the world, when forces of evil are so disastrously efficient in their action, when a so-called democracy bereft of moral principles tends to crush under its heels all groups which, because disunited, lack voice and power. A forcible object lesson is provided by the fate of many Catholic countries where, though devout Catholics are a majority, the reins of government are held by atheists, materialists and Communists. Why Catholicism in the twentieth century is so easy a target for persecutions is a question which all Catholics might ask with profit.

Difficult To Achieve

Unity and organization are always difficult of achievement. Most of the underhand means which would be used by unscrupulous party caucuses are taboo for us Catholics who respect the moral law. Our political game is always played with cards above board. On the other hand it is but sheer realism to confess that among us Catholics of India, the forces of disruption and disunity are many. Brought into the unity of the faith at various times, belonging to different rites, widely varying in cultural and economic levels, speaking many languages having a hierarchy which represents almost every religious order of the Church and every nation of the world, we, four million Catholics of India, can show a diversity in variety which rivals that of the four hundred million Catholics of the world. This certainly preserves us from becoming a narrow communal clique, but does not contribute appreciably to our taking part in the national life of the country as a compact, united group. Mr. C. J. Varkey had, we believe, this problem in mind when he addressed the Youth Conference of Bombay as follows: "This Conference or this Youth Movement will be rendering the greatest service to the community, if it would tackle this problem in a practical and effective manner, so as to succeed in making the centripetal forces triumph over the centrifugal, and in thus giving the community at least that much of unity and solidarity as seen in the sister communities of the Parsis, Muslims and Hindus of the India today."

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CATHOLICS AND THE RADIO

Immense are the opportunities which the radio affords us for spreading the message of the Church to the country at large. Ours is the most vital message which mankind can desire, with an outlook that uplifts man above communal strifes, with a cure for the many social ills of the country. Today of the dozen or so transmitting stations of India, there is just one, Trichinopoly, through which we reach the public for a quarter of an hour every fortnight. The Protestants are slightly more vocal on the radio than the Catholics; but even they, not to any appreciable degree. As for the other and major religions, apart from the purely religious programmes which are a regular weekly feature, there are numerous other programmes of music and drama and skits all with a distinctly religious background.

The radio audience in India is estimated today in thousands; and a plan has been envisaged by the All India Radio which will soon increase the audience to millions. Each of the seven lakhs of villages in India is to have its own community receiving set, and radio programmes are to be broadcast from 130 new transmitting stations. When this plan materializes, the radio in India will be a tremendous power for influencing the mass of the people for good or evil. It is open to us to remain aloof and watch the movement grow until it is too huge to be influenced in the least by Catholic thought. Our purpose is not propaganda in the wrong sense often given to that word. Our message to the public at large, under its social and moral aspects, is one that should appeal to all right thinking men. And perhaps it is just to confess that often we fail on account of a false approach.

The Catholics in United States have shown what marvels can be worked through the radio. The Sacred Heart Programme conducted by the Jesuit Fathers of St. Louis University is perhaps the most co-ordinated effort of American Catholics in the radio-field. It has been called the miracle broadcast. Carried over 136 radio stations broadcasting 521 times each week, it commands an estimated audience of seven million of which a considerable number are non-Catholic. The Sacred Heart Programme which has already spread to several countries outside United States is ready and desirous to extend its good offices to India as well. Will the field be ready in India in the near future?

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STRAWS IN THE WIND

RADICAL DEMOCRATS VERSUS RELIGION

THE following is a letter to the Editor published by *Independent India*, the organ of the Radical Democratic Party: "Writing under the headline "Royists and Communists", the *Herald* of Calcutta of 10th March 1946 says: 'Atheistic Communism with minor variations is the basic philosophy of both these parties.' I find that such statements adversely affect the Catholics in their approach to the Radical Democratic Party. Will you kindly explain the position of the Party vis-a-vis religion?"

The correspondent of Mr. Roy's paper is evidently referring to a note which we published in these columns. Mr. Roy's dialectic materialism and contempt for religious belief are so widely broadcast in his bulky mass of writings, that we did not think it necessary to adduce in our note any specific proof when we spoke of his basic philosophy. And if any one would question our attributing to the party the philosophy of its leader, a sufficient answer would be seen in what *Independent India* has published in reply to the above letter.

Weak And Opportunist

The reply is more revealing in what it withholds than in what it directly affirms. We offer no thanks to the Royists for promising that they would grant religious tolerance if they come into power. For there is not at present the most remote danger of their coming into power. In spite of the heavy financial aid the party had been receiving from the government and the pugnacious election campaign conducted through the numerous so-called party centres, the fate of the Radical Democrats in the recent elections has been a record in defeat. In no less than 150 constituencies the R.D.P. had put up its own condidates; and these constituencies had been carefully chosen as affording some chances of success. But the success achieved was just one seat in Bombay and none at all in any of the other Provinces. One out of a total of 1581 Provincial Assembly seats is not a creditable achievement for a group which calls itself an all India Political Party.

However insignificant the Radical Democrats be as a political power, we cannot but deplore their attitude towards religion. We regret the harm they do not so much to others as to themselves. "It is known that the Marxists have no faith in religion", says the Party spokesman, V. M. Tarkunde, in the reply referred to above. But he also adds: "It would be stupid to attack the freedom of religious worship. They will only be inviting unnecessary opposition to themselves in adopting such a course." In other words the Royist variety of Marxists are clever enough to be opportunists, unlike the Stalinist variety who have been carrying on a "stupid" persecution for the past 25 years.

Anti-Religious

The reply further says: (brackets ours) "Marxism looks upon religion as a social phenomenon. It recognizes that it has a social purpose. (Indeed, has it?) In other words, Marxism realizes that religious faith springs (*sic*) out of the material conditions in which man lives. (So, social origin, not social purpose!) So long as large sections of men live in the midst of uncertainties and anxieties, they will naturally seek the psychological support offered by religion. (In other words: Religion is the opium of the people.) It is the purpose of political action to reduce these uncertainties and to provide mankind with social security and ample leisure (?) for cultural developpurent (?)" This in our opinion is a sorry piece of bemuddled thinking. Religion needs no apology for those who understand it; and for those who make this world the be-all and end-all of existence any apology would be futile. Religion arises out of the consciousness that man is dependent on a Supreme Being Who is his Creator and to Whom he owes reverence and worship. That religion affords strength in trials and difficulties is a consequence of what religion is, not the *raison d'etre* of religion.

Intolerant

To substantiate the religious tolerance of the Party, the reply quotes from a book of Mr. M. N. Roy sonorously called "Draft Constitution of Free India," which says that "Individual citizens will have full freedom of worship," *The Herald* commented editorially on this "Dragooning Constitution" of Mr. Roy shortly after it appeared. (*Herald*, Feb. 25 1945.) Speaking of the right of association the "Constitution" says: "The right of association for the purpose of safeguarding and amelioration of economic conditions and political status of workers, employees and peasants shall be guaranteed." (Chapter I, t.) Here the word religion is absent, and a question arises whether the right of asspciation in religion would be disapproved. Later on, in Chapter I, w., when freedom of worship is mentioned, the right is granted to individual citizens.

Independent India has made an elaborate attempt to disarm the hostility against the party of those who respect God and religion. But in spite of all the evasiveness of the reply, there is no doubt that religion would receive no merciful treatment at the hands of these materialists. What happened in Russia, Spain and Mexico, and what is happening today in Poland and other countries of Eastern Europe have sufficiently taught the Catholics what to expect from Marxists of all brands. Pundit Nehru once said emphatically: "The Radical Democrats are our enemies." We Catholics in India would say the same with even greater emphasis. They are the enemies not only of our country but also of our religion.

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SIR C. P. AND THE "CATHOLIC HERALD"

It is deplorable that the "dialectics loving premier of Travancore" has been able to carry his propaganda even into the Catholic press. The statements made by Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer to the correspondent of the London *Catholic Herald* were highly misleading, and the fact that they were published in the Catholic press without the needed corrective is apt to be disconcerting to those familiar with the true state of affairs in Travancore. The A.P.I., A.P.A., Reuters, the leading English dailies in India, and the whole of the daily and weekly press in Travancore and Cochin had been pressed for nine months into the service of Sir C. P. in the unholy crusade against the Catholic minority in Travancore. There was, however, a single dissentient voice, that of the Indian Catholic press, comparatively feeble amidst the loud clamour set up by its adversaries, but still a persistent voice which refused to be stiffled and which succeeded in making the world conscious of the persecution of Catholics in the Hindu state of Travancore.

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STRAWS IN THE WIND

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Verbal jugglery which makes truth appear as falsehood is the art of propaganda. Sir C. P. maintains that not only are the Catholics not victimized but that the non-Catholics are being made the "victims of discrimination." With a great outlay of capital and human energy the Catholics have built up a system of primary education in Travancore. Sir C. P. with a stroke of the pen would destroy that system, refusing aid and recognition to all Catholic primary schools. Catholic parents will be obliged to give more than their share in taxation to the government schools, and will further be obliged to maintain their own scoohls. Catholics do not object to education being made compulsory and universal. In fact theirs has been the lion share in making compulsory universal education more feasible in Travancore than in any other part of India. What they object to is the state monopoly in education.

Persecution Of Catholics

The new educational deal is far from being the only proof of the persecution in Travancore. It is the best known, but perhaps not the most insidious. Churches cannot be built; cemeteries cannot be opened. Severe restrictions exist on the administration of the sacraments in hospitals. Pilgrimages and processions are subject to the good will of the Hindu bureaucracy. Freedom of the press is non-existent. A new scheme of taxation is developing which will throw most of the financial burden of the state on the Catholic minority. In an effort to stifle Catholic colleges, large sums of public money are being canalized into Hindu colleges already existing or soon to be established. Hindu proseletizing missions are operating in many centres with the open and cevort aid of the government. Some Catholic leaders have been imprisoned and dentention order have been served on several others preventing them from speaking or even appearing in public. All the resources of a powerful dictatorial state have been utilized in a ruthless policy of cultural strangulation.

In spite of all this, Sir C. P. would have the public believe that his government is extremely benevolent towards the Catholics. The public protests of the Catholics must go on as long as the present policy of the government continues.

STRAWS IN THE WIND

FIFTH COLUMNS

MR. Churchill's recent speech in the House of Commons during the debate on Foreign Affairs has not caused surprise to any except those who watch world affairs through red spectacles. We are here concerned not so much with Mr. Churchill's strong indictment of Russia's intransigence in U.N.O. councils, its grabbling policy, and its mass terrorization, but with the timely note of warning which he sounded against Communist fifth columns in countries outside the Russian sphere of influence. That such fifth columns exist in every country is manifest. In India "Friends of the Soviet Union" are active in many towns and rural areas, and they are backed by immense resources in money and organizing ability. The *Indo-Soviet Journal*, *People's Age*, and numerous vernacular dailies and weeklies like *JanaYudha*, are carrying on a frantic anti-national and subversive propaganda. Mr. Churchill said: "Of, course, many countries have sought and seek information about the decisions of other countries. There is nothing in that, but the difference between the Soviet system and others is that they do not have to hire their agents. It is a matter of religion to sacrifice oneself and one's native land for the sake of the Communist Utopia. When infected with this disease of Communism people would not hesitate to betray their country...It is this peculiarity which renders Soviet espionage as dangerous as their propaganda is futile and childish."

And Mass Propaganda

Perhaps not all who have seen Communist propaganda at work will agree with Mr. Churchill in ignoring it as "futile and childish". In England and especially in the ranks of the Conservatives, Communist propaganda is perhaps futile; but in a country like India where social injustice is actively aided by bureaucratic corruption, where the masses of the people are ready to transfer allegiance to any one who allures them with false hopes of higher wages, better housing and more decent food, where widespread ignorance is a handicap against clear thinking on the true remedy to social ills, Communist propaganda is far from being futile. The labour unrest in India is clear evidence of sinister influences which foment class-hatred and sow the seeds of revolution. Many in this country are persuaded that the Indian National Congres is immune against the Communistic virus, and that under its leadership the country will achieve the longed for evolution through concord. Perhaps it is true that the present top-leaders have the right attitude towards Communism; but criticism has often been raised in certain leftist sections of the nationalist press against these same leaders on the ground that they are suspicious of the now rising generation and are unwilling to share responsibility with it. This accusation is not without a modicum of truth; leaders realize that it is not in the interests of the country to transfer authority to revolutionary firebrands. The communists had for the past two decades concentrated their energies on the student population in the colleges, and there is reason to believe that when the present leadership of the Congress wanes in pestige, a new leadership will arise which will be far from helpful for peaceful progress of the country.

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THE INDIAN CHRISTIANS

A timely note of warning for the Indian Christian community has been sounded by the Indian Christian observer "Amoht" in the article he contributed to the Calcutta *Statesman* on June 11th. Analysing the present situation, the writer shows that Christians have no reason to be gratified about the Cabinet Mission's proposals. We have to dread the day when India, separated administratively from the Muslim blocks of the north-east and the north-west, will evolve into a Hindu Raj, an enlarged and much more formidable copy of the intolerance now reigning in a small southern Native State under a dictatorial Dewan. In a united India communalism could have been forced into the background by the sentiment of patriotism towards a common motherland. And that was what the National Congress was aiming at. Now that the Coupland divisions are an imminent reality, and the links that bind the groups to the Union centre extremely tenuous, the chances of communal peace and united endeavour have definitely waned. In a desperate attempt to placate the intrasigent Muslim League, the interests of the smaller minorities have been completely sacrificed. If the Sikhs have reason to feel aggrieved, much more reason have the Indian Christians. The Advisory Committee which is propo-

sed for championing their interests along with those of many other heterogeneous groups, will have no effective voice, and perhaps little representative character. The island fortresses of autocracy in the Native States will be unassailable; and whatever may be the ideas of justice and fair deal in the outer India, the princely autocrats will be left unhampered in any policy of economic discrimination or insidious persecution which they may choose to initiate. It should be remembered that nearly a third part of the Indian Christian community lives in two small native states of South India, and that in spite of the active persecution which they are now subject to, they have not yet elicited any gesture of good will from the non-Christian groups in British India. The Indian Christian community needs at the present time a strong organisation, which will be both fighting and demonstrative, not independent, but linking itself with the all-India national body. Passive inactivitly and sitting idly upon the fence will be suicidal at this juncture. Our community does not ask for any special privileges; but we insist that our legitimate rights should not be sacrificed in the interests of the larger groups. Culturally we are not backward; but economically we are. Talent we do not lack; but organisation is almost completely lacking. A hide-bound conservatism that is afraid of stating boldly our rights and expects favours from the foreign power, will soon land us in the sorry plight of a disunited, voiceless, and almost non-existent group of dissatisfied dissidents.

What is needed at the present moment is strong action under a wise leadership. Do we have such leadership in our community?

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THE RAILWAY STRIKE

A railway strike of colossal proportions like the one now threatened will be a tragedy of far-reaching consequences. It will paralyze the commerce of the country, cut off food supplies from famine areas, cause sky-rocketing of prices, divert huge profits into the purses of unscrupulous middlemen, and take a heavy toll of sickness and death from an under-nourished and ailing population. The strike is an organized attempt of one section of the poor to redress their grievances; and the attempt will unavoidably heap added sufferings on other sections of the poor. We have no intention to call in question the justice of the strike. During the war years the railways minted gold out of the blood and toil of employees whose salaries remained substantially the same and who had to wage an ever more acute struggle against the rising cost of living. Injustice of every sort calls for emphatic protest even from those who are not directly affected by it. It is no excuse to state that there are no means readily available to right the wrongs and to remedy the injustice. In the present dispute not all the demands of the employees can be fully satisfied without seriously affecting the economy of the country in other spheres.

But some one has to bear the blame for gross negligence and for not consulting the interests of the people. The planless economy of the country has been for many years past as unsteady as Atlantic gales. Prices rose and fell like the breakers in mid-ocean. Belated controls on production and distribution used to be applied sporadically, and oftener than not, they benefited none but the agents of the corrupt bureaucracy. The co-called war economy of India was a misnomer which in reality signified chaos and profiteering. The worst and most numerous casualties of the war were not the killed and the maimed of the battle-fronts, but the common men, the unsung heroes, the low-paid labourers, who struggled in vain against economic crises, and who bear in their emaciated, diseased bodies the marks of the struggle. The highly placed officials who represent the bureaucracy and are securely lodged in luxury, have not only to draw up blue-prints and plans for propaganda purposes, but should ensure a planned economy which offers to the common man a decent standard of living. In the present dispute our sympathies go out to all victims of injustice. But we would counsel them to realize that there are other sections of the poor who will suffer by their unduly pressing their claims. The evils of planless economy have now accumulated so high that its victims need a great deal of the spirit of compromise. Their agitation is necessary to force the authorities to remove their blinkers; but if they translate into action their threat of a nation-wide strike, the consequences are too fearful to contemplate.

STRAWS IN THE WIND

A CONGRESS PROGRAMME

THE "Harijan" of June 2 published a fourteen point "Programme for the Congress Ministers," drawn up by Prof. S. N. Agarwal. Though it does not possess the authoritative sanction which is proper to a resolution of the Working Committee or the Parliamentary Board, this programme is a concrete expression of the mind of the Congress and of Gandhiji, and in all likelihood, it shows the path which Congress ministers would follow in their constructive work. Those who have known the work the Congress Ministers did or tried to do during their previous tenure of office, and have studied the economic and social policy of the Congress in the various Working Committee resolutions, will not find in this fourteen-point programme anything that is startlingly new. The programme is evidently quite different from those of the capitalistic and highly industrialized countries of the West, and it bears little resemblance to the revolutionary and militaristic methods of Soviet Russia. Economists trained in foreign methods, and enamoured with foreign schools of thought, as are many in the Indian Universities, might be inclined to disparage such a programme as futile. But Prof. Agarwal's masterly analysis in his book "*The Gandhian Plan*" has ably demonstrated why the peculiar conditions of India demand such a new, and what many would call, modest, programme.

Prof. Agarwal envisages for India not a totalitarian regime like that of Nazism or Sovietism, but a maximum degree of "decentralisation". Village communities should become more or less self-sufficient; *Gram Panchayats* should enjoy maximum local autonomy; co-operative farming and marketing should be popularized; for land ownership the village tenure system should be encouraged. The merit of these and other similar suggestions will be apparent when they are viewed against the background of the low economic level of the Indian villages. What the villages need is not five and ten year plans which promise to evolve an impossible Utopia out of mass terrorism and a sea of blood, but immediate and concrete plans which would bring relief to the peasantry heavily sunken in debts and driven to desperation by famine and the ravages of war. "This programme" says Prof. Agarwal, "should be completed within six months, if not earlier; the Ministers should, then, be free to plunge into another struggle if and when necessary." Six months is perhaps too brief a period, and India is not a country that would be hustled. However, the quicker the reform measures are commenced, the greater is the chance of success.

Education and Prohibition

We cannot, however, withhold a note of dissent against some of the suggestions of the Programme, which we believe are uncalled for, and tend to attack essential human rights. Regarding education, Prof. Agarwal writes; "The Provincial governments should, as far as possible, directly control primary or basic education, and try to transfer existing Government high schools and colleges to private educational societies or universities." If this implies a state monopoly of *primary* education, similar to what the Government of Travancore is now attempting, we cannot but condemn such a policy as an infringement of parental rights. The state should provide for universal free education as far as possible, but should not stifle private enterprise which hitherto has greatly benefited the country, and which is essential for the maintenance of denominational schools.

Regarding prohibition, Prof. Agarwal is as uncompromising as the Congress Working Committee resolutions. He says: "Intoxicating drinks and drugs should be totally prohibited except for medicinal purposes." If the exception includes also religious purposes, our objection to this prohibition policy would be greatly diminished; but even then we doubt whether such a drastic ruling will secure the intended results, and we do not believe it is quite within the competence of the state thus to restrict individual liberty. What is more in order is to intitiate an intensive propaganda against such intoxicating grinks as would be detrimental to the health and economic welfare of the poor. Much can be achieved by education, little by coercion.

RUSSIA AND WORLD PEACE

Prof. Ranga, top-ranking Congressman in the Delhi Assembly, said not long ago in London that the Minister of Foreign Affairs under India's new constitution should not only guard against Soviet alliance, but should be resolutely anti-Soviet. Strong reasons must have dictated such a strong statement. Political diplomacy is usually manifested in lip-service to friendly relations with foreign nations. India has reasons to be suspicious of Russia's grabbing policy; the vulnerability of the North-West Frontier Province is the trump-card in Congress hands to be played against the Pakistan demand.

Mr. Churchill's Warning

It is not only India, but all the world that is growing suspicious of Russian aims and methods. Mr. Churchill's speech in the House of Commons during the debate on Foreign Affairs gave clear evidence of the grave apprehension with which England watches the trend of Russian policy. This trend could have been foreseen at Yalta where it was Mr. Churchill himself who refused to take a firm stand and made large concessions to Russian claims. Mr. Churchill's short-sighted appeasement policy had drawn up the blueprint for the Potsdam resolutions which Mr. Atlee was called upon to ratify. In these columns we have spoken repeatedly of the great injustice done to Poland and to other countries of Eastern Europe. There was a time when British statesmen were unwilling to admit that there was any injustice at all. But now bitter experience and the fear of the future are forcing them to open their eyes to unpleasant facts.

Mr. Churchill said: "The population of the Baltic States are no longer recognizable as those who existed before the war. They have suffered a double liquidation both at German and Russian hands. The population of Pomerania is said to be but a third of what it was before the war. Every effort is being made to communize and Russify the whole of the Soviet Zone of Germany. It seems to me that Poland is denied all free expression of national will and at the same time she is held in strict control by her socialist-dominated Government who dare not hold free elections, still less one under observation of the great powers. The fate of Poland seems to be an unending tragedy, and we who went to war on her behalf watch with sorrow the strange outcome of our endeavours. Austria and Hungary are starved, stifled and weighed down by masses of foreign troops."

Mr. Churchill concludes his masterly though belated analysis of the Eastern European situation with the words, "The position is gravely and woefully disquieting."

The Russian Colossus

The acquisitions of Russia in World War II make a formidable list which is not only 'disquieting' but is a serious and imminent threat to world-peace. These acquisitions include southern Sakhalin and the Kuriles from Japan, Bessarabia and Bukovina from Rumania, Ruthenia from Czechoslovakia, all the land east of the Curzon line from Poland, Koenigsberg from Germany, the whole of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, and part of Finnish Karelia. Nor does this territorial aggrandizement represent the whole of the Russian gains. Russia now possesses exclusive economic and political domination over many countries outside her territory: Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria, Albania, Yugoslavia, Northern Persia, a large part of Manchuria and two-fifths of Germany.

A year ago when American and English Catholics protested vehemently against sacrificing millions of their co-religionists to Russia, politicians and statesmen put blinkers to their eyes and refused to admit the truth. But now happily an attitude of realism is developing, which is far preferable to one of false security, and though it does not carry

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with it the means to remedy the situation, it will at least put an end to the suicidal appeasement policy which allied statesmen have been following for too long a period.

Letter to the Editor

CATHOLICS IN POLITICS

Sir,—It would seem that as far as politics are concerned Catholics are a non-entity and that Protestants alone count among the Indian Christians of this country. The Indian Christian invited to represent our community in the Interim Government is Mr. John Matthai. The nominee of the National Congress during last year's Simla Conference was Miss Rajkumari Amrit Kaur. A Protestant represents the community in the Central Assembly. Two Indian Christians who are Ministers in the Provincial Cabinets of Madras and Assam are Protestants. In the Madras Provincial elections, for most of the Indian Christian constituencies, Protestants were awarded the Congress ticket in spite of Catholics being in vast majority. And the same was the case in most of the other Provinces. No Catholic M.L.A. has come into the Legislative Assemblies without fighting against heavy odds. All glory to those few who have come up; but what made the fight necessary? Catholics are more numerous, have a longer history in the country, are more truly Indian, form a more compact body, than the relatively recent, multi-denominational Protestants; ours has been a giant share in the educational progress of India; we are not beholden to England as are the Anglicans, Methodists, C.M.S., and other groups, by ties of religious origin, financial aid or hierarchical jurisdiction. It would seem that Catholics should be in a privileged position in regard to Indian nationalism. But facts prove the reverse. Not that any objection is to be raised against those eminent public men who represent our community in the politics of the country. But why is it that Catholics are not of their number?

An explanation must be found somewhere. Is the Indian National Congress anti-Catholic, or are Catholics anti-national? There are those who would throw the whole blame on the Congress. It is pitiful egoism to see the moat in another's eye without seeing the beam in one's own. There is no reason why the Congress as an all-India political body should be more anti-Catholic than anti-Protestant, if at all it is anti-anything. It is futile to bemoan just claims ignored and just rights violated without inquiring whether we have not given the cause, whether there is not some weakness in our position.

Where does the weakness lie? Perhaps in a discordant voice often rising from our platforms and newspapers, casting unjustifiable suspicions on the national movement, or promoting an attitude of sitting upon the fence. *The Herald* is to be thanked for having asserted early in the political evolution, in clear terms and with repeated emphasis, the correct attitude of the Catholics towards the political awakening in India. But unhappily, the same cannot be said about all our representative journals. Some even seemed pro-British with a vengeance, as for example, during the disturbances of August 1942, or more recently during the Bombay riots. The British will quit; but the harm such misplaced propaganda has done to the community will endure, and for many years to come we shall reap the consequences. Another weakness lies in a leadership, weak, divided, indecisive and short-sighted, a leadership without a following, actively promoting a policy which is suicidal to the community, perhaps with most disinterested motives, yet with little clearness of vision and breadth of outlook.

It is superfluous to affirm that Indian Christians are in no sense anti-national. The resolutions of the All-India Youth Conference of Bombay and Nationalist Catholics' Association of Trichinopoly represent widespread massfeeling. Any one who has felt the pulse of the Catholic masses in South Kanara, Bombay, Malabar, Tamil Nad, Chotanagpore and elsewhere can have no hesitation about their confidence in the national leaders of India. Nor are public spirited men making common cause with the rest of India lacking in the Catholic community. Hope is not dead as long as the Catholics can show among their number men like the editors of *The Orient* and *The Forum* the former editors of *The Catholic Educational Review and Social Order*, Catholic leaders of the Travancore State Congress, and the Cochin Praja Mandal who in spite of unprecedented repression are carrying on a splendid agitation in Malabar, and scores of others who have felt the stripes and the vermin of the prison cells during India's dark days. What our community lacks is not individual talent or mass feeling, but an efficient organization and leadership that will give adequate expression to the mass feeling.

—T.P.

THE UNKNOWN

GANDHIJI'S writings on religious matters are often a puzzle to his readers who respect him as intensely conscientious and yet fail to understand the meaning he attaches to words. Under the title "The Unknown" Gandhiji writes in *Harijan*: "Some learned men describe Him as Unknowable, some others as unknown, yet others as 'not This'. 'The Unknown' is good for the present purpose." The Christian reader is reminded of an incident that took place nineteen centuries ago when Saul of Tarsus stood in the Areopagus of Athens and spoke to the cultured Athenians of the altar he had found in their midst, "To the Unknown God". 'The Unknown' is non-committal. It may conceal a rationalistic agnosticism, but what follows in the *Harijan* article shows that nothing is farther from Gandhiji's mind than such an attitude. Prayer for help and guidance is self-contradiction to the agnostic view of God. The word may signify also a correct notion of divine transcendence. But the characteristically Christian concepts of transcendence and analogy are rarely found in the Hindu religious books, and perhaps we would not be justified in reading our meaning into words which in themselves are difficult of interpretation.

Gandhiji continues: "When yesterday I said a few words to the prayer audience, I could say nothing more than that they should pray for and rely upon the strength and the guidance that this big X could give." The idea is not unfamiliar to Christian readers but the expressions in which the idea is couched are certainly unfamiliar. X is the perpetual unknown of the schoolboy's algebra; but schoolboys do manage now and then to find it out. Should God remain the perpetual unknown for sincere seekers? The whole universe is a mighty equation involving an unknown; but Christians are not wont to speak of God as the unknown because He is known from things that have been made, as St. Paul, and after him the Vatican Council, says. The celebrated prayer of agnosticism "O God, if there is a God, save my soul, if I have a soul," is to the Christian a meaningless paradox.

Prayer and Co-operation

Prayer for God's help is necessary, and Gandhiji is at one with most world's best leaders in asking for prayer. Mr. Byrnes, United States representative at the Paris Peace conference, asked for prayers before he left his country to take part in the Peace Conference. Politicians of the world no less than of India have brought things into a sad mess. Which way would lead to an amicable solution acceptable to all parties is a question that agitates the best minds. Perhaps no solution is possible unless the intransigent attitude of some of the parties undergoes a softening.

The concluding words of Gandhiji's article on "The Unknown" contain a tremendous truth which is often too little realizee. "If we are all children of God, as we are, whether we know it or not, we will take in good part whatever happens and work with zest and confidence for the next step whatever it may be. The only condition for that zest is that each party does its honest best for the good of the whole of India. For that is the stake and no other." The aim of healthy politics is not to drive hard bargains but to reach at workable solutions through fair compromise. Where interests clash, compromise is essential. But justice does not permit of compromise; there are limits beyond which rights cannot be sacrificed; and it is undesirable that yielding should be all along the line by one party alone. The Hindu majority of Assam has established a laudable precedent in submitting to the groupings of the Cabinet Mission's long-term proposals; the same can be said of the non-League Province of the North West Frontier. May this far-sighted policy of give and take prevail lest the coming constitution sink in the quicksands of party wrangling.

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INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

It is welcome news that India has at last decided to appeal to the U.N.O. against the high-handed and grossly unjust treatment meted out to their countrymen in South Africa by the soldier *cum* philospher *cum* dictator, Field-Marshal Smuts. Racial intolerance and bigotry have made few victims more desperate than the 250,000 Indians now suffering under what has been called by an Indian Government spokesman in Delhi, "the smutty" regime of Smuts. The only reason of the enactments against the Indians is that they are of a different race. They have no voice; they have no votes; and they are presumed to have no just rights. Living on sub-human level, driven like beasts of burden, ever subject to malicious libels, physical violence and iniquitous laws, they show to the world what a travesty of justice can be perpetrated by some of the loud-mouthed protagonists of the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms. Mere lip-service to the four freedoms does not make a just and peaceful world. The terms of international agreements are to be written not so much on paper as on the hearts and minds, dictating a change in racial and political outlook. In the Christmas allocution of 1941 Pope Pius XII stressed a profound truth when he said: "Within the limits of the new order founded on moral principles, there is no place for open or occult oppression of the cultural and linguistic characteristics of national minorities, for the hindrance or restriction of their economic resources, for the limitation or abolition of their natural fertility. The more conscientiously the government of the State respects the rights of minorities, the more confidently and the more effectively can it demand from its subjects a

loyal fulfilment of those civil obligations which are common to all citizens".

Firm Action

The plight of Indians in South Africa has been for many years a severe blight on India's national self-respect. But the Government of India with supreme unconcern chose to put on blinkers against a rapidly deteriorating situation. F. M. Smuts acted with vigour and swiftness; one by one the links were being forged on the chain of slavery for the quarter million Indians under him. But now, though with regrettable tardiness, even the Government of India has awakened to the need of doing something. Perhaps it is too late, and action was necessary a year ago. Terminating the trade agreement with South Africa and recalling the High Commissioner were legitimate as signs of protest; but coming at the late hour as they did, they were not effective in redressing the grievances of the South African Indians. It is essential that the gravity of the situation should be brought to the attention of the arbiters of world's destiny who preside over the U.N.O. Perhaps if the case is presented in its true perspective, some favourable decisions may be expected; or if India finds it quite impossible to disarm racial prejudices and to secure justice, it will at least have exposed the blind spot of some of those politicians who profess only verbally international amity and racial equality.

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TAKING STOCK

India is at the threshold of a new age. A new constitution is soon to be forged; and it is essential that we at this stage take stock of what we have and make up for what we have not. Recent discussions have again brought to the surface the greatest weakness in our national body, the lack of unity resulting from the minority's distrust of the majority. Once again as on many previous occasions the minority has been permitted though indirectly to place its veto on the country's movement towards freedom, though this time it has not sabotaged the whole movement. There are many other items in this vital stock-taking. What are our material, intellectual and physical resources? Are we ready with plans for a standing army of the size required by our country and its vulnerable frontiers? Have we the talent, training and material resources which a modern army of air, land and sea demands? And what is our position in international politics, our ability to stand for our rights, our talent for the diplomacy of foreign relations? Along with political freedom will come also economic freedom. Instead of serving the economic needs of another country, will India able to stand on her own legs, serve her own needs, raise the necessary protective tariff barriers, resist the stranglehold of high international finance, hold her place on the world market, guard against the cartels and mergers of great economic powers? In internal government Indians have had a certain degree of experience thanks to the Provincial governments before the war. But in external affairs India's policy was essentially that of a dependent country, and was dictated in every detail by the seasoned politicians of the ruling power. Perhaps a great deal of India's internal problems will be solved if Indian politicians begin to take stock of the country's

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assets and liabilities in the realm of foreign relations, and think of India as a possible unit in world politics and world economy.

Book Review

AURELIA: THE ROMAN MARTYR By M. QUINTON. Pp. viii & 518. Patna: Catholic Book Crusade; St. Xavier's. 1946. Price Rs. 5.

Quinton's **Aurelia**, a historical novel of the first century A.D., was first publishlished in France in the middle of the last century. It is sufficient testimony to the lasting significance and popularity of the book that unlike the overwhelming deluge of novels which are pouring out of the presses in modern times and are forgotten sooner than their dust-covers are soiled, **Aurelia**, though a religious novel, should have been translated into different languages, and should be re-pubilshed and read with interest even a century after its first appearance.

Aurelia is described on the title page as a companion volume to Cardinal Wiseman's **Fabiola**. The scene is laid in Rome during the reign of Domitian. Decadent Rome, drunk with pleasure and pomp, and sunk in moral turpitude, is creeping slowly but with sure steps towards its final downfall. A cruel monster of an emperor, who has come to his throne from plebeian ranks wading through a sea of blood and maintains himself in power with more bloodshed, is fighting a losing battle against armies of conspirators within the city and without, with agents of his destruction safely planted within his own palace. As the story of Aurelia the proud niece of the Emperor and of Cecilia the humble daughter of a freedman slowly unfolds itself, the author describes with graphic details the many contrasts in Roman life, the superstitions of the ancient religion, the dark mysteries of Isis, the inhuman institution of the Vestal virgins, the barbarous treatment meted out to slaves, the splendour and magnificence of patrician households, the empty formalities of the legal code the feasts and games and processions of public life, the squalor and misery of the poorer classes, and the shady operation of spies and informers. Rome is as a whitened sepulchre possessing outwardly wealth and power; but inside it is but rottenness and vermin. It is to such a society that the message of Christianity is being preached. Christianity is startling by its utter other-worldliness; it knits together in one brotherly bond patricians and plebeians and slaves; it imparts to all a deep-rooted conviction of spiritual values, a thorough contempt of worldly power, a steel-like constancy in the faith. The message of Christianity reaches even the highest ranks of Roman society. Flavia Domitilla, noble patrician, starts the first Christian hospital and tends the sick with her own hands. Two young Caesars, presumptive heirs to teh throne, mingle with the lowliest of the lowly and count it an honour to be the servants of the poor at the love-feast of the Christian assemblies. Grand-Vestal Cornelia is saved by Pope St. Clement from the tomb of death, and receives the veil as a virgin consecrated to Christ. The whole story is wonderfully uplifting and strengthening, and it possesses a deep significance at the present time when Christianity once again faces a decadent society, holding forth the only promise of regeneration. This novel of the early Christians teaches that for Christianity to succeed in making its message heard the one condition is that Christians to-day live the integral Christian life as did those of the first century.

While the re-publication of **Aurelia** is to be welcomed, it is regrettable that the printing of the book should not have been done with more care. The numerous errors in type are apt to try the patience of any reader, and the get-up is far from attractive.

M. Thekaekara S.J.

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STRAWS IN THE WIND

THE MIGHTY ATOM

ATTENTION is being focussed on the mighty atom from many quarters of the globe. At 22.01 G.M.T., on June 30th, the atom bomb No. 4 exploded over Bikini Atoll in mid Pacific. Admiral Blandy's expedition which cost 25 million pounds sterling, has registered a note of profound disappointment. The numerous ships, the radio-controlled and pilot-controlled aircraft, the 50,000 feet of still film and million and a half feet of cinema film, the world's largest, five-feet-long camera and the many delicate instruments of modern science, the huge army of scientists, military experts and press reporters, all had gone out into the Pacific to witness a scene which finally turned out to be more tame than what the Japanese had shown the Americans at Pearl Harbour. Disappointment is acute because the atom did not cause more havoc than it did. Some time before the zero hour an eminent scientist had flashed alarming messages that a mistake had been made somewhere, that the bomb would shake the whole earth within 30 minutes of its bursting, and that the experment should be given up. Another alarmist made a more gloomy prophecy that the bomb would break up all the hydrogen of "vast Neptune's ocean" and turn the earth into flaming star. Apparently other eminent scientists chose to ignore these prophecies of fevered brains, and the army decreed that the victim-ships with their live animals should feel the full blast of the exploding atom. The explosion has taken place; our dark planet is still smoothly sailing along its orbit round the sun.

Experts at Work

Meanwhile in New York the nerves of the Russian and American delegates are being sharply tested by the dispute of atomic energy control. America is the proud possessor of the atom secret, and naturally insists that the control should be according to her own planning. Russia, true to her policy of contradicting America on every point, loudly demands that all existing atom bombs should be scrapped immediately, that her veto-power should be extended over the atom, that the atom bomb should be outlawed completely without any international body to control it, and lastly, summing up all other demands, that in all atomic disputes, Russia should be the final arbiter superior to any 'federation' or 'conferderation' of nations. It is not surprising that America with her stores of U 235 and other deadly stuff does not submit tamely to the lordly attitude of Russia.

In London, too, attention is focussed on the mighty atom. On June 29th was published in London the first detailed report by experts on the effects of atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The report, which was compiled by a highly qualified British mission after an intensive study, lasting for nearly a year, explains in a sonorous foreword its purpose: "His Majesty's Government consider that a full understanding of the consequences of the new form of attack may assist the United Nations Organization in its task of securing control of atomic energy for the common good, and in abolishing the use of weapons of mass destruction." In cold scientific language and with a wealth of detail, the report reveals the harrowing picture of two thriving and populous cities sinking "in a instant and without struggle into a most primitive existence." 80,000 were killed in Hiroshima, and 40,000 in Nagasaki. Of those who were spared by the blast and the fires or were not buried alive under crashing edifices, thousands perished a week or two later through the deadly rays eating literally into the marrow of their bones. The British experts calculate that if the atom bomb were dropped on one of the larger English towns the average number of deaths would be 50,000 as against the mere handful of 15 killed by each of the German V-2 rockets, which at one time were looked upon as the deadliest of war-weapons.

Atom in Peace Time

Happily, not all the world's scientists are engaged on the atom as a destructive weapon. There are a good number, chiefly in U.S.A. and in England, who were exploring the atom to discover there the world's largest storehouse of energy. In U.S.A. several models of atomic locomotives and motor cars have been built up, proposing to replace coal and petrol by tiny quantities of U 235 or plutonium, two substances which unfortunately are at present too rare and too costly to make these models a practical achievement. The Empire Scientific Conference held in London in the third week of June devoted a great deal of attention to the possible peacetime uses of nuclear energy. The leading atomic physicist of Great Britain declared that the government should initiate an all-out search for atom secrets, and added that the findings of such search should be used for the benefit of India. Dr. M. N. Saha, one of the delegates from India, was planning how atomic energy would help industrial progress in South India where other sources of energy are lacking. The reason for thus drawing India into the set-up of the hypothetical atomic age may not be im-

mediately apparent. The world's supply of uranium is limited, and science is turning hopefully to another substance, thorium, which also can yield chain reactions needed for extracting nuclear energy; and the world's largest supplier for thorium is the monazite sand of the south coast near Cape Comorin. Unlike the monazite sand of other littoral zones, for example, of Brazil and the Carolines, which yield only 4% thorium, the monazite sand of Cape Comorin yields 10% thorium. But perhaps in spite of the scientists' planning and hoping, not much will be made for India out of her thorium deposits unless the government of India changes its present niggardly attitude towards scientific research.

The Answer to the Atom

It is quite in keeping with all the world's acute consciousness of the mighty atom that in U.S.A. the Summer School of Catholic Action has chosen "The Answer to the Atom" as the general theme for this year. Fr. Daniel A. Lord, S.J. author, lecturer, dramatist, organizer of scores of different projects, promoter of our Lady's Sodality, is addressing 10,000 Summer School Students in five different cities on this burning topic of the day, "The Answer to the Atom". The S.S.C.A. programme announcing Fr. Lord's series of lectures gives this apparently irrelevant foreword: "There is an answer to the atom as modern as the Manhattan Project, as ancient as the human race. This course is a discussion of that answer given in one word by Jesus Christ, used by a few men and women with tremendous results, neglected by most of the followers of the Saviour, and rejected by the mass of mankind as utterly impractical. Once it was impractical to talk of harnessing the atom; there is no reason why this far greater power cannot be harnessed too." Catholics need to be convinced of this answer to the atom; and they should make the world also convinced of this. In the hectic rush for the power of the atom, whether for destruction or construction, mankind will be digging its own grave unless it possesses the greater power contained in the Cathoic Answer to the Atom.

CALCUTTA SLUM CLEARANCE

The Calcutta Improvement Trust is beginning to feel that war time restrictions have ceased. The Chairman of the C.I.T., Mr. A. J. Parks, addressing the members of the Bengal Planning Group and the public at the Government School of Art has described a new and ambitious scheme costing not less than Rs. 75 crores. The avowed object of the scheme is to change filthy Calcutta into healthy Calcutta. Satellite towns are to be built on the outskirt of the city, and the slum areas are to be demolished to give room to playing fields and to parks. The plan of Mr. Parks to give more parks to the public will be welcomed. The wealthier and leisured classes of the city have long been clamouring for places of recreation which are never considered sufficiently adequate. But one wonders what will become of the poor slum-dwellers. To whose tender mercies will they be committed? The profit seeking renters who will own the sites and buildings in the satellite towns will not be particularly

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benevolent towards the poor. Perhaps the Government will undertake the rehousing of the slum-dwellers; but the Government in Bengal represented by its officialdom has established a long-standing record of inefficiency, and not much can be hoped for in the interests of the poor from the well-intentioned bungling of the government. The slums with their dirt and squalor and disease, their overcrowded, dark, ill-ventilated rooms, and their narrow, filthy lanes, are certainly a blot on our civilization; and it is worse than inhuman to perpetuate a social system which condemns thousands of the poor to such living conditions. All agree that the slums must be cleared, but not with plans which will heap on the poor added sufferings, by driving them miles away from their place of work and obliging them to pay rents exceeding their paying capacity. Whatever be the scheme for making filthy Calcutta healthy, a sense of justice and humanity should ensure that the poorer classes are not exploited.

STRAWS IN THE WIND

CATHOLIC COLLEGES

ALL those who have at heart the educational progress of India will be glad to know of the two more Catholic colleges that have recently been established in South India, one at Mysore by the Paris Foreign Mission Fathers, and the other at Ernakulam by the Latin diocese of Verapoly.

An Abiding Influence

Higher education in India owes a great deal to the enterprise of Catholics in the field of university education. A community which counts only a hundreth of the general population, which is in no way remarkable for commercial or industrial prosperity, and which misguided ultra-nationalism and communal bigotry are often pleased to brand as foreign and anti-national, has, however, given to this country its highest assets in culture and education. The Catholic colleges are every one of them outstanding for the building of character and intellect; from the point of view of discipline, earnest work and high moral tone, they have been an enviable example to the other colleges and have set to the others a noble standard to be looked up to and to be achieved. In these days when politics has outstripped its proper domains, distractions in student-life are many, and irresponsible leadership tends to draw students away from a whole-hearted application to their work, the Catholic colleges have consistently maintained their high ideals in scholarship, on the sports field and in character formation. It is little wonder then that many non-Catholic parents who having at heart the true welfare of their sons and daughters are anxious to entrust them to the Catholic colleges. We feel confident that the new colleges which have now been started in Mysore and Ernakulam will prove themselves in no way less outstanding in achievements, less noble in standards and ideals, or less beneficial to the country than their other sister colleges of Catholic India.

Catholics in particular have reason to be grateful and proud for the far-sighted vision and noble enterprise of two of their bishops in starting these colleges. University colleges are an expensive, venture and especially so at the present time when building costs are heavy, scientific apparatus are difficult to obtain, and missionary personnel is too greatly needed in every field of Catholic activity. Ten to twenty years ago there were many who called in question the wisdom of maintaining large colleges, where non-Catholics form the majority of the students and an integral Catholic formation is handicapped by the text-books and regulations of a secular university. At that time the supreme goal was thought to be a College meant exclusively for Catholics, and fully Catholic (whatever that term may mean) in tone and content. Now happily a more realistic attitude prevails. It is rare nowadays that one hears of Catholic students being brought up as hot-house plants in strict exclusivism. It is now generally admitted that the Catholic colleges of India are having a deep and genuine influence on the mass of the non-Catholic students, and that the students who come to our colleges do not go away from us without their ideas of God, moral law, charity, communal harmony, social justice, etc., considerably changed for the better. Such an influence is all the more necessary at the present time when an attitude of modernism commonly called neo-Brahminism, of agnosticism, and even of atheistic communism is fast taking hold of large sections of the intelligentsia in our country. The poison spreads far and wide through the popular writers of English literature, Wells and Shaw and their camp-followers, through the Marxist propagandists in Students' Unions, and through a professorial staff little acquainted with the great Christian currents of thought. If the Catholics in India so few in number, so unevenly distributed, so weak politically and economically, can do anything to stem this tide that threatens to sweep the country of its ancient moorings, it is chiefly, perhaps solely, through the thirty and odd Catholic colleges, in which priests and religious, scholarly, self-sacrificing, imbued with the fulness of Catholic life, have unequalled opportunities for influencing the highest strata of Indian society. The work of those missionaries who are engaged in university education is one that deserves the highest praise and admiration; it has none of the consolations of the priestly ministry, except that of offering the daily Sacrifice of the Mass; it is monotonous, dreary, taxing, apparently lacking in proper returns. None the less, it is an essential work; and it is highly beneficial to India as a whole. The Catholic colleges of India contribute in no small measure to the steady progess of the country over the wide sea of culture, safe from the quick-sands of present day 'isms'. We would wish to see the number of these colleges increased. And we wish to all those existing at present a wider field of activity and an even more enhanced reputation than they now enjoy.

The Future

What will be the future of Catholic colleges in a free and independent India? This is a question which perturbs many thoughtful minds. No one can look into the seeds of time; and it is true that storm-clouds do gather now and then threateningly. The Sophia college controversy is living memory. The Catholic primary schools of Travancore are in death-throes, struggling against an insidious persecution. And in Ceylon, the next door neighbour to India, the so-called "Free Education Scheme" threatens greatly to weaken, if not totally to annihilate, the entire Catholic educational system. All these are ugly facts against which we cannot shut our eyes; and they seem to warrant a degree of pessimism. On the other hand, hopeful signs too are not lacking. Pundit Nehru in a recent interview with the *Catholic Herald* assured Catholics in India that their educational institutions will continue. According to the programmes of the National Planning Committee and the Congress Ministries, in the India of the future private initiative will be called upon to bear an increasing share in the field of higher education for which the State feels that its funds are inadequate.

Sir A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar, Vice-Chancellor of Madras University, presiding over the centenary celebrations of St. Joseph's College, Trichinopoly, in February 1945, said: "What place will missionary institutions like this occupy in the India of tomorrow? I have no doubts in my mind that such institutions will not only flourish but will be welcomed. The spirit of devotion to duty, of service to humanity, of an enlightened conception not only of rights and privileges, but of duties and obligations, and above all the practical example of those devoted servants of the faith, who exemplify in themselves a life of simplicity and dedicated service, these assets will always be welcome and will eventually be appreciated at their true worth. I hold that in the future even more than in the present . . . the task before all missionary enterprise will be to lead in quality and to evolve out of their educational institutions, garden-houses of intellect and character building, which will besides contributing their own quota to nation-building, serve as beacon lights to irradiate the whole educational atomosphere of the land."

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THE CABINET MISSION PROPOSALS

The "historic" Cabinet Mission Announcement of May 16, which when published was hailed by many as a welcome solution to the knotty Indian problem, now seems to be rapidly losing its glamour. Both the League and the Congress accepted it, though with reservations, and for a while the future seemed bright and promising. All on a sudden Gandhiji announced that he saw darkness where he had seen light. And now as public opinion in the country begins to be more widely articulate, patches of darkness are seen to prevail everywhere, and the hoped-for dawn of independence appears as far away as ever before. The fiery eloquence of Jaiprakash Narain, Aruna Asaf Ali and others at the A.I.C.C. meeting in Bombay showed a deep discontent in a section of the Congress. Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, General Secretary of the Muslim League, threatens from New Delhi that the Muslim League might reconsider its former decision of acceptance, probably because the hopes of shaping a genuine Pakistan out of the Cabinet Mission proposals are now meagre. In Amritsar, a hundred Presidents and Secretaries of Akali Jathas from all Sikh districts of the Punjab gathered in front of Akal Takht, the highest emblem of Sikh religious authority, and signed, each in his own blood a pledge. that they would make any sacrifice in the Sikh struggle against the Cabinet Mission plan. And from Poona comes the announcement that the Scheduled Castes Federation will soon launch all over India a passive resistance movement also against the Cabinet mission proposals.

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The Indian Christian community presents a strange contrast to all this widespread discontent. They alone remain thoroughly inarticulate. and seem to dwell in a dreamland of snug security. And yet no one has greater reason to dread and fight against the separation of the three proposed groupings and the unchecked autocracy which will exist in the Native States. The interests of no other community have been as completely ignored as that of the Indian Christians. Not only are their interests not adequately safeguarded; they are almost completely out of the picture. The Indian Christian attitude of not caring and not knowing, whatever happens, is one more proof for the woeful lack of proper leadership and organization in the community.

STRAWS IN THE WIND

GOANS VERSUS PORTUGUESE

THE Goan Catholics are once again in focus for the Indian Nationalist Press, though this time from a quite different angle of vision. Some months back when we referred to Catholics in Goa in these columns it was to give the lie direct to certain malicious charges made against them by correspondents in the *Bombay Chronicle* and other papers. Mrs. Savitri Devi, and some others after her, having made the precious discovery that a few Goans wear European dress and seem to appreciate European music, forthwith concluded that Catholicism is a factor for de-nationalizing the people and that the Catholics in Goa are anti-Indian. The charges were fantastic; and yet those who made them appeared to believe them fervently. More recently, attention has been drawn to Goa on account of the activities of the Goa Congress Committee. Far from being de-nationalized or anti-Indian, it is in the eyes of the Portuguese Government, a nest of political revolutionaries, and an imminent threat to the colonial empire and the ancient glories of Portugal. While the French authorities in Pondicherry were far-sighted enough to permit their colonials to join the Indian Federation if they so chose, the Portuguese authorities in Goa are determined to put down with a strong hand any movement towards freedom in their tiny preserve. News about the happenings in Goa are subject to rigid censorship. But the Government's high-handed policy towards Mr. T. Braganza Cunha, Secretary of the Goa Congress Committee, could not altogether escape notice.

Mr. T. Braganza Cunha, a near relative of Mgr. Thomas Aquino Baretto, the Vicar General of the Archdiocese of Goa, is a well-known citizen of Goa who commands great respect from all sections of the people both for his outstanding abilities and for his many civic services. Eighteen years ago he had started the Goa Congress Committee to lead the political struggle in Goa on lines similar to that of the rest of India. For some years he was also a member of the All-India Congress Committee. In recent years the dis-satisfaction of the people against the totalitarian regime in Goa has been steadily increasing; and hence the Government decided to initiate strong repressive measures against the Goa Congress Committee and its leader. Mr. T. B. Cunha has been arrested, and the Goan Youth League in Bombay having learnt that the trial of Mr. Cunha will be by a secret military tribunal, is enlisting the support of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee in his behalf.

Pundit Nehru Speaks

Pundit Nehru issued from New Delhi a statement strongly condemning the action of the Portuguese bureaucracy. After referring to the eminent position of Mr. Cunha, Pundit Nehru says: "Now he lies in some Portuguese prison, waiting to be tried by court martial, although no martial law was proclaimed in Goa, and Mr. Cunha is no soldier. In Goa for a vast span of years there has been no shadow of civil liberty. No meetings can be held and nothing can be printed, not even a wedding card, without police permission. . , The people of Goa have awakened from their slumber and have repeatedly tried to hold peaceful meetings. The Portuguese administration is trying to suppress this popular movement by methods of cruelty after the fascist pattern. The present struggle is one for civic liberties. I should like to tell the people how we all sympathize with them in this struggle, and how we are following it with anxious interest. For us Goa is as much a part of India as any other part, and the freedom of India inevitably includes the freedom of the people of Goa. . . It is wholly unbecoming for the Portuguese authorities in Goa to use the methods they have adopted. In particular the trial by martial law of a well-known citizen and public worker of Goa for his championing of civil liberties is something that is peculiarly bad."

The Goan Youth League in Bombay which is watching with care the twistings and turnings of the Portuguese officialdom in Goa, learns that Mr. Cunha is allowed only three days to prepare his defence, and that he is threatened with dire punishments of confiscation of property, and exile or cellular confinement for life. In British India where political repression is not reputed for leniency, such trials would be held in an open court of civil law, and the accused would be allowed full opportunities for presenting his case. Not so in Goa. How long will such autocracy last? The end of the Portuguese colonial empire in India is already within sight. The present attitude of the Portuguese authorities in India is not calculated to soften the hostility of the Goans against them.

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DIADEM AND EMERALD PENDENT

Gandhiji departed from his usual matter-of-fact diction when he said at the Poona Prayer Meeting: "If Kashmir with her snowclad Himalayas is the diadem of Mother India, then Ceylon is the emerald pendent of the necklace round her neck." But it so happens that both the diadem and the emerald pendent are causing a great deal of heart-burn to Mother India.

In Kashmir

In Kashmir a short-sighted autocrat and and his myrmidons of tyranny are determined to drown in a sea of blood the struggle of the people towards elementary civic liberties. By raising the Communist phobia the government of Kashmir had hoped to lull the rest of India into the belief that the agitation in Kashmir was the creation of a few Red revolutionaries who are out to fish in troubled waters. Events took an alarmist turn for the bureaucracy when Pundit Nehru announced his decision to step on the scene. The cracking feudalism of Kashmir has been progressing backards through a series of bunglings. Shootings were ordered on the flimsiest pretexts, public thoroughfares were closed against traffic, martial law was proclaimed, methods of mass terrorism were employed in all their crude cruelty; and even the President of the Indian National Congress, the No. 1 figure in India, was served with a warrant of arrest. The struggle in Kashmir has not subsided; every day it is gathering momentum.

Would that the Princedom in Kashmir and the rest of India displayed a saner vision of the present day tendencies in India! The demand for civic liberties is being voiced loudly from every part of India. While British India is marching forward, it is in vain that the Princes hope to keep their island fortresses of autocracy securely shielded from all notions of civic liberties. Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer in Travancore showed a timely gesture by removing the ban on the *Herald* and the *Malabar Mail;* and by cancelling the detention orders on several outstanding Catholics. This was a step in the right direction; but the States have as yet touched only the fringes of constitutional progress. We do not demand that the Native States should be declared republics; but it is essential that democratic principles should be respected, and that power should be transferred progressively to the elected representatives of the people.

And In Ceylon

As for the "emerald pendent" of Mother India, conditions are little better than in Kashmir. The Ceylon Government is out to suppress the constitutional rights of the Indians in Ceylon. A mass strike was organized by the Indians all over the Island, which was later called off at the advice of the Indian National Congress. The A.I.C.C. passed a resolution demanding that the rights taken away from the Indians be restored to them. Protests have arisen from all over India against Ceylon's policy of discrimination against Indian nationals. Thus the Indian Merchants Association of Karachi, in the course of a communication to the Commonwealth Relations Department, says: "It is painful to observe that Indian nationals who have settled in Ceylon for so many decades are denied constitutional rights common to all British possessions. The stand taken by the Government of Ceylon is untenable. The Government of India has obligation to protect their citizens abroad from encroachment on their rights."

Perhaps it is futile to look forward to direct action being taken by the Government of India. The pre-Morley caretaker farce installed in Delhi is not properly a Government, nor is it in any sense the Government of India. It is there to do the behests of a foreign power. The crisis in the postal strike became so acute on account of a series of unpardonable mistakes on the part of irresponsible authorities. The tardy and ineffective action taken against the Union of South Africa was quite different from what a national Government would have done. Nor is it likely that anything would be done to meet adequately the present situation in Ceylon.

Gandhiji's approach to the Ceylon problem is more realistic. He hopes to make the Ceylon Government and the Ceylonese see the right and act according to justice. He said at the Poona Prayer Meeting: "Indians and Ceylonese are brothers. A narrow strip of water separates India from Ceylon; a strong man can swim across the channel. They are both coloured people. . . . How then could such a quarrel between Indians and Ceylonese be tolerated? The Congress had advised the Indians in Ceylon to give up their strike, because they did not want to embarass the Ceylonese. They wanted a brotherly settlement."

Is a brotherly settlement possible? Let us hope that it is. As Pundit Nehru said at the A.I.C.C. Conference, Ceylon is really a part of India, though politically it may be separate. Ceylon depends on India for many of her needs. Every effort should be made to bridge the gulf that now separates the two countries.

STRAWS IN THE WIND

CALL FOR REVOLUTIONARY ACTION

A surprising statement has been issued from Bombay by Mr. Jai Prakash Narain, leader of the Congress Socialist Party after the defeat of his amendment in the A.-I.C.C. He is frankly disappointed that the main body of the A.-I.C.C. was in no mood to applaud his eloquence and hopes that the "mass of the people" would side with him against the Congress decision. His detailed plan for revolutionary action strikes the casual reader as not unlike Caesar's historic crossing the Rubicon. Is the public to understand it as a declaration of war against the Congress High Command? He says that his party should now "go to the peasant and the worker, the student and the youth, the artisan and the middle man, the town and the country, and build up every manner of organization that would add to the people's strength. "The Party Leader's plan of action is already being carried out in several centres by Congress Socialist workers. Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya, a prominent Congress Socialist, who is also a member of the recently constituted Congress Working Committee, addressing a meeting of students and Congress workers in Bangalore, pleaded strongly for boycotting the Constituent Assembly because it is an "award by a self-imposed arbiter". The Congress Socialists believe that their propaganda will enlist the "people's strength" on the side of their group.

Mr. Jai Prakash Narain and his group are not alone in their claim to represent "the people's strength". The same claim is made even more vociferously by M. N. Roy's so-called party, the Radical Democrats, and by the pure Red comrades who are ever fomenting labour troubles. All these are chips from the old block. They have split away due to too much hammering, due to an untimely and ill-advised bid for power. Is Mr. Jai Prakash Narain attempting another split? Unity was never more needed in political outlook than at the present time. What all revolutionary leaders refuse to understand is that unity is to be bought at the price of compromise. Jai Prakash asks for an uncompromising boycott of the White Paper of May 16. Few Indians are enamoured with the Coupland division of India and all that it implies. All see that a strong Central Government is essential for national prosperity. The Congress rejected the interim proposals of the White Paper, because they demanded a total sacrifice of the principles of national unity. But they accepted the Constituent Assembly, because there is at present no way out of an impossible deadlock, and perhaps because there is some truth in the remark of the London **Times** that the White Paper is a "sturdy central pier requiring only a comparatively short span from either side" to bridge the gulf between opposing parties in India.

What India needs at the present time is not revolutionary frittering away of energy, but constructive thinking and concerted action. The hopes of the Constituent Assembly coming to a speedy and satisfactory conclusion are not very bright; but every avenue of possible success must be explored before succumbing to defeatism or declaring a policy of non-co-operation which will inevitably lead to revolutionary chaos perhaps even to civil war and certainly to the continuance of the foreign rule for many years to come.

The Leftist Groups

While Mr. Jai Prakash Narain is planning for "revolutionary action" throughout India, and for organization of the masses on his side against the "official Congress" which he claims "is submerged in constitutional and administrative work", the Communist Party of India is making all effortes to draw the Congress Socialists and the Forward Bloc into its own ranks. On every political forum the struggle for power continues, and each party which enters the struggle claims that it alone represents the mass of the people. The Communists have been for a long time putting out feelers to absorb the Congress Socialists and the Forward Bloc; but hitherto they have always received a contemptuous refusal. **People's Age** commented editorially not long ago: "Mr. Jai Prakash's dictum that they would co-operate with any party except the Communist Party only means that they would join hands with all and sundry, but not with the biggest (?) Left force. It is a call to stay away from the present mass-struggles, since quite a large number of them will be under the leadership of the Communists. They thus aid the Right in disorganizing the militant struggles of the working-class, the struggles through which they move to no compromise and freedom."

At present the so-called Left groups in the country are split into many camps bitterly opposed to each other, and that is a clear asset for the constructive forces in the political field. The policy of the Left is a purely negative one, that of sabotaging every effort towards progress and peaceful settlement. Their slogan is always "no compromise and free-

dom", but by refusing all compromise they are striking at the root of freedom. It is easy to whip the masses into a frenzy, and to be crowned with glory as strike-organizers. It is a more difficult task to lead the masses to constructive work and orderly progress, and to find an amicable settlement in the clashing of interests and the struggle between opposing classes. The threatened railway strike was averted at the last moment, in spite of the Left groups showing all along the line a very unhelpful attitude. The postal strike could not be averted; and the responsibility for the incalculable amount of public inconveninence caused by the strike must be shared both by the authorities and by the leaders of the strike. The attitude on both sides was one of no compromise, and no side seemed inclined to consider the interests of the public. The country needs a strong Central government which would show the right place in society to those leaders who would use fitful mass feeling as a ladder to cilmb to power.

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FOR THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

The elections to the Constituent Assembly are now over; and to Catholics in India it has been an agreeable surprise to find in the list of elected members, along with outstanding Catholic laymen Dr. Alban De Souza, Mr. Boniface Larka and Mr. Prater, also the name of a priest and a Jesuit. Rev. Fr. Jerome De Souza, Rector, Loyola College, Madras, recalls the name of another great Catholic of South Kanara, the late Dr. F. X. De Souza, who for many years represented the Indian Christian community in the Central Legislature, and showed himself throughout his long life as a champion of Catholic interests. The Congress has to be congratulated for the wise selection they have made. The Indian Christian community which whole-heartedly aligns itself with the constructive and nationalistic forces in the country has an important role to play as a cementing factor between communal rivalries. The confidence they show in the leaders of the country, in spite of their being a small minority, their refusal to ask for any special rights and privileges, their insistence that a form of government democratic both in letter and spirit should be established at the centre, and their enlighted support of every constructive plan, will help a great deal in laying down once for all the ghost of communal phobia. Distrust and suspicion will only widen the existing gulf. Trustful co-operation, of which the Christians in India show the best example, is essential for evolving the constitution of a free India which is the prayerful wish of 400 million people. Considering this special role of the Christians in India, it is regrettable that they have not been given a more generous proportion of the general seats in the Constituent Assembly. It would have been in the interests of the Hindus themselves, and of all India, if the Christians were represented in larger numbers.

However, the Congress has to be congratulated for its commendable breadth of vision in choosing as Constituent Assembly members several outstanding public men from outside the party ranks. The aim of the Congress in so doing is to secure for the framing of the new Constitution the most capable experts from all over India. Constitution-making is a work too important to be sacrificed to party politics. The Congress which chose a Protestant clergyman as one of the ministers in the Assam Cabinet and as a member for the Constituent Assembly finds it quite natural to choose also a Roman Catholic priest, who by office is outside party politics, for the Constituent Assembly. And the choice in this case has been most appropriate. Few among the Catholics of India combine in such full measure the power to carry conviction, the rich experience ot man and things, the pleasing compelling eloquence, the deep knowledge of things Catholic, and the wide and distinguished cultural outlook which all have admired in the Rector of Loyola College.

STRAWS IN THE WIND

THE NATIONAL PLANNING COMMITTEE

THE National Planning Committee's new Handbook, recently published from Bombay and the various reports which have since appeared in the press will be gladly welcomed by the public. Having been deluged in the daily press with a large number of plans and reports published by numerous commissions and Advisory Boards, it is with a sense of relief that one would turn to this Handbook which originates from the nation's most widely representative Planning Committee. The National Planning Committee presided over by Pundit Nehru was the outcome of a Congress resolution of 1938. Its first five sessions were conducted between 17th December 1938 and 30th August 1940. The initiative was taken by the eight Congress Provinces but the other Provinces and several of the major Native States were also represented on the Committee, so that the National Planning Committee truly justifies its title National. In 1940 there occurred a stormburst in India's political atmosphere, and most of the leading spirits among the planners found themselves behind prison bars. From their seculsion they watched others stepping on the stage and regaling the nation with new and gorgeous plans which, however, failed to elicit public attention. In October 1945 the National Planning Committee once more resumed its sessions, and it is to be hoped that out of its deliberations would emerge some reliable picture of the shape of things to come in the India of the future.

Comprehensive

The chief merit of the National Planning Committee Plan is its comprehensiveness. Though the Committee took its origin from a conference of the Ministers of Industries, the Committee rightly considers that Industrial development cannot by itself solve the economic problem of India, and that the economic problem is not the only problem. Constructive and comprehensive planning should take up all the aspects of a complex socio-economic problem; and the plan for each should be drawn up not as independent and complete in itself, but as part of a co-ordinated whole, each with its proportionate emphasis, and all together contributing to social welfare. Large-scale, medium and cottage industries must be developed as means to increase the national dividend and as a relief for the pressure on the land. Education that would make of the people at least fit citizens of a democratic state should form part of national planning. And the peculiar conditions of India demand that the greatest emphasis should be laid on agriculture.

The National Planning Committee has appointed 29 sub-committees, 8 for agriculture, 7 for industries, 2 for democratic relations (labour and population), 5 for commerce and finance, 2 each for transport, public welfare and education, and lastly one for women's role in planned economy. As an illustration of the comprehensiveness of the plan, the terms of reference for the sub-committees on agriculture may be quoted. They are: Rural marketing and Finance, River training and Irrigation, Soil conservation and Afforestation, Land policy, Agricultural labour and Agricultural Insurance, Animal husbandry and Dairying, Crops—planning and production, Horticulture, Fisheries—marine and inland.

Where We Object

A few of the sub-committees have already made public their final reports, and these, we believe, would in general meet with the approval of the public. Not that everything in them is perfect. Absolute perfection in planning does not exist; in socio-economics the theories are many; the goals may be variously defined; and no means are infallible. Here we may, however, stress the fact that no planning should violate certain absolute ethical standards. Viewing from this angle, we cannot but deplore several of the recommendations made by the sub-committee on "Women's role in Planned economy." It is true, our Indian planners did not invent these modern fads about sterilization, abortion, marrigage-law, divorce, illegitimacy law, co-education and the like; they have been copied from Germany, Russia and other Western countries. But that does not make them

any the less objectionable. Let us copy the West in what deserves to be copied, not in what all right-thinking men agree in condemning. The Catholic Church has always upheld the sanctity of marriage, its unity and indissolubility, the right of the human person to bodily integrity, the necessity of purity and its safeguards and similar points of an inviolable moral order, not because such is the teaching of a revealed religion, but because such is the disposition of the natural moral order which obliges all men. Planning and legislation should not consider economic prosperity as their sole norm. They should be such as to ensure the observance of the moral order, not make its violation more easy. Let not a premium be set on vice.

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PRIVATE SCHOOLS IN COCHIN

The Government of Cochin has promulgated a new law which cannot but be stoutly opposed by all Private Schools. The law imposes a Staff Selection Board on private schools irrespective of whether they receive government Grant-in-aid or not. All appointments of staff to the private schools will be made directly by the new Staff Selection Board according to a system of communal rotation. This law will be highly injurious to the interests of private schools which hitherto maintained their high standard of efficiency through selecting the best available staff, without regard to communal rivalries. Hearty co-operation between staff and management which is an essential condition for efficiency in education will cease forthwith. Private managements will receive as their co-operators in the all-important task of education not men whom they can carefully choose and train, but those who will emerge from the blind maze of red tape and inefficiency. Bureaucratic control on education pushed to this extreme limit will affect adversely the interests of the pupils, and the Catholic atmosphere which our schools wish to maintain for our students. Only two categories of schools are exempted from this law, convent schools in which the appointment of religious sisters will not be made by the Staff Selection Board, and the Vedic schools and schools of the Namboodiris — the high Brahmin caste — in which the principles of caste exclusivism will be respected, and which therefore will be entirely outside the control of the Staff Selection Board. We are at one with the Government of Cochin in wishing that none but qualified staff be appointed in private schools; but the qualification necessary for efficient teaching can be decided otherwise than by a Government Board which understands little of the conditions in private schools, and will sacrifice efficiency for communal prejudices.

THE LANGUAGE PROBLEM

The problem of a national language has been exercising for a long time the best minds of the country. The merits of Hindi cannot apparently be gainsaid. The language is one that can easily be learnt; it is already known to a vast majority of the people; and the chief political organization of India, the National Congress, has for long sponsored the spread of that language. Still there are those who doubt whether Hindi as a national language is more than wishful thinking. The opposition of South Indians, Bengalees and other sections of the Indian people against a new language replacing their rich and ancient cultural heritage is well known. Mr. C. Raja Gopalachariar's signal failure to elicit the support of his former colleagues is linked with the unpopular crusade he conducted at one time for the Congress High Command's prospective *lingua franca*. In fact the stoutest opposition to Hindi has come from those provinces which possess a rich vernacular literature and a language capable of expressing fine shades of meaning. That a language is easily learnt is perhaps the strongest reason why it should not be encouraged. Hindi and the more amorphous Hindustani are, as its best admirers would admit, weak, poor in vocabulary, and incapable of all that richness, beauty and power which the language of a powerful people would require.

The reasons that militate against English being a *lingua franca* for India would at first sight appear formidable. But perhaps are these really reasons, or only prejudices? English is the language of the conquerors. The conquerors will quit, and then perhaps the stigma attached to their language might also disappear. Most civilized peoples are bilingual—one language as the common vehicle of thought, and a second language which is learnt in the schools. If we would choose a second language let it be one which will repay our effort, which will enhance our culture, which will be a key to vast treasures of knowledge. The world is beginning to be more and more international. The aeroplane and radio have linked distant countries more than even in the past. We need a language that will enable us to fight for our rights in international council halls, which will give us a medium for greatest publicity, against English though conducted with the best intentions, is not perhaps in the best interests of the people.

M. THAEKEKARA.

STRAWS IN THE WIND

CATHOLIC THOUGHT TODAY

THE "Etudes" of April 1946 carries a singularly striking article by jean Danielou on "Modern trends in religious thought." The "Etudes," published by the Jesuit Fathers of France, is very nearly an octogenarian, and it has kept throughout its long life the reputation of being one of the foremost Catholic journals of the world. It is proof both of the intrinsic merits of the journal and of the religious revival in France, that among the many monthlies in French, religious, anti-religious, secular and otherwise, the "Etudes," though always moving on a high intellectual plane, commands today the widest circulation. The French language being what it is, lingua franca, thousands outside France and the continent of Europe, who by long experience were accustomed to look forward to each issue of the "Etudes" with eager expectation, would consider it one of the great benefits of the cessation of the war that France is no more a closed country, and is once more able to put Catholics in many scattered lands into touch with the chief centres of religious thought.

Modern Trends

On reading M. Danielou's accurate analysis of present day trends in religious thought, the experience for many Catholics in India woud be not unlike that of fiction's great Rip Van Winkle. The Catholic world has progressed far; many new categories of thought have been developed; theology, scripture, philosophy, apostolate, all have received a rejuvenation, a new orientation, a surprising widening of vistas. Bound fast to traditional, pre-war habits of thought and expression, unconscious of the rapid onward development that had been taking place during the years when Europe was a crucible of suffering, we of the outer world might perhaps find not too easy to adjust ourselves to the new thought currents which are now being revealed to us. Any attempt to summarize "Les orientations presentes" would be hazardous and might create many false impressions; M. Danielou has packed it so full with startling revelations that one is at loss to grasp at one effort the great complex of modern Catholic thought as he has presented it, and would almost despair of re-presenting it for a different public. A return to the primary sources in theology and scripture, and especially to the Greek Fathers, a new vista opened by the philosophy of existentialism, as opposed to the Thomistic and Aristotelian philosophy of essences, and a method of apostolate in intimate, perhaps even disconcerting, touch with actual life—these are according to M. Danielou's analysis the three main currents in the great flood of modern Catholic literature

"Sheed and Ward" and other well-known English publishers will no doubt, in course of time, acquaint us with these currents of thought. Religious literature of the coming generation would apparently be of a very different trend from what one has been accustomed to, and it is not unlikely that France, relieved of the stress of the war, would take a leading share in directing this new trend. A very healthy feature of the present day is the boldness with which Catholic thinkers face live issues, take on an attitude of constructive leadership instead of one of negative defence, and present the fulness of the Catholic message which is so pitifully needed by a world reduced to ruins. As M. Danielou says in substance, the preoccupation is no more what the great Aquinas has said, but what he would have said if he were living at the present time.

Rethinking For India

This reflection is not without significance in India where the Catholic message has not yet appreciably penetrated into the manifold layers of secular thought. Our traditional methods, excellent though they are, with the mission stations, the catechists, the routine parish work, the schools and the colleges, the pious associations of the laity, and lay apostolate which is more a name than a fact, all perhaps need a re-thinking, a new orientation, a bold grasping of thorny, dynamic force, with immense latent power; but the application of that force to varying circumstances in different lands is the work of every individual Catholic. An undue veneration for outworn methods might irretrievably condemn us to a slow death through inanition. The Church today in India is faced with a puzzling problem of stagnancy; our progress does not greatly outstride the natural increase of our population. The age of a Francis Xavier, John de Britto or Lievens must become more than a dead memory; it must be a living present. How? is the great interrogation.

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MR. CHURCHILL AND INDIA

Mr. Churchill's recent criticism of the Labour Government's plan for India is of a piece with the many lugubrious statements he had made on India in previous years. Britain's war-time premier is a keen politician with a somewhat commendable breadth of vision; but he has one blind spot, and that is India. Cassandrawise, he prophesies for India "a sanguinary strife", "a war of elephants," "dark carnage and confusion." During the India Debate he had bemoaned that the Cabinet Mission had displayed "a zeal which would be natural were it to gain an empire, not to cast it away;" to which Mr. Cove answered that Mr. Churchill was "an adolescent imperialist bereft of power." There is no denying the fact that the situation in India is gloomy at the present time. The White Paper of May 16 had been hailed by the London Times as a "sturdy central pier requiring only a comparatively short span from either side" to bridge the gulf between Moslem and Hindu.

—M. THAEKEKARA

non-Christians has to be made by the "Missionary".

The written word, and now the radioed word is all very well; but the spoken word has much more personality about it and is better listened to. The missionary is all of us, priest and lay man (and lay woman, to say nothing of the sister). We each of us have our part to play. Our daily contacts with our neighbours, our visiting friends (and enemies), our servants, our shopkeepers, bus and tram conductors, gari-wallas, and market or station coolies. A Christian word, or at least a kind word in a Christian way, goes a long way in softening the soil for the seed of truth.

There are indeed new trends, and India has even fearfully new trends. The old methods of a century ago will not work now. When we all, or at least many of us, get looking the new way, then God's moment will come and a leader, a new Paul, a new Xavier, a new Don Bosco will be sent us to lead us to new victories.

Rev. Fr. D. J. Wollaston, S.C.

Letter to the Editor

Dear Sir,—Hidden away in the middle of the column "Straws in the Wind" of your issue of the 25th. August, were words that should have received headline notice. In fact, they should have been underlined in red, and sent round to all the "prominent" parishioners.

The trend of thought in the religious field, as in other fields, is undergoing a distinct change. What the "Etudes" (as reported therein) says in high and general terms, is experienced by us, even though we are in backwater towns and villages of a mission district.

"A return to primary sources in theology and scripture", is an absolute requisite for those who are to preach to the non-Christian world around us. And some Catholics are non-Christian in thought and action.

A return to the "Greek Fathers", if you like, in Europe; but also a fair knowledge of the "Sanskrit Fathers" in India is required not only by the expert of the Mission, but by the very-easily-approached missionary and even by the has-had-some-learning Indian Catholic (Anglo-Indians included).

The philosophic implications of the Atom Bomb, which everyone has heard of, but very few know anything about, has set the modern mind thinking on new lines. And India's young students are more modern than many of us think. Naturally if we stick to the old forms (the substance is ever the same), we will be talking in a foreign language to our neighbour. Hence the need for a thorough brush up in the basic ideas of morals and religion.

The third point is merely the application of the new way, that is, a more direct approach to those whom we are called upon to preach to and to make disciples of. As the writer of the column notes, our old methods are useless in some of the stagnant pools of Christianity that have formed in these last decades. Progress in some parts is no progress at all, it is merely due to immigration or to the natural increase of our population and at times it is not even that.

A Xavier, de Britto, Lievens will have to come. They will be laughed at, criticised, and even sat upon. But come they will. God will see to that.

In the meantime some little work could be done. Our Catholic Books on religion could be given a new leaning, laying less stress on "Catholic vs. Protestant" disputes, and more on the foundations of truth and morality. Church History could and should be taught on these lines. Even our time-honoured (or should we say well-hackneyed) hymns could be rewritten to infuse (and enthuse) us with new vigour. Processions, house-blessings, novenas, and the rest should be injected with soul-stirring, rather than conscience-appeasing, spirit.

But it is in the missions that more personal contact with moral-principled and educated (not mere book-learned)

STRAWS IN THE WIND

POLITICS AND RELIGION

MR. Marcelo Caetano. the Portuguese Minister for Colonies, has explained in an interview why he thinks Portugal cannot give up its domination of Goa; and a summary of that interview has been published in the leading newspapers of India through Reuters' Agency. Dr. Caetano has chosen a regrettable line of argument, by raising the religious issue which he confuses with politics, and by making it appear that because most of the Goans are Catholics, they should continue under Portuguese domination instead of joining the rest of India which is predominantly Hindu and Muslim. In support of his argument he cites "the distinction conferred on the Patriarch of Goa by the President of Portugal" which he says "is significant." 'Significant of what?' Catholics in India would ask in bewilderment. Militant Hindu nationalism represented by papers like the **Indian Social Reformer** and the **Mahratta**, would indeed be ready with their answer. A favourite assumption of theirs is that foreign missionaries come to India not as the messengers of Christ, but as the agents of imperialism; and they would be quick to find in Dr. Caetano's statements a convincing proof for this. Catholics need no refutation for this totally absurd assumption. Catholic missionaries have a clear sense about giving to God what is God's and to Caesar what is Caesar's. But when politicians like Dr. Caetano drag in Catholicism into their political controversy, and attempt to refer for Ceasar what is God's, they are exposing Catholicism to a very unfair and undeserved attack from the non-Catholics of India.

Catholicism and the Portuguese

Dr. Caetano's plea is that most of the Goans have embraced Catholicism; but 40% of the Goans are non-Catholics, and besides Catholicism in not a Portuguese religion as Dr. Caetano's argument would seem to imply. It is a totally fallacious argument, often trumpetted in certain sections of the Hindu press, that Christianity is a Western religion and acceptance of Christianity is acceptance of Western domination. Dr. Caetano in his zeal to maintain Portugal's despotism over India has chosen a similar line of argument; and this cannot but be very prejudicial to the interests of Catholic India, and greatly endangers the future of foreign missionaries in India. Christianity is a universal religion, and there were parts in India which were Christian many centuries before Portugal became Christian. And to those who know the religious history of Portugal from the time of Pombal till recent years when Salazar came to power, that country's claim over Goa on the plea of Catholicism cannot but sound very hollow.

The irrelevant statements of Dr. Caetano about Catholics in Goa have already caused much misunderstanding about the mission of the Catholic Church, as is clear from a speech made in Calcutta by Dr. Lohia, a Congress Socialist who took a prominent part in the **Satyagraha** in Goa. Dr. Lohia sternly warns Catholics not to be betrayed into foreign domination through the foreign religion. Dr. Lohia's warning is superfluous and groundless. Catholics would strongly repudiate the epithet "foreign" for their religion. And facts prove abundantly that the leaders of the Satyagraha movement in Goa and those who have been victimized most by the Portuguese autocracy are most of them Catholics, whereas Sucomi Sri Divarkanatha and Mr. Vitoba Sunctancar, two prominent Goans who sent memoranda to the Government against the **Satyagraha** movement are both of them Hindus. Dr. Caetano's attempt to protect Portuguese domination behind Catholicism is as futile for the cause he serves as it is fraught with dangerous consequences for the Catholic Church in India.

COCHIN REFORMS

Much as we deplore the feudalism and autocracy which make most of the Native States of India a blot on civilization, it is with the keenest appreciation that we welcome the progressive, though tardy and half-hearted, reform measures introduced by some of the Princes. Conservatism is the hall-mark of political thought in India, and it is especially so in the backwaters of stagnation which are the States of Indian India. However, here and there one finds rulers who choose to break away from the fetters of traditional apathy, and to think with the age and the people. Among these rulers, the Maharajah of Cochin would easily claim prime place. Though in area Cochin is one of the smaller Native States of India, its density of population, nearly a thousand per square mile, is geater than in any other State or Province; it leads the rest of India in widespread literacy and high educational standards, and it is a great commercial centre, possessing one of India's finest natural harbours. And as far as the Catholic Church is concerned, no other part of India claims as great importance as Cochin. This small country is the seat of two archbishops and two bishops, has a higher percentage of Catholics than most parts of India, and has no less than six Catholic colleges.

Democratic Progress

Hence it is that we watch with great interest the political developments in Cochin. Some weeks ago we deplored the new educational law of Cochin which imposes non-Catholic teachers for Catholic schools according to a principle of communal rotation. In marked contrast to the retrograde educational policy, stands the political reform introduced by the Maharajah. Unlike the so-called reforms of Hyderabad and Travancore which have deceived none and have pleased only time-servers and sycophants, the royal proclamation made recently in the Cochin Legislative Assembly is a distinct advance towards the recognition of democratic principles of government, and has been welcomed by all sections of the people with enthusiasm. Rightly then has Pundit Nehru, in his capacity as President of the All-India States People's Conference, advised the Cochin State Praja Mandal party to offer their co-operation in implementing the new constitutional reforms. Pundit Nehru said that the people of Cochin are more fortunate than the people of many other States where there are still "many obstructions" in the way of responsible government. Among other suggestions of the Maharaja which Pundit Nehru welcomed is the idea of forming a Kerala Union on a linguistic basis, comprising Travancore, Cochin, and British Malabar; but it is to be feared that the unhelpful attitude of Travancore will place "many obstructions" in the realization of this Union, though it cannot but be beneficial to all the eleven million Malayalam speaking people.

THE GREAT KILLING

The "Great Killing" of Calcutta is a poignant memory which shall not easily be effaced from the Indian mind. It was ghastly; it was colossal. Within three days of gruesome tragedy a great city was changed to shambles; the fair name of a peace-loving people was irreparably beaten to dust; and a powerful political party lost the last shreds of its prestige. One estimate places the number of killed at 5,000 and another at 30,000. The number of wounded is not less than 20,000. The loss in property may total many thousands of lakhs of rupees. A casualty of a quarter of a lakh in three days appears staggering when compared to the 36,100 men that the whole of India lost during six years of the greatest war in history, on the many battle-fields of Burma, the Pacific, Africa and Italy. The great killing of Calcutta is without a parallel in history. And yet it was a killing that need not have happened, if the political hate-mongering which preceded it, had been sobered down by common sense and a respect for truthful justice. And even after it had started, it could have been prevented from reaching such gigantic proportions, if the inefficiency of the government had not been so woeful. No country in the world maintains as expensive an administration as India. As J. C. Kumarappa has pointed out in his book on "Public finance and poverty of India", while New York, the richest State in the richest country of the world pays its Governor $10,000 a year, about 14 times the average income of a citizen, Bengal pays its Governor Rs. 1,20,000 ($45,000), about 2,400 times the income of the average tax-payer. The futility of maintaining so galling and so expensive a government has been made patent during the carnage of the "Direct Action Day".

But the tragedy of Calcutta should not be merely a bitter memory. It should be a lesson for the future. Mutual recriminations must cease; hate-mongering must be considered a punishable offence against society; and all hands must bend to the huge task of reconstruction that lies ahead. Only stony hearts will remain untouched at the sight of so much innocent blood.

Sept 22, '46

STRAWS IN THE WIND

THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT

AN Interim Government has been formed at Delhi under the leadership of Pundit Nehru; and a significant, though not decisive, step has been taken towards the framing of a constitution and the declaration of independence. The Indian Christians, while rejoicing over this partial fulfilment of national aspirations which they cherish in common with the rest of their fellow countdymen, cannot but regret that antagonism between the two great communities is growing ever stronger, thereby exposing to greater risks the interests of the smaller minorities and emphasizing the possibility of a divided India with governments based on communal majorities. Viewed exclusively from the point of view of a small minority, the present Government, under Pundit Nehru, excluding as it does extreme communalists, and comprised of members who are sincerely intent on the unification of India on a non-communal basis, is to be considered far more preferable and more likely to provide for the true interests of the country and the people what an uneasy and non-co-operative coalition of armed neutrality between the Congress and the League would have been.

And Impending War

However, it would be foolish to blind oneself to the extreme dangers of the present situation. The harrowing experiences of the Calcutta carnage are an ever-present memory; and speeches filled with venom and bitterness which are often heard from communal platforms are not likely to lull the public into a false sense of security about the future. At a Lahore meeting of the Muslim League, held on September 1, Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan made a speech full of fearful omens. "The aim of our direct action," he said, "is to paralyze Pundit Jewaharlal Nehru's government, which will vanish like the historic halfday rule of the Nizam water-carrier." Neither is Pundit Nehru unaware of such a possibility; but if the present Government falls, the country is faced with one of two alternatives, the rule of British bayonets which the Muslim League loathes at least verbally, or the rule of goondas and hooligans. Calcutta of August 16 to 18 might pale into insignificance beside the India of anarchist days for which communal rivalries are speedily setting the stage.

The Raja continued: "Zero hour is fast approaching, and it calls for strictest vigilance on our part and impatient readiness to jump into the fire. I visualize the adoption of a 'scorched surplus food' policy in order to prevent surplus food in Muslim majority areas falling into the hands of our enemies." Regarding the formation of the new Government, he says, it "will not be the day ushering in India's freedom, but will mark the beginning of a civil war—sanguinary war between the susurper and the oppressed."

In the third week of August Calcutta already has had an experience of what such civil war would be; it will not be a war between armed forces; it will be a fearful reign of murder, loot and arson in which the sugerers will be not the political leaders but the common people. In 1943 Bengal experienced what the "scorched surplus food" policy of Raja G. A. Khan would bring to India on a far more gigantic scale. We wonder whether these wild outbursts of communal bitterness, inciting a fratricidal carnage, would meet with the sympathy of Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, the Bengal Premier, who in his recent statements has evinced a sincere desire to ensure communal harmony and the welfare of the sixty-five million people whose destinies he controls.

A POINTER TO PEACE

In the present atmosphere tense with threatened or impending war, the non-political millions of India would look eagerly for some pointer to peace. We believe that such a pointer to peace is shown by the small minorities like the Parsis, the Anglo-Indians, the Sikhs and the Indian Christians. The National Congress being predominantly Hindu, the other communal groups have reason to be cautious when aligning themselves with the Congress. But it is their earnest hope that the Congress is planning not for Hindu domination but for the welfare of all the people irrespective of caste and creed. Hence, in spite of the manifest risks involved, they have chosen to trust the Congress, and to work for a united India. It is true that in the past the Congress has committed several blunders

in its treatment of minorities; more than once it played into the hands of Hindu communalists. But the minorities believe that a salutary lesson has been learnt from the past, and that the Hindus, instead of exploiting to their advantage the power which their larger numbers give them, will show themselves truly just in all conflicts of opposing interests. Power is not for domination but for service. No commonwealth can justify its existence unless it is for commonweal. The minorities have no desire to pre-judge the party that has come into power; they will postpone judgement until after it has achieved or foiled to achieve in deeds what it has promised in words; and until such time their attitude will be one of helpful co-operation.

An Attitude of Co-Operation

For the interests of India we would intensely desire that the large Muslim population of the country also adopted a similar attitude. We realize that the Muslims, or at least their political leaders have reason to feel aggrieved at the present situation. But is the situation irremediable? Has the door been closed against compromise and co-operation? Is non-constitutional violence the only alternative? Violence by its very nature is a blind force moving towards an undetermined and undefinable goal. It is a fearful weapon that easily gets out of the control of those who wield it. And in its wake follows a ruthless nemesis. The gospel of violence is being continually dinned into one's ears on every side. In refreshing contrast to this species of political intimidation, one hears also the hopeful messages of a few prominent leaders, Hindus and Muslims alike, who are determined to lead the country along the path of constitutional progress. Mr. Sayed Ali Zaheer said at Lucknow on August 30: "I have all along been a staunch believer in Hindu-Muslim unity. Hindus and Muslims are brothers of the same soil. They have lived together for several decades and they cannot be separated." We believe that among the Muslims there are thousands more who share the sentiments of Mr. Zaheer, though perhaps they are afraid to profess them openly. During the Calcutta riots thousands of Hindus and Muslims who were mutually protected have experienced that communal bitterness exists more in the fervid speeches of the politicians than in the actual life of the people. The hope for the nation lies in the forging of a strong bond of union between the various communities. The smaller religious groups have shown by their co-operative attitude how this essential task can be achieved.

THE STRIKE WAVE

The communal problem is in itself so gigantic that it would tax to the utmost the best talents in the country. But unhappily it is not the only problem. Almost equally formidable is the labour problem. India is at present passing through a strike wave compared to which the great industrial unrest of 1921 appears almost negligible. In 1943, the year which recorded the largest number of labour disputes, there were in all 716 stoppages, involving 525,000 workers and costing the loss of 2,300,000 workdays. But in 1946, during the first three months alone, there were 426 stoppages, involving 580,000 workers, and costing the loss of 3,000,000 workdays. Since March the strike fever has gone on increasing with a fearful rapidity. It is still too early to compute the total loss entailed during recent months by the postal strike, the almost innumerable strikes in textiles, secretariates, railways, presses, match factories, engineering works, transport, jute mills etc. Labour has developed a new consciousness of organized strength; and *agent provocateurs*, struggling for notoriety, have been disconcertingly abundant wherever trouble was brewing. We cannot help admiring the talent for organization and the skill in propaganda displayed by the labour leaders; but we wish that all this was put to better use; and we fear that their agitation is woefully illtimed. By paralyzing industry and peaceful civic life, they are making a solution of the political problem ever more difficult; and consciously or otherwise they are becoming powerful fifth columnists for imperialism. We grant that labour conditions in India are pitiful; but by insisting on an immediate improvement of these conditions, they will not only fail in their objective, but will cause the country to sink deeper into chaos and poverty.

~~MBER~~ 29, 1946.

September

STRAWS IN THE WIND

DR. LOHIA ABOUT CATHOLICS

MR. Lohia's tour in India filled with crowded meetings and impassioned speeches lends certainly a great strength to the freedom movement in Goa. Re-echoing the words of Gandhiji, we would say that much as we differ from Dr. Lohia s extreme leftist school of political thought, we see in him a powerful leader who has given to an oppressed people a new consciousness of strength. His speeches in various parts of India have contributed a great deal to enlisting popular sympathy in favour of the Goans who are being denied the most elemental civic rights and, worse still, are being kept veiled behind a heavy iron curtain of press censorship. Little was heard about Goa in the Indian press till recent times. Dr. Lohia has rendered an immense service to the cause of justice and free speech, and to the Goans in particular by his undaunted invectives against despotism in Goa. However, we regret very much that now and then, misjudging perhaps the strict political neutrality of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, he has chosen to attack the Catholic religion along with the Portuguese Government. We quote the following from a report published by the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of a recent speech of Dr. Lohia made in Calcutta. "Dr. Lohia in conclusion condemned the efforts of certain Bishops and Archbishops in India for the 'pernicious' propaganda that they were conducting against the freedom fight of Goa. Roman Catholicism which is a great religion, he said, was not being practised as a religion, but as a political weapon to perpetuate the interests of the foreign rule."

False Allegation

We have no hesitation in affirming that the statement about "certain Bishops and Archbishops of India" conducting a "pernicious propaganda" is totally false, and is calculated to create a very unfavourable impression about the Church. The Catholic hierarchy has too clear a consciousness of its sacred charge of promoting religion to take sides in live political controversies when religion or morality is not at stake. If the allegation of Dr. Lohia is true, the worst has to be feared for the interests of the Church in India; and there is not the slightest probability of Bishops and Archbishops—whom Dr. Lohia has not deigned to mention by name—thus jeopardizing the welfare of Indian Catholics. Catholicism is indeed a great religion; it is a universal religion; it is equally honoured and respected by all nationalities, by opposing political groups. And Catholicism maintains this pre-eminent position among world religions precisely because it makes a clear distinction between religion and politics, because everywhere it stands for high moral idealism, the principles of truth and justice, the paramount rights of human liberty and human conscience. True Catholics everywhere practise it as a religion, not as a political weapon. It is indeed true that Dr. Caetano, the Portuguese Minister for Colonies, has attempted to use Catholicism as a political weapon to prop up a tottering empire. But Catholics in India, as also in the whole world, would protest vehemently against their religion being judged from the utterances of misguided politicians like Dr. Caetano.

We have no doubt about the justice of the cause for which Dr. Lohia and the people of Goa—among them, many outstanding Catholics—are today putting up a noble fight. But we fear that Dr. Lohia by his unfounded attacks on the Catholic religion, is putting a heavy strain on the consciences of thousands of sincere Catholics who are engaged in the same struggle, and is thereby running the risk of greatly weakening the resistance movement in Goa.

WORD TO THE LEADERS

Mr. Jinnah speaking about the Congress forming an interim ministry has made a statement about the Indian Christians which we cannot let go unchallenged. Pundit Nehru had made the Muslim League s position seem ridiculous by stating that all parties in the country had agreed to co-operate and that the Muslim League alone was remaining out. Mr. Jinnah counters by saying that the Sikhs have changed their position many times, and that the Parsis and Anglo-Indians are opposed to the Congress; and about the Indian Christians he states categorically that "the Christian organization is not with the Congress." We do not know what Christian organization Mr. Jinnah is speaking of; and we are unaware of any political party of the Christians which insists on remaining opposed to the Congress. Mr. Jinnah would indeed wish to see the formation of such a party, but up to the present, it is only wishful thinking.

The Christians will have their doubts about the creation of a Pakistan sovereign state. Though more than double the Sikhs in number, they are still a small

minority, and unlike the Sikhs they are distributed all over India. In Ttravancore they have seen how dangerous Hindu communalism can be for their interests. If the ideal of the Congress for a united India with a non-communal government is sacrificed to the Pakistan demand for a divided India, with Muslim and Hindu governments, the Christian minority will be the least protected, and the most endangered. Hence it is that the Christians have aligned themselves with the Congress, and have accepted to be represented in the Constituent Assembly by the nominees of the Congress.

It is indeed too much to expect that every single Indian Christian will wholeheartedly support the party programme of the Congress under all its aspects. There are among the Christians, as also among the Hindus, several outstanding public men who prefer to keep outside the Congress Party, though not forming independent parties of their own. Unhappily, there are also a few who indulge in short-sighted and baseless attacks on the Congress. Men who have lived all their life under the warm patronage of the British Government and are used to emoluments, cannot perhaps resign themselves to a national government which insists on levelling down the gross inequalities of income and on righting flagrant social injustice. These individuals are few in number, and none of them can claim a representative character among the Indian Christians, as their ideology is as un-Christian as it is anti-national. "If Mr. Jinnah chooses to measure the ten million Indian Christians of India by these few, his error is far greater than when he claims the Muslim League, supported by a powerful commercial class, to be the sole representative of the hundred million Muslims of India. The Indian Christians want a strong, non-communal political party which will lead a united India to independence and peaceful progress; and at the present time none meets their demand as well as the Congress.

(Continued on page 3)

Both Calcutta and Bombay have had a bitter experience of what communal hatred and civil strife would give to the whole of India on a much more colossal scale. In Bombay the orgy of killing was let loose by a Black Flag Day; the tragedy of Calcutta, which created a record of horror in world's history, was started by a Direct Action Day. But the reign of terror is not yet coming to an end. It continues in the villages, chiefly of Bengal, where the peace-loving, non-political masses of the poor live continually in fear of life; rumours are rife of marching armies of goondas, of villages burnt down, of peasantry put to the sword. Leaders of both the great communities are greatly to blame for thus giving to the hooligans and goondas the unrestricted freedom which they now enjoy. When killing reaches huge proportions, ephemeral peace-squads are indeed formed, and Hindu and Muslim leaders march together in procession shouting time-worn phrases which perhaps are honoured more with the lips than with the hearts. But in the streets where blood is not actually flowing, the cry is for hatred and for more blood. The cry is raised by so-called leaders whose sole aim is political prestige; but the blood which they are so ready to shed is not their own, but that of the toiling masses, whose manifold sufferings, due to poverty and disease and hunger, are already past endurance. They are too deeply sunk in their present misery to heed this dirge of hatred; nor would they understand its meaning if they heeded to it. In the huts of the villages and the hovels of the slums, Hindus and Muslims have lived together for generations in peaceful co-operation and mutual helpfulness. Cruel suffering has been their schoolmaster for lessons in benevolent tolerance. It is the cause of these poor masses that the communal leaders vainly pretend to plead; but painful disillusionment has already proved that their cause is not served by a propaganda of hatred. There are always two parties to hatred; those who suffer cruelty are goaded by a desire of vengeance; and violence paves the way for greater violence.

We Christians, along with other minorities move outside these opposing camps of hatred. We dread the day when communalism will triumph over sane sense and divide India into two countries of Hindu and Muslim domination. And we plead earnestly with the leaders of both the great communities, chiefly with the Muslim leaders, to realize that safety for the Indian people lies solely in laying down once for all the ghost of communal phobia, and in working for a united India of tolerance and co-operation.

STRAWS IN THE WIND

LABOUR VERSUS CAPITAL

Bombay Legislation

IT is welcome news that to cope with the situation of labour unrest which is rapidly deteriorating, the Provincial Government of Bombay is planning a new legislation. The purpose of the legislation is to prevent strikes which involve no substantial issue and to stop the present trend of steep fall in production and workers' earnings. The official scheme is chalked out in the 123 clauses of a new Bill—the Bombay Industrial Relations Bill—which is at present being circulated among the Assembly members. Already when Mr. Kher's government took charge of the Province, the labour situation was critical. Strikes in textile mills were frequent and steadily increasing in numbers. Bombay being the chief supplier of cotton piece goods for the rest of India, the cloth famine in India was becoming acute on account of the industrial chaos in Bombay. The machinery of arbitration which was officially existent was cumbersome, slow and inefficient, active only in inaction. The new bill promises to be a timely measure for this unsatisfactory situation.

Conciliation Courts

Disputes between capital and labour are perhaps inevitable in the present social order where the prevailing spirit is one of aggressive opposition rather than that of co-operation. But it is certainly not inevitable that all major and minor disputes should develop into large-scale strikes, involving immense financial losses to the owners of industry and great sacrifices to the wage-earners, and widening ever more the gulf between capital and labour. Conciliation boards which command the respect and confidence of both parties, and which will without undue delay settle impartially the points of dispute are the only solution in every labour crisis. The labour courts which exist at present are as slow as the governmental machinery itself, and most disputes develop into strikes, before the courts take cognizance of them. It is to remedy this situation that the Bombay legislators are now planning their new Bill.

One of the cardinal principles of a sane functional order is that higher authorities should not intervene in functions pertaining to the subordinate organs of society. It is desirable that all labour disputes should be settled by the capitalists and labourers themselves, without the State being obliged to enforce its authority. But all power is open to abuse. Industrial magnates in their trusts and combines wield a great power. So too does labour organized in trade unions and guided by able leaders. When these two great powers are pitched against one another for a trial of strength, the labourers are often the worst sufferers. Mutual hatred and suspicion between the classes destroy all possibility of peaceful settlement. Hence it is that at critical times like the present the intervention of the State is absolutely essential. A government which in the face of such wide-spread strikes is resigned to an attitude of complacent inactivity is failing in one of its chief duties. In the Bengal Legislative Assembly one of the European members recently voiced a strong warning against the deterioration of the labour situation, and pointed out that if the situation continues, rapid impoverishment of the Province will be the inevitable result, as most industrialists would look for other more peaceful provinces to invest their capital. The Province which refuses to deal energetically with the strike wave is signing off the death warrant of its industries.

The Co-Operation

A new feature of the Bombay Bill is that it provides for the setting up of employer-employee committees in various industries. Such committees are at present hardly known in India. Caste prejudices, the lack of a democratic sense and the great inequalities which exist among the different social strata may perhaps explain, but cannot justify the unwillingness of employers to associate themselves on an equal footing with their employees. Continuous contact and frank discussion will help to smoothen out differences before they develop into major crises. The only sure road to peaceful progress in all human relations is a spirit of compromise, good-will, and co-operation; and such a spirit it fostered by a recognition of just rights and claims, not by a policy of driving hard bargains and striving for ever greater bargaining power.

No government can instil this spirit into the employers and employees; it must grow from within as in a vital organism. But Government can and must foster the development of such a spirit where it exists. It has also a negative duty of putting down with a determined will all those anti-social and subversive agencies of propaganda which foment class-hatred and disunion. Freedom of speech and of the press must be respected; but freedom is not the equivalent of license. In the present context of industrial unrest, one cannot but deplore the attitude of certain extreme leftist groups and their party organs. The so-called labour leaders who are inciting the masses to a frenzy of hatred are not serving the best interests of the labourers; and meanwhile they are doing all they can to impede the efforts of constructive and progressive governments.

FRI. JUNE 21ST 1946
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TRAVANCORE PERSECUTION

SIR,—It is deplorable that the "dialectics loving premier of Travancore" has been able to carry his propaganda even into the Catholic Press. The statements made by Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar to the correspondent of THE CATHOLIC HERALD were highly misleading, and the fact that they were published in the Catholic Press without the needed corrective is apt to be disconcerting to those familiar with the true state of affairs in Travancore. The A.P.I., A.P.A., Reuters, the leading English dailies in India, and the whole of the daily and weekly Press in Travancore and Cochin had been pressed for nine months into the service of Sir C. P. in the unholy crusade against the Catholic minority in Travancore. There was, however, a single dissentient voice, that of the Indian Catholic Press, comparatively feeble amidst the loud clamour set up by its adversaries, but still a persistent voice which refused to be stifled and which succeeded in making the world conscious of the persecution of Catholics in the Hindu State of Travancore.

Verbal jugglery which makes truth appear as falsehood is the art of propaganda. Sir C. P. maintains that not only are the Catholics not victimised, but that the non-Catholics are being made the "victims of discrimination." With a great outlay of capital and human energy, the Catholics have built up a system of primary education in Travancore. Sir C. P., with a stroke of the pen, would destroy that system, refusing aid and recognition to all Catholic primary schools. Catholic parents will be obliged to give more than their share in taxation to the government schools, and will further be obliged to maintain their own schools. Catholics do not object to education being made compulsory and universal. In fact, theirs has been the lion share in making compulsory universal education more feasible in Travancore than in any other part of India. What they object to is the State monopoly in education.

The new educational deal is far from being the only proof of the persecution in Travancore. It is the best known, but perhaps not the most insidious. Churches cannot be built; cemeteries cannot be opened Severe restrictions exist on the administration of the sacraments in hospitals. Pilgrimages and processions are subject to the good will of the Hindu bureaucracy. Freedom of the Press is non-existent. A new scheme of taxation is developing which will throw most of the financial burden of the State on the Catholic minority. In an effort to stifle Catholic colleges, large sums of public money are being canalized into Hindu colleges already existing, or soon to be established. Hindu proseletizing missions are operating in many centres with the open and covert aid of the Government. Some Catholic leaders have been imprisoned and detention orders have been served on several others preventing them from speaking or even appearing in public. All the resources of a powerful dictatorial State have been utilised in a ruthless policy of cultural strangulation.

In spite of all this, Sir C. P. would have the public believe that his Government is extremely benevolent towards the Catholics The public protests of the Catholics must go on as long as the present policy of the Government continues.

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Letter to the Editor

A CHRISTIAN ORGANIZATION

Dear Sir,

Tragically deplorable is the lack of unity which at present divides into many different groups the Christians in India, whether Indian Christian or Anglo-Indian. Correspondence which appeared in the HERALD in recent months relating to many vital Anglo-Indian problems shows how divergent are the views and groups in this small community. And as for the second and large group of Christians, the Indian Christian observer, "Amoht", in his article contributed to THE STATESMAN of August 11, draws pointed attention to the fact that it is difficult to find among the Indian Christians a representative acceptable to all, and speaking with the authority of the community. The present situation is fraught with very grave consequences to the interests of both communities, and it is regrettable that the many "leaders" among the Christians of India do not take a more realistic attitude towards the part they should play in the politics of the country. "Amoht", writing about the lack of a Indian Christian representative, makes a suggestion which should claim the serious attention of all: "That emphasises over again the urgent need for a united all-India Christian organization even to include the Anglo-Indians, if they choose to come in. For, in the India of the future, the prefix "Indian" for the Indian Christian is as unnecessary, as "Anglo" for the Anglo-Indians. Both being of the nation, a political fusion on the widest religious unity of all Christian communities of India may now be desirable as it is inevitable in the long run."

Is it possible to constitute an efficient Christian organization for India, one that could claim to speak in the name of all Christians and would be acknowledged by all? And would such an organization include also the Anglo-Indians? Indeed it is possible to exaggerate the differences between the Anglo-Indians and the Indians to such an extent as completely to veil the common Christian interests. But these differences are not greater than among the various communities of the Indian Christians themselves. So long as the Anglo-Indians do not claim to belong to a different nation—as Mr. Jinnah claims for the Muslims of his following—the differences in culture, manners, language, etc., are accidental, and will yield to a second place, behind the fundamental unity of religion and worship. The Christian attitude to social and economic problems, to religious liberty, freedom of the individual and family, respective duties of the State and social groups, education and citizenship, etc., are so clearly distinctive, and the interests which the Christians as a minority have to safeguard are considered so vital by the large mass of Christians, that there is every possibility of a broad-based, all-India Christian organization. What is needed is that the leaders of the various groups and communities should get together and devise the machinery of such an organization. Christians of the future have to face the militant communalism of the Muslims as well as of the Hindus, and their smallness in numbers which is already a great source of weakness should not further be weakened by their disunity. All short-sighted policies and self-motivated struggle for leadership in sporadic groups should give way to a healthy realization of the fundamental interests which are at stake.

T. P.

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STRAWS IN THE WIND

ABOUT CATHOLIC ACTION

A COMPLAINT often voiced against Catholic Action Societies in India is that there is in them much of Catholic talking and little of Catholic Action. As a sweeping condemnation this may or may not be true; but perhaps, watching the activity, or rather the lack of it, in many places, one cannot help the impression that members consider their duties impeccably discharged if they listen to the weekly discourses on Catholic Action, its theology, technique and metaphysics, if they can freely use, though not understand, terms like milieu, cell, inquiry, re-Christianizing, Mystical Body and the like.

Need for Action

It is far from our intention to disparage knowledge of what Catholic Action is; but it should be real, not notional knowledge, knowledge which would lead to action. Catholic Action is not so much a science, a theory, a philosophy, as it is an art, a practical technique, a way of living and working. It is indeed useful to know what Catholic Actionists in other lands have done; but it is essential to know what Catholic actionists in this land can do, and how they will do it. In politics, in industry, in education, leaders in India have often sounded a warning against an unimaginative aping of the Western pattern. Not because "East is East and West is West, and ne'er the twain shall meet," but because the needs of the country, the temperament of the people, the standard of culture and education, the economic level, the social fabric, all are so entirely different. The Catholic message is ever the same in all climes, in all ages; but St. Paul himself found it necessary to make himself a Jew among the Jews and a Greek among the Greeks. Is there not perhaps a danger of the achievements of famed Catholic actionists of other lands so engrossing our vision that the concrete, intractable realities of the immediate milieu become bedimmed and indistinguishable? Catholic action is not a mass-produced, stream-lined, trade-marked commodity like an automobile, to be imported, unpacked, and put on the road. It is rather like a vital organism, a seed cast into the proper soil at the right season, a plant that grows under watchful care. General rules serve little purpose. The Latins say: "Fabricando fit faber"; or changing the simile, we might say, one plunges into the water to swim or sink. Without the plunge there is no learning to swim.

Sodalists Give the Lead

Every bold venture should be welcomed; they are the object lessons to serve as an example and an encouragement. The nearer they are to our age and our milieu, the greater is their value. Viewed in this light, the 1946 Annual of the Young Men's Sodality of St. Xavier's High School, Bombay, is one that would be welcomed eagerly by all Catholic Actionists in India. We do not know whether the work of that pioneering group will satisfy the technical definition of Catholic Action; and that little concerns us here. But we have no hesitation is affirming that theirs is a work which few Catholic Actionists in India can approach and none has equalled. There is little theorizing in that Annual; the work achieved, so varied in quality, so huge in quantity, leaves no space for trite theories. The hundred and odd Sodalists under the Directorship of Fr. A. Benac are an *elite* in every sense of the term; they are all workers and no drones. The Sodality, divided into various sections, for Retreat Movement, Catechism, Hospital Visiting, Mission Aid, Press movement, etc., etc., has initiated startling new projects and achieved huge successes in whatever it attempted.

Kerbside Apostles

We would not review here the manifold activities of St. Xavier's Sodality; the Annual is there for all to see; and current issues of the *Morning Star*, the All-India Sodality magazine, have published much that did not appear in the Annual. One feature of the Sodality activity which calls for separate mention, which Archbishop Roberts has singled out for special praise, is that of the "Kerbside Apostles", who sell Catholic literature in the streets of Bombay. "Street-singer" writes about this manly venture in the *Morning Star*: "Six of us (all young college students) led by Eric Bocarro, patrol the Fort, taking in the busiest corners . . . We tackle just everybody. And while many do not buy, some do, and this is most consoling. For the latter will imbibe something about man and marriage, sex and socialism from the Catholic viewpoint written by a master propagandist, Fr. Lord."

If the Catholic Church has a message for the modern world and for modern India, it is meant for being communicated. The Kerbside apostles of Bombay have realized that. Sandwiched between communists hollering the "People's age" and Jehovah's Witnesses distributing "Watchtower" and "Consolation", these

young Sodalists are doing a mighty work on a "mass"-front which priests and traditional methods never reach and would vainly attempt to reach. We are told that all classes of people buy the literature of the Kerbsiders—Parsis, Muslims, and Hindus, men and women, collegians and clerks. One can only regret that the type of literature which presents Catholic thought appealingly to the general public of India is all too limited. The Bombay pioneers have made an excellent choice in the pamphlets of Fr. Lord; the language is forceful, and thanks to Catholic Press, Ranchi, the get-up is attractive.

Archbishop Roberts of Bombay, writing to Fr. Benac about this new venture, says: "Would you please tell these purveyors of Catholic leterature in the streets that apart from the possible fruits of such reading, the example given of their courage is a great asset to God's work." One would wish that Kerbside Apostles were not six but six thousand in number; they are needed in all our towns; they can do a great deal in making the Catholic message heard in a non-Catholic world.

THE TWO NATION THEORY

Many have commented from different angles of vision on the great massacre in Calcutta and the orgy of killing now spreading to other parts of India. There are different view-pionts—those of the government, the Hindus, the Muslims and the independents. All alike condemn this fratricidal strife, which shows that mental sanity is not wholly extinct in spite of communal frenzy. But some have attempted to explain it away by a theory which, we believe, is frightfully dangerous. A columnist in a Calcutta daily writes that after a war in which many nations have fought with each other and killed millions, it is not surprising that a few thousands are killed in India, since here two nations are struggling against each other.

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wonder whether this two nation theory would explain anything. In the rest of the world, nations with a homicidal mania are mercifully separated by geographical boundaries; and when nations fight, soldiers are killed by soldiers, not women and children by goondas. Whither is this two nation theory leading India? Is communal killing to continue until all the Muslims in Hindu areas and Hindus in Muslim areas are completely liquidated? And what about the Christians, Sikhs and Parsis? They belong to neither of the two nations, and they can claim no area in India as their own. It would seem that according to this theory they should be liquidated first. We believe that the two nation theory is flatly contradicted by all facts in the history and geography of India.

We of the Christian minority belong to a religion entirely different from Hinduism and Islam; but we do not see how we can claim to be, or tolerate to be considered, a separate nation. Most of us are converts from Hinduism; socially and culturally we bear close resemblances to the majority groups among whom we live. In spite of our being a small community which must protect its rights by strong communal unity, we cannot but deplore the hate-mongering communalism now rampant in India; it is fast speeding the country towards national suicide.

STRAWS IN THE WIND

THE CHRISTIAN VIEW

WE stand outside the communal rivalries, and we deplore every exaggerated report which tends to heighten the existing tension. During the Great Killing, hundreds of Christians were out on the streets, tending the wounded, snatching away weapons from the goondas, guiding to places of safety the panic-stricken, wanderers. We threw open our schools and parish-halls as refugee camps, and in many places we spent all our available food-supply in an impossible attempt to feed the thousands of hungry mouths. We asked for no recognition for this work; we felt it was duty on Christian consciences to spend ourselves to the utmost, even risking our lives. Happily not many lives were asked of us in that awful holocaust; a scapular or a rosary or some other sign of the Christian profession warded off many an impending dagger-thrust. Our improvised and highly efficient rescue squads saw with their own eyes to what sub-human depths hatred could lead men; and wading in pools of blood they mourned bitterly the irresponsible talk of political leaders and communal newspapers, which had paved the way for this carnage.

For A Saner Outlook

We believe that the communal question cannot be handled successfully by the ministry as it is now constituted. As a small community we have no liking for either Hindu or Muslim domination. Democracy is not the autocratic rule of a 'brute' or non-brute majority. In a Province like Bengal where parties are not too unevenly balanced, and especially in a city like Calcutta where the majority of the Province is the minority of the capital, no effective government is possible without a coalition. Whether a coalition is effected in the central government or not is irrelevant to the question of Bengal. But unhappily the spirit of bargaining is stronger than the desire for the good of the country. Like the U.N.O., Bengal too lives on the edge of a precipice; gutted markets, burntdown houses, and the shedded blood of thousands plead strongly for a saner vision of the future. Will rankling hatred and the pride of power demand an even more merciless holocaust than in the past?

GOA AND THE OUTER INDIA

We have received from two readers of these columns almost simultaneously two interesting—and rather regrettable—newspaper reports on the freedom struggle in Goa. One is from an outstanding Catholic weekly of England; the other from a nationalist weekly of Nagpur, C.P. Though written from entirely different points of view, both show how greatly the cause of the Church in India can be harmed by reports which claim to be objective but are far from being so.

A Regrettable Report

The Catholic paper, dated August 23, carries on its front page a startling headline: "Goan Catholics don't want to be Indian." Then comes the following report, signed by the paper's "own Correspondent" in India: "A group of leading Catholics, representing the 800,000 Catholics of Goa, have sent a letter to Gandhi, protesting against his interference in the internal affairs of Portuguese India, and pointing out that the inhabitants of Goa have no desire to be incorporated in Goa." After this statement printed in bold type, the reader would expect to hear who these "leading Catholics" are, what their claim to "representation" is, when the letter was sent, and what precisely was stated in the letter. There is no mention of all that. Instead, the reader is given a sentence from the statement of Dr. Bossa, the Governor-General of Goa, defending the

policy of his government, and an unconvincing attempt is made to show that the Portuguese rule in Goa is just. Dr. Bossa's statement and Gandhiji's reply to it have already appeared in the Indian daily press; and no one needs to be informed that Dr. Bossa is not one to speak in the name of the people of Goa. As for the rule now obtaining in Goa, the less said about it, the better.

Every foreign government can find a few time-servers to support its cause; and it is quite possible that some Goans wrote a letter to Gandhi on Dr. Bossa's behalf. But if they were in any sense "leading" citizens, Dr. Bossa would not have been slow to publicize the fact in the daily press. He did well to see that the story is published not in India but in a foreign country where it would not be questioned. The "Correspondent" says that the letter was written in the name of the 800,000 Catholics of Goa. Would that the Catholics of Goa were 800,000! According to the latest available statistics, the total population of Goa is 714,108; of these, 82,409 are absent from Goa; 264,775 are non-Catholics, and only 366,924, less than half the reporter's figure, are Catholics.

And A Malicious Attack

We have no doubt but that the reporter of our Catholic contemporary was misinformed. But the other report, that of the nationalist daily of Nagpur, is not based on misinformation; it is a deliberate attempt to vilify the Roman Catholic Church, which it identifies with the present regime in Goa. "The Catholic Action Organization" in Bombay is said to be a powerful fifth column to help that regime. "The religious orders, Jesuits and Franciscans, have a massed fabulous wealth and became virtual masters of Goa," says the writer; and he assumes as a proven fact that evangelization has been for Goa "an instrument of political conquest and consolidation." It is beside our purpose here to cite all the distortions and lies which cover nearly three large pages of this weekly. Even if a tenth part of what is stated there is true, it would follow that the Roman Catholic religion is a very sinister organization, and that to tolerate it would be highly dangerous to the interests of nationalist India. Happily not one of these tall statements are true; and all those who know the part played by Goan Catholics in the *Satyagraha* movement would recognize this report to be nothing short of a libel. But are we not giving a handle to reports of this sort when Catholic papers themselves seem to present Goan Catholics as anti-national? There is no doubt that if the report of the Catholic weekly quoted above were to fall into the hands of the militant Hindu revivalists in India, we, Indian Catholics, would have to face a most unpleasant attack in the nationalist press.

STRAWS IN THE WIND

THE PRESS UNDER DEMOCRACY

THE Congress Ministries in various provinces are trying to redeem their pledges to the electorate; and far reaching plans have already been announced. And at the same time the ministries are being subjected to a great deal of unhelpful criticism by certain sections of the press. Not infrequently the only reason for unqualified condemnation seems to be that the ministry is of the Congress. This attitude is understandable, though far from commendable, in those who with vague superficiality identify the Congress with a jumble of ideologies of which they disapprove —revolutionary speed, Gandhism, Caste Hinduism, capitalistic exploitation, socialistic chaos, communalism and what not. It is undeniable that pretexts may be found for fixing any of these labels on the projects and actions of any ministry which is not content to sit idle and watch wheels of state moving languidly in the old rut towards certain ruin. A sane principle for the press under democracy is that a new government must be allowed time to prove its worth before the press attempts to barricade its progress by destructive criticism. Hence it was that many in Bengal, excepting of course extreme Hindu communalists, adopted an attitude of hopeful expectancy towards the League Government, though the Party was far from having an absolute majority in the legislature; that attitude underwent a rude reversal only after the dire tragedy of the carnage in August. Even now many hope that, if coalition is impossible on account of party rivalries, the statesmanship of Mr. Suhrawardy will restore at least some degree of peace to the sadly harassed province.

Enlightened statesmen will welcome criticism, provided it is helpful and a true expression of public opinion. But unhappily where educational standards are low, public opinion is often drowned in the clamour of private prejudices. Measures of social reform are judged and condemned not by their intrinsic merits but by the supposed defects of their framers. This attitude of firm-set opposition, though perhaps relatively useful within a legislative assembly, serves little purpose outside. Human patience, even of statesmen, has obvious limits. Unreasoned and wholesale condemnation not only exasperates those ministers who are trying against heavy odds to solve many complex problems, but acts like a double edged sword, recoiling on the heads of those who use it. Even when they speak sense, as may happen sometimes, their words will not be heeded. And if perchance, these critics claim to speak in the name of a small section or community, it is the section or community that must pay the penalty for such ceaseless tirade.

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PROGRESSIVE TRAVANCORE

We have often heard that Travancore is a progressive state; the epithet has been used till it is almost worn threadbare. The apparent assumption in the epithet is that the Native States of India are as a rule stagnant pools of ignorance, poverty, disease, and administrative inaction. The assumption is to a certain extent true; and it is also true that Travancore, judged according to certain doubtful standards, has made startling progress. Primary education in Travancore is being made a monopoly of the State; but this, as we have often commented in these columns, is making progress backwards. A more recent fad is the system of nursery schools. "In some directions, the Dewan of Travancore is an enlightened statesman; but he is something of an autocrat," said Pandit Nehru. Is it not a further proof of state autocracy that children should be moulded even from their tenderest year according to the pattern set by the state? The Montessori system has indeed much to recommend itself to the modern educationalist. But the use Travancore government makes of this ill-understood term is to veil its new totalitarian project, and this will deceive only those who mistake words for their thought content. A similar misleading use was made not long ago of the term "American democracy" when Travancore published its much-advertised constitutional reforms. We applaud Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayer's intention to help forward the education of poor children; the state has indeed a duty to aid the under-privileged in improving their social status.

Fr. T. N. Siqueira, S.J., writing in the **Orient Illustrated Weekly**, Puja Number, 1946, says: "The state has the duty to help parents to educate their children, especially if they are poor or backward, to watch over education, to control and co-ordinate it, but not to oust and dispossess the parents, who are the first and divinely-appointed educators of their children." Catholics cannot but object to the irreligious of Hinduizing education in the State nursery schools controlled by a Hindu government.

A QUESTIONNAIRE ON EDUCATION

A revealing contrast to Sir C. P.'s educational projects is afforded by the Ministry of Education in the Madras Province, which also realizes that some change is required in the present educational system of the country. To develop in the government's Secretariate a system of state supremacy in education, to rush it through the legislature in a hasty resolution, and to force it down the throats of unwilling pupils and teachers is the sign of totalitarianism. If democratic principles are respected, the state should first inquire about the wishes of the people, the needs of the country, and the rights of those immediately concerned in education. This is what the Education Minister of Madras attempts to do through the questionnaire on educational re-organization, which he has distributed to teachers and associations of teachers in the Province.

In the course of a Statement the Hon. Minister appeals to all interested in education to aid the government in its attempt to re-organize education in the Province, and to express their views on the subject. It is indeed not to be expected that many conflicting views will all be integrated into the final scheme. But on fundamentals agreement will be reached; and by shifting evidence from many sources right reason will necessarily prevail. "God willing," says the Hon. Minister, "it is our earnest desire to build a type of education which will make our children manly, self-dependent, and strong."

The Catholics of the Province of Madras will whole-heartedly concur with the wishes of the Government's educational

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department. Theirs has been a giant share in the educational work of the Madras Province; in men and money and talent, they have contributed more than any other single private agency; and they have borne sacrifices out of all proportion to their numbers in the great task of educating the people. Hence they are vitally interested in the question of re-organizing the existing system. They realize, as well as the rest of their countrymen, that re-organization of some sort is necessary. And respecting as they do the paramount role of religion in education, and the primary rights of family over those of the State, they possess well-defined and truly constructive ideas regarding the way in which education should be re-organized. We hope that at the present time, when systems and schemes are in the melting pot, the Catholic educational agencies in the Madras Province will not stand aside as silent onlookers, but will give to the Government the full measure of co-operation which is expected of them. By doing so, Catholic managements and teachers will be fulfilling an essential duty towards public welfare, and especially towards the future of Catholic education in the Province.

STRAWS IN THE WIND

PROHIBITION

THE Congress drive for prohibition is a major socio-economic issue of the present day. From the beginning of October, eight of the districts of Madras, comprising about one-third of the whole Province, went dry. Other Provinces are following or are soon to follow the lead of Madras, though not perhaps with the same degree of enthusiasm.

Criticized

It is regrettable that the campaign for prohibition has generally been received with unsympathetic criticism by the press. A prominent commercial weekly of Bombay writes about Madras: "There a whole province is under the sway of fanaticism for prohibition. ... In terms of state policy, we must say, things ought not to be attempted with the haste and indiscretion this policy would appear to suggest. The tragedy of the present situation is more intense for the reason that the Central Government is not in a position effectively to tackle any planning problems and the provinces are merely pressing philosophical fantasies which may land us into more difficulties involving a greater waste of time and resources, and create, on the whole, a more extensive tragedy, and it is the more pathetic because it would occur in spite of the humanitarian motives, which inspire some of our leaders and which are, beyond dispute, sincere."

The occasional criticism from certain Catholic quarters has centred chiefly round two points: first, that the law of prohibition is an unjustifiable infringement of personal human rights and therefore characteristic of a totalitarian State, and secondly, that provision made for Mass wine in the prohibition order is inadequate. As for the second point we associate ourselves whole-heartedly with the resolution passed at a recent meeting of the Madras Catholic Indian Association. Mr. A. Dorairaj, B.A., B.L., moved that "the scheme of prohibition as contained in the Madras Act No. 10 of 1937, be suitably amended so as to accord exemption from the operation of the Act the wine required by Christians for sacramental purposes, or in the alternative, to say that the grant of permits under Section 20B of that Act shall be made mandatory and that such permits shall be issued to the Bishops of the various dioceses with the right of distribution to the clergy of the diocese vested in the Bishops." We earnestly hope that this resolution will reach the proper authorities, and that it will be rtspected as any democratic should respect the will of the people.

Truly Beneficial

If adequate guarantees are given for procuring Mass wine, the opposition of Catholics against prohibition will immediately be seen to be far less formidable than it is sometimes made out to be. We Catholics, respecting as we do high moral standards, condemn the evil of excessive drinking more than perhaps any other section of the people. Apart from its grave economic effects, the conflict and disharmony it brings into families, the progressive deterioration in moral standards, the incitement to cruelty and violence, we see in immoderate drinking which deprives one of one's senses, an intrinsic evil, a violation of the moral law God has set for man, "a gross misuse of created things," as the moralist would express it. Statistics collected in the district of Salem showed that expenditure on drink varied from 24 to 32 per cent of the total earnings of the addicts. Some of them spent as much as 50 to 70 per cent of their earnings on drink, as against 15 per cent in Great Britain. What was even more alarming was that most of the seven and a half lakhs of addicts in the Salem district were of the poorer classes, men who lived below subsistence level, for whom the money spent on drink meant starvation for helpless women and children, the dependents on the breadwinner.

It is true that the government loses a fruitful source of income through the campaign for prohibition; and this in turn prevents the introduction of other reforms in the field of education, medicine, etc. But as the Madras Premier once remarked, for every rupee lost to the government, ten rupees are put into the purses of the poor peasants. The remark of our commercial contemporary of Bombay on the policy of the Madras ministry showing "haste and indiscretion", seems to ignore the fact that prohibition is not a new and untried venture in Madras; the previous Congress ministry under Mr. C. R. had tried it in three districts. Dr. H. C.

Mookherjee, a prominent Indian Christian leader, in his recent book. "Congress and the Masses", proves with an array of indisputable facts that the attempt was a success, that Salem and the adjoining districts became "dry" effectively and not only in theory, and that marked economic uplift of the people was the immediate result of the government's bold initiative. Dr. Mookherjee writes that "the Madras Government was able to make such a success of its prohibition campaign mainly because it had succeeded in carrying the people along with it." Among the many benefits conferred by prohibition are the starting of many co-operative societies, encouragement of cottage industries, more productive cultivation of the land, better and more abundant food for the people.

Where Critics Go Wrong

Criticism against a far-reaching social reform of this nature there will always be; it will be sponsored partly by vested interests, contractors and commercial firms, and partly by those permanent Tory elements for whom all change is revolution, and all reform is worthy of condemnation because it comes from political opponents. The failure of the scheme in America is often brought up as an argument against prohibition; but we fear that little can be made of the parallel between two countries like India and America which occupy the opposite extremes of the economic scale. There is certainly some encroachment on personal freedom in a legislative measure of this nature; but it is difficult to see what social reform is possible without restricting individual freedom or licence to some degree. Totalitarianism often becomes a convenient label to fix on anything that one does not approve of, as in Europe fascism is the label for whatever the Soviets frown upon.

If prohibition ever turns out to be a "fanaticism"—at present it is not,—if it is pushed with uncomprehending fury to limits that overstep prudence, if it brings more evils in its train that it sets out to remedy, then—and only then—we shall condemn it as anti-social and deserving of immediate repeal. But we believe that at present it is still too early to affirm that prohibition is not going to benefit the country and the people at least in those limited areas where it has been introduced. Let us not pre-judge a great venture undertaken through noble motives, solely because we are not in full agreement with the political views of those who initiate it.

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STRAWS IN THE WIND

MINORITY REPRESENTATION

A SCHEDULED caste member is one of the nominees of the Muslim League in its quota of five for the Interim Government. The political gossiping which has been busy for a month with the inscrutable parleys at Delhi, had surmised scores of possibles and probables, but not this very astute and surprising decision. Staff Reporters of the great dailies of India solemnly informed us that this nomination was of "deep significance"; but they deigned no further explanation, possibly because they saw neither depth nor significance in a new name with which they were hardly familiar. Explanations have slowly been forth-coming from Muslim League quarters; the significance of this nomination, we are told, is not for the Congress or for the Caste Hindus, but for the smaller minorities. They are now bidden to look to the Muslim League for the protection of their rights and claims.

The Muslim League, as we understand it, is a communal organization. Its past history and present policy show that the League is intended solely for safeguarding the interests of the Muslims. As far as the Muslims are concerned the aims of the League are legitimate; and we would listen to the Quaid-e-Azam with the utmost respect when he speaks for the majority of the Muslims. But the smaller minorities of India rightly claim that they should not be identified with the Muslim League. As the Christians, Sikhs or Parsis have no right to enter the Muslim League, or to vote for the Muslim candidates in the legislatures, neither has the Muslim League any right to speak in our name or to claim a representative character in our regard.

Versus the League

It was mainly on the insistence of the League that the Cabinet Mission separated the Indian people into three watertight compartments: General, Muslim and Sikh. We Christians have been classed with the de-classed, non-descript "General". We do not know what our status in the "General" group will be, or how far our so-called representatives really represent us; but we know for certain that we do not belong to the Muslim group, and that we should not be represented by the nominees of the Muslim League. In so far as the majority of the Christians have accepted the leadership of the Congress, to that extent we concede to the Congress the right to represent us. But no Christian has accepted the leadership of the Muslim League, and the very constitution of the League is such that it cannot lead any but the Muslims.

One of the strange conclusions arrived at in the course of the recent Delhi talks between the Nawab of Bhopal, Nehru and Jinnah, is that the representatives of the non-Muslim minorities should be chosen by the Congress and the League. This is a curious perversion of democratic principles. It is the Christians and they alone who should determine their representative in the government of the country. If, as Mr. Jinnah says, the Congress represents the caste Hindus and the League the Muslims, neither party has any right to dictate to us about our representative; if, on the other hand, the Congress is a non-communal political party to which most Christians have given their allegiance, the Christian representative may be chosen by the Congress not however without consulting the non-Congress Christian organizations if there be any such in the country. But we do not see how the Muslim League can in any way determine the representative the Christians have to choose. The claim of the League to represent all the Muslims and only the Muslims, and at the same time to control the democratic rights of the non-Muslim minorities appears to us a dangerous lapse of logic.

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NEW HUMBUG TRIAL

Schoolboys are proverbially careless about spelling and pronunciation; they distort important words, and sometimes the distortion is uncanny and disconcerting. But in the present case, the distortion perhaps fits the reality better than the original. The New Humbug trial,—or the Nuremburg trial, as sedate newspapermen call it—is now over; all the 'top-criminals"—excepting the topmost who cheated the gallows at the last moment by a phial of cyanide—have been done away with the immense staff of 2,800, engaged in conducting the trial, and the still larger army of 25,000 spectators, have dispersed to their various lands, perhaps with the satisfaction of a great achievement.

The tragic farce of Nuremberg has been called the greatest trial in history. Those who feel the itch of megalomania may see in it something to sate their appetite. One correspondent apparently an American who delights in statistics—has gathered some staggering figures about the trial. The evidence fills 20,000 pages, and makes a pile of books 30 feet high. News cables carried ten-million words of report to the dailies of the world, to delight curious audiences in distant lands. Besides oral evidence which filled most of the time, no less than 4,000 discs and 80,000 feet of film was used to make assurance doubly sure about the guilt of the criminals. The trial was indeed long and laborious; it took 217 sitting days; no effort was spared to give it a semblance of justice; and three mil-

lion documents, weighing in all 30 tons, were gathered in the large halls of the prosecution.

Justice or Farce?

The common man in the Allied countries would affirm without hesitation that if justice could ever be obtained in a criminal trial, it was at Nuremburg. Where else has such immense pains been taken to gather evidence? Still there are many thoughtful men who find it difficult to disbelieve the verdict of the schoolboy's distortion. Far be it from us to deny the guilt of the Nazi war-lords; but Nazis are not the only guilty war-lords of the world. The greatest trial in history has also written the blackest page in history. Herman Goering, Rudolf Hess, Albert Speer and others are not the first who taught the bloody instructions which later returned to plague them. And among those who bore evidence against them and brought them to the gallows are many who might acknowledge that all great Neptune's ocean will not wash the blood clean from their own hands.

Blacker deeds and more heinous crimes have been committed behind the iron curtain stretches across Eastern Europe. Poland bewails the flower of her manhood mercilessly done to death; but her voice is a cry in the wilderness. Tito's puppet regime enacts to-day a tragedy as gruesome as the worst which Nazi Germany saw. But politicians are blessed with a brief memory; they can conveniently forget facts which they wish to ignore. A great victory has been won by power of arms and profuse shedding of blood; and hence it is that the 24 "war criminals" could be brought to judgment. But peace has not been won. It is not armed might and bloodshed that will win peace. We fear that the trial of Nuremburg and the publicity given to it in the Allied press have made the road to peace still more difficult. The final statement of Albert Speer warning of the horrors of another war may have caused surprise as coming from one soon to be condemned; but it spoke a painful truth.

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TRAVANCORE VERSUS COMMUNISTS

The decision of the Travancore Government to ban the Communist Party of India was the natural outcome of all that the Communists have been doing in that State for a long time. It is not the ban that causes surprise, but why it had been so long delayed. Recent issues of *People's Age* had carried long reports from Travancore, of the activities of the C.P.I. and of the repressive measures taken by the Government. **People's Age** of October 6th carried the following headline: "Travancore Diwan's new wave of repression; move to silence opposition to his bogus 'American Constitution.' Then follows a report of arrests of leaders, bans on meetings, confiscation of Communist literature, etc., which though minutely circumstantial, does not strike the reader as quite truthful. On the same page one finds the caricatures of eight prominent men of the Native States. Members of the States' Negotiating Committee; "Gangsters' Gallery" is the title for these pictures; and the description added to the picture of Sir C. P. is fully characteristic of Communist journalese: "Was one time Secretary of the Indian National Congress; is now one of the most shameless boot-lickers of the British ..."

Sir C. P. insists on identifying the Catholics of Travancore with the Communists; and often the Catholics have suffered from the blows directly aimed at the Communists. However strongly we may oppose the educational policy of the Dewan and his many repressive measures against the Catholics, we cannot but disagree with the Communists in their verdict on the Dewan, and the type of agitation they have been carrying on. Catholics are ever the law-abiding citizens of the State; our methods are strictly constitutional, and ends do not justify means according to our way of thinking. There is no case here of adversity bringing strange bed-fellows. Sir C. P. knows well, though he may state the contrary, that the Catholics have consistently refused to align themselves with the Communists.

STRAWS IN THE WIND

STALIN'S AGENTS

IT is an open secret that the Soviet Union has many agencies in India to protect and promote Russian interests. Most of these work underground, and seem anxious to conceal their real aims. But there are a few which emerge into the open daylight, and on the plea of international amity and cultural relationships, carry on a boisterous propaganda, which all those who have at heart the true interests of India can view only with alarm and suspicion.

Of the Soviet agencies of which one hears in the press, the most widespread seems to be "The All India Friends of the Soviet Union Movement." The **Indo-Soviet** Journal which is now in the fourth year of its existence is the organ of the "Friends of the Soviet Union". The Journal gives a few interesting details about the spread of the AIFSU. "Our movement", says the Journal, "has nearly sixty centres all over India. Through these centres and through independent agencies, our journal goes to all provincial centres and a number of district towns in our country. We are starting with 3,000 copies, and hope to reach 5,000 with on a few months. Our journal goes to all important libraries, colleges, schools, cultural, social and political institutes, and organizations. Many of our sixty centres have got their libraries and reading rooms. They display the journal too. It is thus seen and read by over 75,000 men and women at a modest estimate."

Wide-spread Activity

Those who are familiar with the methods of Soviet propaganda will not be easily taken in by all the "facts" and "figures" which emanate from that source. Still, even making due allowance for the inevitable over-statements, one must realize that an immense amount of Soviet and Communist propaganda is being carried on by the "Friends" and by numerous other unnamed organizations secretly linked with them. Communist activity in India is not of recent origin. Communism was imported into India as early as November 1922, when Moscow-trained M. N. Roy received from the Soviet Government a liberal grant of 1,200,000 roubles (Rs. 1,500,000). In December 1923 the grant was increased to 5,000,000 roubles. During the past twenty-four years, Communism in India has experienced strange vicissitudes. Comrade Roy left the ranks of the Communists, believing that the Communists are not sufficiently "red", and joined the Congress with a Trojan horse policy. He opposed Maulana Azad for the Presidentship of the Congress, but was defeated by a huge landslide in favour of Azad. Later he left the Congress to start in 1940 a party of his own under the patronage of the British Government. To-day he is a tragically lonely figure in the confusion of Indian politics, with a party of few partymen to boast of. The Communists under the General Secretary-ship of Comrade P. C. Joshi fared slightly better. They had long flirted with the Congress, until their make-belief of nationalism appeared in its true colours in 1942. Their slogan of "Imperialist War" turned over-night into "People's War" when Russia entered the war on the side of the Allies. More recently the slogan has been changed into "People's Age", but the stocks of the Communist party have not registered any appreciable increase.

The "Friends of the Soviet Union" are apparently trying to achieve what Comrades Roy and Joshi failed to achieve. Their failure was due to an untimely bid for political power; and they have not all that Stalin and the Kremlin expected of them. "The Friends" are now trying a new way to win popular sympathy. They are just "Friends" and claims to have no political axe to grind. The aim they profess is cultural relationship with Russia, which means that the Indian public must be indoctrinated with communism and must be brought to the ardent faith that all that is best in the world comes from Russia. The "Friends" would not utter a word of censure on Gandhiji or Jinnah, on the Congress or the Muslim League. "Our Journal" the "Friends" inform us, "is read by all sections of the people, because the cause it espouses is not of this or that section, community or class, but the cause of the people as a whole."

Not in India's Service

It is difficult to see in what sense the "Friends" serve the cause of the people of India. Almost every line published by the "Friends" is to sing the praises of the distant "fatherland", Russia, and of its nebulous, questionable ideals and achievements. They live in India; they claim to be Indians; but their allegiance seems to be stronger towards a land which is not their own. The Friends would seem even to go so far as to force the Russian language on the people of India. Not long ago, the journal was publishing a series of "Easy Lessons" in Russian.

International amity is to be esteemed and striven for; but Russia is not the only foreign nation, nor is amity unilateral. Russia insists on its claims and ideals being known and respected by people of all other nations; but would sedulously shield its own people from knowledge of other nations unless it be through the distorted accounts of its own news agencies. Hence it is that we fear that the "Friends of the Soviet Union" and other Soviet agencies in India are not really helping the cause of international amity, but rather endangering it. At the

present time when Britain is preparing to leave India, the open and secret activities of Moscow-trained Stalinist agents in India would necessarily appear as unpleasant cross-currents threatening national security.

PRINCELY INDIA

Among the unwelcome features of the White Paper of May 16, issued by the Cabinet Mission in India, not the least regrettable were the numerous safeguards and provisos made in favour of the Native States. India hopes to evolve some sort of a democratic constitution out of the prolonged party wrangling. It is difficult to envisage what will be the position of the Native States, in the midst of the democratically governed provinces, and how princely autocracy will be linked with people's democracy.

There are six hundred and odd Native States in India. Out of these some thirty or forty have in recent years displayed some zeal for political reforms. They have what has been pompously called a legislative assembly; but as far as the Native States are concerned, the legislative assembly is a curious misnomer. The word means an assembly for making laws. But in reality in most of the States the laws are made and unmade solely by the authority of the Maha Rajah, or as often happens where the Kings are only figureheads, by the autocratic minister. The junction of the legislative assemby is to meet together at stated times, make speeches, pass resolutions, even make a record of the resolutions, and then disperse. The resolutions may often have no more value than the paper on which they are written. By far the larger number of Native States have not even a legislative assembly; they feel no need for such an expensive luxury. In these States, the hereditary monarch, often unlettered and rooted in superstition, is the whole of the State; the resources of the State are his private property; and the inhabitants are but slaves, benignly tolerated provided they do not pretend to any rights and claims.

Attempts at Reform

Much has appeared in the press during the course of this year, calculated to give to the British Indian public the false impression that the States are introducing far-reaching reforms. In February the Nawab of Bhopal, the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, made a declaration that the Princes are eager for rapid political reform. About the same time, for mysterious reasons, the Nawab also proclaimed Section 144 in Bhopal, and thought fit to suppress with a strong hand all political agitation among his people. On June 21, His Highness the Maharajah of Bikaner announced that responsible government was soon to be introduced in his State. A few days later, the Bikaner news agencies carried fearful reports of lathi charges, police firing, mass arrests, and large-scale liquidation; the people had received more that they wanted of responsible government. The premier State of India, Hyderabad, has received a great deal of publicity by reason of the reforms announced a few months ago. There is to be an elected majority in the new Assembly,—78 out of 132. But of these, twenty are to represent vested interests in land and commerce; and their representatives will necessarily be agents of the Nizam and the officialdom. The Nizam's executive council is to have only two elected representatives of the people. What is even more surprising is that there is to be perfect parity of representation between the 12% Muslims and the 88% Hindus.

An American Pattern

The so-called American Constitution of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer is perhaps the most revealing of present day trends in the Native States. The Assembly is to be truly American—with adult franchise. no communal electorates, (the Christians, take care) no nominated members, not even a Dewan President. But the authority vested in this "American" assembly is ludicrously tenuous. The real power is to be with the Executive Council of the Maharajah, all the members of which are to be nominated. The Ministers are irremovable, and they are in no sense responsible to the people. The Assembly may convene as often as it chooses; it may criticize the administration as violently as it pleases—of course with due regard to the police and the C.I.D. But the Assembly cannot alter any decision of the Executive Council, nor change any of the King's nominated ministers.

The States are indeed introducing rapid "reforms"; they profess a willingness to respond to the political awakening among the people. But at the same time they do all in their power to quell all agitation, to suppress all expression of public opinion, to fortify ever more strongly their ancient feudalism.

STRAWS IN THE WIND

RACIALISM UNMASKED

IN the council halls of the U.N.O. a powerful Indian delegation headed by Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pundit, is fighting for the cause of the Indians in South Africa. By the time these lines appear in print the world will perhaps have known how the verbal dialects of the great Powers construes the ambiguous clauses in the Charter on which General Smuts is pining his hopes about non-interference. While fully sympathizing with our Nationals in South Africa, we cannot lose sight of the fact that the Indians are not the only victims of racial discrimination in that White man's colony, and that the Negroes who form four-fifths of the population and to whom the country really belongs, are the victims of a more ruthless exploitation than the Indians. They have none to defend their cause; they have no voice before the U.N.O. or the world's supreme courts of justice; none of the great powers would extend to them the hand of friendship. The Labour Party Leader Sacks said: "Racialism permeates everything in South Africa. There is the intolerance of British and Afrikanders for each other; the hostility of both towards the Jews; the prejudice of the British, Afrikanders and Jews for the Indians; and the hatred of the Negros by all four."

The Indians in South Africa have suffered much injustice at the hands of the White colonizers; but it would seem that compared to the Negroes, the Indians occupy a very high rung of the political and economic ladder. The Negores may organize no trade unions; they may demand for no wage increase, and may not move from one place to another. If they attempt a labour strike, the police will drive them back to work under the lash of their foreign masters. They are perpetually excluded from all skilled work. And they must pay the poll-tax in addition to all their other disabilities.

The Negro Problem

Have not the Negroes just cause to feel aggrieved? They may rightly look upon all others as foreigners who have no right to be where they are. And yet, no one would concede to them essential human rights. The Negro problem is acute not only in the African colonies but also in the United States. In many respects it would seem to be more intractable than the problem of untouchables in India. While the latter problem has received a great deal of attention in recent years, thanks to Gandhiji and other sincere social workers, the Negro problem is one that is almost completely ignored. The colonists, whose commercial and industrial interests are at stake if the Negroes rise above their present subhuman level, are only too ready to deny even the existence of a Negro problem.

Let us hope that the struggle India is putting up before the United Nations of the World in defence of its people in South Africa will hasten the day when Africa will cease to be a country where the Africans themselves are slaves. India's struggle is not for a few grudging concessions in the economic sphere, but for establishing a sacred principle, the principle of human equality; and Negroes, no less than Indians, should be the beneficiaries when this principle is acknowledged in theory and practice

COMMUNAL STRIFE

Not long ago the civilized nations of the world wrote in pages of blood a tale of horror and suffering unparalleled in the history of mankind. And how the great war has yielded place to an uneasy peace. India was fortunate enough to be far removed from the scenes of carnage. We felt the impact of war only indirectly, though none the less effectively, through soaring prices, famine, disease, and soldiers killed or wounded on far-flung battle-fronts. And when India was preparing to enjoy the fruits of peace, already another sanguinary war is upon its people. The menace is no more from the enemy beyond the border, but from the goondas of one's own land whom police and military try in vain to keep under.

Not only Calcutta, Eastern Bengal and Bihar, but many other peaceful and prosperous towns, Dacca, Bombay, Allahabad, Ahmedabad, Delhi, Patna, all have experienced the sad effects of communal strife. In the premier city of India, Calcutta, even to-day, several months after the great tragedy of August 16, the state of terror and tension continues. The city is as a living volcano, ever ready to pour out its burning lava of destruction. When the nightmare of the first great killing had hardly passed away, an almost similar horror was enacted in Noakhali and Bihar. The first accounts of goondaism in these places, emanating from Hindu and Muslim sources, respectively, may have been greatly exaggerated. But there is no doubt that death and destruction on an altogether

unprecedented scale have been caused in recent weeks. Murderers and looters, with daggers dripping in blood, rushed through the streets and by-lanes; they forced their way into unprotected houses and killed men, women and children in their hundreds; they filled the streets with corpses, and set on fire large parts of the villages. And many days passed in this deplorable state before military could be rushed to the scene and some semblance of order could be restored.

A Challenge to Leadership

Communal strife in India has reached a stage when the authorities are forced to confess their humiliating impotence. Stringent laws are passed; armed police move about in lorries; a few hundreds of hooligans are arrested here and there. But hardly has the reign of terror stopped in one place before a worse one starts in another.

Wherein lies the remedy to the situation? Gandhiji at his prayer meeting in Sodepur Ashram expressed his belief that he could bring about Hindu-Muslim unity. Gandhiji is always optimistic; but later, he himself was obliged to threaten a fast unto death if the kiling in Bitar did not stop. The unity which leaders have striven through the years to achieve, seems to be as brittle as glass, as tenuous as mist. As for quarrel, so also for peace, the co-operation of both parties is required. The majority party should make concessions; but the minority should put a reasonable limit to ever-increasing demands. The formation of a coalition government at the centre was a hopeful sign; it showed that statesmanship is not wholly bankrupt in the nation's leaders. Will the same statesmanship continue to display itself in working the coalition successfully, and chiefly in the great task of restoring some degree of peace and security to the harassed millions? ...

EUROPE DRIFTS LEFT

The political trends in post-war Europe are many and difficult to analyze. But amidst the maze of currents and cross currents, what appears prominent and fairly universal is a general left-ward trend. Fr. Robert A. Graham, S.J., of the Research Department, Institute of Social order, U.S.A., has recently published a detailed study on the attitude of European Catholics towards this drift to the Left. The surprising victory of the Labour Party in England was the first undeniable proof of the new trend. This was followed by the first General Elections in France in which the Communists secured 151 seats, Socialists 139, and the Catholic M.R.P. 150. The programme of the M.R.P. contained among other things the nationalization of industries, of private monopolies and of credit. The M.R.P. was in fact a party of the 'Left'. Those who identify all forms of nationalization with communism or totalitarianism might be inclined to view the wide-spread left-ward trend with alarm. But, as Mr. P. J. S. Serrarens, General Secretary of the International Federation of Trade Unions, pointed out to Fr. Graham, much of the nationalization programmes of to-day are derived "not from Marxian principles directly, but from the sheer necessity of a desperate economic situation." European Catholics, (observes Fr. Fraham), far from being alarmed about the drift to left, are rather proud that they are taking a leading role in the new movement. The Church obviously is neither left nor right. The political attitude and activity of Catholics in Europe are not without a lesson to those of their co-religionists in India who are quick to believe that every reform measure advocated by progressive governments is 'leftist', radical, and therefore, contrary to ethical principles and the papal encyclicals.

STRAWS IN THE WIND

SCHOOLS IN BURMA

BURMA at the present time justly prides itself on having a popular government; and paradoxically enough, the new government has begun by taking away from the people one of the most fundamental and inalienable rights, that of parents to educate their children in the type of schools they choose. Burma had been educationally a very backward country. Hitherto the role of the government in education had been to stand aloof for the most part as a passive onlooker, to allow private agencies to start schools and to manage them, and help their efforts through grants-in-aid. But U. Aung San's "popular" government is determined to make a clean sweep of the prevailing educational system.

The system of giving financial aid to schools is to be discontinued forthwith. The numerous and highly efficient schools conducted, by various Christian missions, by the council of National education, by Catholic religious institutes of teaching Brothers, and by the Buddhist societies will not indeed be supppressed immediately, but they will be deprived of all grants-in-aid, and thus will be obliged to wage a losing struggle for existence, and eventually to disappear by a process of slow death. The aided schools which were destroyed or damaged by bombing or enemy occupation will be given no encouragement or help to regain their former position. Nor will there be any more the distinction between vernacular, anglo-vernacular and "European Code" scools. All education is to be imparted through a uniform type of State schools. An Education Policy Inquiry Committee, appointed by the government, has drawn up an extensive report on how the education of post-war Burma is to be planned. Though the Report has not yet been published, the Committee is known to be definitely in favour of all these drastic changes, involving an absolute form of state-control in education.

Policy Undemocratic

Burma affords one more deplorable instance of a policy already well-known to Catholic India through what Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer is trying to effect in Travancore. The Education Policy Inquiry Committee of Sir C. P. had presented a report strongly recommending the continuance of private schools and demanding larger grants-in-aid. Sir C. P. chose to ignore this report and rushed through the legislature the famous Primary Schools Act for strangling out of existence all private schools.

A cardinal principle which we Catholics shall repeat unwearyingly is that the child belong primarily not to the State, but to the family and to the parents of the child. The State should aid, not supplant the parents in their task of educating their children. And if parents object conscientiously to the irreligious education of the state schools, they have the full right to run their own schools, and the state should set apart for them as grants-in-aid their share of the educational cess. The abolition of the system of grants-in-aid is equivalent to imposing a double taxation on those parents who prefer a religious education for their children.

And Misdirected

We Catholics do not object to State-control as such. In fact in many spheres of public life in Burma we would demand a higher degree of state-control than there exists at present. It is no recommendation to the efficiency of control that during last month the number of dacoities reported was 673, robberies 630, and murders 122; and it is well known that cases unreported are more numerous. The first duty of a state is the maintenance of law and order. The Burmese Government which is unable to give to the people a sense of security even in the larger towns, which does little to suppress or control black-marketting, and permits in most places an extreme form of barbarism and lawlessness, is however determined to prove itself more than modern in the domain of education. What it ought to do, it either cares not to do, or is impotent to do. And what is has no right to do, that it would attempt. The State would carry out its new policy in spite of the devastating effects which totalitarianism in education has yielded in countries like Germany and Japan, and notwithstanding the evident necessity for private initiative for the progress of education in a backward country like Burma.

U. Aung San's is an inspiring persona-

lity. The bold stand he has taken against the Communities and other undemocratic forces in the country has won for him popular enthusiasm. Strong factionists like Dr. Ba Maw, U. Saw and Takin Tun Oke, has not weakened, but has rather strengthened his position. But the power he wields can truly benefit the country and the people only if he desists from his illogical educational policy, and concentrates his energy against the wild hordes of murderers and looters who roam the countryside.

Gesture of Friendship

A rumour has recently gained wide currency in the press that the Muslim League might alter its constitution and make itself into a representative party of all the people of India excepting the Caste Hindus. A prominent Muslim Leaguer seems to have been the first to hint at such a possibility; but no confirmation has yet been forthcoling from the high-command of the Muslim League. Meanwhile the Hon. Ghazanfar Ali Khan says that he will use the Viceroy's executive council as a "foothold" to fight for Pakistan. Pakistan by its definition is to be a Muslim sovereign state; Muslims would be its unquestioned rulers; but the minorities are promised protection, and it would seem that the protection they will obtain will not be of the same type as they have had up to now under a Muslim League Ministry, in Calcutta, for example, or in Noakhali. As long as the avowed goal of the Muslim League is the division of India into Pakistan and Hindustan, it is difficult to see how the smaller minorities can trust their future to the keeping of the Muslim League. That the League has chosen a schedule caste member for the Interim Government would seem to be less a gesture of friendship towards the Scheduled Castes than a mark of hostility towards the Congress. Gandhiji could not see in it a proof of generosity towards the Scheduled castes; and the member who has thus been set up by the League said that his first duty was towards the Muslim League which took him for the central legislature, and apparently not towards the Scheduled castes whom he represented at one time in the Bengal legislature. Nor does Mr. Ambedkar seem to have been particularly pleased that there is now one more to represent the Scheduled castes in the Interim Government. His complaint is that the Scheduled castes instead of being nursed by their "own mother"—himself presumably—are now given "two wet nurses" in the shape of the Congress and the League.

Communal Politics

The real objectives of the Muslim League's surprise move in nominating Mr. Jogendra Nath Mondal are inscrutable. And as long as Mr. Jinnah gives no explanation, the hints thrown out by his followers are of little consequence. The Hon. Mr. R. G. Casey, former Governor of Bengal, wrote about Mr. Jinnah and the League in the **Courier-Mail** of Brisbane, Australia: "Mr. Jinnah's ability and personality are such that it is not much of an exaggeration to say that he is the Muslim League. His views are accepted by his colleagues without question and without much analysis . . . If Mr. Jinnah were to resign from the leadership of the Muslim League, the demand for Pakistan would before long die down and disappear." And the American **Time**, describing Mr. Jinnah as the No. 1 man of the Muslim League, added with characteristic assurance that there is no No. 2 or No. 3, or even even No. 10.

These statements may be highly colo red and may be designed more to produ an effect than to express a fact. St Mr. Jinnah is the acknowledged lead of the Muslim League; his position i one would dispute. And in spite of temporary acceptance of the Cabinet Mi sion plan, the demand for Pakistan still heard loudly when the League march in processions. If the League to represent the minorities other than tl Muslims, the first requisite is not change the constitution of the Leagu but to give up the goal of Pakistan whic the smaller minorities all without exce tion, dread and abhor, and then to pla before the country a constructive polit cal, not communal, programme. In democratic country there must necessari be different political parties; but tl parties should be divided politically, n on a communal basis or according to r ligious creeds. At the present time it of prime importance that purely par politics should yield to a second place ar that the stress should be laid on gainin independence of the country and evolvir a democratic constitution. This objecti is one on which all parties should l united.

STRAWS IN THE WIND

HOSTAGES

THE communal tension in India has reached a stage where the utmost vigilance is required to keep it under control. Like a forest fire in mid-summer when wild winds are blowing in all directions, the frenzy of killing threatens to spread farther and farther afield. The worst affected areas are Calcutta, Eastern Bengal and Bihar; but no part of India, no city, town, village or hamlet is free from imminent danger of communal riots starting afresh at any moment. In the early days of the Pakistan theory it was commonly assumed by the claimants of Pakistan that perfect communal peace would be maintained in both Pakistan and Hindustan if India is divided. There would indeed be a Muslim minority in Hindustan as also a Hindu minority in Pakistan; but it was stated that they would be safe, being regarded as hostages by the respective states, and that their rights and claims would be respected by the majority groups of each state, if not through a noble sense of humanity and justice, at least through the selfish motive of protecting their co-religionists in the other State. Indeed, to many this seemed, at least on paper, a sound theory for balancing of power.

Orgy of Killing

But recent events oblige us to question seriously the value of this theory. Provincial autonomy understood according to the India Act of 1935 has established a diluted Pakistan of independent Provinces. In the city of Calcutta and the Province of Bihar Hindus are a majority, whereas in the districts round about Noakhali the Muslims are a majority. In all these places majority rule has proved itself not only inefficient but dastardly cruel. The great Calcutta killing was followed by looting, arson, abduction of women and forced conversions in many districts of Eastern Bengal where the Hindus are a small minority. A misguided press threw discretion to the winds, and featured fiction and wild rumours as fact and history; the effect was appalling; communal frenzy all over India rose to white-heat; and the great sub-continent began to heave and fume as a live volcano about to pour out its destructive floods of molten lava. And hooligans in Bihar chose this opportunity to "avenge the martyrs of Noakhali."

The scenes of horror which Bihar has experienced baffle description. Those who tried to write about the Calcutta carnage and found human words too feeble, now stand aghast, mute with stupefaction. Words and speech are the medium for social intercourse. But when all social bonds are broken as under, when intercourse between neighbours is at the point of the dagger, when the blood of innocent victims flows in torrents, when events occur which have no precedent in history, one hears no more the voice of reason pleading for unity. Threats are hoarse with horror, and hearts are crushed beneath a dreadful tragedy.

Sinister Forces

Many sinister forces have conspired to reduce our country and its people into this pitiful state where it stands humiliated before the rest of the world. For a people sunk in poverty and ignorance the sufferings due to hunger and disease were already cruel enough; and the path of reconstructions was steep and arduous. But the misery has been rendered ten times more abysmal by the chaos of killing and looting, arson and riot. No censure would be too strong for the hordes of rioters who roam the towns and villages, for the inefficient governments which lull themselves into inactivity at this critical stage, for the party wrangling in high places which heightens the existing tension, for the dishonest frenzied communal press which lets wild rumours afloat, and fans dormant religious fanaticism into a raging, devastating fire.

We condemn still more strongly the theory which divides the Indian people into opposing camps, and incites them to bloodshed as separate nations struggling for survival. Misguided politics has never caused as much harm to the toiling masses as at the present time in our country. Helpless villagers who are conscious of little beyond the stark misery of their own obscure lives, and for whom politics is an unknown world, are now hostages to safeguard a theory which they hardly can understand.

We Indian Christians along with the other smaller minorities are thankful that hitherto we have not been classed with either of the groups of hostages. Except in Bombay where some Muslim communalists identified us with the Hindus because of our manifest leanings towards the non-communal National Congress, we have on the whole been immune from the effects of communal rioting. And hence it is that we were able to afford timely relief to both Hindus and Muslims victimized by the riots. But often it was a thankless task our volunteers were engaged in. Many a time they had the painful experience of seeing a victim rescued with great effort from one horde of rioters, being snatched away forcibly by a more powerful horde. Our relief work, considerable though it be, silent, and therefore all the more effective, is still all to

limited to cope with the gigantic problems of widespread communal strife. The roots of evil lie deep in the communal and political tangle of our unhappy land. Effective remedy can be brought only by the leaders of the nation who should begin to think of India as one country and all its people as members of one great family. Century-old traditions, unchangeable natural frontiers of mountain and ocean, and the mutual needs of the sections and communities have welded a unity which short-sighted politics would in vain try to disrupt. Hope for the millions lies not in civil war and the killing of hostages, but in the peaceful co-operation of brother linked to brother.

ATOM-CONTROL

A sore point which now divides the great powers of the world is the mighty atom—so tiny that no scientist or layman can see it with the most powerful microscope, and yet so mighty that it can shake the earth to its foundations. Politicians for whom the microcosm of the atom is a sealed book, realize, however, that its dark mystery enfolds a formidable power. While ostensibly they claim that atomic power should not be used to disturb future peace, the real objective of each nation's politicians seems to be that their own country shall be immune from the devastating effects of an atomic war. Two plans have been placed before the world for the control of atomic energy, one that of America which most other nations would agree to, and the other that of Russia. America who is at present the only known possessor of atom-bombs, agrees to destroy all existing bombs, and to make no more in future, but on one condition that an international controlling agency be established which will have full right to inspect what different nations are doing in the field of atomic energy, and which will not be hampered by the veto power of any of the "big nations."

And Russia

For Russia this condition is galling in the extreme. The impenetrable veil of mystery which hangs over Russia and its dark operations will not be lifted even on a point of such international importance as atomic energy. Russia is known to be far advanced in the development of atomic war weapons; it has raw material, money, electric power and scientific talent necessary to produce formidable missiles of destruction. But it has kept a most inviolable secret about its doings, nor will it permit the scrutiny of any prying eyes of an international agency. Hence Russia insists that the veto power should be intact and that Russia's secrets must remain her own. America should destroy all existing atom-bombs, nor should it make any in future. But as for what Russia may choose to do, that should be her own concern. She would submit herself to an international agency only to the extent she chooses. The Russian plan, in effect, seems to be that none but Russia should have the power to make and to use atom-bombs.

It is difficult to see how this plan would be acceptable to any power besides Russia. The clumsy intransigence of Mr. Molotov and his group has been a by-word for derision in the council halls of the U.N.O. This clumsiness has established a new record for shamefaced power-lust in the protracted debates over atom-control.

STRAWS IN THE WIND

TRANSFER OF POPULATION

MR. JINNAH has lately made a statement about transfer of population within India which has received much derisive comment from all sections of public opinion in India. As far as a small minority like the Indian Christians is concerned, our attitude towards Mr. Jinnah's new theory is not that of derision or contempt but one of intense apprehension. If we have reason to fear the Pakistan scheme, we have still greater reason to fear the suggestion that Central and Provincial governments should take up exchange of populations and should create districts of homogeneous communities. Where a community forms only a small minority it should according to the scheme be entirely uprooted from the soil and sent elsewhere to some inhospitable district, to a strange climate, a stranger language, and to utterly unknown people. The economic and social consequences of such a far-reaching scheme can easily be imagined. In no place in India are we Indian Christians a majority; and therefore according to the scheme every one of us would have to lose his home and native land. Even in Malabar, where the Indian Christians cherish traditions that date back to the first century of the Christian era, they number barely one-third of the population; and it is there that in recent times they have been subjected to a severe, though insidious, persecution. Transfer of population is according to Mr. Jinnah the remedy for communal hostilities. Would Mr. Jinnah suggest a place to which the Indian Christians of Malabar should be transferred? If the Malabar Christians cannot claim a homeland where they now are, still less can the other Christian communities all over India. Where they are to be shunted to remains a deep mystery.

An Impossible Scheme

That a seasoned politician of Mr. Jinnah's calibre, one who is supposed to know the intricate mosaic of Indian races and peoples, should have advocated this scheme of transfer of population is indeed surprising. The Liberal leader Sir Chimanlal Setalvad has published an able refutation of the new scheme. He has shown how impossible it is to transfer the many Muslim sects of Central and Southern India to a different homeland newly to be created. Neither the Sikhs in Amritsar nor the Hindus in Assam can be uprooted from the soil to which they belong. Even under an efficient government, among people possessing rich bank balances, transfer of population cannot be effected without great financial loss, untold physical hardships, and complete disorganization of civic and economic life. But in India, with its many millions of poor, illiterate peasants, with famine stalking the land, Jinnah's plan will cause not the death of thousands as in communal killing, but of millions.

And Unavailing

But in the theory of transfer of population as in that of Pakistan one does not look for clear prevision of consequences or for logical arguments. Inhuman fratricide has been the result of communal hatred fomented by a false political theory; and to end such insensate killing a supposed remedy is now offered, one that will cause misery a hundred times greater. Political frenzy combined with panic might effect some transfer of population. In Bihar, Eastern Bengal and certain parts of Calcutta it is already happening. But this, while entailing much suffering, does not give any greater security. It is not through mass exodus but through genuine neighbourliness that India must find peace and freedom. And this is impossible unless politics ceases to be the scarecrow for rousing communal phobia.

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VICTORY FOR INDIA

The recent victory for India secured in the Joint Political and Legal Committees of the U.N.O. has aroused unbounded enthusiasm in sections of the Indian Press. It is true that the resolution which Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit sponsored was passed by 24 votes to 19, and that when the result of the voting was announced Mrs. Pandit became the centre of a great ovation. But it is well for India not to be too optimistic. The resolution which was put to vote was not the one originally presented by the Indian delegation, but a French-Mexican Amendment which at best is a piece of dilatory tactics. India and South Africa are asked to settle the dispute amicably among themselves and to report at the next session of the General Assembly. If the Assembly recognized that India has a real grievance against South Africa, one should have

expected stronger and more positive action, instead of the present non-committal attitude. The resolution also declares that "the treatment of Indians in the Union should be in conformity with international obligations"; but the nature of these international obligations is clumsily vague; and no effort has been made to censure past conduct which was a flagrant violation of all that common sense and right reason would demand. For over a year public opinion has strongly condemned the treatment meted out to the Indian nationals in the Union; and the worthy President, F. M. Smuts continued devising measures to make slavery still more galling. Even now South Africa is not willing to admit that any change of heart towards the question of racial discrimination is necessary. Those who spoke on behalf of the Union at the U.N.O. stoutly maintained that the Whites in the Union have more suffered than committed wrong. As long as this self-righteous attitude—yet unshaken by the U.N.O.—is cherished by the ruling powers of the Union, it is impossible that amicable settlement will be reached between India and the Union of South Africa, or that the plea of Indians in South Africa will receive a just hearing.

Analysis of Votes

Nor do the votes cast in favour of India give much cause for jubilation. When the voting started all knew that it would be a close decision. It was the last four votes, all in favour of the French-Mexican proposal, which ultimately turned the scales in India's favour, and caused the rejection of F. M. Smut's proposal that the matter should be shunted to the International Court. Russia and other countries in Western Asia and Eastern Europe which fall within the sphere of Russian influence figure prominently among those which voted in favour of India. The whole of the British Commonwealth comprising Great Britain and the powerful dominions, U.S.A., and many countries in South America which are linked economically with Anglo-America, all stood as one block opposing the proposal. This division of votes, which is almost exactly the same as has occurred in the past over several grave economic and political issues between Russia and Anglo-America, seems to show that it is neither the justice of the Indian cause nor the power of arguments brought forward by the contestants, which decided the voting, but the inscrutable power politics of the great nations. Lofty principles of human equality and fundamental human rights, the generous promises of the Atlantic Charter and the four freedoms, the sonorous preambles and clauses of the United Nations' Charter, are all highly useful for the rhetoric of statesmen. But one fears whether these would ever control those practical decisions which determine the economic slavery or freedom of thousands, even millions of people. The United Nations Organization was nobly conceived; but greed for wealth and lust for power still rule the nations, and hence the U.N.O. fails to achieve its noble purposes. India has won a victory; but the victory is sadly deceptive.

STRAWS IN THE WIND

THROUGH STORM CLOUDS

THE political tension in India continues, and many view the breaking point ominously near. Blood that flowed in ghastly floods in Bengal and Bihar has not in the lest helped to ease the tension. The leaders speak harsh words veiling harsher threats. A huge holocaust has been offered on the altar of hatred; but hatred still brandishes its weapons of destruction; and the druids still minister to the frenzy that sets afoot the orgy of killing.

An interim government was formed from a coalition of two parties as a result of long parleyings. But not long ago it seemed to be almost on the verge of collapse. Pundit Nehru complained of the King's Party having been set up within the inner circle of the coalition. It was a strange interim rule with no joint responsibility, with two parties battling against each other, with the gulf of division ever widening, with no common objective. The atmosphere was hardly congenial for the meeting of the Constituent Assembly.

Melancholy Document

As usual the third party intervened with a dramatic gesture. A meeting was hastily summoned in 10 Downing Street or thereabouts, in those secret chambers where India's fate had so often been decided in the past. Two formidable politicians to represent the majority of the Indian Muslims, a third to represent the four million Sikhs, and a fourth, the only one to speak for the whole of India including the ten million Indian Christians and the other smaller minorities, all flew in hot haste to London. They conferred with five Englishmen who apparently are the real moulders of the future dependent or independent India. Conferences followed one after another in quick succession, like lightnings that herald the approach of the South-West monsoon. Even a Round-Table Conference was achieved.

The result has been spectacular, a statement by the British Government, "a melancholy document." The White Paper of May 16 had stated that Provinces have the right to opt out of the sections in which they have been put by the three Cabinet Ministers. And now one learns that the right belongs not to the Province but to the Section. In other words, the right of Assam to opt out of the Bengal-Assam Section is in reality the right not of Assam but of Bengal, not to opt out, but to kick out. It is the first time one hears this puzzling interpretation of a paragraph of the White Paper which on its first reading did not seem to conceal any mystery. One should not be surprised if the whole of the White Paper is scrapped.

Another surprising feature of the "melancholy document" is that it has effectively scratched a former statement of Mr. Attlee in the House of Commons that a minority should not veto the progress of the whole nation. The London Conferences were convened to secure the co-operation of the two major parties to enter the Constituent Assembly while failing utterly in their objective, they have made the solution of the political deadlock in India more difficult than it ever was.

Constituent Assembly

In this strained atmosphere the Constituent Assembly began its deliberations in Delhi on December 9th. The temporary chairman, Dr. Sachidananda Sinha, the oldest among the elected Members, made a brilliant address, replete with sound advice on Constitution making. A glorious future lies ahead of India if the Members of the Assembly submit themselves to Mr. Sinha's advice. The historic Constituent Assembly lacks the co-operation of a powerful party which looms on the political horizon in fearful form outside the Assembly Hall. The Assembly believes that a new Constitution is in the making. But whether the Constitution will ever be made is open to grave doubt. The future is dark. India gropes through storm-clouds to blizzards.

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SCHOOL'S TOWN

The School Town recommended for Bombay deserves careful consideration as it affects vitally the interests of the numerous Catholic schools in the city. This startlingly modern plan is contained

in a report recently presented to the Bombay Government by the Physical Education Committee under the chairmanship of Swami Kuvalayanand. The Committee recommends that a plot of 1,000 to 2,000 acres east of the Railway between Bandra and Santa Cruz be set apart to accommodate all the secondary schools of the city. Plots will be apportioned to each school, on which buildings according to modern type design will be put up with or without aid from the Government. The advantages claimed for the scheme are that schools will be freed from their present crowded, dust-filled, noisy, unhygienic atmosphere of the city, they will enjoy fresh air, quiet and more abundant space, and they will have common facilities such as a central library, museum, health clinic, canteens, sports' stadium, co-operative stores, etc.

These advantages are greatly to be prized. Education will profit by being far removed from the communal tension, political frenzy, heat and strain, commercial and industrial unrest, dust and noise, of an over-crowded city.

Prohibitive Cost

On the other hand, it is well to consider whether the Government and the public at the present stage of India's educational evolution can afford the luxury of so idyllic an atmosphere. The expense of time and money and energy in transporting daily tens of thousands of boys and girls to and from a Schools' Town more than ten miles away from the city will be considerable. Up-to-date facilities in education are desirable, but they will not be obtained without increased costs. The enormous sum of rupees 10 crores and 31 lakhs is estimated to be the total cost for the new scheme, and an almost equal amount will be the annual recurring expense. Hence it is likely that the greatest objection to the plan will come from the Finance Minister.

Hidden Dangers

One may question also the wisdom of gathering into one place scores of schools at a time when strikes and ill-discipline have so thoroughly vitiated the student atmosphere of the country. Hitherto a great asset for the more efficient and disciplined schools was their comparative isolation. Distance often prevented strikes from spreading like wild fire. The dangerous mania of sympathetic strikes for any flimsy political cause could be held in check by vigilant school authorities, since they could watch over intruders and guard against sinister external influences. All these effective barriers so necessary for quiet and painstaking application to study will now be thrown down by the proximity of schools and the enhanced prestige of students' unions. Nor can parents exercise sufficient control over their children since the distance between school and home will be from ten to twenty miles.

A fundamental mistake which Government planning makes is to divorce the school from the home. A child belongs to its parents, and the school is their helper in educating the child. Hitherto the schools have grown up according as they were needed, not always in an ideal locality, still sufficiently near the homes of the children. The School's Town proposed by the Committee of Physical Education is a piece of bold planning. But perhaps it is not as wise as it is bold. And certainly it does not make education cheaper so as to bring it within the reach of the poorer classes.

STRAWS IN THE WIND

STUDENTS IN ACTION

STUDENTS are in action—that is what **The Student,** the organ of the Communist Students' Federation of India continually dins into the ears of the public and the student body. And action according to this Federation means staging mass demonstrations, enforcing hartals, holding protest meetings, tearing down the posters of rival student bodies, putting up other revolutionary posters, declaring strikes and holidays, staging walkouts from classes, campaigning for political elections, breaking furniture and school property, and a hundred other things "connected" with a student's life. Teachers and parents who think that a student's life is meant for studying may be puzzled and bewildered as to how all this frenzied, feverish "action" is connected with the thoughtful concentration on study expected of a student. But the teachers and parents belong to an age now long past; and the **Student** is not prepared to humour their ancient whims. **The Student** is thoroughly modern; and his aim is to build a modern India, not out of what an older generation considers scholarship and painstaking acquisition of knowledge, but out of revolutionary chaos, mass meetings, and lusty shouting of slogans during class hours.

Misguided

The student body has been made to believe that all these meetings and processions and the rest are of vital importance, that India's independence is at stake if they stay away from them, that action, not study, is the first duty of the student's life. The school and college authorities may protest; but organised student bodies are a formidable power, and authority has no option but meekly to acquiesce. In one town a communal riot has taken place; and students in scores of towns all over India stage a three days' strike on that account. In another town the police has opened fire on a riotous mob; and that is reason enough for a hundred schools to stop work. Hooligans burn villages in one corner of India, and the next day, in the opposite corner of India students are again on strike. The appointment of a new ministry or its unmaking, a strike of workers in a factory or the breaking of a strike, almost any event of major or minor importance in any remote part of India may serve as the occasion for restless student leaders to send out the call for 'Action', and unhappily the call is practically always heeded. Books are thrown aside; class-rooms are deserted; disorderly parades swell the streets; and a few more days are sacrificed to student hooliganism. The authorities who insist upon discipline may consider themselves fortunate if they escape without physical injury and the school property is undamaged.

Reform Called For

India is planning for far-reaching educational reforms. Vernacular is to replace English; bifurcation of courses is to be introduced early in the school career; technical training is to replace a good part of academic scholarship; and education is to reach down to every one of India's four hundred millions. All these reforms are commendable; and if wisely introduced they will prove beneficial. But the most urgent and essential reform is the restoration of some degree of sanity and order to the chaotic student atmosphere of this country. Irresponsible youth leaders, struggling for power and notoriety, and not for the fulfilment of their prime duty, namely, study, revolutionary student organizations which give to the leaders their opportunity for working havoc, a poisoned atmosphere which affects thousands of unwilling victims, and complacent school and college authorities who follow the line of least resistance and lack the courage of their convictions—these are conspiring to bring about the demoralization of to-day's youth, and the ruin of the country's future.

The country is emerging from darkness to light; with hesitant steps it approaches the road to freedom; the chains of slavery and dependence are being broken link by link. A new day is dawning, a day bright with the promise of freedom. But it is to be feared that what we are to-day winning through struggle and tears and blood will to-morrow be thrown aside in strife and chaos and inefficiency. At the present day our political and cultural leadership is on the whole sane, masterful, enlightened; and the credit goes to the scholarly, disciplined atmosphere which prevailed in our schools and universities a few decades ago. But when the inevitable hand of time replaces the present leadership by another, a newer

and a younger one, will the country have reason to rejoice over the change?

Beacon Lights

However, it is refreshing to observe that the whole educational atmosphere is not one unrelieved gloom. There are, here and there, a few institutions which in the midst of a vast thunderstorm and many wreckages have kept to their moorings. Though struggling against heavy odds they still maintain much of their accustomed order, discipline and earnest work. Most notable among these are undoubtedly the Catholic colleges and schools of India, in which the managements and teachers consider educating a sacred vocation and give to it all that they are and can give. Sir A. Lakshmana Swami Mudaliar, Vice-Chancellor of Madras University, said truly of the Catholic colleges: "I hold that in the future, even more than at present, the task before all missionary enterprise will be to lead in quality, and to evolve out of their educational institutions garden houses of intellect and character building, which will besides contributing their own quota to nation-building, serve as beacon lights to irradiate the whole education atmosphere of the land."

The Catholic educational institutions have always been what the experienced Vice-Chancellor described them to be. They have "led in quality" and hence it is that in spite of pernicious propaganda directed against them they always receive more applications than they can admit. They are "the garden-houses of intellect and character building", and that at a time when the famed garden houses built with immense expenditure of public money, are most of them sadly frustrating the hopes placed in them. They contribute their quota and more than their quota to "nation building", when demolishing is going on all around in feverish haste. They are the "beacon-lights" to irradiate the whole educational atmosphere of the land. At the present time intolerance against our self-sacrificing and highly necessary work is becoming ever greater in certain parts of the country, in Travancore, for example and in Ceylon. The unjust laws which are being framed against our educational institutions and the malevolent propaganda conducted against them, besides being a gross violation of democratic principles and a denial of essential human rights to a minority section of the population, are in themselves the greatest dis-service to the cause of the country's educational progress, and an imminent threat to the future of India's youth.

Students are in action. But much of that action is wasteful, pernicious, alarmingly dangerous. Educational authorities would do well to inquire where action of the right sort is to be found, and what is the underlying cause of such action being impeccably maintained in spite of all incitement to the contrary. Beacon-lights over the storm-tossed waves—that is what the Catholic institutions have been and will continue to be.

STRAWS IN THE WIND

MR. CHURCHILL ON INDIA

MR. Churchill's recent speech in the House of Commons brought once again into bold relief that the great war leader has one blind spot which is India. A debate on India was forced upon an unwilling House in spite of the wide-spread conviction that in the present critical state of Indian affairs, the unmeasured phrases of His Majesty's Opposition, instead of serving the cause of compromise and harmony, could only widen existing gulfs. But just because it was critical, it seemed as if it could be exploited to prolong the life of the empire, and for the polished eloquence of the opposition leaders, the situation was too tempting to be ignored. Apparently it little concerned them that if the situation were to deteriorate, not only would the last links of the imperialist chain snap under the strain, but what is far worse, many thousands of non-political poor in India would become the victims of loot, arson and murder.

Mr. Churchill did not perhaps expect for his speech the reception given to it by the unwilling ears in the House. In former years, in the dark phases of the war, when the war premier was losing every battle and winning every debate, his well-chosen phrases used to be listened to by an awe-struck audience in mute admiration punctuated by thundering applause. But the recent speech on India experienced great difficulty to get across the microphone due to the frequent hissing; cries of 'Shame' often broke into the middle of the sonorous periods; and even the epithet 'dirty' was hurled at the speaker by an audience, which keenly alive to the disastrous effects of the speech, forgot for a while the respect due to the House.

To Salvage an Empire

Imperialism in death-throes has found a valiant protagonist in Mr. Churchill. Logic and discretion were thrown overboard while all energies were concentrated on saving a wrecked empire. He quoted but few authorities for his sweeping and inaccurate statements. But one authority whom he could not refrain from quoting was his own father, who when Secretary of State for India sixty years ago, said in 1885: "Our rule in India is, as it were, a sheet of oil spread out over the surface and keeping calm and quiet and unruffled by storms an immense and profound ocean of humanity." He said he always bore in mind these words; and that apparently explains his present attitude towards the Indian question. India to him is just an immense and profound ocean, not of men, not of human beings, but of abstract humanity. The dark depths are not known, nor the deep stirrings within. The suffering and the misery, the cruel exploitation and the deep-seated hatred against the oppressor, the felt humiliation of the slavery and the growing power to break the chains, all alike are ignored. India of 1885 is blandly assumed to be the same as the India of 1946.

Immense harm has been done to the cause of Indian unity by some of the statements of Mr. Churchill, which Mr. Alexander, replying for the Government, did not hesitate to condemn as "irresponsible". But one hopes that Indian leaders now realize that freedom for India is to be won not by the grudging concessions of the British Government, or in spite of the obstructionist tactics of the opposition, but by India's own statesmanship, power of self-assertion and will to freedom.

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THE CATHOLIC PRESS

The power of self-expression is often the gauge of the life-pulse of a community. But sometimes it may happen that self-expression becomes too voluminous to be helpful. It chokes life instead of nourishing it. His Grace the Archbishop of Bombay in his report of the Vigilance Section of the Catholic Bishops' Conference has sounded a timely note of warning against the multiplicity of Catholic publications. He writes that there is a tendency to abandon "the disastrous idea that it is a healthy sign of Catholic life to have many publications." For a rich, highly cultured and fairly populous community a large number of magazines and newspapers, expressing various shades of opinion and appealing to varying tastes, would be necessary and helpful. Together they would enrich Catholic culture, and through a healthy spirit of emulation they would strive for a high standard of excellence. But as His Grace observes, in India we have reached a stage "where a vast population speaking the vernacular is very inadequately catered for if at all, while a small and slightly educated English-speaking public is overwhelmed with demands to support local publications." This situation is greatly to be deplored, and hence His Grace suggests that "the Bishops' Conference could give a useful warning against multiplying Catholic publications indiscriminately."

Bankrupt Journalism

Journalism is bankrupt when it cannot command a market by its own intrinsic merits, and has to appeal to motives of religious loyalty, popular devotions, or support of the poor. These motives in themselves are commendable, and often do exist when the religious press is being patronized. But they should not be the sole justification for the existence of a publication, and the reader who pays the annual subscription has the right to expect at least a meagre return for what he gives to the publisher. With an understaffed editorial board which often consists of one man who has on hand scores of other jobs, with subscribers numbering a couple of thousands or perhaps a couple of hundreds, with heavy printing bills and all delivery through the post, it is impossible to achieve efficiency nd economy. Articles are oftener than not bodily taken from foreign Catholic papers, and retain in spite of a generous use of scissor and paste a distinctly foreign flavour. The magazines often start with a clearly defined object; the first editorial states that the paper is answering a "long-felt" need. But soon it appears that the long-felt need was felt only by the editor, and not finding a sufficient number of interested readers, the paper sheds the limiting boundaries, and becomes 'just another Catholic paper', competing for an impoverished market filled to satiety, and waging a losing struggle for existence.

The Vernacular Press

The state of the Vernacular press is hardly better, though here one may notice a few enviable exceptions. In the comparatively cultured and dense Catholic community of Malabar, the vernacular press with the three dailies and numerous weeklies and monthlies, is a real power both among the Catholics and the non-Catholics. The illustrated Children's magazine in Tamil started recently by the colour-printing section of De Nobili Press, Madura, and designed on the same lines as the better known **Comics** and **Timeless Topix** is a credit to any Indian Press, and if organized on a multi-lingual basis, bids fair to become one of the high-lights of pictorial journalism in India. The saving feature of the vernacular press is that having less opportunities for copying foreign material, the articles and news items bear a close relation to India, and speak more directly to the people. It is this feature that deserves to be encouraged as this alone will elicit the support of the reading public.

The press is a weapon of power, but only in the hands of those who know to wield it.

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PROP FOR PRINCEDOM

The position held by Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer at present in Indian politics is shrowded in uncomfortable mystery. Either forced by circumstances or of his own accord he had decided to quit the Dewanship of Travancore and thereby to satisfy the demand which the people of Travancore have been making incessantly for the past ten years. But as he has explained in a Press interview given at Bombay, the people need not expect any change for the better, since the educational and industrial policy of the State will continue as before. Future has still to unfold how far these predictions are true.

Meanwhile Sir C. P. is assuming a greater prominence in the politics of Princely India as a whole. From New Delhi he has published a long statement on the attitude of the Native States towards the Constituent Assembly, in which he condemns as premature Pundit Nehru's resolution on the objectives of the Assembly. Pundit Nehru, while expressing the hope that there would be some uniformity between the constitution in the Native States and elsewhere in India, had wisely added that this was a matter to be decided upon in consultation with the Native States. Sir C. P. has apparently ignored this, and convinced as he is that Pundit Nehru's resolution is dictating a republican constitution for the Native States, has expressed strong objection to the supposed attitude of Nehru and the Congress. Negotiation and compromise there will necessarily be; the new Constitution of India, whatever its form may be, will not immediately abolish the monarchical system, but will demand a certain degree of free-

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dom for the people of the States. The primitive feudalism now prevailing in most of the States is a blot on civilization, and will have to be reformed. Nor will there be any place in the India of of the future for that form of absolute dictatorship in government for which Sir C. P. is famous. Ineffectual props for Princedom based on exaggerated claims can be of little service to a tottering structure.

STRAWS IN THE WIND

A SHORT-LIVED REVOLUTION

LITTLE has appeared in the British Indian Press about the communist upsurge in northern Travancore and the blood-bath in which it was drowned by the State forces. Party organs of various political camps which felt that they could not altogether ignore so serious a situation, filled their columns with the inaccurate details which they had gathered, supplementing them with a generous portion of fiction, hypothesis and party propaganda. The following account of **Janata**, the official organ of the Congress Socialist Party of India, is typical of the omniscient party organs. "Ever since the C.S.P. began intensive work in the State (of Travancore) the Communists have been nervous. Finally they decided that the best way of obstructing Socialism and Democracy was to provoke the great 'C.P.' whose oppressive steam hammer will crush every one eqully. This is the truth behind the martial law in Travancore. The Communists are organised as the 'Catholic Youths of Travancore'."

The **Janata**, therefore, would identify the Catholics with the Communists, and would interpret the whole upsurge and the massacre as a cruel strategy against the C.S.P.

One cannot wholly blame the C.S.P. for identifying two entirely opposed groups as the Communists and the Catholics. In the past both have experienced the armed might of the State forces, though their agitation was along totally different lines, and for quite distinct reasons. And Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer, in order to discredit the Catholics, often found it convenient to class them in the same group of anarchists as the Communists. The Travancore Press is under strict censorship, and British India depends solely on the A.P.I. for what little it knows of the happenings behind Sir C.P.'s iron curtain. The **People's age**, does not seem to be far from the truth when it says that "the Associated Press of India is notoriously subsidized by the Government of Travancore to run its Trivandrum office." What British India hears about Travancore is unhappily too often the voice of the government, not the voice of truth.

Communist Triumph

The Communists' reaction towards the rioting and the killing is one of tremendous elation. Punnappra and Vayalar are in their eyes the clarion call to the long-expected people's revolution, which in the near future, they hope, will spread like wild fire over the whole of India. At Punnappra the Communist underground army succeeded in attacking a military camp; it killed 17 soldiers and wounded 27; it looted 17 rifles which all subsequent police and military search has not recaptured. This was a glorious achievement, comparable to the Tiflis robbery of Joseph Stalin, a noble precedent which all the States and the Provinces of India should admire and emulate! **People's Age** gloats over this remarkable feat. It comments: "The soldier-brutes charged with their bayonets. But the strong, bare hands of the workers (?) beat them back. The Captain was dead, other too were killed. The brutes could stand it no more. They threw away their rifles and ran . . . ran like frightened mice. They who swaggered about the State were gettting a bit of their own medicine. Punnappra was ours . . . Seven workers had been killed, several wounded. **But . . . Punnappra was ours.**"

Ignoble Precedent

Punnappra was indeed conquered for a while. An Indian Moscow was proclaimed; a Stalin was named, and the hammer and sickle proudly floated on house-tops. But the glory was short-lived. The "Steam-Hammer" of Lieutenant General Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer descended all too soon. The comrades pass over in silence the scenes that followed, burning and looting, military fire, thousands of men, women and children killed by rifles and bayonets. When the inevitable defeat came, it was the mass of the misguided people that was thrust forward to bear the brunt of the attack. The leaders went underground and there they still remain. Of the seven Working Committee Members of the Communist Party of Travancore, five, K. C. George, K. V. Pathrose, M. N. Govinda Nair, P. G. Padmanabhan, and J.C.G. Sadasivan, are still in hiding. The two who are in jail, C. S. Gopala Pillai and P. T. Punnose, had found themselves there long before the misguided revolution of Vayalar.

Punnappra and Vayalar are precedents for what should not be. No one questions the urgent need of social reform. But the methods by which the Communists choose to bring about the reform are deplorable any where, and in India most inopportune. The experiment in north Travancore is a horrid lesson in defeat. Innocent or misguided victims, estimated at seven thousand. have paid with their blood for the cry of **Inquilab Zindabad** which still rends the air in many parts of India. Will the Comrades realize the error of their tactics now at least, or will they condemn other parts of India to the same blood-bath?

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COMMUNAL RIOTS AND THE PRESS

The Communal press of India is a curious study in contrast. The strange distortions of truth might be thought amusing were not their consequences so tragic for the lives of the common people. About Noakhali the Hindu press of Calcutta printed terror-stories, piling up the casualty figures to thousands and tens of thousands. The turn of the Muslims came a few weeks later when **Zamindar** of Lahore estimated in its editorial on **Bihar** that the number of Muslims killed in Bihar was one lakh. This figure was later quoted by other communal organs as an ascertained fact, though no responsible Muslim League leader—be it said to the League's credit—ever gave this fantastic estimate. The same scant respect for truth is seen when the crimes of one's own community have to be reported. On Noakhali riots, the **Dawn**, the chief organ of the Muslim League, wrote: "Disturbances of East Bengal are perhaps the natural aftermaths of the great Calcutta carnage which was of the Hindus' making. Such disturbances though regrettable, can be rationally explained." Rational man never sank so low to the cruelty of brute animals as during the great communal killings of recent months; but responsible organs of public opinion would still explain them away 'rationally'. **Ananda Bazar Patrika** of Calcutta showed the Hindu attempt at 'rational explanation' when it featured in bold type that the Bihar 'disturbances' are the "repercussions of Goondaism perpetrated in Bengal."

Pundit Nehru made once in the Central Assembly a statement on the Bihar riots, in which he slashed vehemently both sides of communalists. **Bharat** of Calcutta reported the statement under the headline: "The Incidents of Calcutta And Nokhali Infuriated The Bengalees". The headline in **Azad** for the same statement was a striking contrast: "Bihar Is The Most Shameful Example Of Cruelty And Barbarism.'. In the same paper, its Special Correspondent, reporting on Noakhali had written that "the number of killed or wounded cannot be over a hundred. I have not found a single instance of conversion, assault on women or forced marriages . . . The stories are not only mere exaggerations, but totally without foundation."

These crude attempts to deny one's own guilt and to exaggerate the crimes of the other side can serve only one purpose—fomenting communal hatred and inciting more killing. The press in civilized countries is the bulwark of democracy. But if degraded to base untruths by unscrupulous communalists, it can become, and in India it has become a grave threat to peaceful government.

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FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS

Catholic University Students in a meeting held in Madras not very long ago drew up a statement of fundamental rights. It enunciated briefly and in no unmistakable terms the minimum demands regarding freedom of worship, family rights, and community rights. Though most of the framers of India's constitution now gathered in Delhi prefer to ignore, if not deny, any authority above that of the State, and any power in the State except that coming from the people, we Catholics, possessing a far nobler conception of man, State and authority, and realizing the true hierarchy of power, insist that in the future constitution adequate safeguards for religion, family and our minority community should be provided. Our demands are few, and none of them trespasses on the rights or just privileges of other communities. What we ask in regard to freedom to practise and propagate our religion, right to maintain our schools and places of worship, exemption from the law of prohibition for Mass wine, backward class concessions not being withdrawn on account of conversion to the Christian faith, stability of the marriage bond, illegality of divorce, discontinuance of the pernicious propaganda for birth-control, etc., are all based on right reason and a sane conception of human society. It may not be easy to convince the law-givers of our land about the justice of our demands. It will be our unwearying task to stress again and again on these basic demands, and what is more important, to make our voice heard by those who wield power in our land. The right method of approach is of extreme necessity. Let not a just cause fail through the political partisanship or blundering of those who guide our Congresses, Unions and Conferences. Now is the time not merely to act but to act with prudence, foresight and firmness.

STRAWS IN THE WIND

APPEASEMENT

THE A.I.C.C. has concluded a stormy session in New Delhi. The Working Committee's draft resolution agreeing to the December 6th statement of the British Government has been accepted by 99 votes to 52. It was a bold step forward in the path of concession and compromise. For the past one year and a half the Congress has been following this uphill path, in spite of determined opposition from within its own ranks; and though it is still too early to say that the policy will not be disastrous for the future of the country, there are as yet no signs that it has brought about a softening of the attitude of the Muslim League.

We have discussed earlier in these columns our view of HMG's Statement of December 6th. It was not merely an interpretation but a substantial addition affecting one of the cardinal points in the White Paper of May 16th. In the critical state of Indian politics, with growing hatred between the two communities, and the danger of even greater killing than in the past, the majority group has indeed done the right thing by waiving some of its just claims and by allowing itself to be drawn to larger concessions. The resolution of the A.I.C.C. of January 6th is not as regrettable as was the statement of the British Government of December 6th.

Dissident Views

Some of the speeches made at the A.I.C.C. showed how strong is the opposition in certain Congress quarters against the new gesture of appeasement. Mr. Jai Prakash Narain was blunt and outspoken. "We have accepted your decision till now," he said; "but the time may come when we shall have to part company." He was lustily cheered by his Socialist followers for this threat of splitting the Congress party. Referring to his resignation from the Working Committee, Mr. Jai Prakash said: 'I feel it may be a good thing if I resigned from the A.I.C.C. aiso. If ever there was a time to disagree with the Working Committee it is now."

Due to the December 6th statement the Working Committee has lost also another of its important members, Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, who said: "Acceptance of December 6th interpretation, to my mind, removes the last hope of success. I do not think that the Muslim League will enter the Constituent Assembly even now." According to the leader of the Forward Bloc, the failure of the Constituent Assembly is becoming more and more apparent, and at the same time he hopes for a rapid development of the left wing parties in India.

Disunion at Work

In the present context of Indian politics, the words *left* and *right* have little meaning. The task before statesmen is to hold the balance between many conflicting interests, to adjust mutually exclusive claims. Mr. Jinnah believes that Pakistan is the only solution to the Indian problem, and that India can subsist only on the basis of Hindu domination and Muslim domination. The Socialist party will not be satisfied with anything short of an immediate revolution, but what revolution will achieve is far from evident. The Hindu Mahasabha in its recent sessions passed an ominous resolution, stating that Hindus must unite as a strong communal body against which the Muslims will in vain try to fight, and with spent forces, will give up the struggle. What the Mahasabha envisages is apparently the tragedy of Noakhali and Bihar to be repeated on a colossal scale all over India. The Sikh leaders expressed strong opposition to the A.I.C.C. resolution; they want no unconditional acceptance of the grouping clause; in the words of Giani Kartar Singh, leader of the Akali Dal, "the Sikhs are not prepared to touch the Muslim League with the longest pair of tongs."

In the midst of these radically opposed groups and views stands the so-called Constituent Assembly. By the time these lines appear in print, the country may know whether the Muslim League is to participate in the Assembly, and whether the Assembly is to have any chance of success. One hopes that the Congress Leaders will not learn, after they will have committed themselves too far, that appeasement is futile against a firmset will not to be appeased.

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CATHOLICS IN INDIA TO-DAY

We Catholics, as one of India's communal groups, far from standing in the way of the country's progress, will give our full share of co-operation in the evolution of a free, independent, strong and united India. However, considering the communal frenzy in some quarters directed against us and our institutions, the complete blackout in the secular press about our claims, the all too inadequate response given by the great national leaders and parties to our demands, it is but natural that as a minority we should feel apprehensive of the future. We hear often in the secular press of the Sikhs who in population number half a million less than the Catholics. Parties and groups, whose following is counted in a few thousands if not less, are often clamorous in their views which find an amplified re-production in the country's news agencies.

On the Alert

The Catholics have organizations and organs—perhaps too many of them. But the voice does not carry. It would be instructive to inquire the reason why. There is no denying the fact that we are not a homogeneous community. But neither are the Caste-Hindus, the Muslims or scheduled castes more homogenous than are the Catholics. We are just as much a cross-section of the India of unnumbered racial and linguistic groups as are the other communal groups. The four and a half million Catholics, unlike the Sikhs in the Punjab, are scattered all over India. On the other hand we have a uniformity in belief and moral code, a unity in hierarchical structure which no other group even the most compact can boast of. Do we perhaps assume that our religious unity is guarantee for our political rights? The experience of Catholic countries of Europe where atheists and Freemasons captured government and persecuted the Church, is a painful object-lesson. Nearer home we have had in recent years two test cases, one in Bombay, a city with scores of Catholic institutions, where the university would have disaffiliated an important Catholic college, and the other in Travancore, a Native State with nearly 20 per cent Catholics, where the Catholic primary school system is on the verge of collapse and an insidious persecution is growing ever stronger. Politically Catholics have to be on the alert.

Political Awakening

Religious unity is no substitute for political unity. Hierarchical organization is on a plane quite different from Party organization. Catholic Action though vitally necessary will not achieve what only political action can achieve. What Catholics need is a strong organization, led by politicians, by men who have a voice in the political life of the country, an organization which will be respected by the great political parties and communal groups, which will not suffer itself to be ignored, which cannot be blacked out in the press. Powerful leadership, effective propaganda, adequate funds, dexterity in political technique, all are needed in far greater measure than the community now possesses. There is a nucleus at present available in the Catholic Union of India. It has come into being where no similar organization existed before. It has not merely awakened, it has created political consciousness in the community. It has reached its present state of marvellous development in spite of heavy handicaps from within the community. The energy, enterprise, organizing ability self-sacrificing efforts of Mr. M. Ruthnswamy can never be adequately thanked for by his community. While hoping that his recent appeal for funds will meet with generous response from the Catholic communities all over India, we look forward to the day when the Catholic Union will hold a far more commanding position in the political life of the country.

STRAWS IN THE WIND

OUR SCHOOLS

THE Catholic schools of India and Ceylon present many formidable problems, and it was fitting that His Holiness the Pope has approved this subject as the Missionary intention for April 1947, for the forty million associates of the Apostleship of prayer throughout the world. When the attention of the whole Catholic world is focussed on this point, and people in many lands are raising their prayers to God that our schools may withstand the obstacles against their progress and continue the noble work they have done in the past, we, the Catholics of India and Ceylon, glorying in our magnificent educational system, deriving its benefits, anxious about its future, struggling to maintain its high standard of excellence, would redouble our interest in it, and familiarize ourselves with its present status, its deficiencies, its achievements, its prospects and problems.

The Achievement

The educational task which Catholics have undertaken and achieved in India is immense. We are in charge of many thousands of primary schools, and many hundreds of middle schools. We conduct efficiently no fewer than 350 high schools, educating over 166,000 pupils. 23 of our schools have each a strength exceeding a thousand, and in 61 others the strength is between 600 and 1000. That so many and such large schools be conducted by a numerically small and economically backward community—one which in the communal press is often maligned and in the secular press ignored, and which Hindu religious revivalists choose to brand as alien and Western,—that our schools are sought after eagerly by parents who are anxious to give their children a sound education and a solid character formation, that these schools are universally considered to be among the most efficient and popular in the country, that they have prospered in spite of the meagre financial aid and poor encouragement from the government, all tend to show the sterling character of the Catholic educationists, and the wisdom of those missionary pioneers who laid the foundations of our present educational structure. In a land of widespread illiteracy, low economic status, poor cultural standard, the Catholic missionary schools began their enobling task at a time when Governments were still vague about their duty of educating the people.

University Education

Our contribution to secondary school education in India is great. But still more striking is the share borne by Catholics in University education. There are over 30 University colleges in India conducted by Catholics. Excluding the seven training colleges, the average strength of the other Catholic colleges is 622, and of these six have a strength of over 1,000. In the Universities of Bombay and Madras the Catholic colleges have always been in the forefront for discipline, character-building, academic and athletic leadership, and efficiency combined with economy.

In addition to the secondary schools and university colleges, Catholic missionaries are running many other institutions such as technical and industrial schools, and schools for defectives. Like the Jesuits and others in the field of University education, the Salesians have achieved a difficult pioneering work in technical and industrial education. Theirs has been a discouraging task, creating an aptitude and skill which did not exist, breaking down firm-set prejudices, steering an agrarian, conservative people towards a changed economic order. Governments in India are slowly awakening to the need of that educational reform which the Salesians and other Catholic missionaries introduced many years ago.

Lack of Recognition

Though the share of Catholic Missionaries in the education of India has been immense, and though the public shows warm appreciation for the type of education which they give—as is seen from the large number of applications for admission which keep pouring in year after year—one observes with disappointment that the government has not accorded us the recognition which we deserve. In July 1946, Mgr. O. Sevrin, Director of the Section on Education in the Catholic Bishops' Conference, asking the Viceroy of India for the inclusion of Rev. Fr. T. N. Siqueira, S.J., among the members of the Central Advisory Board of Education, wrote as follows: "In the High Schools and Colleges alone, conducted by the Catholic Missionaries, close to 200,000 students of all castes and creeds are being trained to useful citizenship, and many of the missionaries have consecrated and devoted their whole life to the work of education. It appears strange that out of such a body of workers, with definite principles of a high order, and experienced in the whole range of education, none should have been appointed Member

of the Central Advisory Board of Education." The reply was sadly disappointing. The Viceroy wrote that the department of education would attend to the matter, and the department of education wrote regretting that there was no vacancy in the Central Advisory Board, and adding a vague assurance that the request would be considered in due course. (cf. Report of the C.B.C.I., Aug. '46, page 12.)

Threat to Schools

Due government recognition for the services of the Catholics has all along been lacking, and it continues to be lacking even to-day, either because government is not guided by merits in its assessment of values, or because gross ignorance prevails in authoritative circles about the nature of our educational achievement. Even more disconcerting than lack of recognition is the hostile attitude against our schools now taking shape in certain places. Both in Travancore and Ceylon, where Catholics form a considerable percentage of the population and have contributed a grant share to the education of the people, our schools are now facing an insidious persecution. In Travancore, in spite of repeated assurances that denominational schools will be recognized though without grants, in May 1946, the government withdrew both grants and recognition from the private schools of two Taluks in Kottar diocese and of the Municipal areas of Trivandrum and Nagercoil. All the other Catholic primary schools in the State are threatened with the same drastic order of extinction. In Ceylon the new education deal is more cleverly conceived, more veiled in its estranging effect on Catholic schools, but is none the less dangerous. No new private schools may be opened; denominational schools which have not a fixed percentage of pupils of the same denomination residing within a small area round the school, are to loose recognition; private schools must impart religious education in all religions; fees are not to be levied and the schools must subsist on a meagre allowance from the government, private managements are not to be responsible for the teaching staff or their salary. All these far-reaching changes cannot but affect adversely the efficiency and even existence of the Catholic schools and it is to be feared that the effect of the new policy will be nothing short of the complete extinction of the Catholic educational institutions.

Just Demands

It is true that governments in British India are not totalitarian to the same extent as those of Ceylon and Travancore. They realize that co-operation of the Catholic missionaries is essential for the educational progress of the country. But it is a co-operation which they wish to secure without any obligation on their own part. If we serve, it is also right that service be recognized. If we bear a burden out of all proportion to our fewness of numbers and our economic standard, we also demand that our just rights in regard to education be granted.

Perhaps the fault lies partly with us that we are denied the representative character and the proportionate aid from public funds which we may justly claim. It is perhaps because we leave aside the field of politics and bargaining, because we ourselves underestimate our contribution to public welfare, because we fail in the art of propaganda, that too often reforms are introduced independently of us. Education is a cause of supreme importance to the Church in India. The stakes are high. The progress of the Church and the future of the Catholic youth are exposed to grave risks if adequate constitutional safeguards are not secured for our schools and colleges.

Hierarchy Gives Lead

Among the resolutions of the C.B.C.I. for 1946, we read:

"That in all dioceses co-ordinated efforts be made by priests and the laity to contact and influence Ministers and members of the legislative bodies, to acquaint them with our principles and that steps be taken to secure copies of the Educational Bills to be introduced, and to study the same in the light of the Statement of the Bishops on Fundamental Rights.

"That in case any provisions of the Bills are found objectionable, all constitutional means should without delay be adopted to voice the opinion of Catholic parents and to secure such amendments as may be necessary in these provisions.

The Hierarchy has given the lead in a matter of vital importance. Great changes are impending or are already taking place. Democracy which is a process of counting heads without regard to logic or justice might be an instrument of oppression for a voiceless minority. Our safety lies in organized strength, in concerted action, in the powerful voicing of our just demands. Inactivity at a critical period will lead to results which years of repentance will not mend.

BOOK REVIEWS

Jan 26, '47

AQUAVIVA AND THE GREAT MOGUL
By J. S. Narayan. Pp. 233. Patna, The Catholic Book Club, St. Xavier's 1946. Price Rs. 5/-. (De Luxe Edition Rs. 6/-).

No missionary in the history of the Indian Missions, and perhaps few in the history of the Church have had a career as colourful as that of the lovable Italian nobleman, Rudolf Aqaviva. Born in 1552 in the midst of renaissance splendour, he was marked early in life by his princely household for a career of wealth and earthly glory, and by God for His own exclusive service. He was connected on his mother's side with St. Aloysius Gonzaga. When he made known his decision to join the Society of Jesus, the obstacles he found in his path were almost as formidable as those which Aloysius had to meet. But his firm determination combined with his persistent pleading and a timely intervention of Pope Pius V opened for him the doors of the novitiate. Fresh difficulties rose when the gallant youth made up his mind to follow in the footsteps of Xavier to India. His amiable qualities, high intellectual stature and sterling sanctity promised a glorious career of apostolate in Europe. But like another Sir Galahad, he was on the quest of the Grail, the distant East and the crown of martyrdom.

Soon after landing in Goa, he was sent on the important mission to the Mogul court of Akbar. Rudolf's three years at Fatehpur-Sikri, in the midst of bewitching splendour, struggling against wealth and pomp, and against the baffling eclecticism of a great Emperor, form a thrilling romance of unfinished adventure. The Jesuits at the Mogul court had but one aim before them, the establishment of Christ's Kingdom in India, and they rightly regarded the conversion of the Emperor as a most important step in the realization of their goal. They failed, but even the failure was a glorious achievement, since in God's work all failure is but outward seeming and all attempt of eternal value.

On his return from Fatehpur-Sikri, Rudolf Aquaviva was appointed Superior of the Salsette Mission. A new career was opening, that of apostolate among the common people, consolidating a rapidly developing Church and making fresh conquests. But all too soon God's appointed hour drew near. On 15th July, 1583, the soil of Cuncolin was drenched with the martyred blood of Rudolf Aquaviva, his four Jesuit companions, and of several Indian Christians. Catholic Salsette today bears testimony to the Church s traditional saying that the blood of martyrs is the seed of Christians.

J. Stephen Narayan has told the story of Rudolf Aquaviva with great wealth of detail and in pleasing style. Aquaviva has been called the most lovable figure among the Jesuit Missionaries in India. Those who read J. S. Narayan's charming account will know the reason why.

Books on Catholic India, its history, leading figures, problems and achievements are few. *Aquaviva and the Great Mogul* fills a need which has long been felt. The Catholic Book Club deserves warm praise for having sponsored its publication, and one hopes that this is the first in a long series.

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THE CROSS AND THE CRISIS: By Fulton J. Sheen. Patna, Catholic Book Club, 1946. Pp. 172. Price Rs. 3.

Msgr. Fulton J. Sheen of America is so well known to English speaking Catholics all over the world that the best introduction to *The Cross and the Crisis* would be that it is another of Sheen's books. In his own country he is famed as an outstanding lecturer and radio-speaker, and as the magnetic personality that brought to the Church some of the most eminent converts of recent years, including ex-communist Budens and young Henry Ford, the owner of the Ford Motor Company. Outside America Msgr. Sheen is known through his popular and widely read books.

Like *Freedom Under God*, which was re-published for India by the Catholic book Club a few months ago, the present book *The cross and the crisis* is equally characteristic of the author showing at its best Msgr. Sheen's penmanship, his vigorous diction, his trenchant attacks on the many fads and 'isms of the modern age, his searching analysis of the ailments of the social order now in its deaththroes, and the bracing supernatural vision which refuses to succumb to pessimism, but shows forth insistently the one sovereign remedy for the diseased economy and the decadent society. That culture and civilization are today facing a crisis is apparent to any one who has eyes to see. What is not equally apparent to men whose vision is narrowed down to the plane of material and natural forces is that the only sign of salvation in the present crisis is the cross. To a world intoxicated by its power and wisdom and wealth, Msgr. Sheen gives the integral Christian message which is none other than the message of the cross, as St. Paul explained it nineteen centuries ago to the proud and factious Corinthians. "To those who court their own ruin the message of the cross is but folly; to us, who are on the way to salvation, it is the evidence of God's power . . . Here are the Jews asking for signs and wonders, here are the Greeks intent on their philosophy; but what we preach is Christ crucified; to the Jews, a discouragement, to the Gentiles, mere folly; but to us who have been called, Jew and Gentile alike, Christ the power of God, Christ the wisdom of God. So much wiser than men is God's foolishness; so much stronger than men is God's weakness."

We quote the following brief explanation of the contents of *The Cross and the Crisis* from the inside of its dust-cover. "In these ten vigorous, thought-provoking discussions the choice is suggested with sane and convincing logic. The problem of the salvation of civilisation and culture is treated by an analogical treatment of the parable of the Prodigal Son. The parable is applied to a world which has withdrawn from Christ and squandered its inheritance of salvation and culture on the purely material. Salvation for the world, Msgr. Sheen points out, will come only through its penitent return to its Father's House."

The getup of the book is excellent, and this is naturally to be expected as the book has been printed in the Catholic Press, Ranch.

M. THEKAEKARA, S.J.

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STRAWS IN THE WIND

THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

THE Constituent Assembly has met again after the Christmas recess; more committees are being formed, and the public watches from afar the lengthy proceedings through the newspaper reports which are more or less truncated according to the whims of the A.P.I. and the local dailies. Not unnaturally the interest of the public begins to wane, partly because the attitude of the Muslim League is still a puzzling interrogation.

One is not surprised, therefore, that of the proceedings of Tuesday, January 21st., only very brief mention was made in the numerous dailies of Calcutta. Tuesday was filled with local events of tragic significance—the tram workers beginning their strike, thousands of dismayed citizens trudging along the pavements, students celebrating the Viet Nam day, police resorting to lathi charges, tear gas and fire arms, one being killed, 200 being injured and another 200 being arrested, wild rumours of communal strife gaining strength, government and opposition making statements and counter-statements. These passing events of the restless capital of the problem province crowded out into insignificance the "historic" Constituent Assembly of distant Delhi and the discussions on Pundit Nehru's resolution.

A Remarkable Speech

But the discussions on the objectives of the Assembly in Delhi have a significance far greater than the passing events of Calcutta. They affect vitally the interests of the minorities and the future of the country. Here we would dwell in particular on one of the speeches made in the Assembly on Tuesday, that of Rev. Fr. Jerome de Souza, S.J., which we regret to note, was reported by only one of the Calcutta dailies, **Amrita Bazar Patrika**, and that too in a much too brief form.

The **Patrika** reports: "Referring to the mention in the resolution on the sovereignty of the people, Rev. D'Souza recalled that in the 16th century, when certain kings advanced the doctrine of their divine right, even very conservative Monarchists asserted the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people. The ultimate authority came from moral law, on the basis of which the rights of individuals and the state had to be maintained. If by some way the name of Almighty God had been brought in "in this momentous declaration," it would have been in conformity with the spirit of our vast land (hear, hear). "Although his name is not in the resolution,' he said, "I am sure it is at the back of the minds of all the members. I sincerely believe that we have met under the cover of that protection and we hope and pray that the deliberations which we have begun will be taken to their legitimate conclusion and the land for which we are labouring will rise again with new strength, prosperity and happiness. (cheers)."

Timely and Opportune

"Homa" in the **Hindusthan Standard** of the following day draws attention to the impressive speech of Fr. Jerome de Souza and rightly points out the fitness of there being one at least in the vast Assembly to refer to the name of Almighty God, the moral law and the ultimate basis for the rights of individuals and states. "Unless the Lord build the city they labour in vain who build it", wrote the prophet-king of Israel many centuries ago. In recent times men have tried to build a stable world order on the shifting sands of materialism and atheism; and they have failed woefully. Many there are who pretend that it is bad taste to refer to God in a conference of politicians and national leaders; but the applause which greeted the references of Fr. de Souza to a subject which is supposedly taboo, shows that the members of the Assembly gathered in Delhi, though perhaps differing greatly from him in their appreciation of what he said, still far from considering his words ill-timed or inopportune, were happy that he spoke out what many felt but had not the courage to mention.

We Catholics judging things in the light of the unseen and referring time's events to abiding eternal principles, realize that the cover of God's protection is of vital necessity in all human undertakings, and most of all in the deliberations of an Assembly such as the one meeting in Delhi; and it was with this conviction that public prayers were offered in most dioceses of India for the success of the Assembly. We whole-heartedly concur with Fr. De Souza in "hoping and praying that the deliberations of the Assembly will be taken to their legitimate conclusions and that the land will rise again with new strength, prosperity and happiness."

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ABOUT CONVERSIONS

A Hindu nationalist daily of Calcutta complains strongly of Mr. Ambedkar for having advised the Scheduled castes to leave Hinduism and embrace Islam. It affirms, and perhaps logically, that Mr. Ambedkar's policy is that of cutting the nose to spite the face. To Mr. Ambedkar's thinking, the Congress dominated by Caste Hindus is an enemy of the Scheduled castes; and considering religion apparently to be little more than a matter of political convenience, he advises the Scheduled Castes to turn from Hinduism to Islam. The Hindu nationalists who also consider religion in the same light are not merely annoyed; they are afraid of the increasing defections from their ranks, and see in them the hand of Mr. Jinnah attempting to tame what he calls the brute majority. They raise strong objections against conversion, not because force and intimidation are used or because conscience is violated, but because political power is being jeopardized; and hence they would not tolerate even those other conversions, as for example to Christianity, which may originate from sincere convictions and a desire to follow the voice of conscience.

A Tool in Politics

This attitude towards religion, making it a tool in politics, degrades the very notion of religion and at the same time, constitutes the gravest threat to peace and harmony in India. Several reports of the National Planning Committee, those on education, social relations, etc., have stated that religion should be the affair of the individual; and some of the planners have even go so far as to exclude religious education from being imparted in schools. Politicians, on the other hand, go to the opposite extreme; according to them, religion is to be organized as a part of politics; politics should absorb the whole man; and man should be prepared to barter his religion and his conscience for the glitter of political power.

This attitude towards religion would be illogical anywhere; and in India it is also alarmingly dangerous. Religion is the bond that unites man with God, and though the union affects primarily the individual soul, man being by nature a social being, religion also is external and organized. But religion belongs to a plane as different from that of politics, as the eternal is different from the temporal, as the spiritual is from the material. Just as one who barters his religion for political interests subverts the hierarchy of values and does injury to his conscience, neither should there be any objection on political grounds for a change of religion, or a genuine case of conversion which one's conscience deems imperative.

Danger to Religion and Politics

As long as the present unhappy identification between religion and politics continues in India, religion cannot claim its rightful place in the esteem of men, nor can a sane attitude towards political vision develop. The democratic form of government which depends on an open mind towards political methods and ideals, is impossible in a land where political parties are determined by religious creeds, where communalism closes the door against discussion, and communal rioting, killing, loot and arson are the only form of recognized argument. Mr. Ambedkar who had advised the Scheduled castes to embrace Islam, and the Hindu nationalist daily which complains of Mr. Ambedkar have both taken a wrong attitude towards religion, an attitude which is still more characteristic of Mr. Jinnah's Muslim League. A completely changed outlook is essential for the sake of both religion and politics.

STRAWS IN THE WIND

THE INDIAN CHRISTIANS

WE have great pleasure to quote the following editorial comment of **The Hindustan Standard** of January 27:

"The Christian community in India has all along shown a commendable spirit of nationalism. It has not clamoured for any special privileges and has stood shoulder to shoulder with other communities in a common effort to achieve national destiny. The fear of being swamped by the majority has never haunted it. The presidential address that Dr. John Mathai, Transport Member of the Interim Government, has delivered at the 27th annual session of the All-India Christian Conference of Bombay, is keyed up to this spirit. The President has urged the Christian community to "heal the wounds and soften the asperities in the body-politic of the country." By their attitude and activities the community has undoubtedly qualified itself for this noble task. The Indian Christians ought to serve as an example to all the minorities in the country."

Nationalist, not Communalist

The **Hindustan Standard**, if we are not mistaken, expresses the view of the Indian National Congress and of the Hindu majority in this country; and we would fain believe, in spite of irresponsible statements made by certain extreme communalists, that the opinion of the above editorial comment is shared also by the rest of the country. Though we are a small community, and though discriminatory laws have been passed against us in certain Provinces and Native States, the dominant spirit of the Indian Christians has always been for nationalism as opposed to communalism. We do not demand separate electorates; we ask for no favours and privileges. If the future constitution of India is democratic and if it is observed in the spirit in which it is drawn up, we trust that our essential human rights as free citizens will not be trampled upon. If, as the **Standard** observes, we are not haunted by the fear of being swamped by the majority, the reason is that we prefer to trust the majority until that trust is betrayed. True it is that our trust has received a few rude shocks now and then, as for example in Madras where Christian Scheduled Castes are denied the educational concessions to which other Scheduled Castes are entitled, or in Travancore where an astute politician is tightening on us the grip of cultural strangulation.

For Wider Interests

Still having at heart the wider interests of India which is struggling towards independence, and convinced that communalism and internal dissensions are retarding the progress of the country even more than the foreign power, we would soft-pedal for a while even some of our just rights, and do all we can to "heal the wounds and soften the asperities in the body-politic of the country." There are perhaps several Indian Christians who think that the present policy of the community to be suicidal, and would prefer to see a more communal, aggressive, militant attitude. Perhaps in the long run they may prove right, but we hope that they will not. The attitude of Mr. Jinnah and the League, of Mr. Ambedkar and his followers, or even of the Sikhs in the Punjab, may perhaps win for their respective communities many special privileges and concessions which we shall be deprived of; but these will be won only at the cost of immense sufferings for the people, of weakening India as a whole and of retarding for a long time the independence of the country. The Indian Christians have taken up a different attitude. We believe that India free and independent will be a richer and nobler land for all to share in its benefits than India enslaved and impoverished in which a few minority groups will struggle for privileges.

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STRIKES ON THE INCREASE

The number of strikers in Calcutta and the suburbs now number well over 50,000. Of these the main part is composed of 20,000 workers of four jute mills, 8,000 employees of the city's tramways, and 10,000 factory hands. The strike is a powerful weapon which democracy places in the hands of the workmen. Under state-capitalism or totalitarianism, enforced arbitration would be the rule, and there would be no place for labour-leaders of whom the omni-competent state disapproves. The so-called defenders of workmen's rights, whether they be sincere social workers voicing just grievances or unscrupulous politicians scheming for power and notoriety, cannot fit into a totalitarian system; they would find themselves promptly clapped in prison camps. Democracy respects individual rights and freedom of association; incidentally it tolerates many abuses of freedom, and is impotent to stay the hand that is raised to strike it.

Problems more Complex

All would grant that the position of workers in India is far from being ideal. Living costs have risen high, due to inflation of money and scarcity of essential commodities. Dearness allowances and free rations have not everywhere risen to an equal extent. While granting that workers have just grievances, one would doubt whether the strike is the best remedy for these grievances. Frequent strikes make the social problems more complex, render their solution more difficult, and in general create a situation which calls for still more frequent strikes. With strikes production falls; enforced idleness of thousands of workers increases scarcity. Thus, for example, when the cloth famine is partially the cause of high living costs, the 5,000 textile workers who are on strike in Ghoosoory are evidently not helping to reduce the cloth famine for themselves or for others.

Strikes may sometimes be perfectly justified; but there are also circumstances under which strike will be a crime against society. Even in unjustifiable strikes it would often be quite wrong to throw the blame on the workers. They themselves, no less than the employers and the public, are the victims of unscrupulous men who trade on the helplessness of disorganized labour to rise to positions of wealth and power. The duty of the government is to save the workmen from their oppressors; the oppressors are not always the employers; often they are the self-styled champions of labour.

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STUDENTS AND VIET-NAM

Distant Viet-Nam is causing no little confusion in India at the present time. The All-India Students' Congress has sent out a call to Indian students to sympathize actively with Viet-Nam soldiers. But one fails to comprehend what students with their exercise books and instrument boxes can do against French bombers and machine-guns. It is not our intention to call in question the justice of the Viet-Nam cause; and many there are who heartily deplore that the ideal of liberty, equality, and fraternity which floated the tri-colour of revolution is so easily being forgotten by certain party politicians of a nation which is reputed to be of the most humane of colonizers. However just be the cause of Viet-Nam, Indian students are losing a just appreciation of values when they sacrifice their precious time and sense of discipline for futile demonstrations, hectic speeches and organized lawlessness. In the College Street of Calcutta Viet-Nam frenzy prompted the students to throw brick-bats at the police, and they in their turn received rifle bullets. To get shot by the Indian police does not help appreciably the Viet-Nam soldiers facing French fire. Calcutta has caused its repercussions in many other parts of India, and in Calcutta itself a general strike was threatened in protest against the police. Student agitators have hardly been helpful in India's internal politics. When they enter the field of international politics they make confusion worse confounded.

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DISSENTING VOICES

The rulers of the Indian States in the solemn convention of their Chamber have laid down the conditions for their entry into the Indian Union. Among these conditions the first is that paramountcy should pass to the rulers themselves and not to the Union Government. In other words each ruler will be his own paramount power, "whose right there is none to dispute." Another condition is that in regard to Union subjects the Union government will exercise only such functions in relation to the States as are expressly assigned or delegated to the Union by the States. A Union centre cribbed and cabined to delegated functions, mildly observing from its impotent height scores of paramount powers all over the country, will be far from being the strong centre as envisaged by the Congress, standing four-square against foreign exploitation and conquest, and planning on a national scale for economic regeneration.

Meanwhile the Muslim League has repudiated the Constituent Assembly, thus strengthening the centrifugal forces in the land, and apparently setting the stage for civil war. The League maintains that the Congress has converted "the truncated Assembly into a rump," and therefore, demands the British Government to dissolve the Assembly. The League has been gaining all along the line every one of its demands. Is this last demand also, sabotaging the negotiations for over a year, to be satisfied?

STRAWS IN THE WIND

AMERICANISM IN TRAVANCORE

FOR a long time now we have been hearing of the forthcoming democratic constitution for Travancore. Reforms were promised as early as 1940; a 1947 new American model was announced in January 1946; early this year newspapers all over India, under obedient tutoring of the A.P.I., published the imminence of the new Constitution; and at a strategic moment in the last week of January, with the whole of India on the tiptoe of expectation, the over-advertized "draft proposals for a new Constitution" were at last made public. The announcement was intended to be as epochmaking as the discovery of America by Columbus. But no epoch has been made; and the new-found Americanism of Travancore is recognized by all to be an illusory dreamland.

More than Mockery

The *HINDUSTAN STANDARD* comments editorially as follows: "The new constitution is not merely a mockery, but something beyond it. It is a fraud on responsible government. We have no hesitation to say that the enlightened and politically conscious people of Travancore will reject it with the contempt it deserves. . . The Travancore model will be followed up by other States as being a reform which is outrageously reactionary, in which the people get not even the semblance of power."

The above condemnation would seem to be fully justified. The Constitution does indeed show a faint touch of Americanism in features like adult franchise, joint electorates, and elected president for the legislatures. But the value of these features vanishes to nothingness, since all power of governing is vested in the Maharajah and his irremoveable executive. There is a large range of subjects like State forces, foreign relations, Hindu religious department, etc., about which the cumbrous bicameral legislature may not even advise the government. The Dewan may dissolve the legislature at will, may veto any of its decisions, may pass any bill contrary to the expressed opinion of the legislatures. In short it would seem that the Upper and Lower House together is little more that a students' debating club, an expensive but ineffective camouflage for the most reactionary form of government.

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STATEMENT ABOUT STUDENTS

Feudal Travancore happily matched with the fashionable dame, Americanism, has yielded a prolific progeny of statements. After all, making statements is an inviolable right of citizens in a democracy. The head of the administration does not hold an unquestioned monopoly in the production of statements. They emanate from other sources as well, and a few of these latter do manage to overstep the hurdles of press censorship, and to creep outwards beyond narrow provincial and communal circles, and one or two reach even distant Calcutta.

A statement which we have read with some interest is that made by G. Ravindra Varma, President of Students' Congress. It was released to the press soon after the author had ceased to be one of His Highness' guests in a State prison. In the long statement one regrets not to find any appeal for a sense of discipline or for a spirit of earnest work. Instead there is a call to the Congress to organize itself more effectively, for what hidden purposes, one fails to see.

Mr. Varma deplores what he calls "a scandal and an untruth", namely, the wide-spread conviction that the Students' Congress does not want students to study. What the Congress wants or wants not is of less import than what it is actually doing. The question which troubles parents and educational authorities is whether the students have much time left for study after strikes and demonstrations, after courting arrests and breaking heads.

And Mis-statements

Regardnig strikes the Student leader wisely states that a strike is a delicate weapon to be used with greatest caution and restraint. Delicacy, we fear, is not the chief quality of the strike weapon, but power, violence and wastefulness. Neither the fury of the demonstrations nor the hatred of the slogans impresses the peace-loving citizens as particularly delicate. In Travancore as elsewhere, students' strikes have grown to be a ruthless menace. In these columns we have not concealed our sympathy for the political aims of the Travancore people; but politics is not a game for students, nor are they playing that game without endangering aims and ideals far more precious.

The public knows that statements are, oftener than not, mis-statements. They mis-state events and twist facts; from false premises they draw alluring but baneful conclusions. The Students' Congress, and to a much wider extent its rival, the communist-controlled Students

Federation, are both of them widening the gulf between teachers and taught, canalising youthful energy into wasteful channels, breaking down the sense of duty and discipline, and in every way victimizing students for the sake of short-sighted political leaders.

We deplore students' strikes, and also those student organizations of which the manifest purpose is engineering strikes. An unhealthy craving for excitement and holidaying is being exploited by leaders for their own purposes. A correspondent in a Calcutta daily recently wrote that students should stage strikes for reducing the number of needless holidays. This is a counsel of perfection; but there are few other aims for which a students' strike would be justifiable.

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LEAGUE POLITICS

"An oddly tadpole-like organism with a head and no tail" was the irreverent description given by a responsible Calcutta daily for the Bengal ministry. Others less responsible feel that the description fits equally well the League councils in all Provinces and in India as a whole. This may or may not be true; but what is certain is that the leaders command the perfect allegiance of their followers, and that the League presents a strongly united front against the mounting tide of public opinion in India and outside. Admirers praise it as a spirit of discipline; others condemn it as a spirit of servility or fascism. No rifts are visible in the League even on the momentous rejection of the C. Assembly, as there have been in the Congress about the acceptance of the HMG's Statement of December 6th.

However a new phase seems to be developing in Bengal. The tadpole-like organism is perhaps changing true to type as in every "ranarism"; heads shrink as bodies develop. The present crisis is due to the resignation of Maulana Akram Khan from the presidentship of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League. The claimants to the vacant eminence are two, Mr. Abul Hashem the former secretary, and Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, the *enfant terrible* of the League. Students, whom "dirty Politics" has developed into a formidable power, are lustily demonstrating for Mr. Fazlul Huq; a large number of them have courted arrests; lorries filled with agitators are rushing through the streets; and the High Command, backed by organs of the Muslim League like *Star of India*, is straining every nerve to quell the agitation. Who will win the struggle, the High Command or the rank and file? Will the organism continue to remain tadpole-like?

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FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE

It is refreshing to turn from the muddle of politics to something more constructive, and that is what one finds in the recent address of His Grace Mgr. Attipetty, Archbishop of Verapoly, made in reply to a civic reception accorded to him by the Municipal President and citizens of Trichur. His Grace reiterated in emphatic terms the conviction of all right-thinking men that the greatness of India demands the uplift of the masses. He said: "India can never become great unless her masses are uplifted. One of the essential requisites for this is the establishment and spread of social justice.

Politics with its struggle for power and its mounting bitterness, with its slogans and hatreds, while giving glory or notoriety to a few, is daily increasing the burdens of the poor. Food continue to be scarce; disease grows more rampant; social injustice hardens to ruthless oppression. Is the welfare of the people the first objective in the struggle for independence, or are the people to be sacrificed for the sake of the leaders? The Catholic Church is thought reactionary because it puts first things first. The demand for social justice voiced by Mgr. Attipetty is the demand of the Catholic Bishops' Conference of India, and of the four and a half Roman Catholic citizens. Our programme is radical and constructive. Our aim is not revolution through hatred, but evolution through concord. Our slogan is not *Inquilab Zindabad* but "Progress through harmony."

STRAWS IN THE WIND

SIKHISTAN

THE agitation which the Sikhs in the Punjab are carrying on for safeguards and privileges would be watched with interest by the other small minorities of India, like the Indian Christians and the Anglo-Indians. One of their recent ventures is the formation of a Union of Sikh States, consisting of Patiala, Nabha, Faridkot, Jind, Kapurthala, and Kalsia. The rulers of the first three States were devout Sikhs who always bestowed on their co-religionists all the political privileges they could wish for. The rulers of the other three who for a time had cut off their long hair, shaved their beards and ceased being so openly benevolent to the Sikh subjects, have now been persuaded to observe the religion in all its external and political form. Religious observance of the Sikh ruler is evidently of less importance than political privileges for the Sikh subjects. In Jind which is by no means an exclusively Sikh State, the demands of the Sikhs were mainly four: appointment of a Sikh Prime Minister; granting a Sikh majority in the executive and legislature; management of Gurdwaras by Sikh elected committees; and recognition of Gurmukhi as the court language. All these four demands have been obtained from the ruler, though the non-Sikh subjects may have had quite different views on the demands. The Sikh agitation in Jind having come to a successful conclusion, a similar agitation is being carried on in Nabha where the Sikhs do not number even half the total population.

Through Religious Militarism

What the Sikhs lack in numbers and even more is supplied by their better organization and religious militarism. Viewed according to standards of democracy, it would seem a strange demand that all political power, all executive posts, all civic rights should be held exclusively by one communal group which is not even a majority. But the Sikhs can point out precedents in Hyderabad and Kashmir where the rulers bestow on their co-religionists special privileges out of all proportion to their fewness of numbers. What the Muslims in Hyderabad and the Hindus in Kashmir have obtained, the same enhanced and amplified, the Sikhs would claim in the smaller states of which the rulers are Sikhs. But political privileges are by no means the ultimate aim of the agitation. The Sikh leaders hope that by acquiring political power in these States, they would be able to convert them into Sikh majority areas. The methods of making a majority out of a minority may not be exactly mild and gentle; but the leaders prefer to leave their plans vague and undefined for the time being. Perhaps Noakhali, Assam, Bihar and Travancore would serve as object lessons. Once majorities are secured the next step would be a greater Sikh State of federated units.

Potential Danger

Pakistan and Hindustan have long been talked about; now it is a Sikhistan that looms on the horizon. Though the Christians in India number more than twice the Sikhs, they have not demanded a separate Christianistan; and as long as they refuse to subscribe to the principle that end justifies means, it is not likely that they will create a 'stan of their own even if they were to wish for one. The unhappy identification of politics with religion which has persistently stood in the path of the country's constitutional progress, has caused a series of communal killings and is threatening the Balkanization of India, has been brought into bolder relief by the Sikh agitation. In the present crisis the Christians are the only communal group with a constructive policy; theirs is the only pointer to harmony and progress. Their fundamental demand is that politics should not be identified with communalism, that democratic principles be respected both in theory and practice. As a religious community they stand apart; but in politics they would gladly co-operate with all those who strive for the unity of India. Religious belief and practice, according to the Christians, will admit of no compromise; but politics, they realize, is essentially a series of compromises and mutual adjustments. They view with grave concern the Sikh agitation, but feel in no way inclined to follow the example of the Sikhs. Hatred leads to destruction. The Christian spirit, the spirit of charity, is one that leads construction.

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A NEW MALABAR PROVINCE

A news item reported in last week's Herald say : "The 21st of January was a memorable day in the annals of the Carmlite Fathers of the First Order in Malabar." The day was perhaps even more memorable in the history of Missionary progress in India. The group of Carmelite monasteries in Malabar hitherto dependent on the Province of Flanders, were constituted into a separate Malabar Province. The foreign missionaries who come to India not merely to preach the

faith but to establish the Church in this country consider it a signal achievement when in any part of the country administrative and economic sufficiency is such as to justify independence of the mother country. For several years now one has observed the creation of new dioceses under Indian bishops with wholly indigenous clergy. As regards the religious missionary bodies progress has not unhappily been equally rapid. But Carmelites have been in India for a longer time than most other Missionary bodies; and in Catholic Malabar conditions have been exceptionally favourable to the growth of the religious and missionary spirit.

Happy Consummation

The change is the happy consummation of many years of labour. The Visitor General, Very Rev. Fr. Boniface, O.C.D., on whose recommendation the Malabar Province has been erected, has explained the right attitude to be taken towards the creation of the new Province. Foreign missionaries go to a country not as colonists to settle down permanently; theirs is a work of pioneering, and when the faith they have planted begins to flourish, they go farther afield, entrusting their former work to people of the place. The Visitor General said: "The time has come for the European Fathers to retire from the monasteries, since the Carmelite spirit has been planted here, has taken root and attained large dimensions. "A few of the Belgian Fathers may continue in Malabar for some time longer; but the administration now passes to the Malayalee Carmelites, and theirs is the task of continuing the noble traditions and carrying on the great work. May they prove equal to the task laid upon their shoulders. And to the pioneers who with a sense of work accomplished now turn to fresh fields we wish even greater success than in the past.

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TARRED AND FEATHERED

Smutty racialism in South Africa is far from being reformed by the U.N.O. decision. Its cause has been defeated in a verbal struggle in the distant council halls of the United Nations; but nearer home where defeat really counts, in the commercial and economic life of the colony, the ruling powers are determined not to be defeated. A Reuter message from Pietersburg in Northern Transvaal says: "The boycott of Indian traders and aid to agitation against Indians in South Africa are among the resolutions passed at a packed meeting of more than 1,500 people here. The meeting also proposed that Europeans seen entering Indian stores and European girls who worked for Indians be tarred and feathered. The meeting was convened by the Waaksaamheids Kommittee (Vigilance Committee) of the National Party as a non-party political meeting."

The National Party holding a non-party meeting and passing a resolution so outrageously racialistic, deserves credit for its bold and shamefaced flouting of what many others would at least honour with their lips, the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms. The Waaksaamheids Kommittee is indeed vigilant; but its vigilance is woefully short-sighted, extending little beyond the narrow frontiers of the colony and the vaunted superiority of the race.

A Horrid Custom

The method chosen by the Committee for its campaign against Indians is in no sense novel; it is copied from the days of colonial barbarism. European customers of Indian stores and European girls earning their livelihood in Indian firms are to be tarred and feathered; they are to be converted into Red Indians and Negroes because they hold business relations with the brown Indians. This form of punishment used to be common in the America of the eighteenth century, but it died out gradually as men became more humane and civilized. If to-day South Africa insists on being two centuries behind the times and would revive horrid customs from the days of ruthless colonization, Field-Marshal Smuts might regard it as a new feather in his untarred cap. His campaign for racial superiority failed in the U.N.O. council halls, thanks to the power-politics of the world; but it is bearing abundant fruit in his own country.

STRAWS IN THE WIND

A RAILWAY BUDGET SPEECH

MR. JOHN MATHAI, Indian Christian representative in the Interim Government, brilliant economist and one of the makers of the Bombay plan, who after much reshuffling of portfolios, became the Member for Transport, has presented in the Central Assembly the Railway budget for the year along with a speech which reveals pre-eminently the economist, the planner and the financial expert. Few Ministers of the interim period have held so many and such diverse portfolios as the one time Director of the Tata Industries. Having started his public career not as a lawyer like several of his colleagues, but as an economist, and having had his finger for many years on the industrial pulse of the country, he is singularly fitted to speak on the many problems like industrial relations, inflationary tendencies, trade union movements, and the like, all of which he has analyzed under the light of the Railway budget for the coming year.

Real Grievances

In the budget speech the railway appears not so much as a public utility, with crammed carriages, slow movement and inconvenience of every sort, but rather as "by far the largest industrial concern under one management in the country, employing over nine lakhs of workers of all grades." It is a concern which being almost completely nationalized, has a great influence on the financial stability of the central revenues and on the economic position of the country. Economic position is a great word, and financial stability is terrifically important to those engaged in the great gambling of the stock markets. The common people who do not even understand what financial stability means, and for whom the railway is a very unpleasant means of transport, are far from happy to learn that even today, nearly two years since the cessation of the war, only a portion of the pre-war passenger services have been restored. 1,046 train services covering a daily mileage of 67,000 miles is hardly half what is required for the great number of people using the railway today. Compartments built to accomodate fifty but carrying over three times that number is not an uncommon sight in many parts of north-east India; and with the unconscionable crowding increases also the number of beggars, hawkers, ticketless travellers and skilled pickpockets, who add to the discomforts of the train.

But the Transport Department is busy not with these very real grievances of a voiceless public, but with other problems like retrenchment and strikes, economy and financial control, wage-scales and inflationary tendencies, problems which have been forced upon the attention of the government by obsteperous demagogues belonging to a certain revolutionary party. This shifting of focus is regrettable as far as a large section of the public is concerned, but perhaps it is inevitable under the present circumstances.

Shifting of Focus

The Transport Member has sounded a timely note of warning against the activities of these labour leaders. He says: "In spite of every sympathy with the legitimate demands of labour, I feel it my duty to warn those who have the great responsibility in these difficult times of advising and directing organized labour, that strikes, stoppages of work and 'go slow' policies will react detrimentally on both the country's economy and the workers themselves. Among the repercussions of such activities are a fall in revenue, dislocation of trade and industry, diminution of production and therefore a general deterioration of national well-being. If the earnings of the railways are reduced, the improvement of service conditions which the workers and the government alike desire cannot possibly be effected."

The Transport Member whose task it is to balance the budget would evidently wish to see the earnings of the railways increase, and he realizes that discontented staff are the greatest drag on efficiency and economy. The lower grade staff of the railways are discontented, or at least so they are made to appear by their leaders.

Discontent versus Inflation

We have often heard of a lack of healthy discontent among the masses of the people in India. But there is a limit beyond which discontent ceases to be healthy. Increase in wage-scales rarely brings contentment, since increase knows no topceiling, and most increases are only illusionary as living costs rise along with the wages. Higher wages are met by increased freight rates, which in turn step up the prices of commodities, and hence, says Dr. John Mathai, "the wage-earner finds himself no better off, while inflation has received a fillip. And so the spiral goes on." But the spiral cannot go on indefinitely. Inflation is followed sooner or later by depression in economy and slump in commerce; and the hardships of the depression period are out of all proportion to those of the inflation period. The labour crisis of today is closely connected with an economic crisis, which requires the utmost vigilance on the part of Central and Provincial Governments.

Short-sighted agitation and mob-frenzy are hardly helpful for a country that seeks to evolve a constructive policy. Labour leaders would do well to consider the immense responsibility they have not only towards the labourers they seek to lead but towards the country as a whole. It is true that their fame rests on the successful staging of mighty strikes; but their fame is not the criterion for the country's welfare. The country needs leaders, not false leaders lusting for power, but true leaders who are willing to sacrifice themselves and to forego the applause of an unenlightened and misguided public. Dr. John Mathai's Railway budget speech gives abundant food for thought to the so-called labour leaders of today.

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ECHOES FROM TRAVANCORE

A reader of these columns in Travancore has thoughtfully sent us a large number of cuttings from the Catholic newspapers of Malabar, showing the reaction of the Travancore State Congress towards the new "American" constitution of Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer. The reaction is in no way different from what we had presumed in our previous note on the mock constitution written soon after the constitution appeared in the press. The State Congress represents by far the great bulk of the Travancore population, and its resolution emphatically rejecting the Dewan's proposals and refusing to take part in any of the deliberations connected with them, is a true index of popular feeling in the State. In a conference of the State Congress held in Kottayam, Mr. P. T. Chacko delivered a stirring address analyzing the constitution under all its aspects, and showing that the responsible government promised to the people is the most irresponsible that a reactionary state could devise. Far from being a step forward, it is a bold venture to turn history backwards. Rights and liberties formerly conceded to the people are being denied them, and the whole government under a deceptive facade of elected legislatures and adult franchise is centred on one man, the Minister appointed by the King and responsible only to the King. Monarchies may still have their legitimate place in the future India; but constitutions of the present type only serve to weaken the cause for monarchies, and to bring discredit on the princes.

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A WORD FOR THE POLICE

The police struggling against mob-violence is often in an unenviable position. The public and the press have been confirmed by long tradition in an attitude of hostility towards the so-called myrmidons of imperialism. The mob even when it is carried away by slogans and resorts to goondaism and brickbats, is supposed to be defending civic rights. The arsenal of the police is not very lavishly provided; tear gas, lathis and rifles are all too ineffective against a crowd which outnumbers the police by hundred to one; nor does the constabulary struggling through life on a pitiful salary feel any great zeal to struggle for life against an abundant shower of brickbats, the tricolor of the League Star floating over a mob of hooligans is easily assumed to be a surety for patriotism, non-violence and constitutional precedure. The lusty shouting of nationalist slogans and the invocation of names like Gandhi or Jinnah infallibly elicit popular sympathy; and the police facing such mobs is condemned as reactionary, anti-democratic, anti-nationalist. In the Punjab police officials have recently gone through a severe ordeal. The untimely and not too strategic move against a communal army brought to the fore the ugly might of religious fanaticism. The government ate the humble pie by admitting defeat on every point; but the fight against the police still goes on. Communal tension, which some would prefer to call political tension, continues unabated. One police official showed uncanny inventiveness and presence of mind, when facing a volley of brickbats and feeling the insufficiency of his weapons, he fired not at the mob but at a nearby swarm of bees. The effect was immediate; brickbats dropped to the ground, and the mob dispersed without much ado. It would be convenient for the police if mobs always congregate in the vicinity of beehives. But bee-keeping as a cottage industry is still undeveloped and mobs are erratic in their choice of spots for lawlessness.

STRAWS IN THE WIND

BRITAIN SHALL QUIT

BRITAIN shall quit India by June 1948. This momentous declaration was made by Prime Minister Attlee in the House of Commons on February 20th. It brought to boiling point the imperial ire of Mr. Churchill. The conservative opposition which for long had governed India, which had promised in words what it denied in deeds but had never contemplated the liquidation of the Empire, has now received a profound shock. It would seem that Mr. Churchill and his followers had always seriously doubted the Labour Government's willingness to part with power, that in spite of all declaration to the contrary, they had hoped that the Government would preserve indefinitely its hold on India and that India would remain, if not as the brightest jewel on the imperial crown, at least as a subject Dominion of the Commonwealth and a willing market for Britain's commerce. All such hopes are now vanishing. Mr. Attlee's assurance to British commercial interests is at best conditioned by the good will of India. The Conservative reaction, however deplorable, is consistent with the policy which the British Government had pursued in years past. Both Great Britain and India are to-day paying the penalty for that policy, Great Britain by the deep-seated hostility and suspicion current in India, and India by her serious internal disorders, the threat of civil strife, the thorough deterioration of her economy.

Delayed Concession

A reversal of that policy has been apparent ever since the Labour Government came into power. The White Paper of June 16th was a great step forward. The Statement of February 20th is a last convincing proof. One cannot help regretting, though it is idle to do so, that the reversal of policy had not occurred several years earlier. At the present time the political atmosphere is so over-cast with storm-clouds, the future is so dark with fearful mystery, that the word independence stirs no more the thrill of joy which its hopeful, distant expectation in the days of civil disobedience and non-violent agitation had caused.

The reaction of the Conservatives in England is not counter-balanced by an opposite reaction in India. Both Gandhi and Jinnah have declined to comment on Mr. Attlee's Statement except in general non-committal terms. Pundit Nehru welcomes the date-line; but even in his words a note of joy is singularly lacking. Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer in distant Travancore opines that the Prime Minister's promise to quit is a victory for the policy pursued by Mr. Jinnah; the logic of the opinion is not quite clear. Mr. Suhrawardy, Bengal's Muslim League Premier, is of the same opinion, but for different reasons.

If by June 1948 India is unable to evolve a Constitution agreed to by a fully representative Assembly, the power is to be transferred not to a united India but to little bits of India, Central, Provincial and Princely. Will Balkanization of India become then an accomplished fact? Will continuous war, far more devastating than in China or Europe, be the agreed programme of the future?

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INDIA TO-DAY

La Libre Belgique, Belgium's popular daily, has published in its issue of 27th January, 1947, a four column account of India, of its struggles, problems, hopes and fears. We in India usually deprecate the sort of publicity which we get in the foreign press; and with reason too, since pre-war and war-time accounts, inspired by the British Government, spoke only of what the Englishman saw in India or wanted others to see. But the account in **La Libre Belgique** is from a quite different source, untainted by power-politics; it is an interview given to the paper by a Missionary who for many years has lived in India, has adopted the country as his own and loves its people. Were its contents as widely known in India as it is in Belgium, much of the diatribe now current in India against missionaries and Christianity would be silenced for ever.

La Libre Belgique introduces Rev. Fr. J. B. Moyersoen, S.J., as an "outstanding religious, son of Baron Romain Moyersoen, formerly Minister of State and President of the Senate." Catholic India knows Fr. Moyersoen rather as the Superior of the Jesuit Mission of Calcutta and during the war-years representative of the General for all the Jesuit Missions of India and Ceylon. When Fr. Moyersoen explains the recent political developments in India, the correspondent of the Belgian Daily asks characteristically: "But can Indians govern themselves? Will there not be civil war? Witness the Calcutta massacre."

Non-violence

Fr. Moyersoen's reply is equally characteristic. "Is it not too much for Europeans to entertain doubts about the ability for self-government of a people who have stood the discipline of non-violence for 25 years, and have given to the world an example which we would do well to profit from?" Fr. Moyersoen is not unaware of the difficulties against unity, the drawbacks of cultural diversity, the suspiciousness of a large minority group, the fears entertained by many Indians themselves. But he is not one to be deceived by external propaganda. Explaining the struggle which India has been carrying on, he says: "The method of 'non-violence' followed unwearyingly for 25 years by the chief nationalist party, the Indian National Congress, under the direction and inspiration of Gandhi, seems to have borne fruit; it has won the sympathy of its enemies and has conquered them. This is a fact unknown in world history, one we would do well to ponder on: 400 million people winning their independence through non-violence formulated as a principle and carried on as a method, through suffering willingly borne, through imprisonment."

The Catholic Church

Regarding the prospects for the Church Fr. Moyersoen says that he looks to the future with confidence and optimism. Independence will show how false it is to identify, as many in India do, Christianity with the West. The continuance of Christianity in an independent India and the increasing number of Indian Bishops will demonstrate that the Christian religion is of India and for India, and that one can be a Christian without ceasing to be a true Indian. There will be difficulties; but the Church is not afraid of difficulties. "Who knows whether after a rather difficult period of transition, the day be not near when India shall turn to Christ Whom it shall see as the one for whom through centuries it was unconsciously yearning?" This is a cheering thought, one that gives courage and strength for the Church's missionary endeavour. The Catholic Church with its message of salvation, its spirit of devotion and sacrifice, its uplifting social and moral teaching has a glorious role to play in India, a role which becomes all the more important and effective as political dependence on the West ceases.

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CLAIMS OF THE PEOPLE

We have to thank the strike wave in the country for the cloth famine being once again acute. Several textile mills in Bombay and Ahmedabad have been lying idle. Cotton which grows plentifully in India has again to be exported to foreign countries as was the custom twenty years ago; and the Indian consumer will receive it back in stringently rationed quantities of cloth at enhanced prices. Labour demands further privileges and higher wages. Big business plans for larger profits, greater accumulation of capital, and more powerful monopolies. While interests clash, costly machinery lies idle; precious working hours are wasted; both labour and capital suffer huge losses; and foreign nations possessing a better industrial system widen their conquest of markets, raw materials and world economic control. Labour, capital and political power are engaged in a tripartite struggle; and their respective claims receive wide publicity in the press, on platforms and over the radio. Meanwhile the largest group, the consumers, the voice-less market continues to be least consulted; and it is the consumers who have to pay the bills for the disputes of the other three groups.

Plea for Reform

The diseased state of world economy needs no clearer proof. Some would claim that democracy is bankrupt; others that capitalism is outdated. In India there is a tendency to cast the blame on industrialism; and the Madras Premier was apparently answering to that tendency when he brought in legislation to strangle the textile industry. But reaction was strong and the Premier was almost unseated. Vinoba in a recent issue of the **Harijan** puts forward an impassioned plea for **charka** and **khadi**, and claims that a completely decentralized economy, based on self-sufficient village communities, would cure the diseased economy of India. Indeed it might, if India were all the world or if the world's clock were put two centuries back. The ills of the economic order are too deep-rooted to be cured by **charka** and tariff-walls. A changed outlook, a new philosophy must be brought in. The deceptive facade of democracy with its false propaganda must be replaced. The conflicting claims of capital and labour must be adjusted with the no less real claims of the consumer. The combative spirit must give place to the co-operative spirit. Politics must be cured of its power-complex. MUST—But HOW is the question.

We Catholics have an answer. We have a programme for reform. But we would start the reform with the heart and will of each individual man.

STRAWS IN THE WIND

POLITICS AND ECONOMICS

PUNDIT NEHRU delivered recently in New Delhi the Inaugural Address to the Annual Session of the Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry. A welcome feature of the Address was that it shifted attention for a while from the all too intricate maze of politics to the vital problems of economic and industrial planning and to the regeneration of the country. At the present time politics with its communal bitterness, its frustrated attempts at compromise, its narrow provincialism, tends to absorb all too completely the attention of the national leaders. In the bid for political power, the many other needs of the country, the poverty of the masses, the recurrent threats of famine, the low vitality of Indian industries, the bankruptcy of Indian agriculture, the lack of long-term plans and the utter inability of unstable governments to carry into execution even short-term plans, all are forgotten. The fall of ministries, the reshuffling of portfolios, and the possible federations of Native States and divisions of Provinces are indeed questions of importance, but they do not affect the struggling millions and will not help to raise their sub-human standards of living. If certain politicians thought for a while in terms of economics and not politics, if they devoted their attention more to the needs of the country and the people, and less to their own selves and the prestige of their party, the present deadlock in constitutional progress might perhaps find a speedy solution.

Pundit Nehru said: "It should be remembered that economic factors do not pay too much attention to boundaries. If we have a Damodar Valley Scheme which affects at least two Provinces, Bengal and Bihar, it is not a Bengal scheme or a Bihar scheme. If we have a river commission for the Ganges Valley, it would affect three Provinces. Of course nobody is going to force down something against the will of a Province. A Province will have to agree to and carry out that plan. But the whole conception of planning if it was to become provincial would become ineffective."

For a greater India

Narrow provincialism and the strengthening of the centrifugal forces are due as much to the misguided propaganda of communal leaders as to their thorough lack of consciousness about the economic needs of the country. No province in India is a self-sufficient entity unto itself. For raw materials of industry, agricultural produce, fuel and hydro-electric power, steady market, industrial capital, talent, leadership and initiative, for the hundred and one needs of modern economy, the Provinces of India are inter-dependent. One of the most unwelcome features of the Cabinet Mission's Plan of June 1946 was, as we observed when the Plan was published, that economic planning was to be removed from the power of the future federal government. But since June 1946 the economics of the country has steadily deteriorated. There has been a series of communal killings, a hardening of inflationary tendencies, a large number of strikes and lockouts. Peace-squads have not brought about communal harmony. Financial controls have not checked the rise in prices. The efforts of arbitration boards and the serious warnings of the government about the steep fall in production have not effected a better understanding between capital and labour.

Pundit Nehru's speech touched upon many of the thorny economic problems of the country. The solution of these problems is still entirely out of reach, if not out of sight. But if politicians, owners of industry, financial magnates and labour leaders all sincerely apply themselves to these problems, they themselves may have to lose certain gains and honours for their respective classes, but the beneficiaries will be the millions of the poor, the uneducated masses of the people.

* * *

SEARCH FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

The question of human rights and fundamental freedoms is agitating many minds at the present time. It was for the sake of safeguarding these rights and freedoms that the United Nations Organization brought into being an Economic and Social Council. But neither the Council nor the Organization knew what these very abstract words signified in the world of power politics with which alone they were familiar. Hence they jointly mandated a "Commission of Human rights." This Commission armed with its high-sounding terms of reference, has thought it fit to appoint several Sub-Commissions. Thus the series goes on of Organizations, Councils, Commissions, expert Commissions, of Charters, reports, bills, recommendations, preambles, and resolutions. From all this huge, cumbersome, heavily expensive framework, from the many journeyings of "experts" back and forth between America and Europe, from the mountains of paper that is being printed and distributed, from the long series of meetings over unread files, there might ensue at last a sonorous "International Bill of Human Rights and Fundamental

Freedoms." The newspaper world will laud it for a day and then forget it. The great national and political leaders will greet it with grave propriety, and promptly ignore it.

Futile Search

We feel sorry that this great International Commission is giving itself so much trouble in a frantic attempt to discover the obvious, which in the end it will fail to discover. Fr. Robert A. Graham, S.J., who, on behalf of the Institute of Social Order, Jesuit Provinces, U.S.A., has been closely observing all that the U.N.O. has been doing, writes: "By and large the announced persons who have been named to this Commission do not share the true Christian view-point on human rights. And I don't mean only the Russian representative." Evidently he means also the representatives of many other countries which profess great respect for democracy, freedom, the sacred rights of man and the so-called "cultural and spiritual values" of a materialistic philosophy. The human person has certainly his inviolable rights, but the rights are inseparably linked with duties; and both rights and duties are based on what man is, on the purpose of man's being. The search for fundamental human rights cannot but be futile when it is made by a crowd of "experts" who ignore what and why man is, for whom duties are at best a self-imagined categoric imperative in the Kantian fashion or at worst a convenient fiction, for whom the measure of all things is man and the measure of man his own materialistic outlook on life. In a dark room many men together are instituting a thorough search for a dark object which is not there. What the world needs is not pompous declarations of human rights and fundamental freedoms, not statements existing solely on paper, not international bills which will be a camouflage for power-politics, capitalistic exploitation and totalitarian ruthlessness. The bill of human rights should be imprinted in the heart of each individual, along with a declaration of duties, of the absolute norm of conduct, and of man's subjection to God who is the author of the moral order.

* * *

A NEW FINANCIAL BUDGET

Financial experts representing the Big Business of India are greatly perturbed over the Central Government's Budget for 1947-48, presented by the Finance Member, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan. Many industrialists have raised a cry of alarm; the stock-market was closed down. An artificial panic was created. Delegations from the business centres are speedily moving to New Delhi to interview Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan.

Summarizing the main objectives of the new Budget, the Finance Member had said: "It will be my particular endeavour to reduce to the maximum extent possible, the glaring disparities that exist to-day between the income and standards of life of the wealthy classes and the vast multitudes of the poverty-stricken masses, and to contribute to the best of my ability to the improvement of the common man." This objective, though so patently reasonable, and proved to the hilt by cogent arguments, cannot evidently appeal to big business which sees its excess profits curtailed, it shady operations tracked down and some of the financial empires which it has built during the war being progressively liquidated.

For the Masses

One "Expert" voicing the reaction of his class, condemns the budget with an ill-sounding epithet; it is a "sock-the-so-called-rich Budget." Are the rich only so-called, and not really so? The luxury of the high mansions, the hosts of liveried servants, the frenzy of high finance gambling, so characteristic of certain quarters in our great cities contrast pitifully with the slum areas which are almost within ear-shot, with their squalor and disease, their abject poverty and unrelieved starvation.

It is not likely that the year's budget will immediately lift the slum-dwellers out of their present misery. But it marks the first stage in a reform which was long overdue. The fury of the financial world is intelligible, though hardly commendable. The new taxation proposals are not an encouragement to the speculators of the stock-market. Evading taxation by double accounts and questionable practices will be increasingly difficult. Capital gains will be taxed to yield Rs. 3½ crores to the Central Government; another Rs. 30 crores will be obtained from a 25% tax on all business profits above Rs. 1 lakh. In still higher reaches of income where capital fructifies at the expense of the poor and with no risk to itself, income-tax and super-tax taken together, according to a capitalistic computation, are to amount to As. 15/6 in the rupee. All these new proposals of taxation, along with a few others which are too inolved for the average public, are naturally being objected to by those who are asked to shed a little of their superfluity. They prophesy dire consequences for the country's economy if the proposals are carried into effect. But false prophets who speak more **pro domo** than **pro patria** will not, one hopes, intimidate a truly patriotic radicalism.

STRAWS IN THE WIND

THE ANTI-COMMUNIST FRONT

THE Anti-Communist Front which for many years had confined itself to mere verbal polemics, while the Communists advanced on many fronts through sheer muscular power, is now taking to more tangible action. Not long ago a Provincial Premier found it necessary to demand police-raids on Communist Offices throughout British India. Mr. Prakasam of Madras, the Prime Minister that was, and Sir C. P. of Travancore, the Prime Minister that is and ever will be, both had to engage in a pitched battle of wits and arms against the "patriotic" comrades; and it must be confessed that neither came out of the struggle with flying colours. Still more recently the Home Minister of Bombay has firmly declared that if the Communists indulge in incitements to violence, they will be dealt with according to the law. The Home Minister being one who experienced the rigour of the law for his non-violence, is evidently not expected to be too gentle in applying the law for the violence of his opponents.

Mr. Joseph John, commenting on the Home Minister's decision, writes editorially in *The Social Welfare*: "Nobody will grudge the Communists the normal enjoyment of civil liberties, even though they themselves do not believe in civil liberties, except to the extent it subserves their party ends. But when they openly carry their ideas to the point of inflaming certain classes of people against others, it is tantamount to sabotaging the national government in the making, and strangling the infant republic of India in its birth."

The Catholic Attitude

However fully we Catholics may agree with the motives and reasons of the governments in organizing the anti-Communist front, it is well for us to be on our guard against identifying ourselves to such an extent with the measures taken by the governments as to lay ourselves open to the false charge of being supporters of the Capitalists and enemies of the working classes. We view Communism not so much as a threat to the national government which indeed it is. What is more important in our eyes is that Communism undermines the respect due to the moral law, to truth and justice, to God and religion. In the last meeting of the Catholic Bishops' Conference of India a resolution was adopted that in order to fight against Communism, the Catholics should form a centralized body or organization, supported and financed by all the dioceses of the country, and that it should serve as a General Directorate, having branches in different places for anti-Communist action throughout India.

The resolutions adopted at this meeting show that the programme which we as Catholic Actionists intend to pursue is as far different from the government programme as our reasons for opposing Communism are different. As citizens of the State we may, and in large measure, we shall identify ourselves with the government's policy; we may perhaps when occasion demands, even ask from the government firmer action against these internal enemies of the social order and of national stability. But as Catholic Actionists, our programme is non-political; we want not a merely negative opposition, but positive and constructive action. Our objectives in social reform is perhaps even more radical than that of the Communists; but our method is not the breaking of heads, nor our goal an armed neutrality between mutually hating classes. The resolutions of the C.B.C.I. show how we are to carry out anti-Communistic action throughout India. We should study and spread the Christian social teaching; show in our attitude and actions a better understanding of the Christian principles of justice and charity; and establish social welfare associations for the uplift of the workers and peasants. The C.B.C.I. also ask for a wider dissemination among the general public of Catholic ideas through leaflets and pamphlets in English and chiefly in the vernaculars, for the formation of regional zones on a linguistic basis to encourage writers and lecturers on social questions, and for the promotion of specific types of social action through co-operative credit societies, co-operative sale societies, grain banks, cottage industries, etc.

Social Action

All this is fighting Communism, and that with the most effective weapons. Catholic social action is the great need of the hour, an action that will ameliorate the condition of the poor Catholics and reach even outside, winning for the Church the sympathy and willing attention of non-Catholics, and thereby enabling the Church to spread her message of salvation, according to the Lord's precept: "Go and teach ye all nations." Our anti-Communist front unlike that of the government or of any political party, is essentially a Catholic Front. Our aim is not to capture power, but to do good; not to foment class-hatred, or the dominance of one class over another, but to ensure social harmony and co-operation. Following in the footsteps of Him who came to minister, not to be ministered unto, we seek only to serve, to secure for the underprivileged their just social rights, to impart to society those eternal principles of justice and charity upon which alone it can subsist, and to show to all men the path that leads to life's true goal.

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INDIA'S POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

Politicians now seem to be aware that a changed outlook on the Indian Problem is essential in view of the Statement of HMG of February 20th. But as to what the new outlook should be is far from clear to those whose vision is clouded by the maze of party propaganda. Malik Sir Khizr Khan Tiwana in the Punjab was the first to announce the need of a change, and he acted even before his announcement by a dramatic somersault. One ministry collapsed almost without a struggle; but the effort to form another has resulted in burning and looting, noisy demonstrations, open defiance of the law, much communal killing, repeated police firing, and the proclamation of the unpalatable Section 93. As these lines are being written Khan Iftikhar Hussain Khan of Mamdot has not yet secured a majority and it is doubtful that he will, unless the legislature is dissolved and elections again take place. Sind is an attractive precedent; and the Punjab is the corner-stone of the Pakistan edifice. The invitation of the Khan to Hindus and Sikhs to co-operate with him in the making of a sovereign Muslim State has fallen not so much on deaf ears as on brandished swords. The price for co-operation is evidently unattractive; and the Muslim League has no other price to offer.

Peace or War?

A coalition ministry is apparently also the desire of Mr. Suhrawardy. At Rajshahi where he had gone to lay the foundation stones of a Muslim High School, a Muslim League Office and a Muslim National Guards Office, the Bengal Premier said that with the coming of freedom the greatest responsibility was falling on the people of India, that the British Government's statement has changed the whole picture and that time had definitely come for one-party-rule to be revised in Bengal and other Provinces. Sir A. Lakshmana Swami Mudaliar, speaking in the Madras Legislature, also asked that with the imminent reshuffling of the Madras Cabinet, an all-party coalition should be sought for that predominantly Congress Province. Nor is the resolution of the Congrss Working Committee inviting the Muslim League for fresh negotiations without some significance.

Are all these renewed invitations for coalition and co-operation a proof of changing attitudes? Are storm-clouds beginning to dissipate and sunshine to flood a clear sky? Or are verbal protestations but a deceptive facade behind which politicians sow the wind to reap the inevitable whirlwind? The stakes are high on which communalists now play their dangerous game. Making and unmaking of ministries, partition or fusion of Provinces or States, party manoevring and propaganda, all are but the outward framework of a tottering edifice, which if it were to fall, will crush to death thousands, perhaps millions of victims. Long and cruel has been the suffering of the people. Enough blood has soaked the parched soil.

But may India, unhappy India, never see that day when her leaders shall betray so tragically her people's trust!

M. Thekaekara.

Book Review

HANDBOOK FOR ALTAR BOYS by Fr. Y. Ambrose Papiah, O. F. M., The Altar Boys' Society, St. Patrick's Church, Karachi, Pp. 27.

A quite complete handbook, but not over-burdened with minute details. No important liturgical service requiring the assistance of a server or sacristan has been over-looked. The altar-boys' "rubrics" as explained in the handbook is not too difficult to master; but customs vary greatly from place to place, and it is not likely that all parish-priests would choose to follow the Karachi model.

STRAWS IN THE WIND

"BLEEDING PUNJAB"

THE Punjab is one of India's very few surplus provinces for grain, and naturally in the economic stability of the country it holds a key position. It was for this Province that a communalist "fire-eater" once proposed a "scorched earth" policy as a means to achieve party aims. At that time the proposal was thought highly seditious, and a few very respectable newspapers in Delhi and elsewhere received government castigation for reporting the "fire-eater's" speech. But today fire-eaters in the Punjab are a legion. It is not merely a scorched earth policy that lays waste the Province, but something immeasurably more horrid. Seething communal passion, whipped to a blind fury by utterances of agitators, holds the towns and villages in subhuman thraldom. Pundit Nehru, after a tour of the Province, described the situation in a press conference, and he has used a vehemence of language which one is not accustomed to from a very judicious political leader who measures each word of his.

Opinions evidently differ very much as to whether the Punjab should be one or two. Some would have Punjab cut into two but India welded into one; others demand as resolutely that Punjab be one but India two. And between the rival cries of one and two, grain-stores and houses burn, heads split in twain, and blood flows in profusion. One would wonder whether there is no way of settling a political argument except by the cruel killing of hundreds, perhaps thousands of unlettered peasants for whom politics is a great unknown, and all argument it but the re-echoing of ill-understood slogans. "Murdabad" is a strange word which bodes well to none, neither to those that use it nor to its victims; as an expresion of the law of the jungle, it would instinctively cause revulsion in civilized minds. But in Punjab today, and many other parts of India as well, few words seem to rise so easily to the lips of men as that terrorist's call to destruction.

The Call To Reason

The riots in Calcutta and elsewhere have entailed on the government of Bengal, that is, on the general tax-payer of the Province, an expenditure of Rs. 2 crores and ten lakhs for relief work; and more directly through looting and destruction the riots brought to the public the loss of far greater fortunes. It will be a long time before an estimate of the financial losses in Lahore, Multan, Rawalpindi and other places in the Punjab can be made. Communal groups in a moment's frenzy hurl destruction on each other; but later they themselves will have to struggle together shoulder to shoulder against want and disease; their common task it will be to repair the immense losses sustained. Destruction proceeds swiftly. But construction is slow; it is steep and uphill. Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan's appeal to the Muslim League may with truth be addressed to all communal agitators: "If they really wish to help their poor, suffering brethren, they should do constructive work. In every country there are two forces, destructive and constructive. Only those countries can prosper and attain peace and the well-being of their people who possess the idea of service and constructive work."

In the present turmoil of communalism in the Punjab the only expression of truly constructive opinion is that voiced by the Joint Christian Board. Christian members of the Punjab legislature have wisely decided to remain neutral, since theirs is the highly responsible task of bringing together if possible the opposing factions. They appealed to all parties to meet together "for the rescue of bleeding Punjab", and to form a coalition ministry on the clear understanding that the ministry thus formed shall not be competent to assume sovereign independent government when the British shall quit. On no other understanding is a coalition possible. Sacrifice cannot be imposed exclusively on the unwilling minority community. On the other hand a coalition government is essential if the Punjab is not to deteriorate into the lowliest of India's Provinces. But will the voice of reason prevail over the deafening din of communal hatred?

SCHOOLS IN TRAVANCORE

Judging solely from newspaper reports emanating from Travancore one would have thought that prospects of the Catholics in that State were at long last beginning to be less gloomy. The Dewan on whom depends the religious rights of over a million Catholics seemed to be magnanimous almost to a fault, when he apparently relaxed in his unbending attitude and declared his willingness for a compromise. Was the policy of enacting ever more stringent laws against one section of the people to be reversed? Would Catholics be permitted to run their own schools and to receive their share of the taxpayer's expenses towards education? Would they cease to be treated as enemy aliens are treated during war-time, with no freedom of expression and with detectives shadowing them constantly. Catholics outside Travancore were anxiously looking forward to a generous gesture from the government. But hopes have been sadly disillusioned. A conference was indeed held between the Director of Public Instruction and the representatives of the Catholic Church.

But the conference was not one to discuss and concede the just democratic rights of a minority, but to dictate to it the terms of an abject sub-mission. Catholics may in future conduct their schools; but the conditions to be imposed on these schools are well nigh intolerable. Their schools should conform to the arbitrary standards fixed for government schools which receive annually liberal subsidies from the pubic funds. But Catholics who contribute their full share to these funds may not claim a proportionate quota for their own schools. A certain financial allowance will be made to the Catholic schools, but the amount is left unspecified, and will evidently vary according to the good pleasure of the Hindu bureaucracy. Another condition which affects the very existence of several Catholic primary schools in the rural districts is that none but Catholics may be admitted into these schools and that in each class the number of Catholic pupils should be at least a minimum of twenty. This condition obliges many of the schools to close down and others to make their young pupils walk long miles daily to and from school. Nor would these grudging concessions about recognition and grant be extended to any of the schools which Catholics may open in future. Evidently these arbitrary decisions, though consented to by the Catholics for the sake of peace and because no other way is open to them, can hardly be called a gesture of compromise. They have been made with no regard to the justice of our cause or the persistance of our demands.

MINISTERIAL AUTOPSY

Mr. Prakasam has made a last futile attempt in the Madras Legislature to defend the textile policy which caused an untimely end to his premiership. He quoted three "important" letters he had received from Mahatma Gandhi supporting his action. But Gandhiji's letters failed for once to evoke the admiring applause they usually do. The argument that to suppress textile mills is in the interests of the masses, and that all opposition was engineered by the vested interests of mill-owners and chambers of commerce is perhaps a little too naive, as it takes no account of the acute cloth famine now prevailing in the province and of the very slow process of training an adequate number of handloom weavers. Industrialism and mass production have indeed their drawbacks. But all social reforms are necessarily slow; handlooms cannot be introduced into every home overnight by an act of the legislature; nor can Madras entrench itself behind high tariff walls to protect its non-existent cottage industries. Self-sufficient village communities of S. N. Agarwal's Gandhian Plan are an attractive ideal; but they presuppose that history has not registered an industrial revolution and that this century is not what it is.

Cottage industries have their rightful place in Indian economy. They are necessary not so much to relieve the pressure on the land as to give full-time employment to the underemployed of the land. They are as it were a second string to the bow for the peasantry during the slack seasons which are all too frequent. If conceived as the sole employment or the chief employment for a large section of the people, they degenerate into a symbol for uneconomic wastage, primitive living conditions, sweated labour, and planned inefficiency. It is idle to invoke an unexpressed and perhaps fictitious opinion of the masses against an enlightened understanding of the age one lives in, the economic trends of society, and the real interests of the masses themselves.

M. THEKAEKARA.

STRAWS IN THE WIND

INDIA UNDIVIDED

ACTION and reaction are equal and opposite. Newton, who, perhaps under the impact of an apple in an English garden of the seventeenth century, was brought to enunciate this momentous law of momentums, could not indeed have foreseen what unpleasant, even tragic consequences would follow when the law extends its effect from the inanimate world of physics to the animated, frenzied world of politics. Premier Suhrawardy enunciated a paradox that Bengal shall be independent and indivisible; and committees are speedily being formed, and experts are at work on population figures and boundaries, to partition Bengal in such a way as to ensure equal number of hostages for both sides. Hostages are victims marked for death, and are reminiscent of ancient days of barbarism. But in India of today humane politicians who would vivisect the country nationally or provincially, count their hostages not in a few hundreds but in millions. Action and reaction in the Punjab have turned whole districts into charnel-houses and vast hecatombs. Pundit Nehru remarked about that unhappy province: "If politics are to be conducted in this way, then they cease to be politics, and become some kind of jungle warfare which reduces human habitation to the state of a desert. If there is a grain of intelligence in any person, he must realize that whatever political objective he may aim at, this is not the way to attain it."

Reaction in Travancore

Punjab and Bengal with their actual or imminent blood-baths stand out boldly in the national consciousness at the present time. But not so a small native state in South India, Travancore, where reaction of a different kind is swiftly taking its ugly shape. For several years a very astute politician, one brought from across the Ghats against the will of the people, has been steering the destinies of that state through devious ways. A fascist constitution, mis-called "1947—American Model," has been devised by the Dewan; and apparently it is to be enforced in spite of the firm-set opposition of the six and a half million inhabitants. It was at this critical juncture unhappily that the Congress President Kripalani chose to visit the State. A ministerial crisis had called him to Madras; and the voice of the people called him farther south into Travancore. The effusiveness of jubilant welcome, the immense throngs at mass meetings, the triumphant processions across the rivers and lakes, the rich lavishness of pageantry, the grandeur of the many gold-capped racing boats, the hearty cheering of the millions with not a sigle discordant voice, all joined to manifest a splendour of popular enthusiasm unprecedented in Travancore or in the history of the Indian National Congress.

It seemed as though patriotic fervour had reached its zenith. But reaction followed all too speedily from the powers that be. These scenes of welcome were far different from the black flags and sullen faces which usually greeted the head of the administration even in places like Trichinopoly, several hundreds of miles away from the Travancore boundary. The audacity of the people in cheering so lustily the National Congress and the symbol of a united India was not to be taken lying down; it had to be interpreted as a flagrant instance of *lese-majeste*.

At about the time the Congress President was concluding his triumphal progress through the State, the Dewan of Travancore made an important statement to the press. Those who have watched the long political career of Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer know that his words are no idle threat; they may affect considerably the future history of Travancore and its relations with the rest of India. The Dewan deprecated that the Congress President had made some remarks about the lack of freedom of the subjects of Native States. Then he went on to recall the past history of Travancore—that it had never been conquered by the British, that the whole country had been dedicated by one of the kings to the god Sri Padmanabhan, that it had always remained a separate unit from the rest of India. And the conclusion of this historical survey was that by 30th June, 1948, the momentous date fixed by Mr. Attlee, Travancore shall once again be an independent country. Foreign relations and national defence and every thing else shall be its own exclusive concern. The Western Ghats and the Arabian Sea shall be its impregnable Siegfried Line. Even the possibility of an air attack has been forestalled.

Unjustifiable Claim

The confidence of Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer that Travancore shall maintain its independence in an age when many powerful and sinister forces shall be unleashed in the political arena, is not perhaps altogether justified. But that is not the real point at issue. Of far greater importance is whether the Dewan's intention to convert Travancoreans into non-Indians reflects the expressed wish of the people of Travancore. The Dewan him-

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self being a Tamil Brahmin from Mylapore, and holding his present position at the will of the Maharajah, has little right to call Travancore, as he does, "our country"; he cannot claim to speak in the name of the Malayalees in Travancore who are practically all non-Brahamin Hindus or Christians. The enthusiastic welcome given by the people to the Congress President was clear proof of anything but their will to sabotage a future federation of the whole of India. The large number of Malayalees who fought, and several who lost their lives, as soldiers of the Indian Army, did not look forward to a non-Indian Travancore. They were not mercenaries of a strange land; and their goal was the same as that of the Punjabees, Biharis, Tamils, and all other Indian nationals with whom they fought shoulder to shoulder to end the Japanese aggression and to prepare for one independent India.

When Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer had published his "American" constitution for Travancore, the British Indian Press had unanimously voiced its fear that so "atrociously reactionary" a constitution would be regarded by other native states as an attractive precedent. Travancore has been called a progressive state; in fact it is setting an example to other states in the art of making progress steadily backwards. Travancore's claim to cut itself off from the Indian mainland was echoed a week later by a group of Muslim Leaguers in Hyderabad who called upon the Nizam to declare his predominantly Hindu State as independent Osmanistan. Shortly before the Travancore Dewan's statement, the London *Times* had written about tendencies in India: "What is likely is that India's communal minded leaders will encourage sectarian and separatist trends which may well lead to the fragmentation of India. Fissiparous tendencies among the Sikhs, princes and others would be encouraged, and India might deteriorate into a Balkan mosaic."

Balkan Mosaic

A Balkan mosaic is an ugly word; it lacks both artistic beauty and political wisdom. But present tendencies seem to converge sharply towards such an unpleasant future. The Muslim League envisaged only a two-fold division of India, that of Hindustan and Pakistan. But its demand was one that identified politics with communalism. The reaction of the Hindu minorities in Bengal and the Punjab was in the nature of salvaging after a shipwreck; they would have, if not the whole of their provinces, at least a part in the Indian union. But if India is to be divided, why should division proceed thus far and no farther? If the Princes too are to align themselves on the side of the powers demanding partition, one would find it difficult even to count the

(*Continued on p 3 col. 3*)

number of bits into which the country shall be divided. The Princes, each with his independent principality, number near about 600. While some of them may be credited for political wisdom, enlightened foresight and a healthy realization of national problems, by far the greater number of them, either autocratic or under the influence of power-loving political advisors, have few interests extending beyond personal ambitions. The American weekly *Time* sized up pretty accurately the pre-occupations of Indian princedom when it wrote that the 600 princes of India possess "on an average 11 titles, 5.8 wives, 12.6 children and 3.4 Rolls Royces." A democrat's scant respect for nobility is reflected in this satyric piece of statistics; but if these are regarded as of paramount importance by those who possess them, the historic date-line fixed by Mr. Attlee for the shedding of paramountcy and the liquidation of the empire, will be for India "the ides of March."

"What sayest thou to me now? Speak once again."

"Beware the ides of March."

"He is a dreamer; let us leave him: pass."

The ides of March shall come and shall go. But before that, one firmly trusts, the "fissiparous tendencies" which loom like storm-clouds on the horizon, shall be dissipated. A quarter of a century of struggle has taught Indians to think and act as one nation. However strong be the desire of certain communal leaders and princely powers for supreme and uncontrolled sovereignty, such desire finds no genuine echo among the masses of the non-political millions. For them suffering, hunger, and disease have been the cruel school-master, educating them through mutual helpfulness towards true neighbourliness. India's Independence Day shall dawn not when the British shall quit, but perhaps—at least so one hopes—earlier, when the will of its people shall assert itself over the power-lust of its small dictators.

M. Thekaekara.

STRAWS IN THE WIND

INDIAN OR RUSSIAN?

PRESIDENT Kripalani's Cochin tour brought him on one occasion into contact with the Communists. They had gathered in large numbers with flags of the approved colour, and seemingly to prove their intense patriotic fervour they insisted on presenting an address to the Congress President. Every individual and group of some importance had joined in welcoming Kripalani; and even the Maharajah, setting aside traditional barriers of aloofness, had met him and offered a handsome purse for the Congress. To be absent from the scene under such circumstances would have proved that the Communists were not the people's party as they claimed to be. Hollow lip-service to an ideal which in the heart of hearts one loathes might bring at least some publicity to the party; nor could such procedure cause uneasiness to those for whom ends justify means. But evidently they had not expected the kind of reply they actually received from the Congress President. Even before they could approach the outer precincts of the tour-programme committees, they were told curtly that Acharya Kripalani refused to see them, because, said he: "I am no Russian."

The American Attitude

A paradoxical explanation, but in the last analysis this is the real reason why most people in the world regard the communists with suspicion and dislike. Kripalani's remark was re-echoed in different terms a week later from the highest government circles of United States of America. "We must recognize that in dealing with a world-wide revolutionary movement which is being directed by a foreign government," thus wrote the 'Un-American Activities Committee" of the U.S. House of Representatives. In a 26,000 word report which the Committee presented to the House, the party organization, tactics and aims of the Communists were exposed in all their crude deceptiveness and undemocratic ruthlessness. The main charge of the Committee against the party was that it was in fact an agent of a foreign power—Russia—and that with outside help it could seriously dislocate the effectiveness of America's armed forces. The Communist movement in the States is older than in India, but in India too the development has been on parallel lines. The American Report describes the movement from its inception in September 1919 to the present day, as first, an organization highly centralized and completely subordinate to the "Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the single and ruling party of that country," secondly a section of a world Communist party controlled by the Soviet Union, thirdly, an organization whose basic aim is the overthrow of democracy and the establishment of a Soviet dictatorship in its place, and fourthly an organization resorting to deceptive and illegal tactics, violence and methods of civil war, all of which are implicit in its revolutionary purpose.

Americans are awakening rather late to the high explosiveness of the fifth columnist Atom Bomb which a foreign power has implanted in their midst. Strong action is likely to be taken; but perhaps is there not reason to fear that the cancer has eaten too deep into the body politic? What constitutes to-day a threat to America's national safety and to the integrity of her armed forces might in the near future hold an even greater threat to India. It is but sound realism to admit that the potential resistance of our country against enemies is weaker than that of U.S.A., and that for too long a policy of bland indifferentism or perhaps of culpable self-deception has guided the attitude of the Government towards these Indian-born agents of a foreign power.

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ASIAN VERSUS INDIAN

The Asian Relations Conference in New Delhi has brought together a picturesque gathering of races and languages and costumes. While India is struggling to maintain its own internal relations through great killings and widespread riots, this friendly meeting of delegates from many lands under the aegis of the Government of India cannot but have a sobering effect on the communal factions. At present the country exhibits a humiliating spectacle to outside observers; nor has India developed the highly efficient deceptive technique of the International Conferences of Moscow, in which delegates of foreign lands listen to Soviet propaganda and depart as well informed of the enigmatic country as blind men are of a dark cavern. The delegates at New Delhi cannot help hearing from press reports and seeing with their own eyes the rapidly deteriorating communal situation in India. The Asian Relations Conference promises a bright future for India; but it presupposes that India possesses a stable government and a workable constitution. Pundit Nehru in his brilliantly conceived inaugural address remarked: "Old imperialisms are fading away. As domination goes, walls that surrounded us fall down." But even while old walls fall down, thousands of frenzied hands are busy building up other impregnable walls dividing a country that was one and united, into tiny fragments.

Haven of Freedom

The Nationalists themselves whose slogan is an undivided India are lending unconscious support to the forces of division. They would with a ruthless hand force the English language away from its present position of being the one medium of communication for the intelligentsia, the sole vehicle for cultural relations. With Universities and colleges joining in the flight from English, Indian leaders shall soon be strangers to each other. With Provinces being divided up as communal strongholds and the Native States partitioned off by their ancient feudalism, with small dictators rising to power in many places, the unity of India shall soon vanish into the dreamland. The Asian Relations Conference was nobly planned; but Indian leaders should regard it as an object lesson for their own internal problems. The resolutions of the New Delhi Conference shall be a nameless mockery unless India's still unformed internal relations conference succeeds in evolving a formula of amicable settlement. Tagore wrote many years ago in "Gitanjali": "Where the world has not been broken up into fragments by narrow domestic walls, where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the dreary desert sand of dead habit, into that haven of freedom, let my country arise." Happily the poet did not live to see the day when this wish was to become a tragic necessity; the "haven of freedom" seems to-day even farther away than when "Gitanjali" was written.

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CATHOLIC SCHOOLS IN TRAVANCORE

The Educational Committee of the Kerala Catholic Conference deserves well of the Catholic community for its fearless denunciation of the so-called "satisfactory compromise" on the educational question, announced by the grossly misleading press communiqué of the Travancore Government. In a statement remarkable for its clear exposition of the educational controversy and its firm reiteration of the minimum demands of the Christians, the Educational Committee shows how unsatisfactory is the temporary arrangement which the government falsely presents as a "final decision agreeable to both parties." In the discussions between the Dewan and His Excellency the Delegate Apostolic no agreement could be reached even regarding the basic principles of parental rights over one's children's education. The Catholic Bishops had agreed to a **modus vivendi**, to a temporary arrangement pending a final decision, and were far from considering the Dewan's dictation of terms as satisfactory. And in the communiqué issued several weeks later by the government, not only is the grudging acceptance of a temporary arrangement falsified as a final decision and a satisfactory compromise, but several arbitrary changes seem to have been introduced by the government even in what the Bishops had agreed to.

The demand of the Christians from the beginning has been that the system of aided schools should be continued as at present, that grant-in-aid should be given equivalent to 75 per cent of the teachers' salaries, and that private agencies should be encouraged to open new schools. Instead the so-called "final decision" is that no new Catholic schools may be opened, that the existing schools should be reduced to a purely denominational type and be subjected to impossible conditions, and that instead of their just due of grant-in-aid they are to receive a meagre allowance from some unspecified charitable fund. It is not charity but justice that we demand. Two secretaries and a member of the Educational Committee are still behind prison bars for having voiced the just rights of the two million Christians of the State. It is not through intimidation and false statements that the Christian minority will be brought to a satisfactory compromise.

M. THEKAEKARA.

STRAWS IN THE WIND

HINDUISM IN FOCUS

THE Reuter's Report from London about a proposed Hindu temple for the world's premier city raises in our minds a number of puzzling questions. Hinduism itself is the puzzle of a political enigma within a social mystery, though living as we do in an atmosphere saturated with Hinduism, we Christians have come to accept it more as a fact than as an eternal, unanswerable puzzle. One has often tried to answer the question just what it is that makes a Hindu. Once they used to say that a Hindu is any one born of Indian parentage, who does not call himself a Moslem, Christian, Parsee or Sikh—a negative definition, but in the last analysis the only one possible. What constitutes a Hindu positively is something other than religion, namely, nationality, and the function of religion in his make-up would seem to be only negative, that of not identifying him with Christianity, Islam or any other specific belief. Some years ago a spokesman of the Hindu Mahasabha published in the "Modern Review" of Calcutta this startling definition: "Hindus are people who follow any one of the many religions of India." According to this concept religion has not even a negative function in the make-up of a Hindu. Even the Muslims who frequently oppose the Hindus in communal riots, who cry 'Murdabad' on Hindustan and would rend the air with slogans of a Muslim State, should be called Hindus; the heads that rioters mutually break so generously should all be counted as Hindu heads. This definition though convenient politically, does not fit harsh realities. Ram Raj never was, much less is it to-day, a magic word to rally together all the millions of India.

If Hinduism is a mystery, a greater mystery is the Hindu temple. A temple is a place of worship. Temples are to be seen all over the country; their purpose ceased to be a puzzle even to those for whom their prolific abundance causes surprise. But who or what is worshipped and how are questions that can never be answered. There can evidently be nothing in common between the polytheist, pantheist, and atheist, except the aberration from truth. The larger number of the illiterate masses are polytheists; ignorance is the reason if stock and stone are their gods, or perhaps a motley pantheon filled with romance and myth and mystery. A few are pantheists, they have great respect for the philosophers of old and would raise man himself to the pedestal of the divinity. And a third group are the apostles of the new enlightenment, the atheists, agnostics, idealists and modernists; they are the 'élite' saturated with Kant and Hegel or with the Russian revolutionaries; they differ little from similar groups in other land, and they have mastered perfectly the western art of weaving fine phrases round illogical inanities. Bertrand Russel has written what these enlightened 'élite' would quote with relish: "For man condemned to pass through the gates of darkness, it remains only to cherish the lofty thoughts that ennoble his little day, disdaining the wanton terrors of the slave of Fate to worship at the shrine his own hands have built."

An Unsolved Mystery

It is difficult to say to which of the three groups belongs the 'Hindu Association of Europe' which has sponsored the project of a Hindu temple for London. Most members of the Association, it would seem, belong rather to the group of the 'élite', for whom religion is poetry and music, aesthetics and social etiquette. The reason for erecting the temple is less the demand of would-be worshippers or the desire of honouring an unspecified deity than the sense of communal rivalry. "It is a great pity," says the President of the 'Hindu Association of Europe' in his appeal for funds, "that our Muslim brothers have any number of mosques in London, whereas there is neither a Hindu centre nor a temple." This motive must certainly have compelling force in the present atmosphere of India's communal politics; and it is not likely that the President who is now touring India will experience any geat difficulty to raise the sum of 10,000 pounds which he needs. The proposed temple will be characteristic of the group which sponsors it, since though having also a shrine in the traditional Hindu fashion, it will consist mainly of prayer halls in the Quaker style, hostels as of the Y.M.C.A. for "accomodating Hindus in particular and Indians in general," a library for the new enlightment, and a school room with "a learned pundit."

London is a city with an infinite capacity; its passivity will suffer all human vagaries. And it is not likely that the city will be affected by the new excrescence any more than the broad ocean by a spray of its waves. But Hinduism, even while it seeks self-assertion so far away from its homeland, still remains a puzzle and a mystery. Is it a religion, a social fabric, a complex of traditional practices, or a political philosophy? If we Catholics in India will cease to take it for granted, if we would stop to examine the puzzle and to try a solution, perhaps ours will be the glorious achievement of igniting in the dull, cold inertia of caste conventions that spark of divine discontent without which there can be no searching for a religion that leads to man's true goal.

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ON MISSIONARY EDUCATION

It is now several days since Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Member for Education in the Central Government, addressed an important press conference in Delhi on the needs and trends of education in India. The daily press, dominated as it is with communal, capitalistic or political interests, reported portions of the address after its erratic fashion, with a generous use of the news editor's pruning knife, and shearing off whatever was deemed superfluous. Thus it happened that the Catholic minority who are vitally concerned about the future of Christian and missionary education gathered an impression that the Maulana had been unjustly harsh towards our schools, going out of his way to administer us a needless warning and rebuke on proseletization through educational institutions. The brief sentance referring to conversions when taken out of it context of a long passage in praise of missionary contribution to the education of India, could not but produce such an impression, and many feared that a hostile attitude towards Christian schools was crystallizing itself out of the communal rivalries of powerful majority groups.

A Striking Tribute

The Member for education had been prompted to speak of Missionary schools and colleges because "friends from England," as he said, had sent him "cuttings from papers in which this question has been raised." "There is no doubt", said the Maulana, "that Missionary Scieties have played a very important part in the dissemination of modern education and the development of modern outlook. This is true not only of India but of other countries of the East as well." Proceeding, Maulana Azad spoke of what the Missionaries have achieved in the Middle East countries about which he had more personal acquaintance. After describing the work of several great missionaries and their institutions, for example, of St. Joseph's College in Iraq, he added: "These missionary societies helped not only in the spread of modern education, but, what is more, contributed greatly to the development of indigenous languages. . . New education in India also began with the work of missionary societies. . . They brought learning to millions who but for their help would have remained immersed in illiteracy and ignorance. Their work in the development of Indian languages has also been immense."

Reading over these generous tokens of esteem, all the more striking at a time when misinformed nationalism would prompt many not to recognize merit and accord praise where they are justly due, we would, however, regret that Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was not better acquainted with the great Catholic institutions in India today, for example, those of Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and Trichinopoly, nor with those brilliant scholars like Stevens, Hanxledon, Beschi and de Nobili whose contributions to the Indian languages, though made in the twilight of Indian history are even today a marvel of literary excellence. A greater familiarity with the past and present of Missionary education in India would not have obliged the Member for education to seek his illustrations mainly from outside India. Though the survey as far as India is concerned was not as complete as one would have wished, we are happy that Maulana Azad has not grudged the missionaries that meed of praise which passion or prejudice would too often deny them.

As for Maulana Azad's remarks on "the vexed question of conversions and especially of conversions 'en masse' ", we would not say more here than that he is unfortunately misinformed on the attitude and policy of missionary educational Institutions on this point. Conversion is indeed "a vexed question"; we would not dwell on it longer here for fear of saying too little and causing more misapprehensions than we seek to dispel.

M. THEKAEKARA

STRAWS IN THE WIND

PACE OF INDUSTRIALIZATION

WHATEVER Pundit Nehru and other leading Congressmen may lack in their attitude towards industrializing India, they are not wanting in optimism. The Finance Member's Budget was supposed to delay the pace of industrialization, and substantial changes were accordingly introduced. The Madras Premier who had meditated long on S. N. Agarwal's "Gandhian Plan" and on Gandhiji's utterances from the prayer-pulpit of Banghi colonies, tried ineffectually to be a clog in the wheel of industrial progress. The machine reacted violently; the wheel continues to turn with ruthless force and defeaning din; and the clog, battered and unpitied, finds itself thrown off far from the zone of interference.

"India has got to be industrialized, and rapidly industrialized," said Pundit Nehru in a impressive address delivered at the Seventh Session of the All-India Manufacturers' Association. Similar expressions had been used even more emphatically by the No. 1 man of Indian economy a few weeks earlier when addressing the Indian Associated Chambers of Commerce. Industrialization is a magic word. Is not Gandhiji's unconcealed suspicion against that word partially at least the reason for his role in the economic life of the country being far less significant than in political and communal life?

Unwholesome Precedents

While envisaging the possibility of rapid industrial progress, Pundit Nehru also raised a momentous question. He said: "The position today in the U.K. and the U.S.A. is the product of some 200 years of industrial growth. They passed through various phases, and there was frightful abuse in factories and elsewhere, accompanied by the industrial revolution, for the first generation or two. Are we going to repeat that frightful abuse?" India's industrial ambition is in no sense modest. Within a period of ten or fifteen years we propose to cover the ground which the great capitalistic nations took two centuries to cover. Unhappily for the swift experiment India proposes there is in history no precedent, nor even a remote analogy, unless perhaps in the U.S.S.R. or in Japan. But the Russian industrial planning does not arouse in India today the unbounded, uncritical admiration nor the blind desire for imitation as it used to do ten years ago when the average Indian's ignorance of Russia was profound. As for Japan, though its industrial progress was meteoritic, the goal which inspired it was victory in the extensive war zones of China and preparation for a more extensive war in the Pacific; and the methods which it employed were an exploitation of the poor almost as ruthless as in Russia, sweated labour squalor and misery of the slums, rampant injustice and legalized human slavery. The goals have now proved illusory, and the methods are universally execrated.

While India is planning for rapid industrial progress, it is well for her not to ignore the lugubrious example of what misguided planning achieved in two countries not far distant from her borders. Pundit Nehru assures us that we would avoid the "frightful abuses" of Anglo-America. But 'abuse" is too gentle a word for what the poor have experienced under a Hirohito or a Generalissimo. Never in history did human degradation reach as low depths as when the industrial machines of these two countries switched on to top-gear.

The Middle Way

Pundit Nehru shows a healthy sense of realism towards the policy of nationalization which a few agitators would like to effect overnight in the country. Nationalization has not yet proved itself in any country to be the panacea for economic and social evils as Utopian economists have claimed it to be. Often it increases inefficiency ten-fold without in the slightest degree remedying injustice. Nor can the so-called "inviolable" right of private property and the "unquestionable" superiority of private enterprise be entrusted with an uncontrolled power over the nation's material resources and immense man-power. Industrial progress is for the sake of the people of the country, and chiefly for the sake of the poor; and not vice-versa. There exists a safe middle way between the destructive paths chosen by a Generalissimo and a Hirohito; but to pursue that path it is essential that the nation develops the co-operative spirit, that the masses of the people cultivate a sense of discipline and industry while the rich and the powerful adhere faithfully to the cardinal principles of justice and charity.

Pope Pius XII, than whom there is no keener or more enlightened observer of the evils of the modern world, said in an address of February 22nd, 1944: "The present time which has engulfed so many nations and peoples in blood and sorrow ought to make us listen to the commandments of God, not as the voice of burdensome compulsion, but as a happy tiding,

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as a promise of shelter, emancipation, and salvation." And earlier in the Christmas allocution of 1942, the Pope had pointed out that the sole guarantee for ordered life is "the complete rehabilitation of the juridical order," and that it is possible only if the authority of God and the moral obligation of the natural law are recognized by all the citizens of a state. Positivism which divorces God from morality and utilitarianism which defends whatever is useful as also lawful, both sacrifice the interests of the whole society to those of a small clique or movement, whether of capitalists politicians or bureaucrats; in the long run both equally destroy the social structure. Hence, said the Pontiff, man should awaken again "to the consciousness of an order which stretches forth its arm, in protection or punishment, over the unforgettable rights of men, and safeguards these rights against the attacks of every human power."

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THAT SIDE AND THIS

The gulf between Russia and the rest of the world is widening. There are sincere well-wishers of peace, freedom and co-operation at least on one side of the gulf, who would shout themselves hoarse in the attempt to bring about mutual understanding. But the deep chasm and the dark waters drown the voice in derisive echoes. Nor is there any response from the other side. The rigid press censorship of Russia is at least partially the cause of the complete lack of mutual comprehension between the Communist dictatorship and the other great powers. The fundamental assumption in press censorship of the type prevalent in Russia is that in a nation of 170 millions there is only one man who is capable of thinking on any problem connected even remotely with national welfare, only one who can be trusted with expressing a personal view. All the 169,999,999 others, though they may be rational beings, cannot be permitted to express their opinions, unless these opinions are a faithful echo of what the one omni-competent superman opines.

Press Censorship

The Americans in Russia have been trying for a long time to introduce some pliability into this intransigent rigidity; all diplomatic pressure and attempts at persuasion have been to no purpose. And now they throw up their hands in despair. Mr. Stassen, the American Presidential candidate, who had a private interview with the Generalissimo, declares mournfully that there is no hope whatever of Russia ever permitting any voice but that of the dictator being heard in the press of that country, or being communicated through the news agency channels radiating from Moscow.

Generalissimo Stalin claims to have excellent reasons for what others consider his unreasonableness. "In the autumn of 1945 censorship was repealed," said Stalin to Mr. Stassen. "I was on leave, and they started to write stories that M. Molotov had forced me to go on leave, and then wrote stories that I should return. These stories depicted the Russian Government as part of a zoological garden. Of course our people got angry, and they had to resume censorship."

The false assumption of a menagerie of irrational beings might justify at least one rational being to keep them in cages and to prevent them from doing harm to themselves or others. And "our people got angry" might be taken as a naive expression about the temper of the zoological garden. But there are comrades of the "People's Age" and similar productions in our land who claim that Russia is the workers' paradise where alone democracy of the true type is to be found, the ideal land of freedom and contentment and civic rights; there are those who would chafe at the almost non-existent laws of press-censorship in this country.

M. Thekaekara.

STRAWS IN THE WIND

COMMUNAL POLITICS

COMMUNALISM and corruption in several of the Provincial Governments is to-day a byword of derision. It is not the Muslim League alone that has to bear all the ignominy, though newspaper reports frequently seem to show that way. Those who point accusing fingers at the League ministries of Bengal and Sind are sometimes guilty of an emulation that outherods Herod. And some of the editors of important national dailies who feign indignation at the misdemeanours of a group that is sky-rocketting to power, are to blame as much as other party-propagandists for their connivance through a conspiracy of silence about misdemeanours elsewhere.

It is a very distressing feature of India to-day that party politics is identifying itself with communalism, and the Government in its turn with party politics. This deserves severe condemnation at all times; and in the present post-war period, when huge planning and development projects involving large sums of public money, are in execution, the evil is all the more deplorable. Many crores of rupees, earmarked for education, irrigation, roads, town-planning, famine relief, etc., instead of benefiting the public tax-payer, go to swell the pockets of contractors, job-hunters and ministerial henchmen.

All those who have a sense of justice, honesty and fair dealing would protest vigorously against this state of affairs. And the minorities like the Scheduled castes, Indian Christians and Anglo-Indians, who stand outside profiteering communal politics, and who in no province or state may aspire to political power, view the situation with grave concern. Corruption and bribery cannot be checked so long as politics and government are vitiated with communalism. The suicidal policy of hostages on which Hindus and Muslims test their strength against one another affects more vitally the smaller groups who are too few to give or take hostages. We do not believe that the partition of India into Hindustan and Pakistan or the partition of Provinces like Punjab and Bengal on communal basis offers any remedy for a canker that has eaten deep into the body politic.

PRINCELY INDIA

Pundit Nehru has made an important statement about the exalted Highnesses of Princely India; and characteristically enough it was impulsive, blunt and exasperating. He said that any Indian State which did not come into the Constituent Assembly at this stage would be treated as a hostile state, and would have to bear the consequences of being so treated. "Our aim," he added, "at the moment is to liberate whatever part of India we can, and then we shall deal with the question of getting independence for the rest. India's march towards freedom would brook no more opposition."

The facile optimism of these words presents unhappily a strange contrast to the reactionary tendencies of several of the five hundred and odd Nizams, Gaekwars, Maharajahs, Rajahs, Nawabs and Ranas of Indian India. To date only a small number of the lesser majesties have agreed to participate in the Constituent Assembly. Pundit Nehru's stern warning might cow a few more into submission; but most of the other potentates can with impunity snap their fingers at the Central Government. And as though to strengthen their opposition, the ex-Nawabzada Finance Member of the Central Government has issued a counter-statement ridiculing the "idle threat" of Pundit Nehru and affirming that the "Constituent Assembly is dead beyond resurrection."

A Curious Mosaic

The States vary in area from many thousands of square miles—Hyderabad is 82,698 square miles—to a few pitiful acres as in Orissa and Gujerat. Kashmir of the snow-clad peaks in the North has been called the diadem of Mother India; and Travancore, nature's garden in the South, is even now attracting the jealous eyes of the world's Big Four on account of its thorium sands. In revenue, population, titles of the princes, cultural backwardness, feudal slavery, etc., the States differ widely from each other. In total area they comprise about two-fifths of India's 1,800,000 square miles; and in population they contain slightly less than two-fifths of the 390 millions. On the schoolboy's map of India they present an intricate mosaic of yellow dovetailed into

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the red of British Indian Provinces. Political observers have adopted into their own expressive language the colouring of the schoolboy's map, and describe the native states, counselled as they are by their Residents and Political Agents, as the "pockets of yellow resistance" to the progress of democracy. In some respects the Native States present a strange admixture of opposites, of all that is ante-diluvian and ultra-modern. Side by side with golf links, race courses, Rolls Royces of the latest model, seasoned western beverages, lunches in the best Mayfair style, one would find also fantastic claims of direct linear descent from the gods of the epics, unashamed superstitions as among the primitives, implicit faith in the potency of charms and talismans, slavery to blind, inexplicable customs, a thorough callousness regarding the rights of the people and the sufferings of the poor.

What the future of Native States will be and what their present attitude towards the Constituent Assembly is are largely problematic. Some sort of a formula seems to have been agreed upon by the negotiating committees of Indian and British Indias. But the terms of the agreement are obscure. All that is certain is the statement of Mr. Attlee: paramountcy will lapse by June 1948; and the Princes will be supreme each in his own domain, unless for their own sake and the sake of their people, they choose to fit themselves, however clumsily, into the picture of an Indian republic.

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THE BRAHMAN RAJ

Swami Dharma Theertha, B.A., L.L.B., President, Hindu Missionary Society of Conjeeveram, in his latest book "New Light on the Indian Problem", has certainly thrown a new and surprising light on the problem, one that brings a stare of incredulity into the eyes of those who believe that India's one problem is Hindu **versus** Muslim. Swami Dharma Theertha's contention is that the real problem of India is the struggle of the Masses of the people against the Brahmins, the demi-gods, "the Indian Hirohitos" as the author calls them. And one of the proofs for his contention is taken from a Native State about which we have written often in these columns. What Dharma Theertha has to say about Sir C. P. is interesting as it comes from an orthodox Hindu and the President of the Hindu

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Missionary Society. "If any concrete example of what would happen under Hindu Raj were necessary," writes Swami Dharma Theertha, "it is furnished by the recent developments in Travancore, where under the astute leadership of a reincarnate Peshwa is going on a fanatical revival of all the wicked features of Ram Raj or Brahman Raj. The enthroning of a puppet monarch who is held out as an incarnation of God, promulgation of the theory of the dedication of the State to the temple, the suppression of all democratic forces, the setting of caste against caste and community against community, the studied persecution of Christians, the concentration of dictatorial powers in the Brahmin minister, the reconsolidation of the Brahmin community to meet the challenge of democracy, these and other traditional tactics of Hindu Raj well exemplified in the empires of Sivaji and of Vijayanagar are being ruthlessly prosecuted by a master-dictator in Travancore behind the smoke-screen of British overlordship." (page 44).

M. THEKAEKARA.

STRAWS IN THE WIND

RIGHTS OF MINORITIES

THE Constituent Assembly continued its deliberations in spite of the Muslim League's boycott, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan's 'mortuary report' that the Assembly is dead beyond resurrection, and the Assembly's own uncertainty about the future shape of India. The Fundamental Rights Sub-Committee and the Minorities Sub-Committee, two bodies in which Indian Christians and others who have no effective voice in the framing of the Constitution are vitally interested, have presented their reports; and they have recommended to the Assembly that among the list of fundamental rights the following should be included:

"All persons are equally entitled to freedom of conscience and the right freely to profess and propagate religion, subject to public order, morality or health, and to the other provisions of this chapter.

"The wearing and carrying of kirpans shall be deemed to be included in the profession of the Sikh religion.

"The above rights shall not include any economic, financial, political or other secular activities that may be associated with religious practice."

Anxious Doubts

Here one comes against the first stumbling block. The very vagueness of the universal exclusion raises anxious doubts. All activities, economic, financial, political, or "other secular," which the powers that be may frown upon, because "associated with religious practice" however closely or remotely, may be suppressed under the discriminating policy of a communal-minded bureaucracy; and no Fundamental Rights may be invoked to defend them. It will apparently be the right of the majority to decide when a minority is engaged in purely "religious practice" or in "other secular activities associated with religious practice." The Hindu Government in Travancore decided once that a pilgrimage to Mylapore which the Catholics had planned was "political activity connected with religious practice". Almost every Catholic Action programme which may be attempted by associations like the Marian Sodality or St. Vincent de Paul Society can be brought under the label "economic, financial and other secular," and can be excluded from the protection granted to religious rights. All Catholic missions have initiated and are actively promoting various schemes for cultural progress, economic uplift, social welfare and rural reconstruction among backward communities whom landlordism and caste supremacy had insisted on keeping under. All these schemes, highly beneficial to the people, can now be brought under the jealous discrimination of the State; and Catholics may in vain appeal to their "Fundamental Rights" or "Freedom of conscience."

The Sub-Committees' Report continues:

"The freedom of conscience guaranteed in this clause shall not debar the state from enacting laws for the purpose of social welfare and reform."

The import of this paragraph is at first sight obscure. It would give a free hand to legislators who would, for example, exclude Christian Harijans from Harijan Uplift Fund, refuse educational concessions to Christian converts, enforce birth-control, divorce, euthanasia, sterilization and similar fads, or violate the sanctity of Christian marriage by making it a civil contract. Social welfare and reform are terms with almost unlimited connotation. Under the name of reform many ugly difformities have recently been suggested by Planning Committees and Legislatures.

Religious Teaching

The next clause of the report concerns religious teaching and propaganda.

"No person attending any school maintained or receiving aid out of public funds shall be compelled to take part in the religious instruction that may be given in the school, or attend religious worship held in the school or in premises attached thereto."

Catholics who all along were aware that little good can come out of "Bible Classes" enforced on all students, are not inconvenienced by this clause; but they would like to be assured that the extra-curricular courses of ethics and moral science, customary in many places, are not confused with religious instruction. It is characteristic of the secular age in which one is living, that irreligion, atheism, anarchy and moral licence may have their propagandists in all bookstalls, class-rooms and entertainment halls, whereas religion and morality should be hemmed in by unnumbered, strangling

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restrictions.

About conversion the Report states: "Conversion from one religion to another brought about by coercion or undue influence shall not be recognised by law." This is a sound statement of a democratic right and is based on common sense. Real conversion is of the heart and will, following an intellectual assent to the truth of religion. Coercion cannot effect conversion any more than the cowl make a monk. But a minority community which will not be consulted in the interpretation of the law nor can enforce its just application, would inquire whether the State considers itself competent to judge the conscience of each individual convert, and whether it would be as impartial as the wording of the law in deciding about "coercion and undue influence."

About Schools ...

About the right to conduct schools, a right which the Catholic Church considers sacred and inviolable, the Report says "All minorities, whether based on community, religion or language, shall be free in any unit to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice." This will be a sore point to several small native states in Bihar and C.P., which will have to revise their attitude towards Christian schools if they are to be reckoned as units of the Indian Federation. However, the omissions in this clause are more eloquent than what it positively affirms. No mention is made of grants in-aid to which the minorities—who contribute their share to the public funds—have a legal claim. Nor is it said what restrictions regarding admissions, curriculum, staff, management, inspection, etc., will be imposed on the minorities for the educational institutions of their choice. Even the atrocious terms of the so-called 'compromise' in Travancore on which we recently commented in these columns, can be justified according to this wording of the right to education.

Several of the anxious questionings of the minorities, their grave doubts and fears have risen solely because communalism in India is hardening into an ugly menace. Generosity and goodwill, a sense of justice and fairness, and a conviction that might does not make right will perhaps in course of time solve all doubts and dispel all fears. Meanwhile we welcome the statement of fundamental rights, incomplete and vague though it be; and we hope that the majorities who alone wield power will respect more the spirit than the letter of these rights.

EDUCATION IN COCHIN

While the Government of Travancore is still unbending in its opposition to private schools, quite a different policy is being pursued by the neighbouring native state of Cochin. In population Cochin is about one-fourth that of Travancore; but it has a far larger percentage of Catholics numbering over half a million. We welcome cordially the recent Government Order of Cochin concerning private schools. The Order was issued in reply to petitions which were presented by certain teachers' associations and were prompted apparently by anti-Christian influences from beyond the State boundary. Among other things the petitioners had asked that while making primary education free and obligatory, the government should take over the management of all private primary schools. The Government Order definitely rejects this request. It states that the Government is convinced that such a policy of eliminating private enterprise is neither wise nor conducive to the progress of education. The decision of the Travancore Government to do away with Christian schools had been impelled by motives far other than economy, efficiency or educational progress; and it is laudable that the Cochin Government in spite of pressure exerted on it from the outside, refuses to sacrifice public welfare to communal prejudices. On March 27 Cochin had announced its intention to encourage private initiative in the spread of education; and the Government Order of April 20 reiterates the same intention in more emphatic terms.

A Laudable Decision

Other provisions of the Government Order concern dearness allowance for teachers of secondary schools, revision of salary scales, the right of teachers to seek election in municipal and legislative bodies, the reform of primary education to make it free of cost and compulsory for all children, providend funds in aided schools, etc. A reform which was long overdue and which the Government is now initiating is that salaries of teachers in aided schools is no more to be given directly by the Government, but through the managements. This would show that the Government has confidence in the management, and would at the same time save the staff many inconveniences due to red tape. Double jurisdictions were detrimental to efficiency; and education of the children cannot but benefit from the closer collaboration between staffs and managements.

Cochin is the foremost among the Native States which have won golden opinions from British India for their liberal and progressive political reforms. In its educational policy Cochin serves as an object lesson not only to several Native Princes but even to some ultra-modern reforms in British India who would make the State omni-competent.

M. Thekaekara.

STRAWS IN THE WIND

COMMUNISM UNDER FIRE

MR. JAI PRAKASH NARAIN finds words too soft when he has to speak of the Communists; and being the leader of a leftist group himself, he is most anxious that none should identify him or his followers with the Communist Party of India. Addressing a group of Congress workers in Bangalore the General Secretary of the Socialist Party lashed the Red comrades with all the vigour of vocabulary at this command. Calling them traitors to the country, enemies to patriotism and every civic virtue, opportunists who had stabbed the nation in the back in the hour of gravest crisis, he summed up his verdict by stating that it is quite wrong to describe the Communists as a leftist group. Scathing scorn and bitter resentment were reflected in the unsavoury epithet "Fifth Columnists" which he hurled at the C.P.I. S

All the World Over

Impatience with the tactics of the Communists and suspicion against their aims and policies is becoming increasingly vocal not only in India but in most countries outside Russia. Franco of Spain against whom the United Nations at one time directed their ineffective batteries now enjoys comparative peace, not because the Caudillo has reformed himself but because the United Nations are disunited over Russia's foreign agents. In France a grave ministerial crisis has thrown the Communists into the opposition ranks. From Greece, Italy, Austria, Germany, Poland, China, from everywhere voices of protest rise against puppet governments, net-works of spies, armies of foreign agents, implanted in their midst and against their will to wreck national integrity. In the United States the activities of the Communist Party are engaging the alarmed attention of all the nation's Investigation Bureaus. Recently Mr. Edgar Hoover reported to the U.S. House of Representatives that Russian agents have penetrated every field of public life, films, radio, newspapers, labour organizations, etc., and that for every one of the 74,000 party members there are "ten other individuals ready to do the party's work."

An English Satire

Quite in keeping with the general wave of resentment is a recent book, George Orwell's "Animal Farm" a master-piece in satire, over which all England has been chuckling these months and which has now made its conquering debut into other English speaking countries. George Orwell is himself an extreme leftwinger of the British Socialists, and as usually happens Russia has to mourn "the most unkindet cut of all" from extreme leftists.

Fun and frolic abound in "Animal Farm" which reminds one of "Aesop's Fables" and "Hitopodesa"; but dead earnestness is the dominant tone of the ruthless satire which approaches Jonathan Swift at his best. "Old Major", a prize boar, learns by accident an incendiary ballad which he sets to music and teaches to the animals in Farmer Jones' "Manor Farm". It leads the animals to revolt against man, their oppressor, and the "Manor Farm" receives a new name, "Animal Farm". Two clever pigs, Napoleon and Snowball, are the leaders of the revolution; the sacred principle of animalism: "All animals are equal" becomes the battle cry; a golden era is promised to the animals' paradise. Before long, Napoleon, comfortably lodged in Jones' house—a consideration allowed him because of his heavy brainwork—brings up a charge of treachery against Snowball, and drives him into exile, with the help of a canine Ogpu. Napoleonic tyranny reaches its heyday; backbreaking burdens are laid on the less and less willing shoulders of the 'lower' animals; the principle 'all animals are equal' is modified into 'some animals are more equal than others.' All excepting the privileged species of Napoleon himself are forbidden to think; disgruntled talkers are muzzled into silence; and the familiar tricks of 'spontaneous demonstrations', forced confessions, purges, labour camps, etc., begin to be the order of the day.

George Orwell is perhaps too vehement in his scornful, bitter, impassioned invective; but the very vehemence betrays a fear, shared by leftists and rightists, by Britishers and all the other lovers of freedom, that the animal farm is not a remote, fanciful nightmare, but a fearful possibility, something very near achievement, and that many sinister agencies are at work beneath the dark forces of social unrest and labour conflicts to convert all human habitations into animal farms.

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THE I. N. T. U. C.

It is still too early to assess the merits of the new labour organization, the I.N.T.U.C., the Indian National Trade

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Union Congress. It is intended to be an effective rival to the Communist-controlled, intransigent, A.I.T.U.C., and to the unscrupulous racketeers ever intent on strikers, never bending to arbitration, sacrificing the progress of the country, the needs of the public and even the interests of the workers, for promoting party aims, prestige of individual agitators, or at best trouble for trouble's sake. The chief impulse which brings the I.N.T.U.C. into being is impatience with the present labour trends in the country, and the suicidal leadership given to labour by political opportunists.

Crisis in Indian Labour

Many workmen themselves share the deep discontent which is widespread among the public, on being called upon to strike for any cause and no cause. Scarcity increases as production falls; valuable machinery lying idle and many working hours lost beyond redemption are exerting a sharp upward pull on inflation and soaring prices. At the conclusion of every strike, the so-called labour leaders proclaim that complete success has been achieved; but that workmen themselves know from the famished faces of their wives and children, the heavy depletion of their little savings and the prospect of no appreciable rise in wages that the vaunted success is tragic untruth. An instance in point is the recent Calcutta tram-strike of three months' duration, which cost the workers a net loss of Rs. 6 lakhs in wages, while it brought to the Company the loss of Rs. 38 lakhs, and to 800,000 daily users of the trams untold hardships through being deprived of their common means of transport. Similar instances can be cited from all over the country.

Indian workers are to-day moving on a steep downward gradient, and they lack the foothold whereon to stop a while and gauge the depths of the abyss into which the country inclines along with them. To pull oneself by one's bootstrings is an achievement without a precedent. The average workman in India, unlettered, torn rudely from the villages to which he belongs, weighed down with the discomforts of the present and the uncertainty of the future, falls easily a victim to the slogans which are dinned into his ear. Like the bird the fowler's pipe, he follows the vain dreams of betterment; all duty of thinking he weakly entrusts to some stranger who wins his confidence and shall soon betray it though without his knowledge. Each new strike is for him a great gamble in life's race; but he does not realize that the dice are heavily weighted against him.

A way out

To save the workmen from their unscrupulous exploiters is the objective of the I.N.T.U.C. The exploiters are of two categories: those to whom the gospel of class hatred has given this title, and others who are generally believed to be the champions of the workers, the agents from the "workers' paradise." Against both these groups the I.N.T.U.C. will have to struggle, and one fears that the odds are strongly against the nascent organization. Acharya Kripalani and Sardar Patel have praised the I.N.T.U.C. and promised their full support. Bombay's Minister of Labour, Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda is giving himself heart and soul to its nation-wide organization. A large executive committee has been formed of eminent labour leaders representing each Province and linguistic area. The objectives have been defined and a constitution has been framed.

It is vain to regret, though one cannot help doing so, that in a workers' union of this nature the Catholics of this country have, if not any leading part, at least some constructive contribution to make. Though possessing a most complete, most essential and timely social message to impart, as a body they have been placed either through communal factors beyond their control, or through their own policy of restrained criticism and unrelenting non-co-operation, beyond any possibility of making that message reach where it is most needed. Our methods of social action suffer perhaps by being too abstract and theoretical, too much confined to discussing within our own narrow circles the high principles of social doctrine. As in its counterpart, Catholic action, there is perhaps in our social action too little of action and too much of everything else. Hence it happens that the four and a half million Catholics of India, though armed with the most dynamic social ideas are little more than passive bystanders while huge forces gather momentum for contruction or destruction.

M. Thekaekara.

THE MENACE OF COMMUNALISM

(SPECIALLY CONTRIBUTED) May 25, 47

THE Christians along with other small minorities in India face an uncertain future; and what causes them the gravest apprehension is the spirit of communalism which sways so powerfully the masses of the people and their leaders. "Fire-eating" communalists are to be found all over India. It was one such who in the Punjab Assembly wanted to introduce a bill for applying the Moslem legal code to all buildings which had once been mosques and later became Hindu or Sikh property. Many "enlightened" M.L.A.'s could be found to support the bill, and if they had gone ahead with the hair-brained scheme, the communal riots might have taken a far more disastrous course. But happily the Governor in good time used his power of veto, and the bill still awaits an opportune time for beginning its destructive career.

Fr. J. H. Gense, S.J., citing this incident in an article contributed to the 'New Review', writes: "The example quoted above is in the nature of a passing incident; for all that, like Straws in the wind, it shows in no uncertain manner what may be in store for (Christians) in a Moslem-ruled India."

Straws in the wind, each singly might be slight matter; they are not perhaps cause enough for undue perturbation. But not infrequently, one fears, some are no more straws, but veritable beams, of great weight and large proportions; ominously they overhang a small, defenceless, unoffending minority; and if they are to fall down, the feeble resistance of their victims would be all too speedily crushed.

Many straws float in the wind. Judging from their number and the fury of their movement, one should conclude that it is not a gentle wind any more, but a stormy gale, the preparations for a death-dealing tornado. The minorities would be following a suicidal policy if in the present crisis they were to wrap themselves up in a delusion of smug security. We Christians, numbering nearly ten million, double the Sikhs, have been clean out of the political picture most of the time. We are supposed to have an Indian Christian Union and the four and a half million Catholics have for their own group a Catholic Union of India. But the great political leaders of India hardly seem aware of the existence of these organizations; and even if they are aware, they are in no way inconvenienced in totally ignoring them. Organizations which can make no noise, create no trouble, threaten no riots, for which cold logic is the sole weapon of attack and defence, and all demonstration is confined to academic gatherings behind closed doors, organizations which are too feeble to prompt the courtesy of even a few words from the news agencies of the country are evidently not expected to struggle or to achieve in an age and country where forces far more powerful, self-assertive and even destructive are contending against each other.

The political weakness of the Indian Christians is apparent even to observers outside their community. Mr. Frank Antony, leader of the Anglo-Indian community, made a timely reference to this sore point. Some Indian Christians resented Mr. Frank Antony's remark, but they could not deny the truth of what he said. In population the Indian Christians are twenty times the Anglo-Indians; but the inverse ratio, not twenty to one, but one to twenty would seem nearer the truth if one compares the political significance of the two communities in India of today. Comparisons are odious; and there are many causes to justify the political pre-eminence which the co-religionists of the Indian Christians, technically a different group, have attained.

If Indian Christians as an organized body are being ignored in the politics of the country, much more so are the Catholics. That there is a Protestant Indian Christian in the Interim Government is not due to the Catholic community which he represents but to the Parsee capitalist by whom he was nominated. That there are four Catholics in the Constituent Assembly, three Indian Christians and one Anglo-Indian, is due to the National Congress; and if it had so pleased the Congress, even these four might have been eliminated; and no protest could have been made effectively by the Catholic organizations. For the Asian Relations Conference, India nominated about forty delegates; five, it would seem, were Christians, and every one of them non-Catholic Christians. The Catholic body was apparently not even aware of this discrimination.

Mr. Frank Antony's criticism is directed not against the Indian Christian community as such but against its leadership; and this perhaps is not quite just. There can be no effective leadership without organized strength to support it. And organized strength postulates political consciousness, which unhappily is lacking. The present position of the Catholics in India is a strange paradox. No other community enjoys as harmonious and highly organized unity in matters of religion; none other can show such uniformity in belief and so deep a conviction of essential religious rights which must be safeguarded at all costs. And yet at a period when politics and communalism are so closely identified for Hindus Muslims, Sikhs and others, the Catholic community not merely lacks a political front; it has no means to make its voice heard, to urge its demands on the powers that be, to claim due representation in legislatures and minority advisory boards.

Many passing incidents "like straws in the wind show in no uncertain manner what may be in store" for Indian Christians. The Punjab incident is a pointer for Moslem India. There are others for Hindu India. The partition of India which is now almost a settled question imposes on the two divisions the domination of the respective religious majorities. Technically the rights of minorities will be protected; but in practice the protection shall not in all probability extend beyond rights which can ensure a powerful backing, command a press, and elicit mass demonstrations. An instance in point is the statutory exemption from the law of prohibition for Mass wine refused by the pre-war ministry in Madras, a Province with twenty lakhs Catholics, and granted in Bihar where Catholics number only four lakhs. Bihar Catholics secured their right because a few hundred young men of Patna, members of Marian Sodalities, could be mustered to stage a demonstration before the Legislative Assembly. In neither Hindu nor Moslem India need minorities look forward to the protection of rights which they are not prepared to struggle for.

Hindus in Pakistan and Muslims in Hindustan will perhaps secure more than their due share of safeguards since they are 'hostages' and beyond the border their co-religionists are in power. Legal safeguards are far from sufficient for a small community which is economically backward and politically dormant. Legal procedure is always slow, rarely effective, and often far too expensive. Where small groups are concerned, the policy of tolerance or intolerance is determined not by legal sanctions which in practice cannot be enforced, but by the apathy or antipathy of the lower-grade communal-minded bureaucracy which holds power in the small towns, districts and villages. In these days of tightening government control of civil supplies and services, and rampant corruption in the high places, all members of minority communities who have had any dealings with petty officialdom, missionaries, merchants, contractors, young men seeking employment, office-staff awaiting due promotion, students applying for admission to medical or engineering colleges, directors of co-operatives, village headmen, etc., all know in how many scores of ways communal factors act dicriminately against them. There is perhaps no department of the government, not to speak of non-official bodies, where the communal bias has not vitiated the impartial assessment of merit and just distribution of social functions. Privileges, appointments, commissions, priorities, all tend to flow in a communal channel.

In bills of fundamental rights it is often asserted that in the eyes of the State all citizens shall be equal without distinction of sex, caste, community or religion. But the State being represented by communal minded officials, either Hindu or Muslim, distinctions are only too patent. And as communal opposition hardens into national separation, these distinctions will necessarily appear in bolder relief. One of the worst effects of being discriminated against in public life is that the victims, after struggling for a while against heavy odds, will finally give up the struggle, develop an attitude of weak resignation, and receive all manner of injustice as their just due. This is a fearful possibility; and considering the lack of communal organization, political awareness, ability for diplomacy, and determination to fight and to win, among the Christians and especially among the Catholics, is it too much to affirm that their community is fast speeding downwards to the day when this fearful possibility will be actual?

STRAWS IN THE WIND

KISMET

"CALCUTTA, once the most lively, if never the most comfortable city of India, is becoming almost unbearable to it inhabitants," writes **The Statesman** in an editorial unaccustomed vigour. Strong indictments which do violence even to language are common enough in the communal newspapers on both Hindu and Muslim sides; and they produce little effect beyond rousing mob frenzy. But when a non-communal newspaper which is not accustomed to enlarging molehills into mountains, points its accusing fingers at the 'crass stupidity' of a 'bankrupt municipality' and a 'bankrupt government', one hopes that some at least of those in high places will heed the warning. The word Kismet has a certain charm in India; it is often an opiate to dull all sense of personal responsibility. If in former days 'filthy' was the usual epithet for Calcutta, it was Kismet; and if after the great killing, 'horrid', 'unbearable', 'murderous' are the usual epithets, it is again Kismet. But is not this impersonal abstraction, Kismet, the creation of very concrete persons? Goondaism cannot thrive except on the hope of very substantial profits. Corruption in high official circles is the making of the officials themselves. False propaganda which is the fuel for communal fires is sustained by the press and platform, by handbills and posters, by huge vested interests.

Students of recent Indian history know that as a general rule what Calcutta and Bengal are to-day the rest of India will be to-morrow. For each new movement, for all political and economic trends, Calcutta can almost always claim the fame or notoriety of having given the lead. The dawn of Indian industrialism, the revival of Indian art, modern scientific research, the struggle for independence, terrorism in politics, goondaism among students, renaissance in vernacular literature, and perhaps many other desirables and undesirables were heralded first in this north-east corner of the land which today claims sovereign independence and holds forth before the rest of India a lugubrious example for administrative inefficiency and unchecked lawlessness.

The Remedy

The editorial we referred to earlier observes that remedies have been suggsted for diseased Calcutta; "for the Government Section 93, and for the Corporation supersession"; and adds: "Such temporary measures could but aggravate the disease." Should one despair of a remedy and wait in lethargic unconcern till the day when the whole of India would be what Calcutta is to-day? Unless the city and the province apply a remedy betimes, the law of evolution in Indian events, Kismet as some would call it, might strike the whole land. As for peace between nations, so also for peace within a nation, the first requisite is peace in each individual conscience. The momentum of great criminal waves, of vast social evils which mow to death thousands of unoffending victims starts, always with individuals who do violence to their own sense of truth and justice, who flout the laws of an inexorable moral code, who ignore the authority of a Supreme Being whose justice is the sanction for all moral conduct. Perhaps there are many who from the loftiness of their materialistic wisdom would mock in derision any attempt to bring God and the moral law into the maze of power politics, communal frenzy and terrorism. Materialism has built a castle on the shifting sands of its many negations, and now is vainly searching for props to hold up the tottering structure. The remedy is truthfulness for false propaganda, love and charity for communalism, justice for power politics. Does this sound an impossible remedy? Perhaps, at least to those who would invoke Kismet and distort the laws of man's being. But if this remedy is abandoned as impossible, there is unhappily none other.

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THE UNION JACK AND TRICOLOUR

The Orissa Government has recently issued a notification that no flags are to be hoisted over educational buildings. There was a time when the Union Jack used to be considered an indispensable decoration for important occasions. While many resented it, the school authorities often felt that they could not well break

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with a long standing tradition without diminishing the respect for law and order which they sought to instill into their young charges. The Tricolour of the National Congress made its appearance now and then; while the non-Congressists disapproved of it and the Muslim Leaguers loathed it, even those who sympathized with the Congress doubted the wisdom of making educational institutions identify themselves with any one political party. The Tricolour is indeed the symbol of national liberation; it is the remembrance of a glorious struggle and of great suffering. But it is also the flag of a political party; and there is a section of the Indian people whose attitude towards it is anything but respect. The Congress government of Orissa while absolving school authorities from the obligation of hoisting the Union Jack has also wisely forbidden the Congress flag. The reason given is that the business of students is study, not political propaganda. The effervescence of party politics, and what is inevitably mixed with it, the frenzy of communualism have already worked great havoc among the student population of India. Bengal and the Punjab have suffered most. The University of Calcutta has been obliged to postpone all exams by at least three months, and is even now uncertain of conducting the exams peacefully. Orissa is unhappily too near Calcutta, and the record of the Province from past years has been none too creditable.

The Government has made a timely decision in banning from education institutions the superfluous and often noxious trappings of immature patriotism. It will relieve school authorities of much worry, and perhaps might also help in introducing a calmer, healthier atmosphere more conducive to education.

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THE FOOD PROBLEM

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Food Member for the Government of India, recently assured a delegation of the Nizam's Government in Hyderabad that the food problem was always being kept above politics and communal bias. The people of India do need such an assurance, and even after it is given they can hardly believe it. No one can deny that the question of feeding the millions has become immeasurably more difficult due to the political and communal impasse in the country. The Hon. Food Member and his large staff are evidently doing all they can to procure food from surplus countries, to encourage more food being grown in India, to keep the supply lines clear and to avoid bottle-necks, and in every way to maintain the starving millions above a bare subsistence level. The population of India in 1941 was 389 millions. Gyan Chand's estimate of the population for 1947 is 427 millions. The increase in numbers is considerable; but there has been no proportionate increase in area under cultivation, no improvement in methods of agriculture; on the other hand due to war and famine livestock has diminished and farm implements have deteriorated. The Grow More Food campaign conducted with great lavishness of paper and ink did not reach the growers of food. No irrigation or other reconstruction schemes were put into operation during the war years. The Damodar Valley project and other great plans remain in the expensive files of the engineers and promise to remain there for a long time to come. The establishment of large monopolies in agricultural produce, the drafting of many farm hands into the army, the denial policy in East Bengal shortly before the great famine, the increase in the number of landless labourers and other factors of the war period have made food more scarce in the country as a whole and more inaccessible to a large percentage of the poor. The post-war period was to bring a measure of relief. But war of another kind, communal and political, has succeeded, and the battle fields are the villages and towns of India. While riot victims flee from their homes, fields lie untilled or crops perish unharvested. With an administration all engrossed in maintaining communal peace, the governmental system for procurement and distribution of food department of the government must be very heavy during this critical period. And the poor know how keen are the pangs of hunger.

M. Thekaekara.

Sir,—The bold criticism levelled against Mr. Ruthnasamy's leadership by Mr. Raja Joseph raises once again the question as to what the political allegiance of the Catholics in India should be. Leaders of the Catholic community seem to have no definite answer to give to this important question. Technically the Catholic Union of India is a political organization; it is not a Catholic Action Society. But its members are not obliged to subscribe to any of the political creeds which sway the masses of India. Perhaps there is a great deal of practical wisdom in this attitude of neutrality. A policy of sitting on the fence has much to recommend itself if the position is not uncomfortable and both sides of the fence are full of dangers. But it is a particularly vulnerable position in time of struggle between the two sides; and is not this the reason why Catholics in India are politically for less significant than the less numerous Protestants?

Mr. Ruthnasamy says that Catholics would be free to join any party of their choice, "whether it is the Congress, or the Radical Democratic Party, or for that matter any other party." The final words seem to suggest a wide field of choice which in reality is non-existent. Evidently the Communists are excluded. Nor can Catholics seek membership in the Muslim League; they would not get it. What other party? Perhaps the Radical Democrats of M. N. Roy. There would be no sadder case of adversity bringing strange bedfellows. Among all schools of Marxist thought in India, M. N. Roy represents, at least according to his own claim, the most orthodox, the farthest advanced. The opposition of the Radical Democrats to Communists and other leftist groups in the country is that the latter are not sufficiently 'Red'. Not even the hate-fomenting, strike-making, revolutionary Communists have declared an anti-religious, anti-God policy in as clear terms as has done Comrade Roy in his blue-print for a Constitution of India and his unnumbered other literary productions. During the last general elections the Radical Democrats contested a large number of seats, lost their deposits in most places, and failed in all except one. It is not likely that Catholics who have many essential religious rights to safeguard would consider joining a political party which secured just one of the sixteen hundred seats in provincial legislatures.

The choice before the Catholics is clear. Either join the Congress and within party ranks press their claims for minority safeguards; or form an independent party opposed to the Congress and commit political suicide.

"POLITICUS".

Book Review

BEACON LIGHTS: An account of Catholic education in India and Ceylon, by M. Thekaekara, S.J., with a Foreword by Rev. Fr. Jerome De Souza, S.J. Pp. vii & 44. Ranchi, Catholic Press. Price As. -/5/-.

Were it generally known why Catholics in India sent no less than eight thousand protest telegrams and innumerable memoranda to the Travancore Government, when its Dewan blundered on his educational policy, Fr. M. Thekaekara, S.J., would still have to his credit the painting of an interesting picture of the Catholic educational institutions of India, "the Beacon Lights" which "irradiate the whole educational atmosphere" of our land. (Sir A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar). For few suspect how great and deep is the contribution of Catholics to education in India; how they have been thwarted for a century by the powers that be from working out a better and more national scheme; how their success is entirely due to their ideal and its pursuance. Only when these things are known, will it appear how short-sighted it is (if only that) lightly to scrap the Catholic schools.

To Catholics this pamphlet will give pride in their past achievement, courage in their present struggle, and warning as well as hope for their future. To have "about three hundred Catholic orphanages, supporting about 20,000 pupils" is at least as glorious as to run 5,200 schools for over 35,000 students. The knowledge of the work will serve them in the struggle which is imminent, if it is not already begun. Bombay, Travancore and Ceylon are not signs to be neglected. Fr. Thekaekara calmly explains their significance.

His final word is to point out that "at present public opinion in British India is in favour of encouraging private enterprise in education." Here is our chance, if we will take it. We will, no doubt, the quicker, if we read this opportune, topical, brief, but very informative and very encouraging booklet. Thanks for it, Fr. Thekaekara!

Letter to the Editor

THE MENACE OF COMMUNALISM

Sir,—I am afraid the view expressed in your issue of 29.6.47 (dak edition) by Mr. William Lobo are altogether untenable. His criticism of the article, which was based on actual facts and experience, seems hardly justified. What was wrong in the young members of the Marian Sodality of Patna demonstrating before the Legislative Assembly to secure exemption of Mass wine from the law of Prohibition? Surely the American Jesuit Fathers, who conduct the Sodality, must have at least tacitly approved of this demonsration. Did this demonstration in-

volve the disobedience of any law, moral or non-moral? Your correspondent opposes the idea of methods which he calls coercive and which according to him are followed by our non-Catholic brethren (he evidently means 'non-Christian') but on the other hand recommends agitation through 'existing organizations and the Press and Platform' and the adoption of constitutional and dignified methods. He has completely forgotten that in actual practice such methods have failed miserably and that it is too late to adopt them. So long as the policy of Governments is **"Parcere superbis et debellare subjectos"** the methods suggested by him will be useless. Incidentally is it true to say that the so-called coercive methods are only adopted by non-Catholics or non-Christians? What about our Catholic brethren in Europe? How did De Valera for instance achieve independence for Southern Ireland? Was it by 'existing organizations and resort to the Press and Platform'? What methods should be actually adopted let our accredited leaders decide. Perhaps Mr. Frank Anthony, who has been much more successful than the Indian Christian leaders, will be in a position to advise.

PHILIP D'CUNHA.

Book Review

THE BLESSED TRINITY: FOUNDATION OF A DEVOTION, by G. M. Dupont, S.J. Calcutta, The Oriental Institute, 146, Bowbazar Street, 1947. Pp. viii M 202. Price Rs. 4-12, de Luxe, Rs. 6.

15/6/47

A few words cannot analyze the impression engraven deep in the soul when one lays aside this great book after the careful, painstaging reading which it richly deserves. One is face to face here with the sublimest mystery of Christian revelation. Though it be true that we are 'looking at a reflection in a mirror', still 'the glimpses of knowledge' (I Cor., 13, 12) faint gleams from the uncreated brilliance, are of themselves sufficient to strike a sense of suspense and awe. The mind of man, with its unquenchable thirst, never reaches forth with such daring as when it aspires to learn of the inner life of the Triune God. If the audacity oversteps the small stature of our being, that very audacity is of God's impelling. It is He who revealed the truth, bids us live by it, makes of it an earnest of what is to come, not mirrored reflection, not glimpses, but vision.

"The mysteries of creation and sanctification are intimately linked with the mystery of the Blessed Trinity; man's being, destiny and worth can be rightly estimated only in the light of the Trinitarian doctrine", **(Foreword)** this is what the book proposes to show, and succeeds admirably in showing. And while doing so, it opens wide vistas of deeply significant knowledge. Knowledge of the Trinity not merely answers the mind's questioning; it uplifts man's being; it fills him with a sense of that reverence which is his duty and an appreciation of that divine communing which is his privileged destiny.

Knowledge which is to be a treasured possession, which will stir man to his inmost depths and transmute his whole existence, knowledge which far transcends the common dross of easy grasp, is not to be had without effort. Hence it is not surprising that the author expects from the reader "courage and patience to read on through these pages" (Page 189). Courage the book certainly demands, but not perhaps patience. Courage depends on the intellectual calibre and self-confidence of the reader; it gives the necessary initial momentum. But once begun, it will be seen that patience is not long taxed; the subject is engrossing; the treatment—first about the Three Persons, then about our relations with Them, and lastly about our participation in the inner life of the Trinity—is clear and proceeds by easy stages; illustrations and examples abound to illumine each step of the steady upward progress; and the language is as concrete and as free of technical abstractions, as the subject would permit.

In an attempt to defy reason, poet Browning wrote:

> "'Tis man's to explore
> Up and down, inch by inch, with the taper his reason;
> No torch, it suffices—held deftly and straight."

Fr. Dupont book shows how poor man would be, how narrow his mental horizon, if he had no torch except reason to light his steps. God's revelation has opened to us wide sunlit spaces, not indeed for us to look on from a distance, but to live in and thereby to be inspired, strengthened, ennobled. The present book changes that notional knowledge of the penny catechism, which unhappily is what most of us possess about the Trinity, into a real knowledge which will exert a lasting influence on our lives. We cannot but be thankful for the deep scholarship and the painstaking effort which have made possible so excellent, so essential, so welcome a book.

Those who would use the book for meditation and a deeper study, and not merely for reading, would be grateful also to Fr. V. Courtois, the publisher, for the helpful "index of subject matter," and "index of scriptural texts" which he has supplied.

M. THEKAEKARA

STRAWS IN THE WIND

MEETING A CHALLENGE

WHEN the Prime Minister of Great Britain announced his government's decision about a definite date for withdrawal from India, Pundit Nehru said with courageous statesmanship: "It is a challenge to all of us, and we shall try to meet it bravely in the spirit of that challenge." But it is difficult to see what has been achieved in India yet to meet the challenge, except perhaps more killings, hardening animosities, widening communal gulf. There have been a few ineffective gestures from the majority; but the suspicions of the one big minority of ten crore Muslims are not any the less; rather they would seem to be greater, since demands are being pitched ever higher. The zero hour is fast approaching, and much has to be achieved before the final withdrawal. In all these discussions in settlement of India's future, one regrets to observe that little or no account has been taken of the smaller minorities. The Christians in particular who form the second largest minority have every reason to feel aggrieved. From the beginning they had expressed their readiness to cooperate in the peaceful evolution of the country; and speaking in their own behalf, they opposed strongly any division of political power on a communal basis. They wished to see a political setup wherein every citizen would be free to pass from one political party to another without doing violence to his religious convictions.

Through Chaos

But events have been moving fast towards a situation which is highly detrimental to the interests of the smaller minorities. Administrative changes are taking place rapidly though political stability is singularly absent. Governments lack the power though not always the will to check corruption, maintain order, secure efficiency, and promote economic well-being. Merit is no more the criterion for filling vacancies; judiciary is often over-ruled by a not too impartial executive; and the ugly spectre of communalism overshadows public authority in many of its decisions. The Cabinet Mission a year ago, while inviting the concurrence of Indian leaders to its proposals, stated plainly the consequences of disagreement. "The alternative would be a grave danger of violence, chaos and civil war. The gravity and duration of such a disturbance cannot be foreseen, but it is certain that it would be a terrible disaster for many millions of men, women and children." Calcutta, Noakhali, Bihar and Punjab are memories which will not easily be erased. While leaders disagreed, the poor had to fill with their corpses the gulf that separated them.

In the course of the discussions that followed the Cabinet Mission proposals, more than once it looked as if agreement was possible; but always at the last moment, hopes vanished as old gaps reappeared or new ones were opened. Today administrative changes are taking place rapidly; but one fears whether the people are not being sacrificed for the sake of some of the political leaders. Power never has had as great a responsibility to shoulder as at the present time. The ensuing months will be critical. May statesmen realize that it is more difficult to build than to destroy! The common people irrespective of communal factions make only one demand, that the burden of their misery be not made heavier than it already is. Economic prosperity, not communal domination, should be the goal of the country. Not division, but greater union and closer collaboration will ensure the welfare of the people.

* * *

EUTHANASIA—GOOD HEALTH

Catholics are familiar with the practice of praying for a good death, and several places have established "Bona Mors" Societies to which religious persons voluntarily associate themselves in order to be mutually helped by prayers and good works. A recent Reuter's report informs us of a Society in England with a far different purpose; it is called "the Voluntary Euthanasia Society". The names are strangely identical; 'bona mors' is Latin and Euthanasia (eu-thanatos) is Greek for what in plain English means good death. But the purpose of this latter society is, one learns with horror, to legalise murder, though this purpose is also veiled in clever euphemisms as the very name of the Society. Originally euthanasia was a term used for 'deliberately taking away the consciousnesss of another so that it will not return before death' (Davis: Moral theology) But the aim of the English Euthanasia Society is nothing short of directly killing incurable patients, and they demand a Parliamentary bill to make such killing lawful. In 1936 a first attempt had been made to have such a bill passed; but the House of Lords rejected it with 35 votes for and 41 against.

"FOUNDATIONS FOR A DEVOTION TO THE BLESSED TRINITY"

AN APPRECIATION

ON the 29th June last, an excellent Review of "Foundation for a devotion to the Blessed Trinity" was written by M. Thekaekara in "The Herald". Having met the author of the book, I was curious to know what he had to say about devotion to the Blessed Trinity; bought a copy although I suspected from its title that it would be quite beyond the capacity of my mind.—I am glad to say my fears were not realised. But I feel impelled to say that I completely agree with M. Thekaekara's review and welcome this work by G. Dupont, s.j. The review says: "Knowledge of the Trinity not merely answers the mind's questioning, it uplifts man's being, it fills him with a sense of that reverence which is his duty and an appreciation of that divine communing which is his privileged destiny.

The pity is that so few have more than a notional knowledge of this doctrine so insistently revealed to the Apostles by our Lord Himself and to us through the Gospels. Father Dupont's book explains this sublime and interesting doctrine in a concise and simple manner, and draws the heart to this devotion. If the language used is somewhat beyond the 'simple man" in parts only, these passages are further elucidated and in the end with the help of God's grace, most educated people should be able to thoroughly grasp and understand it, as far as our human intelligence can understand the mystery of the Blessed Trinity.—But Father Dupont does not aim at the impossible, he merely seeks to instil into his readers a devotion to the Blessed Trinity, and here I draw attention to his definition of Devotion on page 1.

Fr. Dupont thinks the term devotion may seem ambiguous and that in the singular it will be unfamiliar to many "who are used to devotions in the plural, meaning a set of prayers," etc.

Several other well known writers have drawn attention in their books to the connexion between the soul and the Blessed Trinity; to name a few only Fr. Raoul Plus, S.J. in his book "God within us," and Paul de Jaegher. S.J. in "One with Jesus" and "Confidence." The list of authors on this subject must be a long one. These books, however, are scarce and most readers of "The Herald" would probably say they haven't even heard of them! All the more reason to be thankful to Rev. G. Dupont for this work of "deep scholarship and painstaking effort."

It is consoling to recall to mind that Our blessed Lord in His sublime sactrdotal prayer in the Cenacle that first Holy Thursday night, prayed for us all as well as for the apostles. "O Righteous Father, the world knows Thee not," etc. . . . "and I revealed Thy name to them and will reval it, in order that the love with which Thou lovest me may be in them and I in them." **(Foundations page 185.)**

Note well the words "will reveal it." . . . . Perhaps He Who is the source of all holy inspirations has caused this book to be written and published at this time because of the great need for us Catholics in this materialistic age to keep ourselves pure and unspotted from the world. Perhaps it is very necessary now more than ever for us to remember the clost link between a soul and its Creator and to bear in mind that Our Lord said: "without me you can do nothing."

At various periods of time God has called upon certain chosen souls to turn the hearts and minds of their fellow Catholics to appeas for mercy and help to His Sacred Heart, to the merits of His precious Blood, to the price of our salvation through His passion, His Sacred Wounds, etc; and might it not be perhaps that now God desires us to remember more especially the devotion, duty, love, reverence, homage, in a word the cult we owe to the Blessed Trinity, and for this reason caused these books to appear? "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with thy whose mind, with all thy streugth" etc.—Do we do it, is God our first and last preoccupation? And yet, who can tell when or how any or many of us may be called upon before this century closes to testify to our Faith with sufferings or even our life.

The object of this appreciation is to point out that the book is not beyoud the capacity of most people, and with the help of grace most readers will not only understand it but relish it and and find in it an impetus to practise Devotion to the Blessed Trinity.—

Immoral Legislation

Now apparently there are 17 members of the Euthanasia Society in the very House of Lords; and the Secretary of this 'killing' society, one Mr. Killick—a very appropriate name indeed—claims that he has supporters among the leaders of the medical profession, scientists, members of both Houses of Parliament, and even Heads of the Church. The mention of the Heads of the Church in this list of supporters of the mercy-killing scheme causes deep concern. One wonders what heads they are and of which Church. If a Church recognizes the headship of the one supreme authority God, who is the sole master of life and death, and whose inexorable law is 'Thou shalt not kill', the earthly heads of that Church cannot logically support the euthanasia bill without revolting against their supreme Head. Pain is no justification for deliberate shortening of life; doctors have no right to murder patients suffering from 'incurable painful sickness' just because the patient is ready for a suicide. The most sacred principle of the doctor's code is that life must be saved at all costs. And if disease is incurable, the doctor may abandon the patient but not kill him. Euthanasia is a modern fad; and where it means killing it is also a horrid crime. No euphemism can veil the real nature of the deed.

We have written about this unpleasant subject not only on account of the sacred principle involved but also because there are in India a few so-called 'progressive' thinkers who would wish to see enthanasia or mercy-killing introduced here as well. The sub-committee on health of the National Planning Committee made some years ago a recommendation that mercy-killing should be permitted. Even when one is entirely impotent to check the downward course of immoral legislation, one cannot but raise the strong voice of protest against tendencies which strike at the roots of the natural law and strengthen mankind's apostacy against its Maker.

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BRITISH CAPITAL IN INDIA

An 'Information Bulletin' is being circulated among some of the British businessmen in India, entitled "Political Outlook", in which one reads: "There is every reason now to believe that the discrimination against foreign business which was once feared will not materialize. On the contrary increasing opportunities for participating in industrial development will probably arise, provided that arrangements are made which do not take control out of the hands of Indian nationals." The document was supposed to be strictly 'secret and confidential', but

(Continued from p. 2 col. 5)

the Red comrades with characteristic industry secured it, and have given it the widest possible publicity through their party organ. They object strongly to the attitude of "cautious optimism" which the British capitalists believe they could adopt, and have made the 'Information Bulletin' the occasion for a spicy article wherein British business in India is made to feel the usual communistic tenderness.

The word exploitation has an ugly connotation; but capitalists, and foreign capitalists in particular, are not the only persons who have to plead guilty of the injustice often associated with it. Exploitation of the poor may be even more cruel when practised by persons seeking political power, by trade union leaders or secret agents of a foreign power. Exploitation can also have a good meaning which is etymologically more correct, namely, making explicit, developing the resources of a country, helping its progress. Foreign capital and still more foreign talent will be increasingly necessary for India as the country advances industrially. An indiscriminating hatred of the nature the Communists advocate is not only unjust; it is harmful for the interests of the country and its people. But of course as agents of Russia they needs must oppose the British businessmen; but this is a question of foreign policy.

M. THEKAEKARA.

STRAWS IN THE WIND

INDIA'S CHANGING MAP

A NEW award has come to India from the deliberations in the Viceroy's house and 10, Downing Street. Those who have listened to the brief broadcast over the A. I. R. and have later studied the news agency accounts have still to familiarize themselves with the many details of the complete plan. The political leaders have expressed widely different views. Pundit Nehru's speech was characteristic of his brilliant genius, his far-sighted statesmanship and intense patriotism. Mr. Jinnah spoke a few words which did not lift the veil from his usually enigmatic approach, but expressed a regret that he could not speak oftener on the radio to the whole nation. If the nation is not one but two, and the speaker rarely has any constructive plan to offer, perhaps not many in the country would re-echo the regret of the League leader. Sardar Baldev Singh with whom the Indian Christians, a larger minority than his own, feel perhaps a closer affinity than with the leaders of 30 crore Hindus and 10 crore Muslims, rose to a full realization of the moment; as an Indian citizen and the member for India's defence, his words were marked by a deep regret about the present situation and an earnest wish for a happier and more peaceful future.

Even the Viceroy himself expressed strong dis-satisfaction about the new proposals, though he is their chief author. The only eminent political figure who expressed some degree of satisfaction was the inscrutable Mr. Churchill of England, and the reason for this surprising attitude is that he saw in the new plan some resemblance to the Cripps proposals which he himself had sponsored. And when Mr. Churchill had expressed his agreement, Mr. Gallacher, the Communist M.P. of the House of Commons, rose to state that he was "most suspicious of this solution because the leader of the Tory opposition has supported it." Mr. Churchill promptly retorted: "I am glad I am not the leader of the Russian oppostion." Mr. Churchill hopes that India, thanks to its partition, will find itself within the "mysterious circle of the British crown, just in the same way as the self-governing dominions have done for so many years after all other links with the Mother country save those of sentiment have been dissolved." But perhaps Mr. Churchill ignores the peculiar difficulty in regard to India, that men of his own type had done all in their power in former years to dissolve precisely those links of sentiment which have the best chances of survival.

The Christian View

But abstracting for a while from the distant future, we should rather consider the present proposals and their possible immediate consequences. Even while admitting these proposals to be inevitable, as being the best solution for a very complex problem, we cannot but regret the unpleasant factors, the tragic incidents which made them necessary. Pundit Nehru is not pleased; nor is the Sikh representative. Mr. Jinnah has still to decide whether he must accept the proposals. It is strange that the voice of a far larger minority than the Sikhs, namely the Indian Christians, was absent over the Radio when leaders gathered to express their reactions. We number close to ten million. Unlike the Sikhs who are to be found only in the Punjab and whose one problem is the future of that Province, the Christians are to be found all over India; we are vitally concerned in the whole question of partition of the country and the provinces, of single or dual constituent Assemblies, of referendums and plebiscites, wherever they are held, of native states joining Hindu or Muslim India or remaining independent. We insisted with all the strength at our command that politics should steer out of the self-destructive rut of communalism. We wanted a democracy based on citizenship and not on religious allegiance. And now we are presented with a Hindu and Muslim India. Of course the non-Muslim and non-Sikh Indians are technically called 'general'; but a vague technicality does not hide the unpleasant reality. According to the new proposals, the Indian nation is two and only two, Hindu and Muslim. The Sikhs are given a special place in this dual system because theirs is a militant religion, or as one of the Justiciable rights expresses it, carrying the kirpan is part of their religious profession. The guardians of democracy, the leaders of the country and its rulers, have not seen any injustice in totally ignoring a minority which in population is twice the Sikhs, has attained a high cultural level, and must face the heaviest risks under the change from a unified India to a Hindu and Muslim India.

Consequences of Partition

The Christians had associated themselves in large measure with the Indian National Congress; and their reason for doing so was that in the ranks of the Congress they could contribute an effective share towards the struggle for independence. The struggle is now over; but the result is bitter disappointment at least as far as they are concerned. They know now what it is to fight on the winning side and to lose the battle. Power is to be wrenched from the British; but it is to be transferred not to the people who struggled for it, but to two religious groups. Pakistan and Hindustan, a glorious dream for some, a horrid nightmare for others, is now a concrete, menacing reality. It little concerns the Christians that the Pakistan actually achieved is far

different from what Mr. Jinnah had dreamt of, with six complete Provinces, a corridor through central India, the great city of Calcutta, and many native states including Osmanistan in the Deccan. We would not rejoice over this partial disappointment of the Muslims or over the slight additions which Hindustan would receive from the B and C groups of the Cabinet Mission Plan. The one tragic fact which a small religious minority scattered all over the country has now to face is that they are to be under a Hindu government or a Muslim government, not under an Indian government.

But the picture is not one of dark shadows throughout. Gleams of light and hope break in here and there, through the black stormclouds of communal hatred. The majorities intend apparently to apply the theory of hostages in all its rigour only to the Muslims in Hindustan and the Hindus in Pakistan. To the smaller minorities, they promise just treatment. The ugly phase of communalism might pass away in course of time; and democracy might not always be its present distortion of the classical definition,—government of the people by party caucus for followers of a particular religion.

AGRICULTURAL REFORM

The Indian Society of Agricultural Economics ought to be congratulated for the excellent volume it has recently published on "Agrarian Reforms in Western Countries." This book shows that though at the present time political reforms are almost the sole topic for newspaper headlines, the country still possesses several earnest and devoted students who busy themselves with the real problem that India is, the problem of the rack-rented, famine-gripped, disease-riddled masses of the peasantry. Agriculture is the sole means of livelihood for a large percentage of India's population; and independence of the country is an empty word, a mockery, unless it brings freedom from starvation for those who produce the nation's food. Of all priorities in planning the foremost should be agricultural reform such as would lift the poor from their incredibly low status. But the path of reform is perilous, wherein mistakes are bound to have far-reaching consequences; and India has a salutary lesson to learn from the useful experiences, from the wisdom and foresight or the blundering callousness of others who have preceded us on the path of reform.

For purposes of comparison the authors of "Agrarian Reforms" divide Europe into three zones, Land Settlement Zone including England, France and other countries of Western Europe, Agrarian Reform Zone including Poland, the Baltic countries, and most parts of Central Europe; and the Zone of Agrarian Collectivism, of which the one lugubrious example is Soviet Russia.

The Peasant Farm

It is heartening to observe that the authors, unlike many others treating the same subject, have not been deceived by the blazing headlines of Communist propaganda, and have given a well-balanced picture of what the collectivist mania in U.S.S.R. has achieved and has failed to achieve. The book will not be palatable to a certain class of ideologists whose thought-content is of a mass-produced, imported variety; but truth is not always palatable to all alike.

The concluding pages of the book are an inspiring, realistic application to India of the results of European experiments. No one would seriously accuse the authors for being reactionary; they are radical and revolutionary; but theirs is a healthy radicalism, a revolution which implies no wading through a sea of blood. They suffer from no megalomania for immense farms stretching across thousands of acres; they do not plan for a mechanized agriculture that would turn the peasants into cog-wheels in a ruthless and inefficient production machine. Mass production may indeed ensure economy in the industries; but the ideal for agriculture is the small farm which each peasant owns as his personal property. This ideal for agriculture is for quite different reasons also the ideal for a country like India as the man-power is immense and industrial possibilities are limited. The superiority of the peasant farm over large-scale farming is an inescapable conclusion of the study of "Agrarian Reforms in Western countries" and the authors say that "it is today an established principle which is finding increasing acceptance even outside Euorpe."

The huge peasant population of India look forward to the day when the reforms recommended in the book will be carried out by the Provincial Governments.

M. Thekaekara.

STRAWS IN THE WIND

APOSTOLATE IN A FREE INDIA

AMONG the justiciable rights recommended to the Constituent Assembly by the Fundamental Rights and Minority Advisory Committees, there was one clause concerning the freedom to propagate one's religion. We have commented on this clause briefly on a previous occasion. However in view of the great importance we Catholics attach to the subject of the Church's apostolate in a future India, it would seem necessary to examine in greater detail the right conferred by the clause, the conditions and qualifications attached to it, and the guarantees for its safeguarding.

An introductory clause to the justiciable rights states that "all existing laws, regulations, customs or usages in force within territories of the Union inconsistent with the rights guaranteed under this part of the Constitution shall stand abrogated, nor shall the Union or any Unit make any law taking away or abridging such right." The important clause concerning freedom of worship reads: "All persons are equally entitled to freedom of conscience and the right freely to profess, practise and propagate religion subject to public order, morality or health, and to other provisions of this chapter."

In Princely India

It is well known that this right of freedom of religion is effectually being denied to the Christian minority in several of the Native States. We would refer in particular to the "Udaipur State Conversion Act, 1946", of which the Preamble reads: "Whereas it has come to the notice of the Udaipur Durbar that a fair number of Aborigines have changed their religion under the influence of sophisticated persons or that of inducement. The Udaipur Durbar have reasons to believe that in a large number of such cases the Aborigines, being simple and unsophisticated, have changed their religion without realizing the real implications of it, and that such conversions are creating an atmosphere which might disturb public peace and also to protect the Aborigines from being so exploited, it is desirable to check unauthorized conversions for all times, it is considered expedient to enact as folls:" The preamble thus makes a number of gratuitous statements none of which will bear critical investigation. On the false assumption that conversions to Christianity are a form of exploitation —whatever that term may mean—and that they may disturb public peace, which is a strange perversion of truth, the State Durbar has "thought it expedient" to enact eleven clauses, making Christian Missionary work almost impossible and threatening the missionaries and converts with dire penalties.

The "Raigarh State Conversion Act of 1936" lays down the same eleven galling clauses, but they are preceded by a preamble even more disconcerting for its unproven assertions: "Whereas it has been brought to the notice of this Durbar that some recent conversions have fanned communal fires in this State to such an undesirable extent that serious communal friction might break out at any time and it is desirable to check unauthorized conversions for all times it is considered expedient to enact as follows: "It is easy to show that the so-called communal fires exist only in the imagination of the Hinduizing government, and that the friction is all one-sided. The 1,900 Catholics of Raigarh, less than one fith the number in Udaipur, are too few and too peace-loving to fan fires or cause friction. They became Catholics because their fellow tribesmen across the State boundary are already Catholics, because change of religion seemed to them a sacred obligation, because once they are Catholics, economic exploitation would cease and cultural advancement would be assured.

Other examples of similar Hindu intolerance might be cited from "Sirjuga State Hindu Apostacy Act of 1945" and the "Freedom of Religion Act, 1942," of Patna State. These are not isolated cases. The laws enacted by Travancore against its thirteen lakhs Catholic subjects are sufficiently well known. In other places there may not perhaps be legislation to sanction the denial of religious freedom; but the restrictions and disabilities are none the less effective through either the will of a communal-minded bureaucracy or the cruel rigidity of the caste system. If we protest against the Native Princes who openly enact laws against "the right freely to profess, practice and propagate religion," we dread still more the many unwritten "regulation", the unspecified "usages and customs" which as a mighty communal colossus overstride the whole country, and threaten to crush every attempt at Christian Missionary work.

A Justiciable Right

The Constituent Assembly would make the right to propagate religion justiciable; in all units of the Indian Union, any law or custom inconsistent with this right "shall stand abrogated"; any citizen of the Union enjoys the "right to move the Supreme Court by appropriate proceedings for the enforcement of any of the fundamental rights" including also the right of propagating one's religion; and the Supreme Court enjoys a certain limited power to compel units to grant these

rights: "Without prejudice to the power that may be vested on this behalf in other courts, the Supreme Court shall have power to issue directions in the nature of writs of habeas corpus, mandamus . . . . appropriate to the right guaranteed in this part of the Constitution."

All these provisions of the Constituent Assembly are opportune and essential. On repeated occasions, in petitions, memoranda and interviews, we as a minority had demanded that our specific rights should be incorporated into the Union Legislation. As Mgr. P. Thomas stated while addressing the Catholic Conference of Trichinopoly, in February, 1946, "We have rights both as men and as Christians, which rulers must respect and protect in any course of action they may take. We are not asking for anything which we are not prepared to grant to any other community. They are called fundamental rights, because they are sacred, natural, imprescriptable and inalienable. A list of these rights must be incorporated in a written constitution, which should not be modified by the usual changing governments. Courts of justice must also be set up to see that these rights are not infringed by any governmental agency—legislative or executive."

The right of propagating one's religion has been for long a crucial point. In the recommendations of the Sapru Committee this right had been specifically excluded and all representations made by the one Roman Catholic member of the Committee had been ineffective. Hence we have some reason to feel gratified that the right is affirmed in the Report presented to the Constituent Assembly, and provision has been made for a Supreme Court to safeguard the right.

Cause for Apprehension

Pundit Nehru's statement in May 1946, to the correspondent of **The Catholic Herald** of London had been reassuring to some extent. "It stands to reason," said Nehru, "that any faith whose roots are strong and healthy should spread; and to interfere with that right to spread seems to me to be a blow at the roots themselves. In a country with so many creeds as India, we must learn to be tolerant. Unless a faith proves a menace to public order, or its leaders attempt to thrust it down the unwilling throats of men owning other persuasions, there can be no justification for measures which deprive any community of its rights." But we could not be satisfied with a mere verbal assurance, even though it came from a leader like Pundit Nehru, and we had rightly insisted on an unequivocal, written legislation.

Though now legislation will be explicit, and will extend to all those parts of India which will come into the Indian Union, a small minority like the Catholics cannot lull themselves into a sense of security. Not all the Native States are yet members of the Union, and there is no power to coerce their entry. And ,after entry, even if the letter of the law is accepted, there are many ways in which its obligations may be evaded. Udaipur State declares that conversion "**might** disturb public peace;" and Raigarh State affirms that on account of conversions, "serious communal friction **might** break out". These suppositions about futurities are presumed to be cause enough for legislating against conversions to Christianity. And if further excuse for denying the religious rights of a minority were needed, the Constitution itself proposes to lay down that the right to propagate religion is subject to "other provisions", that "religious rights shall not include any secular activities that may be associated with religious practice," that "the freedom of religion does not debar the State (Units) from enacting laws for the purpose of social welfare and reform. "These sub-clauses, apparently so unobjectionable, become when occasion demands a convenient tool in the hands of the ruling power to restrict the rights of a voiceless minority. In the whole of India Catholics are one in a hundred; and the distribution is so uneven that in many parts of North India they are less than one in a thousand.

Neither is there any cause for undue elation in the discussions which the conversion clause gave rise to in the Constituent Assembly. Mr. K. M. Munshi sought to move an amendment that conversions of minors should be illegal; and Mr. Purushottamdas Tandon stated that the right of conversion was contrary to the mind of the Congress, and in reality, a grudging concession offered as a political bait for the allegiance of the minority. Evidently there is reason for serious apprehension. The greatest need at the present time for a small, scattered community like the Catholics is a strong organization, a wise leadership, a clearly defined programme of action, an effective voicing of our demands.

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