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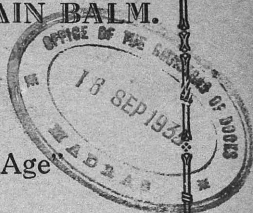
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The New Age

VOL. II

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NO. 4

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF INDIAN UNREST

By

S. P. Sarma

The picture of the Indian Federation is fairly complete now and provincial autonomy which is one essential feature of it, is likely to come into operation by the beginning of the next year. Other features will materialise too in course of time even as Britain wishes and expects. And thus the next stage in India's political and constitutional development will have been achieved. Into the merits or contents of that development, it is not proposed in this article to enter. They are such as they are. It is only intended now to enquire into the reasons for India's opposition to the new reforms, for, that fact cannot be gainsaid even by the most rabid reactionary. The utmost indeed that is said on the point is that the proposed scheme will work. Work, it might; but whether it will be worked with good will by Indians or with a sense of wounded self-respect is the question of moment. Britain knows the answer full well but she counts on India's disunity to be able to force the scheme down the latter's throat. This, in one word, is at the root of Britain's obstinacy regarding the Reforms and of India's opposition to them.

One confusing factor may at the

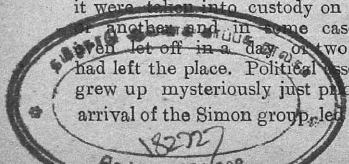
outset be eliminated before the issue is handled in right earnest. Time was, a few years ago, when the Britisher in India did not care even to conceal his racial arrogance when he met the Indian. But things are better now. Social equality and courtesy are now displayed towards Indians, though whether those feelings are genuinely experienced or not is a different matter. In any case, it is not very necessary to probe deeply into the affair at present. Suffice it that appearances are sought to be kept and there is a very appreciable change for the better in the demeanour of the average European in India.

The serial aspect however of Indo-British relations has severely to be eschewed in considering the main point of this article which relates to political behaviour and to political prestige on both the sides.

After Lord Curzon, perhaps no more unimaginative person handled India's problems than Lord Birkenhead. A very clever man, his defence of the all-white composition of the Simon Commission was perhaps too clever by half. Not a speech on India did he deliver which was not provocative in this coun-

try, and all along he showed that to argue a legal brief was not the same as to handle a political problem. Even from the British point of view, it must be said he was a failure as Secretary of State for India for the composition of the commission itself was not more offensive than the arrogant commentaries of him who ordained it. The ungracious task, thus begun by him of trying to regulate India's political growth in ways opposed to the sense of Indian nationalism was then taken over by the British government in right earnest. Now one principal characteristic of British administration in India, the certainty of which may be taken to lie in inverse proportions to the emphasis with which it is denied is this: whatever may be lost, prestige never should be. Any amount of trouble may be courted but the white man's prestige should be preserved intact. No wonder then that though there were protests all over India against the Commission, yet it was enabled to tour the country and give an appearance of not having been influenced by Indian public opinion but of having kept up its programme in spite of Indian opposition. Britain's greatest fear was that anybody should imagine her course was affected in the least by India. It was however one thing to determine that a detested organ of inquisition should go round the land and gather evidence, but quite another actually for that to do so. Thus began that 150% police rule which has not ended to this day. District Magistrates, who would not allow a marriage procession to take place in a town if breach of the peace was feared, took full precautions to see that the Simon procession was enabled to pass safe and secure. Persons likely to organise opposition to it were taken into custody on one plea or another and in some cases were let off in a day or two after it had left the place. Political associations grew up mysteriously just prior to the arrival of the Simon group, let evidence

before it which had strong family resemblance to the evidence given under similar circumstances in other places both before and after and when the commission left, they also passed away into natural oblivion. The worthy inquisitors would not show their faces in public. They moved about like purdah ladies guarded by the police in uniform and in mufti. Sir John Simon himself and his colleagues also tried to coax and wheedle a few persons here and there to appear in the witness box before them. And to some extent they succeeded. But what was the result? Not one politician who was known in the country or had any influence in it would stultify himself by co-operating with the commission. A miserable gang of communalists, and title-hunters was all that could be mustered. And for the rest the rank and status of the witnesses were such that their native towns themselves began to wonder if persons by these names did exist in their midst! It was a sight for the gods to see that butchers and bakers, retail traders and army contractors could develop political philosophies in practically no time if only they were loyal. At last, the Simon seven left the shores of India, much undoubtedly to their own relief and to that of India. The contents of the Report they published need not be considered here. It is sufficient to say that for any warmth or sympathy it displayed, India might as well have been as dead as Babylon. It was a cold and calculating analysis of the Indian situation, the basic idea being that Britain was and would be nothing else than helpful to India and that India had to learn to take Britain's help always on bended knees and to feel grateful. The cult of British prestige in India, documented and codified by Britain's foremost lawyer, such is not an inapt description of the Report. The British government knew it was dead even before it was born. Indian nationalism had successfully asserted



itself and had refused to recognise the bastard child. The aspect of things was too gloomy and even the prestige-ridden bureaucracy had to think of a way out, without however compromising its position. The plea was then found that the seven wise men of the west who toured India had to prescribe only for British India but that they had also observed the growing desire of the Indian states to have a voice in Indian affairs. That factor had to be recognised, they said, and accordingly, the Round Table Conferences were instituted. The Simon Report became only one of the documents to be considered and the conferences began with every issue open for discussion. Nationalist India had not yet got over the affront offered by the Simon Commission when in the closing months of 1930, first the R. T. C. began. The congress ignored it but there were others in the land who believed in its utility and they participated in it. Indeed the congress at that time was vigorously conducting its Civil Disobedience movement which was perhaps the greatest blow aimed at British power in India since the days of what British historians call the Indian Mutiny. But its results are not to be gauged by the actual results achieved by it: in the very nature of the case, they could not be much. The true significance of the movement lay in the terror it inspired in the powers that be. If not earlier, at that time certainly, they must have realised the blunder of the commission: They must have seen for once that the cult of prestige could be taken too far. Lord Irwin negotiated the famous Pact with Gandhiji for the suspension of Civil Disobedience and for the latter's attending the second R. T. C. towards the end of 1931 on behalf of the congress. Advanced elements in the national organisation however were opposed to the compromise but Gandhiji had full confidence in the strength of his leadership. But at the R. T. C. his record was woeful. He groped from

blunder to blunder and offered to give blank cheques now to the communalists whose appetite grew with what it fed on and now to the Princes who seemed to remember that they had rights to claim from British India but to forget they had duties to perform by their people. Gandhiji broke, too, with Dr. Ambedkar and could not make peace with him excepting with a fast of 21 days. In one word, he proved he was a prophet and not a politician, an elusive moralist who was merely flirting with political issues and not a matter of fact politician with his head screwed tight on the shoulders. Outwitted and outmanoeuvred by communalists and political reactionaries (vide the minorities Pact) both British and Indian, he then returned to India, a sadder but not a wiser man. Boiling with moral indignation at a world full of trickery and selfishness, he wrote for an interview to Lord Willingdon and expected he would get it once again quite easily. But he was again wrong. In 1931, when he met Lord Irwin, he was at the height of his power, with all his forces in full strength and behind his back. But in 1932 he was a solitary man with enormous prestige no doubt but with his strength dissipated. On the other hand, the Government having been substantially worsted in the first encounter with the congress, was itching for a second and a successful one. It had whetted its weapons and forged new ones even while the peace talks were going on at the second R. T. C. And Lord Willingdon who wanted just a plea to declare war once again on the congress was in full readiness. Gandhiji as usual played into the hands of the Government and the second C. D. movement was then on foot.

The position of the Government in declining to meet Gandhiji was that it would compromise its dignity to hold parleys with a person who issued threats of restarting an unlawful movement under prescribed circumstances. Lord

Willingdon had entered into a pact with Gandhiji in 1931. But he now refused interview because there was a world of difference in the relative positions of Gandhiji in 1931 and in 1932. On the former occasion he was at the head of a fighting movement albeit a non-violent one, and the government was not fully prepared. But in 1932, the tables had been turned. Gandhiji's forces had been demolished and he had no ready weapon in hand to strike with. On the other hand, the government was more than prepared. Even while the first R. T. C. was going on, it had forged new weapons, whetted the old ones and made all preparations. Indeed it was itching for a fight. And war was declared on the Congress, and pursued with rigour and determination enough to more than make up for the slackness displayed in 1931. Lord Willingdon in trying to justify his refusal of an interview to Gandhiji in 1932 was virtually condemning the action of Lord Irwin in 1931 in entering into the Delhi Pact or in the alternative was putting forth an excuse which he himself knew to be about the most hollow thing conceivable. Imperialist needs respect no logic or truthfulness. Bluntly, the prestige of the government which had been badly hit on the former occasion had somehow to be regained and that as early as possible. And Lord Willingdon was determined to take the first opportunity to do so.

It is also the same doctrine of prestige that rendered the Round Table Conferences what they were. By all accounts, the atmosphere changed for the worse year by year. At the first R. T. C. the fight between the Congress and the government going on in India was reflected in the greater regard attached to the opinion of the Indian members. But in the Second, the fight had been suspended and the Congress itself, as represented by Gandhiji, took part in it. Reactionary proposals such as the minorities Pact were either openly brought out or strongly

backed by a government which felt more at ease. And at the third R. T. C. anti-Indian forces had gained sufficient strength to defy all canons of wise policy and of racial harmony. Indians were allowed to talk still but their influence had very perceptively gone. Their status had degenerated from that of persons with opinions that had to be respected to that of cranks who had to be humoured, patted and cajoled but whose opinions could be brushed aside with impunity. The fate of the memorandum presented by the British Indian delegation is a classic instance of racial arrogance. Then came the Joint Parliamentary Committee. The position of Indians as mere consultants that had been thickly veiled by the servile verbosity of a socialist renegade at the first R. T. C. and that had become easier to see at the second and third R. T. C.s now became open and undisguised. Indians appeared frankly as witnesses before the Committee whose opinions had to be weighed and considered by a body with which alone the final decision rested. In other words, the right of self-determination for India which was the basis of the revolt against the Simon Commission was coolly given up in return for smooth words and pleasant company. The further stages of the India Bill going through the Parliament and so on merely confirm the doctrine of Britain being responsible for India and not Indians themselves. That is, Britain may or may not grant freedom to this country; the decision is hers. In other words, India has no freedom and will never get it either if Britain can help it. Self-determination is dead as the proverbial door nail. And appropriate enough, Sir S. Hoare began a few weeks ago, while still Secretary of State, to speak of the Reforms as a "gift" from Britain to India. Whatever, the extent of the "gift" the fundamental position remains the same: Britain is the giver, India the receiver; Britain

condescends to give, India should therefore be grateful. Britain might take back what she gives and India should, like the beaten cur that still licks the feet of the master, repent and learn to behave better. If this is not the cult of prestige with a vengeance, nothing else indeed is.

The concluding paragraph may well take a peep into the future. In the fight for self-respect begun by India in 1927 with the boycott of the Simon Commission, she has been defeated and humbled. This is a grim truth which has to be swallowed even by the most idealist of Congressmen. Britain is giving us just what she thinks fit: the caravan has gone on in its own way without heed to the dogs that were barking. On the other hand, Britain will be wrong to gloat over its victory. It has been achieved at very heavy cost even to her, for the methods she has adopted for her own purposes during the last few years, have brought out the real nature of her hold over this country in all its revolting nudity. Every lathi blow

in fact has meant a fresh recruit to anti-British forces. In addition Gandhiji has succeeded beyond all estimate in mobilising the moral forces of India and in rousing public opinion therein against British rule. This is indeed a factor that is bound to increase in strength as time goes on. And at the root of it lies the deep conviction that no matter what Britain may say, she will never yield an iota of power unless she is forced to do so. Britain's victory on the present occasion has thus meant the complete loss of confidence in her on the part of India, the growth of keen bitterness in the Indian mind against all things British and a miserable legacy of untold trouble and repression in the future. It will be found to be as hollow as her "gifts" of reform and he certainly laughs best who laughs last. It is more than certain that the substance having been gained, Britain will now begin to flirt with India and try to under-estimate the latter's losses in the last fight. But political loss is one thing, outraged self-respect is another.

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DOWN WITH OUR CIVILISATION !

By

K. Satyanarayana M. A.

Times without number do we hear from the idealists of the world that our civilisation is rapidly crumbling down and that it should be saved by human effort. We all agree that civilisation has to be saved.

But we do not all agree that our present civilisation, in its concrete and historical form, is an unalloyed virtue. There is little relationship between the sweet-sounding word "Civilisation" and the actual reality which it conceals. It has become a habit with us to glorify ugly deeds with beautiful words. To get at the truth of our civilisation we have to take into consideration its achievements on a wide scale rather than be blindly led away by meaningless sentimentalism attached to the word.

We have also been taught to differentiate between "Western" civilisation, and our "Eastern" civilisation, and we are asked by mystic poets and politician-philosophers to bear in mind always the "special" tasks of Indian civilisation and the unique nature of Indian culture.

For a critical examiner of men and matters there is a deep contradiction existing between the thing and the name. He sees everywhere in this our "civilised" world falsehood, hypocrisy and cant, cruelty and wickedness. Whether in a land of Christian non-resistance or in an island of Buddhist piety whether in the civilised countries of Western Materialism or in the uncivilised and half civilised countries of oriental spiritualism, we find the pitiable spectacle of Truth and Non-violence rolling in dust. Persons who ignore this deep

contradiction, or who accept and defend it are either hypocrites or blind men.

Hypocrisy is the key-note of modern civilised people. It is bound to be so, for within the framework of the present form of civilisation it is not possible to be honest and yet survive.

And the large masses of people who live on the brink of poverty cannot afford to be honest and truthful.

The civilised world is sick to-day. It seeks consolation in abstract idealism, which, I am sure, cannot satisfy the demand for a complete material happiness of human beings.

That civilisation is progress is the almost universal opinion held by modern thinkers. But, civilisation dominated by the institution of private property—as it exists at present—cannot survive for a long time. It is not progressive and definitely retrograde. How?

Civilization meant progress in those days when the productive forces of society could be advantageously confined within the framework of social relations between man and man. But, as the concrete historical form of civilisation is the institution of private property, the capacity of the shell was very strictly limited, and consequently progress under civilisation became also limited.

The rapidly advancing productive forces of the world, the existing property relations of society are proving a heavy fetter on society.

This conflict between the productive forces and the social relations has manifested itself in the general crisis

of Capitalism which began in 1914 and which is still continuing. The twenty years since 1914 reveal an unprecedented fall in the production of both raw materials and manufactured goods. "Independent estimates agree that in 1932 the level of industrial production in the world as a whole fell below that of 1913" (League of Nations World Economic Survey, 1932-3).

Apart from the arithmetical figures of the world industrial production, the true measure of the bankruptcy of modern capitalism lies in the growth of the contradiction between the productive capacity of society and the actual production, between the social advancement of the bourgeoisie and of the proletariat, between various imperialist rivals, and the consequent social and political upheavals.

It is true that private property—the historical form of civilisation—has been instrumental in the production of enormous wealth, vast culture and immense amenities of life. But against the background of this wealth, this culture and these amenities are set forth mass destitution, vast ignorance and social misery. Poverty for the many and riches for the few, ignorance for the many and culture for the few, starvation for the many and comforts for the few,—these are the characteristics of our civilisation!

This frank statement of facts is not, of course, accepted by property-owners and their servile representatives, the bourgeois historians and economists. The fruits of civilisation, they say, apart from the small matter of private property, are at the disposal of all human beings. This mischievous assertion is not worthy of elaborate examination, for is it not an elementary truth that the social benefits of civilisation are a direct consequence of vast social misery?

So, civilisation confers benefits upon the few but not upon the many. It is

a vast inhuman tyranny perpetrated by the owners of private property over the have-nots.

Yet we declare that civilisation has to be saved! No. We have to bury it fifty fathoms deep!

When we hear politicians and statesmen, philosophers and poets appeal to the spirit of civilisation, sure they do not mean the spirit of civility. They mean material forms of civilisation, namely private property and its antecedents, the state, wage-slavery, war, religion, the family and a host of others.

No form of social relations is permanent. The present civilisation is bound to perish with the passing of private property regime. With it also perish all the seemingly immutable institutions, all the unnatural class-antagonisms and all the vague fantasies created as palliatives for the inhuman and anti-social relationship between man and man.

Our present standards of culture and our methods of education also change, for new roots produce new plants and new fruits.

A new man will emerge out of the contradictions and bankruptcy of the capitalist era—a man who will not be a slave to property but who carries on the banner of progress and scientific advancement wherever he will go. Civilisation which now means tyranny of the property-owners over the wage-slaves, will give place to a World Co-operative Commonwealth of all human beings who collectively own the means of production and who enjoy equally the fruits of their labour. In short, the new man will not be civilised. He will be human.

This is a prediction justified by history and social science. Civilisation has not been in existence from the beginning of creation. There was primitive communism and then barbarism which preceded civilisation. We know it for certain that the essential

feature of our civilisation is private property and that all its culture, progress and thought is rooted in private property.

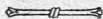
We also know that our society changes and develops through class-struggles which will finally prove a powerful explosive to all our social institutions. It is because of the presence of bitter class-struggle in our society that our civilisation based on private property is doomed to destruction.

Under the new social order, men and women will cease to be masters

and slaves, and become true human beings. They will be released from the cruel oppression of private property. They will create a culture under which each individual will be given a free play in the expression of all human passions, of which he is at present deprived owing to the unnatural property relations.

Such a prospect as this will not naturally be liked by people who run away from creative life. But to some of us it is the only object worth aiming at.

This is why we do not all agree that civilisation has to be saved.



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LEAGUE OF ASIATIC AND AFRICAN NATIONS

By K. A. Charry



The proposal to start "League of Asiatic and African Nations" during the forthcoming Jubilee of the National Congress sounds very comical, but for the fact that the suggestion emanates from the president of the B.P.C.C. Such a League, says Mr. K. F. Nariman, will be an effective check to the League of Nations of the west which is dominated by the western powers to be of any effective service to the eastern nations; and in the event of our being victimised the Pan-Asiatic scheme will unite all to take concerted action against the west till proper amends are made. Mr. Nariman believes that trade and commerce, which is the main motive of Imperialism, would be paralysed and brought to its knees by the potential weapon of economic boycott. In the same strain the Editors of some Bombay papers comment on it pointing out how, many feel that the proposed lead will be the best ever taken up by the Congress.

The Pan-Asiatic scheme or to be more precise Asiatic-African scheme has a history behind it and as in history, the actors and their life-philosophy change from time to time. With the dawn of the 20th century it became ever more clear to Japan that she will have to reckon with Czarist Russia and in this she sought co-operation of the Chinese people by advancing the thesis of unity among Asiatic people against the west. In the war that ensued Japan emerged victorious and after a time began the annexation of Korea. It was rude shock to Dr. Sun Yet Sen the republican leader of China, but he did not completely shed the fond illusion of amity

among the Asiatic Nations until 1917 when a large number of Chinese students came out with a protest demonstration against the policy of cooperation with the Japanese aggressor. In 1922 at the Baku Congress the idea of uniting all the struggling nations of the east against foreign aggression was worked out by Lenin, the leader of the Russian Revolution and the world communist movement. He called for a conference of the oriental peoples and set before them a programme of Democratic National Revolution, freedom from Imperialist domination and the despotic rule of the feudal war-lords. Lenin's thesis of a united National front worked on smoothly for a time. The Kuomintang Nationalist party of China (Chinese National Congress) in alliance with the working class and the peasantry carried on a victorious warfare against the militarist war-lords and the foreign imperialism. As the revolution deepened and agrarian movement unfolded itself, the Chinese capitalists and landlords, who were holding the key position in the Kuomintang Party, beat a hasty retreat with the aid of the terrorist gangs known as 'Blood Brothers'. They massacred the advanced sections of the revolutionary army and the communists who were leading the anti-imperialist struggle. Thus the anti-imperialist united national front broke up; the Kuomintang Nationalist party became openly counter-revolutionary. To this day they are waging a holy war of extermination against all anti-imperialist, all anti-Japanese activities in China. They are surrendering

province after province to Japan, without even a show of fight. The alliance between the Japanese imperialism and the traitorous Chinese bourgeoisie is thus complete. Japan now anxiously casts a glance at India. In India the situation is entirely different. Unlike China there is no corrupt monarchy, no ill-trained military in India. The most up-to-date R. A. F. guards the frontiers; the Singapore Naval Base and the Royal Indian Marine patrol the sea. Japan can stage no "chapei" here without certain destruction. In such a situation Japan has set afloat the old slogan of Pan-Asiatic movement under entirely different circumstances against western suzerainty in the East. Thus the "defiant sturdy Jap" as Mr. Nariman patronisingly call them, has emerged as "the defender of the rights and privileges of the coloured peoples". And the Congress president reacts sympathetically after being rudely shaken in the last Civil Disobedience movement. Could it be possible to set up the Eastern monster against the west, intimidate the latter by singing peans to the "union of coloured peoples." "In this of course Nariman knows no other intimidation than economic sanctions and would quite "innocently" reduce the republican revolutionary-Sun-Yet Sen, Kemal etc. into champions of economic boycott.

The "League" has deeper philosophical meaning. At the present time the rank and file of the Congress tired of the high sounding promises of Gandhian Ram Raj are turning to the west for advanced revolutionary philosophies. Except for the small coterie around Gandhiji whose vision is dazzled by his spiritual eminence or by their own class interest, the average Congressman looks to the west for a radical philosophy and greedily absorbs the theories of socialism formulated by Marx, Engels and Lenin.

This swing to the "Left", towards the socialist and Communist thoughts

of the west must be counter-acted if the National Congress is to keep its hold over the masses of people. The revolutionary unity of the oppressed masses of all lands must be debased into unity of the "coloured" peoples against the "colourless" on the basis of culture, religious affinity, geographical boundaries, all except the hated class-war unity. The League of Asiatic and African Nations is not mere love of closer relations with our yellow brothers over the frontiers and the blacker races in the central Africa, not a unity of weak nations against the European domination—East against West—but a move to camouflage the realities of the present day struggle, to side-track the attention from divergent interests that manifest itself in the national struggle, the struggle of the oppressed and exploited against the oppressors, from a desire to substitute the reactionary ideology of Asiatic feudalism in place of revolutionary-socialist inter-nationalism.

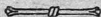
Today it is no longer possible to speak of the East versus West in the sense of subject nations versus Imperialist oppressors. In the West—Mexico, South America and Cuba are throttled by American Imperialism and kept in subjection under the threat of U. S. navy. In Europe, Germany thirsts for the dismemberment of Ukaine from Soviet Russia, annexation of Austria, Lithuania and so on. In the east Japan has already annexed Korea and Manchukuo from China and is pressing forward for the occupation of Inner Mangolia and the whole of china with an eye on the Soviet Union.

In this situation any task of Asiatic League of Nations would be to play into the hands of Japanese Imperialism, who after rejecting the League Council wants to strengthen its hands by rallying around it all the eastern nations.

The Indian people struggling for emancipation from one imperialism

cannot be interested in entrenching the position of either any other Western Imperialism or the aggressive Japanese militarism in the East. What is required is a League of Colonial Peoples and oppressed classes against Imperialism. The National Congress should immediately forge ahead and strengthen without waiting till the Jubilee. Such a League can

alone be an effective answer to the Western and Eastern tyrants and serve the cause of liberating humanity towards higher social progress. As a matter of fact already such a league is in existence and if the National Congress does not see its way to join and strengthen, the masses of people will realise it through the necessities of struggle against Imperialism.



CONTRADICTIONS IN ROOSEVELT REGIME

In this article written in the issue of "The Plebs" Ellen Wilkinson argues that President Roosevelt's N. R. A. programme in the United States has plunged that country into serious contradictions of Capitalism, and shows how the programme is necessitating the state to acquire fresh markets for the development of American Big Business. He writes :

"Many explanations are given of the American smash. The thing to keep clear is that the main cause of the trouble was the widening of the Gap between the productive power of the masses in the United States and the purchasing power allowed to them. During the "prosperity period" of 1923 to 1929 the incomes of top half-million increased by 230%. The wages of the workers for whom any returns are available increased by just under 5%...The agrarian crisis—the farmers couldn't buy the protected machine products—began in 1928. By 1929 the gap widened further. Plants closed. The market crashed. . .

"Franklin Roosevelt came to power as the nominee of a rigid political machine. His two tasks were, according to that machine, to give as many state jobs as possible to faithful democrats, and second—quite a long second—to try to get the capitalist machine

working again. He handed out 850 million dollars to re-establish private banking, which he could have taken for far less as a public utility. He gave workers by the famous clause of the National Recovery Act, 7 A, the right of collective bargaining. At the same time he relieved the employers of the embarrassments or the anti-trust laws. Code wages, code Unionism swept U. S. A. Big Business thought it saw the red signal. So Roosevelt agreed to company unions. Enforcement of Code unions languished. The capitalists vigorously enforced the price-fixing arrangements, the new freedom from even the shadow of legislative disapproval.

"The net result of this Zig-Zag was that after two years the gap between the productive and consuming power had actually widened. The tide of Rooseveltian popularity began to ebb. The first signs of that were the adverse verdicts in the courts. Any petty little judge could declare some aspect of the Recovery legislation unconstitutional. . . .

"The President himself was clearly frightened by the anti-capitalist feeling he had himself called forth. One by one his progressive councillors have been sacrificed. Only within the sheltering fold of the Biggest Business does Roose-

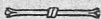
vult feel safe. They are content to allow him to restrain the little gamblers, the men with slender margins.

" . . . As he (Roosevelt) failed to attack the system—of which he really approves—the voices of the Fascists are heard in the land. Huey Long and Father Coughlin owe their strength, as Hitler and Mussolini owed theirs, to the disappointment of the people with saviours who try to mitigate the effects of capitalism without attempting to solve its fundamental contradictions.

"Roosevelt has tried to meet the position, as the Labour Government of 1929 tried to meet it here—by public works and increased doles. On a vast enough scale that might ease the pressure some-what. But it means more taxation than the capitalist class is prepared to pay.. Neither Congress nor

senate dare oppose the four billion dollar appropriations openly. But as the tide of public support of Roosevelt wavers, the senate joins with Congress in supporting the Veterans' Bonus F.D.R. must veto this to save his work schemes. The senate knows this. Cleverly Roosevelt is being manoeuvred into taking the responsibility for unpopular actions—as the German Social Democratic leaders were.

" . . . In December of last year he (Roosevelt) made the famous speech at Nashville, in which he dropped all talk of "America hauling herself up by her own boot-straps." He said, "America's only hope is to capture foreign markets." In the world of today that would mean war. Last year the Budget war appropriations were 580 million dollars. This fiscal year, 899 millions are provided for. . . . "



A Short Story

THE FALL OF A ZAMINDAR

By

Ghantasala Venkata Subbarao

Ram Prasad was the idol of his village. He was the largest landed proprietor in his district and was loved for the milk of human kindness which flowed profusely in his veins. He had a single plot of land about 1600 acres in extent besides a big garden and house sites. In the sowing and harvesting seasons, the labourers in the neighbourhood considered it a pleasure, privilege, and even a piece of good luck, to be employed by him; for he gave them wages regularly every evening, measured them grain with a big seer, and would give them two days' wages as bonus for their work during

a whole season. He lent them small sums of money generally on easy terms of interest, and sometimes even free of interest. During every harvesting season (as also the sowing season) he employed a teacher to give them lectures on sanitation, thrift and such other topics useful to them. There was also every night the magic lantern entertainment. He had also opened a co-operative bank in his village and succeeded in persuading every labourer to open a savings bank account. Thus in the course of a couple of years, the labouring class in that neighbourhood, which was the untouchable class, was

weaned of its spendthrift habits and successfully freed itself from the clutches of the drink evil.

Ram Prasad commenced this experiment in Labour regeneration only two years back. Since each labourer opened an account in the village savings bank, the depositors vied with one another in possessing larger balances to their credit in the bank; and thus they vied with each other in reducing their expenses to the minimum. There was not one labourer that had taken a loan from Ram Prasad who had not repaid it with interest and possessed a savings Bank account.

Ram Prasad was overjoyed at the success of his experiment in the regeneration of Labour and determined to extend it. He opened in his farm a day-school for children and a night school for adults, himself bearing the expenses of their maintenance; so that there was not one adult or child above eight in that community of labourers, about 700 odd souls, who did not know the three R's.

Ram Prasad then initiated them into the habit of Newspaper reading. They learnt about the activities of labourers abroad; of the treatment meted to their class in industrial cities, of strikes, labour unions and so on.

As Ram Prasad's efforts at regenerating the labouring community were bearing richer and ever richer harvests, his ambitions about their prosperity soared to higher and ever higher regions.

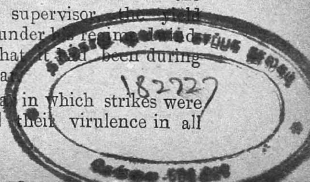
His efforts so far conducted towards making the community thrifty, literate and virtuous; but his dream was not only to see them contented and free from the numbers of the 'chill of penury,' but to see them as landholders. His wish also was that they should live together as one family by holding plots of land contiguous or at least very near each other. A plot of 1000 acres was seemed to the depressed community. Each family got about two acres. Each

family spent a hundred rupees, drawing the respective amount from his savings bank account, on this land. They worked on this field incessantly and after two years each family got an annual yield of two candies of paddy.

Ram Prasad's ambition was realised to the full. His son just then returned from England after a long commercial education. Syam Prasad, the only son of Ram Prasad, was now about 26 years of age. In many respects he was a contrast to his venerable father. Since Syam Prasad left for England, his father devoted his time, his energy and part of his income for the upliftment of the depressed community in his neighbourhood and had evolved them into an educated, respectable, clean and thrifty community which could compare very favourably with the so-called high castes. Syam Prasad was an aristocrat by birth, an autocrat by nature and an imperialist by training. He had witnessed in Hyde Park huge demonstrations of labourers for better wages, and felt an impulse at such congregations to shoot them like wild dogs. He was therefore dissatisfied to learn on his return home that his father had spent much money on that community of "curs" and converted them into "socialists."

This feeling of dissatisfaction at his father's "extravagance" and "socialism" soon curdled into hate; but before that feeling fused into hotter sentiments his father died suddenly; so his wrath descended on the "socialist community." The school in his farm was closed and the teachers dismissed. In the harvest season this community was not employed and labourers were imported from the neighbourhood. As it was too mean for him to attend to agricultural operations even in the capacity of a supervisor, they pulled from his farm under the pretext of being led to half of what had been during the previous year.

It was the year in which strikes were rampant in all their virulence in all



the industrial cities of India; so Syam Prasad was unemployed for several months. This period was succeeded by a period in which "provincial" feeling reared its ugly head; and this again by the great wave of economic depression which swept over the country and washed away several mills from the economic map. Thus our England returned 'specialist' Syam Prasad had to taste the bitter cup of long unemployment.

But while the economic depression shut for him the gates of employment, it flung open the gates of politics. There arose a bye-election for the Legislative Council from his district and he decided to contest it. But a zamindar happened to be his rival; so though he spent to the tune of 15,000, he was defeated. The election launched him into debt, so his gardens were sold away. Then came shortly afterwards the Taluq Board elections. He was elected a member but the expenses necessitated the sale of his house sites. He offered himself for the presidentship. The zamindar who had defeated him in the Legislative council bye-election was now also his rival for the presidentship. Syam Prasad was boiling with resentment and rage against the zamindar for always coming in his way and determined to teach him a lesson even if it should cost him the sale of his farm-his only remaining property. The zamindar was not afraid. He had extorted with great severity the rents due to him from his tenants even though it was the worst period in living memory for the agriculturists. He had already spent several lakhs on elections and was already so steeped in debt and so far gone in election wine that a few lakhs more of debt would not deter him from the election.

The contest was keen and the canvassing brisk. Syam Prasad advertised for sale his whole farm. He approached the depressed class Taluk board member to

give him his vote. The member promised him his vote on condition that he should sell his farm to the Depressed class socialist union for a lakh; and to this condition election fury made him assent. Each member of this union withdrew from his savings bank account all he had to his credit and each also took a loan from the cooperative bank and thus paid away the sale amount of one lakh.

The harshness with which the zamindar exacted rents from the tenantry brought upon him the odium of the electorate (which reflected in the votes of the electing members) and he was defeated in the presidential election. But hardly had a few months elapsed when came the G. O. like a bolt from the blue of the abolition of the Taluq Boards!

Syam Prasad had become known as a pauper. The Labour community repaid the loan it had taken from the cooperative bank after a few months of hard labour and each got nearly three acres out of Syam Prasad's farm. Thus each family of that class had about five acres of land.

The Labour community had since the death of Ram Prasad improved greatly all round. They were now a colony of blue-blooded, full-fledged socialists. They remembered with gratitude the luminous sun that radiated socialistic principles in their neighbourhood and they felt great pity for his unworthy son. They offered Syam Prasad a share in their land and appointed him as a permanent teacher for educating their families.

Syam Prasad hated his father in his last days. The charity of the socialists illumined the memory of his father and he venerated it. He appreciated his father's services for the depressed class and its gratitude in return shown to him.



TWENTY-ONE YEARS AGO !!

Twenty-one years ago commenced a war, in which millions of the working class suffered death and mutilation for the greater glory and profit of their capitalist masters. Not that the issue was presented quite so bluntly; the supreme aim, the British working class was told, was to make the recurrence of war forever impossible. And now, twenty-one years after the "War to end War," the phrase, "the next war," is beginning to become a commonplace; world expenditure on armaments has reached astronomical figures, and paternal governments seek to instruct civil populations how best to conduct themselves when subjected to poison-gas attacks.

Although "to end war" was the supreme aim, there were also lesser, subordinate, aims. The "World was to be made safe for Democracy," we were told. It was made so safe that most of the post-war democratic constitutions have already given place to dictatorship in one form or another, and where democratic forms of government still survive, "defence of democracy" continues to provide a basis for solemn pronouncements and flaming appeals.

Twenty-one years ago Prussian militarism was presented as the implacable enemy of civilisation. To-day, for the time being, the friendliest relations exist between our capitalist masters and the Nazi dictatorship in Germany, dictatorship which, in its laudation of militarism, its cynical disregard of, and contempt for, all that civilisation is supposed to represent, would make a Prussian Junker of the old school blush with embarrassment.

We were also assured that the rights of small nations, of racial and national minorities, were to be safeguarded; to-day Jew-baiting is becoming increasingly popular, the persecution of

national minorities goes on apace, while Imperialist Japan plunders a stricken China, and Mussolini prepares to "civilise" Abyssinia.

Twenty-one years ago, at the outbreak of the war, either the utmost confusion prevailed among those parties claiming to represent working-class interests, or, as in the case of the British Labour Party, they openly placed their services at the disposal of the capitalist class. Only the Socialist Party of Great Britain openly proclaimed its firm adherence to the principles of international working class solidarity, and urged the British working class to oppose its own class interests to that of the capitalists by organising together with the workers of all countries for the overthrow of capitalism, here and elsewhere.

To-day, there is every indication that the same people who deluded the workers then, are prepared to do the same again. The Labour Party talks about the need for defending "collective security," "democracy," and the League of Nations. Bolshevik Russia proclaims the "indivisibility of peace," and hastens to recognise the justification of capitalist armed forces to maintain that peace—providing, of course, that the capitalist Power concerned is well disposed towards Russia.

To-day, just as twenty-one years ago, the Socialist Party asserts that as long as capitalism exists, so does the danger of war, and that the only way to abolish war is to abolish the cause of war—a social system based upon the private ownership of the means of wealth production. To that end the Socialist Party appeals to the workers to organise consciously for the overthrow of capitalism, by winning political power for the establishment of Socialism.

A. H. M.

LABOUR PARTY DISSENSIONS.

The Socialist Standard writes:—

Nearly thirty years ago the Labour Party was formed out of the various organisations which had made up the Labour Representation Committee. Before the formation of the Labour Party, trade union leaders seeking to become members of Parliament did so mostly under the patronage of the Liberal Party. The change meant that there was now a working-class political organisation with trade union backing aiming to get control of the machinery of government in the interests of the working class—or so it appeared to its optimistic supporters.

Many thousands of working men and women believed that it provided the solution to their economic problems. With all its faults and limitations the early Labour Party was of a distinctly working-class character, and most of its prominent members were workers from the factory and mine. There were also a sprinkling of "intellectuals" and the inevitable political adventurer (Mr. R. MacDonald in his letter to Keir Hardie when applying for membership stated as his reason for joining the Labour Party the fact that the Liberal Party would not choose him as a candidate for Parliament!).

Time has brought changes. The Party has grown, has been the Government and has tasted the sweets of office. Many of its prominent members whose chests in their youth wore the sashes of their trade unions, now wear the decorations of another sort. A few erstwhile "reds" and "enemies of society" have reached the House of Lords. Much anxiety is shown on the important questions of what to wear for royal and State functions by former working men who in the eighties were anxious about obtaining a "tanner" a day for the dockers.

That the Labour Party is not, and never was a Socialist party we have shown all along. Nevertheless, it was quite probable in its early days that many of its leaders believed it to be the only party which the worker, in his own interests, could support. To-day, however, after holding the reins of office, the appearance of the Labour Party to its members has changed considerably. A series of incidents connected with a by-election at Putney in November, 1934, illustrate this change.

Putney had always been regarded by the Labour Party as a "middle class" area, and its candidates had never been successful there. When the seat at Putney became vacant the Labour Party's candidate was a Mr. Mander who had been chosen by the local organisation twelve months earlier. Other by-elections in 1934 in areas similar to Putney caused officials of the Labour Party to believe that their chances of success were considerably improved, partly because there had arisen quite a lot of anxiety about war. Despite its own war-time record, and relying on the proverbial short political memory of working-class electors, the Labour Party came out as a party of peace, and exploited the peace sentiment for all it was worth. The chances of success at Putney having improved, high officials of the Party intervened and persuaded Mr. Mander—not without the use of pressure—to stand down in favour of another candidate. Members of the Putney Labour Party resented the back-door methods used to induce Mander to stand down. They also flatly refused to accept as their candidate the nominee of the officials, a Mr. Bowles, whose claims for fitness to represent the Labour Party in Parliament, according to statements submitted by the officials to the Putney Labour Party, were

his wealth, his financial connections in the City and the numerous motor-cars at his command. The Putney Labour Party was successful in thwarting the Headquarters officials, but the result was that the Putney Party was suspended.

Many lessons are to be learned from the Putney by-election. The Labour Party has reached the stage at which it is unwilling to be associated with ideas of destroying the private property rights of the capitalist class. Its chief business more than ever now is to get itself elected. It chooses its programme of social reforms solely with an eye to getting votes. In this it is little different from the openly capitalist parties.

There are, of course, members of the Labour Party who criticise the way the machine is run, among them the expelled members of the Putney group. They say that they do not want the Party to seek electoral success on a non-Socialist programme, nor do they want candidates foisted on the local organisations by the Headquarters officials. They want men chosen by themselves for their principle, not for their wealth and social standing. All of which sounds very well, but is really an empty dream. A movement such as the Labour Party can be successful or unsuccessful at elections according

to the swing of the political pendulum and the nice choice it exercises in drawing up its programme, but it cannot turn itself into a Socialist Party. Its membership and officials, its funds and its structure are what they are because of the theories on which the Party has been built up. It cannot cut itself off from its past and become something entirely different. Even were it possible for the Party now to be run in the way the Putney rebels say they desire—on a strictly Socialist non-reformist programme—that would be the end of the Party. It would disappear as the largest opposition Party and potential future Government, and its millions of votes would attach themselves elsewhere, to a Party offering the reforms they have been taught by the Labour Party (and by the Putney group) to value. The Putney rebels are deceiving themselves. Their choice is not between running the Labour Party as a great vote-catching machine or running it as if it were a Socialist Party, for the latter is impossible. If they want the kind of immediate electoral success the Labour Party offers they must seek it in the Labour Party and work for it by the methods they profess to dislike. If, on the other hand, they want Socialism they must seek it in the Socialist Party of Great Britain.

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STUDENTS AND POLITICS

By H. N. Mukerjee, M.A., B. Litt. Oxon., Barrister-at-law,

(Lecturer in History and Politics, Andhra University.)

There seems to be an academic convention in our country that students at Universities should take no part in politics. Some of the more liberal institutions may permit their students the questionable luxury of discussing, in an atmosphere of unreality, such political questions as are judged to be fairly innocuous. It is not unoften, thus, that we hear reports of University eloquence, weighty to none but the orators themselves, on such topics as the inanity or strength of the League of Nations, the reconcilability or otherwise of nationalism and internationalism, the relevance of exact science to human progress and the like. With a kind of furtive courage, some University Union may even debate the pros and cons of—let us say, Congress acceptance of office under whatever constitution our masters may want us to work at a particular time. But there a line has to be drawn; the authorities would frown upon inconvenient student freedom that may have deleterious effects, to their minds, on the maintenance of discipline. And so it comes about that, generally speaking, there is a ban on active discussion of contemporary political issues on the part of the students, not to mention their participation in actual political struggles. They have often been told on 'Degree Days' by solicitous Vice-Chancellors that they must not allow the pursuit of their studies to be disturbed by extra-academic elements. Their normal task, one hears, is not to be conspicuous in

political life. Mature men and not callow youths who lack that prudence and ripe experience and soundness of judgment which is so essential in politics and can only be attained in the battle of life, should undertake the business of politics. The enthusiasm of youth must not lead to the delusion that the complex machinery of the State can be profitably criticised and discussed without adequate training and laborious preparation. Academic pursuits—the study of Economics and of political thought, of history jurisprudence and constitutional law, among other subjects—must never be disturbed by the rude shocks of political life. Students must not overlook, with impunity, that their task is to devote themselves to the quite and steady, acquisition of physical, intellectual and moral habits that are conducive to their mental health. Affiliation to a party means for them the loss of academic freedom, the essential pre-requisite to self-education and culture; it may even demand intellectual slavery, the renunciation of the right to test, to doubt, to see and judge everything with their own eyes. Such are some of the apparently formidable arguments used to dissuade students from an active interest, and occasional participation, in politics.

It must be made clear at the outset that no exaggerated importance need be attached to the qualities of youth in politics or in any other sphere. It is little more than demagogic sentimentalism to sing paeans, generally futile,

of youth as the nation's only hope for the future. To tickle the very pardonable vanity of our young hopefuls is not the same thing as the genuine recruitment of their services for the commonweal. The mere fact of age is no barrier to receptivity, to originality, to creativity. Ripeness of knowledge, of experience, of insight, is as, a matter of fact, the prerogative of age; it is not given to youth to see life steadily and see it whole. Leadership, thus, should as a rule be with age rather than with youth, always with the proviso, however, that age has not withered the golden bloom of Youth. The Karl Marx who wrote "Capital" and founded the International, is an infinitely greater man than the Karl Marx who contributed remarkable articles to the "Rheinische Zeitung." This acknowledgment of the primacy of age is not, however, for a moment to decry the peculiar qualities that youth brings to bear upon whatever task it undertakes. To ignore youth, to anathematise its ardour to mould the world nearer the heart's desire is, in Pericles' famous words, to take the spring out of the year.

Let it not be imagined that the advocates of participation by students in politics are blind to our educational requirements. As a matter of fact, they have a sounder conception of the methods of educational progress. What educationist is there in India who does not feel the enormity of the difficulties in our way? He only sustains his hope of a better order by his dreams of a powerful evangel that shall send out educational missionaries to every corner of our land. He counts upon the services, I am sure, of the youth of India who, if anyone, must undertake the stupendous task. He must not be under the comfortable delusion, however that our youngmen and women—for the women will have to come, too—will come forward, actuated by nothing but a single-track educational idealism, to shoulder the burden. Unless

our educationists make common cause with the social economic and political movements for our regeneration, they will never succeed in harnessing the generous impulses of our youth to the task they have so much at heart. Unless, that is to say, our students are actively encouraged to take an intelligent interest, and if need be, actually participate, in such movements, we shall not find them forthcoming as volunteers in an educational crusade. If this is conceded, there is no reason why there should be any insistence on our students keeping scrupulously away from politics, which after all is only a convenient name given to the many nation-building activities that are going on or soon will have to begin in earnest in our country. Our students must not merely have a detached, academic interest in our national movement; they must give it continuous and absorbing attention. They must not fight shy of the perils that might follow, and above all, they must not seek shelter behind the faked cry of "intellectual freedom." If intellectual freedom means the right to remain perennially aloof from life-and-death struggles and pronounce fiat on them from a comfortable distance, we must refuse to touch it with the end of a barge-pole. We must not cherish the kind of independence that only makes the independent undependable when his services are imperatively needed.

It would be a truism to point out the amount of work that has been done in various foreign countries by students of resurgent nations. We are not ourselves unaware of certain recent movements that have called us, ever so earnestly, to action, to sacrifice. Circumstanced as we are, we cannot but have a special attitude to our national politics. We cannot shut our eyes and ears to all the winds that blow. There are times when to many of us, students as well as others, politics is our absorption by day and our dream by night.

It simply cannot be helped; we are in the current and it is no good trying to play a superior game of aloofness. There is no denying that our students can only be better prepared for their role in such circumstances, which in India are bound to recur at intervals in the near future, if they are actively encouraged in their interest in political, economic and social problems that are so intimately intertwined, and are adjured never to immolate themselves in academic hermit cells.

Our social movement needs workers, and where on earth are we to recruit them from, if we are asked to ignore our students? As things are, we find most of our students mildly interested in politics, very frequently sympathetic to radical notions, but rarely prepared for a unity of theory and action, for a sacrifice of financial prospects which often are a kind of will-o'-the-wisp, for a possible break of family ties. But it is no good our shirking the most pressing work. If we decide that we need a radical reorganisation of society, we must have men to do the job. These men must prepare themselves at school and college for work on ideological and practical fronts. They must be—at least, many of them—whole-time workers, ready for small discomforts; to pluck a rose, one cannot always prevent a pluck, a slight blood-letting. We shall not find our workers from among the students—and we must have the students, for they are among the best fighters—unless they know that they are in for, and get ready for their tasks. Without a continuous, intelligent interest in national and international politics, without the feeling encouraged by teachers and others, that their duty above all duties is to the social order, they are useless. Only those who are uninterested in an Indian renaissance will ban student participation in politics.

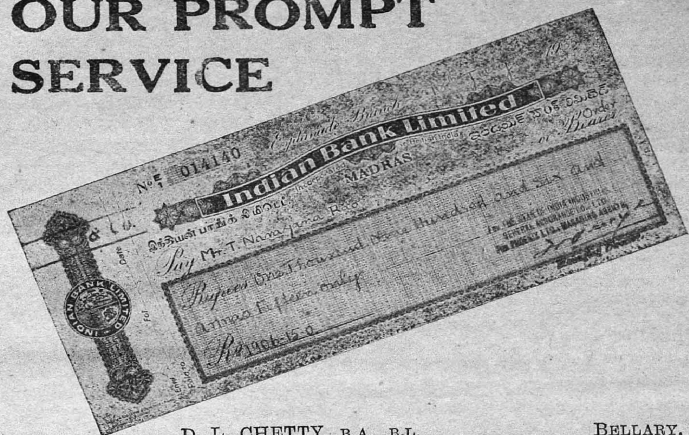
There is no reason why we should not have in our University such

societies as the Oxford University Labour Clubs, the October Club (Oxford Communists), the Cambridge University Socialist Society, or Union Societies with the freedom to discuss everything under the sun. Not so very long ago, the Oxford Union Society passed a motion, advertised all over the world, that its members would refuse to fight for king and country. The popular press overestimated the importance of this motion no doubt; it did not certainly mean that England was going pacifist. But it did mean that there is, among England's youth, a growing perception of the banality of modern warfare, of the crime of jingoism. Our students must be given similar freedom to assert themselves and their opinions. It is not uncommon for British University students to speak on behalf of their political parties, not only at election time, but also during the period of nursing the electorate. I imagine if some of our students address public meetings on behalf of, say a socialist party, they would be brought to book by stern disciplinarians.

It is high time there was strong protest against the senseless interference with students' freedom to express themselves on matters that touch them so nearly. The writer of these lines recalls that on November 11, 1933, the anniversary of Armistice Day, he was one of a procession of students who went by the residence of an obscurantist Oxford Vice-chancellor who had banned open criticism of the University Training corps as a limb of militarism, shouting the slogan: "Free speech against War!" He remembers with a shock that anything like such a demonstration would have no chance today of materialising in his own country.

The demand for students being allowed to take part in politics is not just youthful presumption. It comes, I take it, from those who do not intend a struggle between youth and age. There is no question that experience will tell

**A TESTIMONIAL
TO
OUR PROMPT
SERVICE**



D. L. CHETTY, B.A., B.L.,
Advocate :

BELLARY,
30th July 1935.

THE MANAGING AGENTS,

The Star of India Industrial & General Assurance Co. Ltd.,
8, SEMBUDOSS STREET, MADRAS.

Dear Sirs,

**Ref. Claim on Policy No. 1050 issued on the life of
Mr. T. Venkoba Rao, Tholimamudi :—**

I am glad to state that THE STAR OF INDIA INDUSTRIAL AND GENERAL ASSURANCE COMPANY LIMITED, MADRAS, was very prompt in making payment of Rs. 2000 due on the life policy of T. Venkoba Rao. The Company was really anxious to settle the claim and actually helped the claimant to complete the claim papers with due regard to its own safety. Within 3 days of receipt of proof of death and proper proof of title, the amount was sent. After all the Policyholder had paid only one half yearly premium and before the second became due death intervened. I wish the Company all prosperity.

Yours truly,
(Sd.) D. L. CHETTY.

Wanted Agents and Organisers on decent commission and salary.

For particulars apply to:—

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Industrial and General Assurance Co., Ltd.,
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that leadership will naturally be vested in those whose knowledge of men and things is deeper. Youth demands only the right to supply the rank and file; many of them, all in time, will step on to officer-rank. Youth demands, unashamed, that its sense of having a role to play in national life must not be stifled. It is for age to see that if society is to be placed on saner foundations than at present, it must recruit most of the workers from among the youth of the country. But if our youth will not be ready for the call to arms in

the social struggle, the movement will be automatically sabotaged, if they are not encouraged to take a deep interest in national problems and to hold themselves in readiness to respond when the call comes. We can only hope for the achievement of a newer and better social order when academic freedom is not defined and interpreted by successful men with but little social sense. The ban on student participation in politics must go, if we want our youth to help to light those candles which, one day, shall make the whole sky aflame.



THROUGH IMPERIALIST EYES

ZETLAND'S VIEWS ON INDIA

Lord Zetland has written a book on India. The volume consists of five chapters, the first of which, under the caption, "Great Britain's achievement in India," was contributed by Lord Zetland to the India number issued by the London "Times" in February, 1930, while the other four chapters entitled "the Report of the Simon Commission," "the Round Table Conference and after": "the Second Phase" and the "Report of the Joint Select Committee" were delivered from time to time, as lectures before the East Indian Association, London.

The name of the book and the titles of the chapters suffice to show that the volume is of immense interest to those who wish to know the views of the new Secretary of State with regard to India's constitutional problems, while the fact that they are the views not of a bookman or theorist, but of one who for thirty-five years has in one way or another been intimately connected with India cannot but invest them with a certain general importance.

The first thing that occurs to a dis-

passionate student of the volume, as, indeed to any one who followed Lord Zetland's career as Governor of Bengal in 1917-22 and who has since followed his utterances and activities at two out of the three Round Table Conferences, and as a member of the Joint Select Committee, is the deep-rooted conservatism of his mind.

To him the most noticeable thing which emerges from an examination of the history of constitutional development in India during recent years is not the slow pace at which things have been moving in this country, and the halting and inadequate response which Britain has at all stages made to India's demand for constitutional advance, but "the revolutionary change which the attitude of responsible opinion in England towards the whole problem of the Government of India has undergone, in a very very short space of time."

Now assuming for the sake of argument that there has been such a

change, the question is:—Is the phenomenon really so unusual and so marvellous as Lord Zetland asks us to believe? Was it not a great countryman of his, who in a famous speech delivered in the British House of Commons more than a century ago laid down the sovereign truth that “reformers have to move fast because bigots will not move early?”

Is it India's fault that for more than a hundred and sixty years after the commencement of Britain's connection with India her representatives and agents in India had no other and no better conception of Government for this country than that absolute and undiluted despotism, in spite of the wise words that occasionally fell from the lips of her Macaulays, her Brights and her Mills?

Is it India's fault that the very Viceroy who paid a glowing tribute to the 'new ideas' which had taken possession of the mind of India in consequence of Japan's victory over Russia, could think of no better future for this country than continued subjection to bureaucratic rule, and that a statesman who had all his life been a passionate advocate of Home Rule for Ireland could not foresee the time even in the dim, distant future when India could have that precious commodity?

The outstanding fact in the recent relations between Britain and India is not “the swift and revolutionary change” that has taken place in the attitude of the former, but the tardiness and the inadequacy of the change. It is only the essential conservatism of Lord Zetland's mind that makes him overlook the vital fact.

It is no matter for wonder that holding the views he does Lord Zetland should be a stout upholder of the recommendations of the Simon Commission and especially of its recommendation with regard to provincial autonomy, which appears to him to carry to its logical conclusion the policy laid

down in the famous Montagu declaration. “The magnitude of the change effected by the Act of 1919,” he says, “will become apparent if the outstanding recommendation of the Commission is given effect to, namely, that dyarchy be abolished and that in the provinces the whole field of administration be transferred to ministries responsible to the Legislative Council.”

Lord Zetland, while advocating the transfer of the whole field of administration to ministers responsible to the Legislative Councils, does nevertheless support the retention of many of these wide powers.

All the various evils of which the Simon Commission complained with regard to the working of dyarchy will reappear in one form or another. The Governor aided by the highest British Services, who will be exclusively responsible to him and to his official superiors, the Governor-General and the Secretary of State, and will be at his back and call, will play more or less the same role that the reserved half of the Government has been doing under dyarchy.

The Legislative Councils instead of attacking ministers, whom they will regard either as willing tools or as helpless instruments of an irresponsible authority, will concentrate their energies on attacking that authority in spite of the fact they will exercise no constitutional control over it. Lastly the wide powers of the Governor will still act as '*deus ex machina*' to make the wheels go round in all cases in which the Council will in any vital matter have taken decisions unacceptable to the Governor or of which he seriously disapproves.

To expect the tender plant of responsible government to grow up in such withering and blasting conditions is to betray a profound ignorance both of the history of self-government in other countries and of the law governing its growth.—*The People.*

EFFECTS OF CHEAP MONEY RATES

INDIA'S PITIABLE MONETARY SYSTEM

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta in the course of his speech at the 24th Annual General meeting of the Asian Assurance Company Ltd. made the following observations:—

The question which has often engaged the attention of your Directors is the cheap money rates which have now been in force for nearly four years. The easier bank rate has brought about a substantial rise in the prices of Government securities and of several industrial scrips; but the yield thereon has been consequently reduced. Government and public bodies have been able to convert their existing liabilities and to raise new capital on better terms than was possible for a decade. The field for investment on profitable terms has thus become restricted; ordinarily cheap money should stimulate industrial enterprise; it cannot however be claimed about industries in India. If steel, textile and sugar are able to keep themselves above water, the reasons are different; cheap money is certainly not one of them. The only certain result of cheap money has been to increase the pressure on the demand for Government securities and to encourage heavy speculation on the exchanges. Genuine industrial expansion seems to be still far off. Surplus funds from the proceeds of gold sales are seeking fresh channels of investment without finding them. On the one hand there are few solvent borrowers able to offer reasonable security for loans and advances and if banks and financing houses are unwilling to pile up a pyramid of frozen credits they

cannot be blamed; on the other hand usury flourishes more on the helplessness of the debtor than on his solvency. Between these two positions, the entrepreneur is somewhat paralysed and although some slight improvement has definitely ushered in, on the whole, the conditions following the protracted depression have tended to become stereotyped. This will be found to be true of all producing interests. The agriculturist and the industrialist are still seriously hard up. The former is unable to pay either rent, land revenue or interest and he finds his labours sterilized by the low level of prices while the latter has to remain content with precarious margins of profits if not continuous losses; both are further handicapped by additional taxation. When it is remembered that one rupee of taxation is very nearly two rupees worth in goods and services, the plight which has come over our producing interests will be easily intelligible. The revenue from Income Tax bears eloquent testimony to this continued stagnation of industrial and commercial activities. In spite of the increase in the rate of the tax and the surcharges and in spite of lowering the amount of assessable income from two thousand to one thousand rupees, the receipts from this source have remained stationary or have even gone down. While as producers the agriculturist and the industrialist are confronted with shrunken income, as taxpayers they are subjected to additional burdens far beyond their capacity. These conclusions will be

borne out by a study of prices, debt charges and receipts from taxation for the period between 1920 and 1935.

We thus get a real picture of the economic condition of India today. The reasons for continued stagnation are not far to seek. They are easily traced to our system of taxation, our tariffs and fiscal policies, in our heavy debt charges, and above all in the exchange and currency policy. Over a period of half a century this policy retains one constant feature, namely, that England will be the privileged importer of manufactured goods into this country and that India shall be compelled to sell her raw materials to England at prices favourable to the buyer only. The whole economic machinery of this country has to adjust itself year after year to this policy and the process of adjustment has certainly not been an easy one. The establishment of the Reserve Bank, notwithstanding the continuance of this policy is now being assured by Statute. A few facts should make this statement clear.

No country participating in international trade appreciated its unit of value after the war, in fact many depreciated it rather drastically and thereby wiped out or substantially reduced their debts. Italy depreciated her currency by 60%, France by 80%. Belgium by 85 per cent, while the currencies of Russia, Germany and Austria did not remain worth the paper on which they were printed; they were simply destroyed. Great Britain herself returned to her prewar parity only seven years after the Armistice. But it was reserved for this country to appreciate her currency

by not less than 12½ per cent. This was no accident; its only object, as its inevitable result, was to give protection to British Imports to this country over Indian manufactures to the extent of the appreciation and to force the growers of the primary commodities in this country to part with their produce even at a loss. The inevitable result followed; long before the world depression came, prices in India had gone down to uneconomic levels, enterprise was not much in evidence, wages fell, unemployment grew and insolvencies multiplied. Although on the 21st of September 1931 Britain abandoned the Gold standard, the rupee remained linked to sterling at the appreciated level. This gave British manufacturers an immediate protection of 30 p. c. in the Indian market against all gold standard countries which has steadily increased. The linking of the rupee with the paper sterling, however, remained to the British the advantages of the inflated rupee *vis a vis* the sterling. Moreover there are the Ottawa and other Preferences for increasing the imports of Great Britain into this country at the certain risk of reprisals from foreign countries like Germany and Italy. Such are the straits to which this country is reduced that an average of sixty crores worth of gold export has become necessary year by year to enable our people to pull through. The overwhelming majority of our people can boast of no saving from year's end to year's end. Only a self-governing India, mistress of her own destiny, can take us to a stage where she can reach the level of other nations in the matter of life insurance.

The New Age will make you A New Man

THE NATIONAL INSURANCE COMPANY, LIMITED.

In the first decade of 1900, Banking and Insurance in India was in the hands of foreigners and the few Banking and Insurance Companies that came into existence in that decade were all European ones. Since the partition of Bengal in 1907 which enthused Swadeshi spirit in the life of Indian political and economic questions, the Indian Insurance and Banking Companies began to get patronage from Indians. The National Insurance Company was established on 5th December, 1906 just on the eve of the Swadeshi movement and its record of progress during the last 28 years is an achievement which can rank very high among Swadeshi Insurance Companies of the country. Steady and conservative management has helped the Company to build up business of life insurance which is steadily growing every year.

The business in force at the end of 1932 was—Rs. 8,13,60,271 and it has risen by 1934 to Rs. 9,74,23,021. During the same period the Company's life assurance fund has risen from Rs. 1,82,17,164 to Rs. 2,40,13,781. The Company is not for spectacular rise in the figures of business procured, but the policy is more to give further facilities to the existing policyholders and at the same time to maintain a steady progress in business.

The Agents and the field workers are advised to pay particular attention to revival of the policies that may have lapsed and give all possible facilities in that connection. This has reduced the lapse ratio of the Company to a very great extent. E

The most important feature of the National which is rarely found in other Life Insurance Companies is the steady reduction in the percentage of ratio of expenses to premium income. The ratio of expenses which was 27.4 in 1933 has been reduced to 26.4 in 1934. The Company's bold policy of increasing the premium rate in view of the low yield on investments, will further decrease the expenses ratio in the coming year.

A glance at the list of securities attached to the latest Balance Sheet will convince anybody of the judicious investment policy adopted by the Managing Agents. Not only the investment is divided into mortgages, Govt. Securities, Municipal Debentures, Shares, House properties, but even in this judicious selection is made and Govt. Papers, Municipal Debentures or Shares have been so spread out that income is maintained without the risk of loss in capital. The Management though conservative, is not lacking in enterprise and this can be seen from the latest scheme of Child Insurance introduced by them. The implicit faith of public in the Company and its Management is borne out by the fact that in spite of the increase in premiums from the beginning of this year, the Company's business has maintained the same old progress.

We cannot close this review without congratulating the Company and its Managing Agents, Messrs. R. G. Das & Co., for the able management of the affairs of an institution which is not only National in name, but also in spirit.

THE ASIAN ASSURANCE COMPANY, LIMITED.

The record of the Asian Assurance Company, Limited, Bombay shows the following:—

New Business.

During the year 1934, 5,226 new proposals for insurance of the total value of Rs. 82,60,725/- were offered of which 3,990 proposals resulted into Policies of the total value of Rs. 61,63,920/- and the remaining were either declined or were awaiting completion.

The new business received during the year under report is the largest ever recorded in any single year by this Company.

Premium Income.

The Income under this head shows an increase from Rs. 9,20,151/- in 1933 to Rs. 11,16,891/- in the year 1934.

Income from interest, dividends and other sources increased from Rs. 1,47,693/- in 1933 to Rs. 1,86,761/- in 1934.

Claims.

The total number of claims during the year was 180 amounting to Rs. 2,61,470-8-10. Out of this Rs. 1,65,436-2-10 on 119 Policies were claims by death and the remaining Rs. 96,034-6-0 on 61 policies were claims due on maturity.

One of the satisfactory features has been that in no year have the claims exceeded the estimate.

Building Sinking Fund.

The Sinking Fund for the Company's Building is now very nearly Rs. 70,000/- which accumulating at 5% compound interest will amount to the full cost of the building within about 44 years. The lease of the plot of land on which the Company's building stands has a currency of 99 years of which only 15 are completed leaving a period of 84 years still to expire.

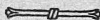
Investments.

The Investments of the Company are shown at their book value in the audited accounts. Owing to the easy condition in the money market and the continuously low rates of interest, our securities stand at a substantially higher figure than the cost price. This fact is an additional source of strength to the financial condition of the Company.

The accident Scheme sanctioned four years ago has been working satisfactorily as you will see from the accounts which are separately shown in the Balance Sheet.

The Silver Jubilee of the Company.

The Company will complete 25 years of its existence in the current year. The Company is considering various methods of celebrating the event and their plans and decisions will be made known within the next few months. By a happy coincidence the Jubilee Year will also be the valuation year of the Company.



HELLO MY LORD!

By BOOBY

I was sleeping in my room oblivious of what is happening to this world, nay to the whole universe itself. I did not care a bit for Mussolini's threat that all the black races of the world should be destroyed and the white man's superiority established, nor did I mind very much about Hitler's new drive against the jews and the refractory catholics. I was equally indifferent to the shooting at Mars by Parachutes experts and balloon climbers and I simply ignored the shouts of the newspaper boys that an aeroplane tragedy resulted in the death of some famous aviators. In the din and bustle of the surroundings, there was nothing I should care for and with the supreme satisfaction of having dodged the world by eating without working as many wealthy men do, (for I successfully manoeuvred with a friend of mine to give me coffee at his expense!) I was courting the goddess of sleep who did not fail to yield unlike some girls and was in her lap deeply immersed in her responding overtures. But that was not to be. Heavy sound and thunder like shouts as though emanating from insane beings rent the air and profoundly disturbed my quietude. I was not left to myself and in spite of my firm resolve to adhere to my job, my attention was diverted and I had to hear the shouts.

"New Viceroy for India, new Viceroy India!" What! new Viceroy for India. What about the old Viceroy. What happened to the Viceroy now living. All these questions cropped up in my mind. This is a matter I cannot ignore. I jumped up from my bed, rubbed my eyes and was all in attention to know what I heard was correct. Yes *it was correct.* I walked to the

street without minding what I was wearing and called a boy to give me a newspaper.

"His most gracious Majesty, King George V, Emperor of India, Defender of the faith, has been pleased to approve the appointment of the most Honorable the Marquis of Linlithgow, Kt., G.C.I.E., to be the Viceroy and Governor General of India in succession to His Excellency the Right Honourable the Earl of Willindon, P.C.G.M.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.M.I.E., G.P.E., whose term of office is due to expire in April 1936.

The following account appears about him.

The Marquis of Linlithgow, British politician and farmer was born "on September 24, 1887 educated at Eaton, he married Doreen Maud and has two sons and three daughters. He served in the European War and later commanded the first Lothian's and Border Armoured Car Company from 1920-26. He was civil Lord of the Admiralty and acted as Deputy chairman of the Unionist Party. He was president of the Navy League. He came out to India as Chairman of the Royal Commission on Indian Agriculture. He became the Chairman of the Joint Select Committee on Indian Constitutional Reforms 1933. Now he became the Viceroy of India.

My Lord:—I shouted. Our "benign British Government" have again conferred a boon upon this helpless country. How joyous and happy Indians will be when every one comes to know of this appointment. A farmer as a viceroy! The peasants of India will be immensely relieved to hear that one of their own kith has been chosen as the Viceroy! Even Vallabhai Patel will

have no quarrel with this selection as he also belongs to the farmer's class.

See the records and achievements of our viceroy designate. He is a farmer, married, has children, and has served in the Army, came to India to investigate how the farmers are living under the British rule. Now he is going to be in their midst and do them active service! Does not India consist of majority of farmers? Has the British Government not looked to the interests of the majority of Indians by making this selection? Still Indians are ungrateful to their masters! Has not the viceroy designate given them a constitution by being the chairman of the Select Committee and is it not but proper that he should be given the chance to see how the child of his own creation is faring. You may doubt for a minute how a farmer can handle a constitution. You may also think that the proper place for the farmer is the field and his instrument a plough. But our viceroy designate has decided to plough a lonely furrow by remaining in the field and shaping the sand and dust he comes into contact with. Being a farmer, he knows the qualities of the soil and the vicissitudes of the weather and you will know very shortly how he deals with them. But I have no patience to wait. I threw the paper aside and took the telephone. "Hello," I cried "Yes"

Put me in touch with Lord Linlithgow, London."

In a few seconds I got the answer. I had half a mind to threaten the telephone girl with dire consequences as I am communicating with an important person, if she did not get me the connection immediately.

"Hello, India, Booby speaking. Is Lord Linlithgow at home."

"What, Booby, speaking. Lord Linlithgow speaking. What do you want?"

"Hello, my Lord—I am, I am.—" I coughed a little and cleared my throat.

"I am a reporter. I want to talk to you my lord on very urgent matters and I hope my Lord, your Lordship will excuse me for the trouble I have given you." In the course of a sentence I said a dozen times "My Lor." (as I have learnt this at the High Court by observing the lawyers while addressing the Court).

"Yes, what am to I do for you, I am busy reading the congratulatory messages from India from the Princes, Landlords, Businessmen and some Congress Papers. Do you represent any Congress Paper?"

I felt embarrassed. I did not know what I should reply. But I mustered up sufficient courage and said that I am representing every paper that will care to print my articles and publish my interviews.

"My Lord. I have only a few questions to ask."

"Then do it at once. I am very busy."

"How did you get this job?"

"Well you know, Baldwin is a great admirer of pigs. I am Baldwin's loyal follower. I am a farmer and have many good fields and plenty of pigs. You know Baldwin is very fond of pig growing and we both became chums by admiring each other's pigs. Since last so many years we collaborate in other matters also and being a true conservative, I will not budge an inch from the path which Baldwin has chalked out and Baldwin has immense confidence in me. He appointed me the chairman of the Select Committee and now as the viceroy. Don't you know my service to India?"

"Plenty my lord. There is a very good opportunity to grow pigs here also my lord. We can make the best presents of them to Baldwin."

"May I know what your Lordship has decided to do with the congress and other political bodies."

"Why, I think my ancestor, the present viceroy has done everything necessary regarding them. Is there anything left for me to do?"

But he is a liberal and your Lordship is a Tory. Should you not outshine the present viceroy my Lord."

"Yes, yes, that is necessary. Being a conservative, I am a strong disciplinarian. If any one goes out of the constitution, I know I must make him obey. For this, I am already promised full support from all the Maharajas, zamindars, Landlords and many leaders of wealth and power. Public men who are anxious to work the constitution have assured their support. We have given to India everything Britain can give including myself and what more gift India expects?"

"My lord, opinion here is divided. In the Congress a lot of people want to work the reforms; but others want something different. Naturally those who want something more will fight to get their demands conceded.—....."

"Oliver Twisteh: Stop.....what fight, who will fight? I don't want any d—monkeying and all that. I know my duty and I will have my way. India—fighting?"

"His Lordship was laughing aloud. I was afraid the telephone may break, I waited for the laughter to subside and put another big question which finished

everything I had to do with the interview. I reserved it for the last as I scented that trouble may arise if I attempt to begin my talk with that. I mustered up sufficient courage and asked.

"My lord—What about the Socialists."

"Socialists? Are there in India also such pests. We have the same nuisance here. That is why I want to get away to India. But you say that there are Socialists in India too. Are they like our Macdonald here or the agents of Moscow?"

His Lordship seemed to think very much of this Moscow Business. I have heard even before that if any one is a good socialist, he is at once a Moscovite.

"There are socialists here. They will create trouble.

"No fear. I know how to deal with them. You know I was in the War Service. I was also the Lord of Admiralty, you can tell your Socialists that a Tory Viceroy is coming. Good-bye."

The telephone clicked. I yawned and put back the receiver. I remembered, "You can tell your socialists that a Tory Viceroy is coming." I also remembered a prominent socialist telling me, "We know who is coming as the Viceroy."

INDIAN OFFER TO OCCUPY BELFAST

The Socialist Standard writes:—

It is often urged in defence of the British occupation of India that the Indians are unable to keep the peace among themselves. Hindus, Sikhs, and Mohammedans are sometimes on such bad terms with each other about religious and other differences that riots occur and lives are lost. The British authorities then step in and try to keep the peace. This is all very well, but what are the Indians supposed to think

about the recurrent riots in Belfast, where Protestants are now refusing to work alongside Catholics, demand the dismissal of the latter, and mob those who do not at once clear out. Several lives have been lost, and many persons have been injured. Troops had to be called out to patrol the streets.

We are waiting to hear that the Indian National Congress has offered to occupy and pacify Belfast.

THE LAWYER AND THE PRESS

A FANTASTIC ACTION ON DISGUISED PUBLICITY.

By V. N. Nageswara Iyer

Toddles Weekly vs Chathkutti & another, was an amusing action brought by a Magazine - proprietor in 1938 against one Chathkutti (an eminent lawyer) and another under somewhat novel circumstances.

Chathkutti was a lawyer in a small town. He came of humble parents. But luck began to pat him early. It gave him for a wife Mahalakshmi the daughter of a prosperous lawyer, who in his turn gave him a well-equipped law library. His admiring uncle a solicitor, regularly fed him with work. Chathkutti had polished manners and a sweet tongue, if nothing else, to woo and retain his uncle's clientele. He succeeded so fast that he soon became the envy of his less endowed competitors. He knew it and believed that nothing succeeded like success. Judges and Juries often opined and expressed that he would be an asset to any bar. Ambition tickled and circumstances also so sweetly conspired that he felt he might expose his talents in a larger field and for bigger prices.

He transferred himself to the Metro-polis and settled down with a grim determination to succeed there. He sold out his belongings in the old place through auctioneers which helped him to get rid of old stuffs besides the by-product of some publicity to his movements. He loved lime-light and let nothing slip that put him on people's lips. His first appearance in Court was chronicled, rather strangely, in the same set of appreciative words, in all the dailies. He had his name and

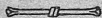
address published in 'Who is Who' with his likeness in robes.

Shortly thereafter, a periodical published a funny story in which the main character was one Chathkutti with sufficient humour and funny incidents that unsuccessfully disguised the hero from identification. Some of Chathkutti's friends thought that he was the hero; others thought that Chathkutti himself blew the trumpet through his obliging friend—the ostensible author. A few joked that the poor editor was let down by the disguise and the proprietor deprived of his advertisement revenue. Unluckily there are people who can never sleep over another's loss. The proprietor was subtly appraised of the comouflage. He consulted his solicitors and started this action, which for several days engaged the intellectual subtlety of a reputed commercial judge and a number of legal talents at the bar.

Briefly stated, the action was to restrain Chathkutti and his obliging friend from dumping on the Editor "Stories" for publication with the concealed object of giving free publicity to the former and to recover the price of publication of the above mentioned story treated as an advertisement. The action was opposed tooth and nail, as they say, on several conceivable and inconceivable grounds. Want of precedents appeared not a little to obstruct justice. An American case was cited as an analogy, in which a Toronto lawyer unsuccessfully sued to restrain a news-paper from continuing

to omit his name from the published reports of Court trials in which he successfully appeared as counsel. In Chathkutti's case a lot was spoken at the bar about privity of contract, liability of undisclosed principals, accepting with open eyes, and so on; and it was finally discovered that Chathkutti, in any event, could not be made liable. The Plaintiff found no use in pressing his action against the other defendant. No party was held to deserve an order for costs. The parties went out of court; but a law journal, however, wailed over the loss to the profession by the law arising in the case having been left undecided.

All the same, the Bar Council put up a notice the next day, as follows:—



NOTES AND COMMENTS

Abyssinia.

Abyssinia, the one independent country of Africa, a country ruled by a coloured monarch has suddenly shot up into world fame. The reason is obvious. Sgr. Mussolini with his ambition of Imperialist expansion has decided to launch an offensive against this country in order to subjugate it and bring it under the iron heel of fascist regime. He was conscious of his country's ignoble defeat at Adowa and he was only waiting for an opportunity to wreak his vengeance on the coloured race of Abyssinia and establish the supremacy of the whiteman's 'civilization.' The Italian masses under the sway of capitalist dictatorship are growing poorer and poorer every day and unemployment has become very acute in that country. Mussolini wants accommodation for the surplus population of Italy and intends to cool down the temper of the Italian masses by rousing the patriotic instincts of Italians thereby engaging their attention on Abyssinia and preventing a social

“Whereas it has come to the notice of this council that the practice of inspiring or suggesting news-paper notices or “stories” concerning members of the bar, whether by themselves or at their suggestion, ostensibly humorous in character but really intended to serve as publicity, is becoming more frequent in public prints, the council consider them to be against a high standard of professional morality, as they in effect amount to ‘solicitation.’ The Council therefore desire to express a warning that such conduct is improper and objectionable.”

Yet another hurdle in the path of a lawyer's progress! But one may achieve a lot before 1938.

revolution which otherwise would break out in his own country and finish his regime. This is the secret of Mussolini's refusal to agree for the arbitration of the dispute.

While England and France are willing to allow Italy economic concessions in Abyssinia (what harm is there in robbing Peter to pay Paul) they are not willing to allow Italy political domination of that country. If the two European powers are amenable to the dictation of Italy, then there is nothing left except Italian supremacy and conquest. But this would mean the sacrifice of colossal vested interests of Great Britain and France for which they are not prepared and they will be never prepared. Great Britain is anxious to settle this dispute through the League while Italy is anxious to annex the whole of Abyssinian territory. It is likely that in the event of a war sanction may be revoked against Italy. Meanwhile the Abyssinian emperor is organising his defence forces and making the necessary preparations to defend his

country. The important powers are continuing their ban on the supply of Armaments, which is a great handicap to Abyssinians. But the coloured negroes of Africa with their arrows had routed the Italians once and there is every likelihood of their winning even now in spite of all the modern weapons possessed by Italy. A round smash for Mussolini will put an end to his career as bloody modern Caesar and with his collapse will also collapse the fascist dictatorship thereby freeing the Italian masses from the yokes of Imperialism and Capitailism. Will Abyssinia pave the way for Mussolini's downfall?

Anti - repression Day.

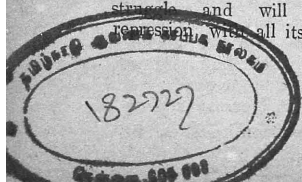
We heartily endorse the appeal issued by Mr. Ruikar, the President of the All India Trade Union Congress to observe Anti-repression Day throughout the country. The trade union movement has been the victim of repression and we know that Mr. Ruikar himself has undergone considerable troubles in the course of his trade union activities. We are not informed as to what is going to be done on that day but we earnestly wish that the day is utilised for the purpose of consolidating the organisations of the masses in order to present an anti-Imperialist front.

The Indian National Congress with its record in the struggle for the attainment of the country's freedom, should make common cause with the Trade union Congress and celebrate the anti-repression day in the most fitting manner. The National Congress has been the worst sufferer at the hands of the henchmen of Imperialism in India and it should not lose a single opportunity to demonstrate to the people that it is still in the vanguard of the struggle and will stoutly resist repression with all its might. With

inequitous press laws, gagging regulations and eternal persecutions the masters of our country hope to keep it in perpetual bondage, but we are confident that the day of redemption is not far off. We hope that the opportunity offered by the Anti-repression Day, will be fully exploited to bring together all genuine anti-Imperialist forces and chalk out a future programme of action which will hasten the attainment of Independence of our country.

Our Finance Boss.

Sir James Grigg, our Finance Boss had an opportunity to review his own achievements in financial management of this country when the Indian Merchants Chamber of Bombay waited on him and unfolded their grievances. The merchant magnates of Bombay who were groaning under the heavy weight of taxation with regard to Income tax and other taxes wanted some relief to their own class and Sir James has promised it. He said that he will remove the sur-charge on income tax as early as possible—i.e. when he has produced a surplus budget by taking as much money as he can directly and indirectly from the masses of our countrymen, and then give relief to a few merchant magnates. He has no idea of giving any relief to the heavily burdened agriculturists by reducing the duties on imported goods, or by curtailing the establishment charges of the Army and the civil services who are paid fabulously quite disproportionate to the income of an average Indian. But it is futile to expect concessions from our masters who are blind to the needs of the common men and serve the interest of a class which lives on exploitation. When the masses take power in their own hands, they will have their salvation.



HINDU



ART

IN ITS

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SETTING

BY

Miss P. N. Peerozshaw Dubash,
M.A., LL.B., (Bombay)

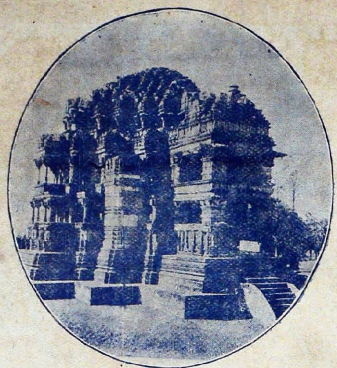
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Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Kt., D. Litt. (London)
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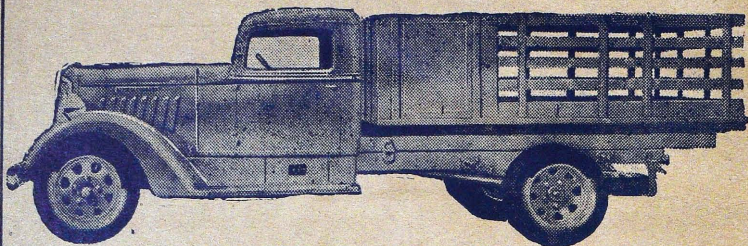
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