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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE sharp contrast which some people discover between freedom and power does not apparently strike Mr. S. Srinivasa Aiyangaras real. In his presidential speech at the Madras Provincial Conference, he addressed himself to the question as to the best practical means of preventing a repetition of the official lawlessness which occurred in the Punjab, and he prominently mentioned, as a safeguard, the transfer to popular control of the administration of justice, the management of prisons, the control of newspapers, etc., still reserved to official administration. He also suggested the enactment of a declaration of rights, but suggested it rather as a temporary remedy against the present deficiency in constitutional power, to be in force till complete self-government was obtained. "When we attain full responsible government," declared Mr. Aiyangar, "there may not be any need for a declaration of rights." This makes it clear that, in the opinion of the late Advocate-General, the acquisition of power is not antithetical to the security for freedom which we all cherish, but a direct means to it. It is, of course, conceivable that in certain circumstances greater power will not necessarily connote greater freedom, but, in the hands of a freedom-loving people, a full measure of power ought to insure complete freedom, and the present discussion proceeds on the assumption that we wish to establish civil liberty, but our political subjection renders it

impossible. Granted a desire on our part to remove all obnoxious restrictions on individual freedom, every constitutional advance we make must secure for us greater freedom.

OPINION is by no means unanimous as to the practical value of a declaration of rights. Mr. Gandhi and Lala Lajpat Rai are frankly sceptical, and so is Mrs. Besant. The fact is that a mere declaration is no effective guarantee against an inroad on civil rights, nor is there, necessarily, greater security for freedom where such a provision is incorporated in the constitution itself. Ampler safeguards it is not possible for human ingenuity to devise than those provided in the American constitution, and yet we find for a fact that individual freedom is much less secure in America than in England where no such statutory guarantee exists. In the United States hundreds and thousands of advanced Labourites are being deported to-day on mere suspicion, and such a wholesale violation of the constitution does not create, so far as one can see, any serious commotion in the country. Can one imagine a member of Parliament being prevented, in England, from taking his seat in the legislature because of his political opinions, as was the case some time ago in America? The curious may be referred to the article entitled "The New Virility in the United States" by Mr. Graham-Wallas in the *New Statesman* of January 31. The petty persecution described therein ought not to be possible if the provisions of the constitution are of any avail. Competent observers are agreed that, despite the statutory guarantees that obtain in America, civil liberty is more jealously guarded in England. In the circumstances, one may be excused if one does not show much enthusiasm for the demand to have introduced into the Indian constitution, moulded as it must be on the British exemplar, so-called safeguards which are foreign to the British constitution and which have proved futile in countries where they exist.

MUCH of the criticism levelled by Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar against the Reforms Act and rules is exaggerated. As a specimen, we may refer to his comments on Rule 10 of the rules under section 45 A of the Act. The rule runs as follows :

The authority vested in the local Government over officers of the Public Services employed in a province shall be exercised in the case of officers serving in a department dealing with reserved subjects by the Governor in

Council and in the case of officers dealing with transferred subjects by the Governor acting with the Minister in charge of the department: provided that—

(a) no order affecting emoluments or pensions, no order of formal censure, and no order on a memorial shall be passed to the disadvantage of an officer of an all-India or provincial service without the personal concurrence of the Governor; and

(b) no order for the posting of an officer of an all-India service shall be made without the personal concurrence of the Governor.

Mr. Aiyangar criticised this rule as placing the ministers under a peculiar disability newly created, while the fact is, as the Publicity Bureau of Madras explains, "under the rule a minister will have exactly the same power over officers dealing with transferred subjects as an executive councillor over officers dealing with reserved subjects," and "the new rule follows closely the existing rules and practice under which every case which involves consideration of the conduct of a gazetted officer of the higher ranks must be circulated to His Excellency the Governor before orders thereon are drafted."

THE *Hindu*, which took the same unfavourable view of the rule as Mr. Aiyangar, contends that the equality between the ministers and the executive councillors, claimed by the Publicity Bureau, is only in name, while in fact the rule discriminates to the disadvantage of the ministers. "The average executive councillor," it remarks, "is not likely to be unduly severe on a body of men from amongst whom he rose to his present position. While in his case there is every prospect of harmony between him and his subordinates, in that of the minister the probabilities point in an exactly opposite direction." Here the case of the Indian executive councillor who does not belong to the service is entirely lost sight of. But, apart from that, the difference that the *Hindu* points out makes, if anything, for a stiffening of the restrictions now in force, not for their elimination, so far as the ministers are concerned. If it is found necessary to impose such limitations when the relations between the officials and their superior authority are expected to be smooth, there is the greater reason for them when the relations are apt to be strained. The *Hindu* may plead if it likes, that no such protection is at all necessary for the public servants, but the argument it advances only weakens the cause it espouses.

ELSEWHERE we give the text of the Asiatic Inquiry Commission's interim report. Their recommendation for the provision of facilities for Indians to return to their mother-country must sound suspicious, particularly because the Commission had at first ruled out this question as beyond its purview. But it must be remembered that Indians themselves, ever since the Indian Relief Act of 1914, have been desirous of availing themselves of its provisions to go back, but were prevented from doing so by the shortage of shipping consequent on the outbreak of the war. Before

the Commission themselves spokesmen of the Indian community asked for the provision of free passages and a bonus of £ 10 or so for settling in India. The Commission have adopted the policy of repatriation, but have not recommended the grant of a bonus. Failing the Union Government, Mr. Andrews is of opinion that the Government of India should allow a small sum of money to those who will return home, in order to provide an additional incentive. The reason why it has become necessary to repatriate some of the Indian settlers is that they are going altogether to the bad in South Africa and that they require to be saved from the recruiter's wiles.

* * *

It may well be that the motives of those who are urging repatriation upon Indians are mixed, but that need not prevent us from appreciating the view-point of Mr. Andrews and Mr. West, who has now taken Mr. Gandhi's place in South Africa. *Indian Opinion* welcomes this step, and says, "we think it will be a boon to those who are anxious to go but have been prevented from so doing." As to voluntary repatriation becoming compulsory in practice, Mr. Andrews says, in answer to the doubts expressed by the *I. S. Reformer*:

In all these years, since 1914, no Indian has been forced to take the free passage, and no one now will be forced to take the bonus [which Mr. Andrews expected the Union Government would give.—Ed., *S. of I.*]. Indeed, it is all the other way. The difficulty has been to keep out of the clutches of the sugar estate recruiters—to keep, for instance, from getting drunk in a liquor shop one night and finding next morning that you have been inveigled into signing on again to a sugar estate, with your pockets empty. The sugar companies, with their vested interests, are only too anxious to keep every Indian labourer in Natal. It is on that side that veiled compulsion would come in—not to repatriate, but to prevent this very voluntary repatriation from taking effect.

We await Mr. Gandhi's view of this matter, but the one supported by Mr. Andrews is quite intelligible. This, however, is but a corner of the Asiatic question, which the Commission are called upon to consider.

* * *

SIR SHAPURJI BROACHA'S death last week in Bombay removes from our midst one of the ablest of Indian financiers. Under the new Reforms Act, the financial relations of the several provincial Governments with the Central Government will be remodelled and the currency policy of the Indian Government, working as it does to the detriment of the poor Indian tax-payer, stands in urgent need of a thorough revision. His presence at such a time would doubtless have been very helpful and his loss is all the more to be regretted. But Sir Shapurji was not only a great financier; he was also one of our most charitably disposed persons and it was in that capacity that he was more widely known. The fact that his charities during all these years amounted to nearly fifty lakhs, speaks volumes for his generosity in helping causes worthy of support. He belonged to that rare species of humanity which loves charity for its

own sake, and he exemplified in himself the popular saying, 'man is the architect of his own fortune.'

SIR VITHALDAS D. THACKERSEY'S donation of fifteen lacs of rupees to the Indian Women's University, on which we sincerely congratulate both the giver and the taker, is probably the biggest individual contribution that an Indian has made for educational purposes, barring, of course, the late Mr. Jamsetjee Tata's endowment for the creation of the Science Research Institute at Bangalore. Sir Rashbehary Ghose has so far given something like 25 lacs to the University of Calcutta in two donations; neither of these exceeded, though they approached, Sir Vithaldas's. Though not an educationist himself, Sir Vithaldas's interest in matters relating to education is very keen. His creation of the educational fund of five lacs of rupees for the purpose of helping a hundred deserving college students is well-known, and the financial aid he gave to the Vanita Vishram of Bombay and the Seva Sadan of Poona may be cited as a proof of the generous way in which he is always prepared to meet the demands of institutions devoting themselves mainly to social service. The finances of the Indian Women's University had been latterly causing a good deal of anxiety to its organisers, especially to Prof. Karve and consequently they were unable to extend the scope of its activities. With its finances thus strengthened the Indian Women's University will, we are sure, be better able to do the work it has placed before itself.

A LONDON cable dated June 26 says:—

The Times to-day draws attention to the serious importance of the constitutional question with regard to General Dyer. It says that the Committee presided over by Mr. Churchill is stated to be re-opening the whole case and reviewing the findings of the civil authorities, including presumably the Cabinet. It expresses the apprehension that the relative positions of the Army Council and the Cabinet at present are violating the principle that the civil power is supreme over the military.

The London correspondent of *the Times of India* writing under date June 10, thus describes the constitutional position:—

In matters of discipline, the Army Council is the final authority, and cannot be dictated to or overruled by the Cabinet, except by resort to the extreme course of dismissing the Council and setting up one of fresh *personnel*. No such crisis is likely to arise over the present case; but manifestly the Army Council is discharging duties appertaining to it by refusing to pronounce off-hand on the disciplinary action required. The Cabinet has approved the decision of the Commander-in-Chief in India in relieving General Dyer of his command and intimating that there will be no further employment there. But the question whether he should be asked to resign from the Army or should be retired can be decided only by the Army Council.

THE Lahore correspondent of the *London Times* appears to us to be hopelessly out of touch with Indian public opinion on the majority report of the Hunter Committee; or else he would not have re-

presented what he calls 'thinking Punjabis' as 'accepting the correctness of the majority report' and as 'believing that General Dyer's action saved the province from much greater bloodshed and that martial law was suited to a people with martial traditions.' Now, can anything be further from the truth? If there is any matter more than another in regard to which there is complete unanimity among all sections of the Indian public, it is about the condemnation of General Dyer's action at the Jallianwala Bagh. Who then are the thinking Punjabis he refers to? Probably they exist only in his own imagination. We find that the paper is guilty of another distortion of facts when, in its own summary of the salient features of the report, it says: "Both the majority and the minority reports agree that the Government of India took the right measures in accepting the application of the Punjab Government for martial law." Had they agreed on this one point, why would the Indian members have put themselves to the trouble of writing a separate report?

THE reply which Lord Milner gave to the East African Indian delegation is now published in the *E. A. Chronicle*. We are greatly relieved to find that the Colonial Secretary denounced the aspersions cast upon the Indian character in the Report of the Economic Commission in round terms. He said:

I do not like to criticise the action of other people, but I do not think the composition of the Commission is quite what I shall approve. The Commission has done some very useful work in some respects. In any case the particular expressions to which objection has been taken seem to be somewhat *ultra vires*; I do not think that they were called upon to deal with this racial question at all. I agree that these expressions are regrettable, and you may take it from me they in no way represent the spirit in which His Majesty's Government or myself personally should approach this question.

HOW undemocratic is the land policy of the so-called Democratic party of Mr. Tilak will be best demonstrated by the text of the following resolution submitted by the Independent Labour Party to the Scarborough Labour Conference that held its sessions last week. It ran as follows:

Seeing that land alone of the factors of production is both indispensable to man and incapable of expansion by human agency, it is pre-eminently the rightful property of the nation as a whole.

The present system, which treats land as private property and prevents free access to it, hampers industry, checks production, crowds the towns by depopulating the countryside, obstructs the provision of good housing, lowers the standard of public health—both physical and moral—fetters the exercise of political, economic and social freedom, makes difficult, if not impossible, the maintenance of a uniform standard of cultivation, and compels the workers to pay tribute for the use of that which should belong equally to all.

This Conference, therefore, demands the socialisation of the land as the very foundation of the co-operative commonwealth, and calls upon the Government to make it the permanent and inalienable possession of the community.

A CRUEL WRONG TO BOMBAY.

BY PROFESSOR V. G. KALE.

IT would be no wonder if the members of Lord Meston's Committee on Financial Relations thought that the task which they had been asked to perform was a thankless job. They perhaps earned the gratitude of undeveloped Provinces like Bihar and Orissa and Burma on account of the generous treatment meted out to them and the benefit that is calculated to accrue to them from the scheme recommended by the Committee. But Bombay and Madras are indignant at the manner in which they have been deprived of their resources and the serious injustice that has been done to them. The Committee on Financial Relations taxed its brains and the brains of those whose advice it sought for discovering a formula for the purpose of assessing the Provinces to the contributions it was necessary they should make in order to make up the deficit in the exchequer of the Government of India created by the provincialization of the Imperial share in some important sources of revenue. The tests of population, of expenditure and of wealth were found to be impracticable and inequitable; and the Committee at last pitched upon the increased spending power obtained by the Provinces by the scheme of financial readjustment as a fair basis for provincial contributions. Bombay's share in this increased revenue is only 93 lakhs and out of that amount it has to contribute 56 lakhs to the Imperial exchequer, this contribution increasing gradually year after year till it reaches the proportion of 13 per cent. of the total Imperial deficit. Bombay's gain is thus a paltry 37 lakhs to begin with, and it is to vanish in a few years. Madras, on the other hand, clears a net initial gain of 228 lakhs, and it is to grow steadily. But this is not the ground of Bombay's complaint. The real grievance of this Presidency is that while the Imperial share of land revenue is transferred to it, its share of the income-tax is made imperial. Now half of land revenue which Bombay will receive, is no equitable substitute for half the income-tax revenue which it will lose. The one is not a growing source of income to the Government; the other is the only financial reserve which is calculated to expand with the increasing prosperity of our industries and trade.

We have before us the evidence given by the non-official witnesses from Bombay before the Financial Relations Committee, and from it we are pleased to find that the case of this Presidency against the transference of its share in the income-tax collections to the Imperial exchequer was strongly pleaded. While the strength of Bombay's representation was acknowledged by Lord Meston, his Committee, probably distracted by the conflicting claims put forward before it by the different provinces and by the extreme difficulty of fixing upon a solution that was calculated to please everybody, refused to be convinced by the very

cogent arguments advanced by the Bombay witnesses. Bombay is wealthy; Bombay spends more than the other Provinces on education and the police; Bombay's revenue will automatically and easily grow though the Presidency is deprived of its share in the income tax. These thoughts haunted the minds of the members of the Meston Committee. If Bombay can afford to maintain a comparatively high standard of administrative cost, it is a sure index of its financial and economic capacity, and if Bombay is wealthy its contribution should be comparatively very large. This is the way in which the members of the Committee argued the case against this Presidency. Bombay's wealth may certainly be admitted as a ground for a large provincial contribution, but it does not appear to have struck the Committee that depriving this rich Presidency of the possession of the channel through which the wealth of the people is to be made to trickle into the treasury of the Government, was a cruel handicap put upon this Province. Did the Committee think that Bombay had already progressed sufficiently fast and that it was right and proper that it should wait till the other Provinces came up to its level? The Hon'ble Mr. Purshotandas Thakurdas made a strong point before the Committee when he observed:

If you have got to put a premium somewhere, is it fair that it should be put upon provinces going at a snail's pace rather than the active and energetic Bombay Presidency? I think it would distinctly be unfair to Bombay if we were told, "You have taken a bigger stride as compared with the other provinces; therefore, we are going to tell you to halt until the other provinces have come up to your standard."

Or did the Committee think that progressive Bombay would somehow or other find the means to maintain its standard of expenditure and finance schemes of improvement which are crying out for funds? This idea has clearly weighed very strongly with the Committee and has reconciled it to the decision taken by it.

The report of the Meston Committee has plainly stated its conviction that wealthy Provinces like Bombay and Bengal have resources which they can easily expand, and that, therefore, they may be conveniently mulcted of their main increasing source of income. Mr. Roberts put it in so many words and said:

"You have got large resources of revenue, and your expenditure is on a much higher scale than any other province, with the exception of Burma. The revenues here are all expanding, some more, some less. If you take either forests, excise, stamps, even land revenue, there is expansion. You test a province by income-tax, by consumption of commodities and by personal impressions, and according to that, Bombay seems rich and it is notorious that you have already made a good deal of money."

It was for this reason that a heavy burden was to be imposed upon Bombay, and relief was to be granted to the other provinces. A slight increase in the forest revenue and in that from stamps may certainly be expected in the near future. But can it be said that land revenue and excise which between them give us more than 75 per cent. of the

total income of Government are capable of expansion worthy of mention? The rayats are not wealthy and the labourers are not wealthy. Indirect taxation through customs duties is not permissible. How is then the wealth of Bombay, of which so much is made, to be tapped? It is the tax upon incomes which must yield a growing volume of revenue to Government in an industrial and enterprising province like Bombay. And that source the Meston Committee wants the Government of India to monopolise. Surely no greater injustice could have been done to this Presidency and no heavier handicap placed upon its progress. Tax Bombay by all means, if that cannot be avoided. But do not kill the goose that lays the golden egg for serving a temporary advantage. The recommendations of the Meston Committee are bound to create strong resentment in the public mind on account of the almost callous way in which the interests of Bombay are sought to be sacrificed and this Presidency is penalized for its enterprising and progressive character. Surely the inequalities from which certain provinces have suffered in the past cannot be allowed to be corrected by the perpetration of sheer injustice to Bombay. An emphatic protest against the cruel wrong contemplated to be done to this Presidency is necessary. The report of the Meston Committee is an unconvincing document and the evidence tendered by the Bombay witnesses only strengthens the impression about the inequitable and injudicious treatment that is attempted to be meted out to this Province.

THE KHILAFAT AND THE TURKISH TREATY.—I.

CONTINUED and persistent ill-health, since I returned from Africa, and very heavy responsibilities and arrears of work, had made me desire, if possible, to be free from the added responsibility of discussing in public the Khilafat question and the Turkish Peace. At first, I thought it would be sufficient, simply to record my own emphatic protest along with those of many others against the breach of faith involved in the Treaty terms concerning Asia Minor and Thrace.

But the full document of the Turkish Treaty, which has now reached India, reveals so unmistakably the ruthlessness and the hypocrisy of the exploitation of the Middle East, which is about to be committed under the name of 'mandates,' that I feel it would be wrong to keep silence. I would protest with shame and indignation against this insatiable greed and lust of economic imperialism, which has infected all the greater European Powers, and my own country perhaps most of all. Tunis, Morocco, Egypt, and, for all intents and purposes, Persia—all of them Muslim lands—have been preyed upon, one after the other. Under this new Peace, Thrace, Smyrna, Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia—all of them likewise parts of the Islamic civilisation—are to be added to the spoils of the west.

It is impossible for any one who has learnt to admire the greatness of Islam and its culture, not to feel a burning wrath arise in his heart at the sordid immorality of this spoliation which is carried on, under high-sounding names, by Powers that call themselves Christian Powers. The Rape of Belgium, which shocked the whole civilised world, differs in no degree of baseness from the strangling of Persia or the Loot of Tripoli. The atrocities committed by the military in Belgium were no blacker and the guilt of the politicians was no greater. Mr. Macdougall's book about Tripoli and Mr. Schuster's book concerning Persia will explain clearly what I mean.

If the formal pretext of a trusteeship is put forward and dissertations are delivered on the temporary nature of Mandates; if it is asserted that this temporary character of the occupation is guaranteed by the Supreme Council of the League of Nations, then we cannot but painfully remember that the temporary nature of the British Rule in Egypt was declared and guaranteed a hundred times over, and that the Anglo-Russian Convention guaranteed, with all the strength of solemn assurance, the "inviolable integrity and independence of Persia." It must be understood for the future in Europe that such pledges and guarantees cannot be relied on any longer in the East. The Western Powers have now over-reached themselves, not only in greed of empire, but also in breaches of faith.

Even in the present instance of this Turkish Treaty, the debates in the British Parliament on one side of the Channel, and the debates in the French Chamber on the other, have almost literally reeked with the smell of oil. The lust of possession, which lies behind the Conventions and Mandates, cannot even be decently veiled: it has gone about shamelessly naked. If the moral standard of the newly formed League of Nations is not to sink unfathomably low at the very start, then clearly this whole series of treaties with Germany, Austria and, above all, with Turkey, will have to be revised.

It is a matter of very great interest to learn that J. M. Keynes' new book, called, "The Economic Consequences of the Peace"—in which the rapacity of the victors is exposed and a drastic revision of the treaties is demanded—has had a phenomenal sale in England of over one hundred thousand copies and has run through a new edition every month since the date of its publication. This fact is only one indication, that the autocratic Premiers, into whose hands the framing of the treaties has generally more and more relapsed, have lost confidence of those whom they have been supposed to represent. There is already rising a tide of nobler feeling in Europe, which will sweep away much of the foulness of that greed, so defiling every section of the Turkish Peace Treaty as it is presented to the world to-day.

It has appeared, outwardly, as though this tide had already risen high in Italy and had pre-

vented Italy from claiming that part of the spoil which she coveted in the Gulf of Adalia. I wish that I could think this was really the case; but as far as I am able to judge, from what study I have been able to make of Italy's present position, the change of heart which this would imply has not yet been accomplished. There are indications of secret understandings—as secret as the infamous Pact of London made during the war—that Italy is to be allowed economic expansion in that area, including the exploiting of coal fields (of which, more than anything else, she stands in need), but that she will not be called upon, in her present bankrupt state, with a proletariat on the very verge of revolution, to undertake military occupations. France will ultimately employ Senegalese troops in Syria, as she has already done in Germany, if this Treaty with its Mandates is to stand. But there is every sign that it will not last beyond a few months, even if it is ever put into force at all.

(To be continued.)

C. F. ANDREWS.

THE TRAGEDY OF THE PUNJAB.—III.

I.

“WHAT is more fatal than to treat as enemies and doom to death, men whose only crime is that of thinking independently? The scaffold which should be the terror of the wicked is thus turned into the glorious theatre, where virtue and toleration shine out in all their lustre, and publicly cover the Sovereign Majesty with opprobrium.” These words of Spinoza who in his life-time was made to drink to the dregs the cup of persecution by the Christian Pharisees aptly describe the mentality of bureaucratic fanaticism in the Punjab, which was responsible for the heart-rending tragedy enacted in that unfortunate province. “Raizada Saheb,” said Sir Michael O'Dwyer to the Hon'ble Raizada Bhagat Ram of Jullunder, (vide statement No. 650 of the Hon'ble Raizada Bhagat Ram before the Gandhi Committee), “remember, there is another force greater than Gandhi's soul force.” This was said on the morning of the 7th April, after the universal observance of *hartal* on the 6th April, unmarred by any regrettable incident throughout the Punjab. Where toleration and sympathy should have been practised to ease the tension, the ruler of the Punjab was rattling his sword in the scabbard and indulging in reprehensible speechification, ever so much more reprehensible because of the excitable temper of the people due to a number of causes.

II.

These causes have been elucidated in considerable detail in the majority and minority reports of the Hunter Committee. It is therefore unnecessary to do more than to make a passing reference to them. The titanic struggle in which the British Empire was engaged for over four years, on the one hand, exerted a most powerful influence in deepening and strengthening the national consciousness in India,

and, on the other, its grim reality was brought home to Indians by call upon call for recruits, direct and indirect contributions to the resources of the Empire and an upward tendency of prices of all articles, thus causing no inconsiderable hardship to the poorer sections of the population. The outbreak of the influenza epidemic, the failure of the monsoon in 1918 over a large area, a feeling of war-weariness and the non-fulfilment of popular expectations for a return of better times after the signing of the Armistice in November 1918, the opposition organised by the Indo-British Association and its allies in India, both official and non-official, to the grant of political reforms to India, all these combined to unsettle the public mind and create uneasiness which, if tactfully handled, might have easily subsided. All these factors were common to the whole of India. In addition, there were other causes operating in the Punjab, which rendered the situation there even more critical. The restrictions on the export of wheat and other grains, the seizure of wheat stocks under the Defence of India Act and the enhanced assessment of income-tax ranging from 100 to 200 per cent. adversely affected the rural population and the trading community, thereby accentuating the general discontent.

III.

There was also in existence an alienation of sympathy between the administration and the educated or politically-minded classes in the Punjab. The responsibility of Sir Michael's administration for this state of estrangement has been variously emphasised or condoned in the different documents under review. The majority report is content with making a passing reference to it, while the Government of India have in a way attempted vindication of his régime in this as in other respects. The minority report (chapter II, para. 5) enumerates some of the most important incidents of his administration, in consequence of which, the minority say, “There was considerable feeling existing in the minds of the educated and thinking classes in the Punjab.” It is, however, only the Gandhi report which, in a masterly review of his administration (vide chap. II.), states the whole case on this point; and it is impossible to rise from its perusal without realizing the full enormity of Sir Michael's despotic rule over the Punjab for a period of over six years. Similarly, the extent to which general discontent which later on burst out into disturbances was caused by the press-gang methods of recruitment and raising war-loans forms another point of controversy. The majority report and the Government of India have exculpated the Punjab Government from all blame in this connection, while the minority report is significantly silent on the point. It is once again necessary to turn to the pages of the Gandhi report to appreciate the justness of the verdict of not-guilty pronounced by the majority and the Government of India on these two points after hearing only the evidence of the interested parties.

Then again, as to the responsibility of the *Satyagraha* movement along with the doctrine of civil disobedience, there is not much difference of opinion among the Gandhi Committee and the members of the Hunter Committee. If there be any, it is only a difference of emphasis. Curiously enough, the Nationalist party and the Government of India in utter defiance of the unanimous finding of the two Committees on this point, have chosen to draw a moral in consonance with their own respective political bias. The Nationalist party has been severely criticising the minority for having dared to say what the Gandhi Committee has said in regard to the *Satyagraha* movement and civil disobedience, while the Government of India have chosen to emphasise for the edification of the Indian people the one supreme lesson from the woeful tale of the tragic events that civil disobedience has been doubly damned. While going through the dispatch of the Government of India, one almost feels as if Sir William Vincent were chuckling over the whole incident and saying to us all, "I told you so!" In my next article I shall deal separately and in some detail with the above three points and adduce facts and arguments with a view to arriving at a correct decision in regard to them.

V. N. TIVARY.

TOWARDS INDUSTRIAL PEACE.

THE frequency of strikes all over the country is a serious disturbing factor in the otherwise bright industrial outlook of the country. Strikes are a natural result of the awakening and organisation of labour and are generally entitled to sympathy at the hands of the liberal-minded public, but there is no denying that they create disharmony between the elements of production and decrease the output of national wealth. India, which is one of the poorest of civilised countries in the world, where indigenous capital is learning only now to throw off its shyness of centuries, can least allow strikes to become as frequent as in the western countries. As we are yet only about to start on our industrial career, we have no faulty steps to retrace. It is open to us to think out what will be the best lines and to proceed on them. But think we must, for we are on the eve of an industrial era; and if we do not think deeply we shall have to pay dearly for our mistakes, as the western countries are paying in the shape of revolutions and Bolshevism. Our position is similar to that of a new and growing city; we can either allow haphazard and irregular growth, giving rise to ugly slums and an uglier population; or plan well our suburbs, streets and houses, and secure the physical and moral well-being of the population.

The best chance for preventing strikes lies in unifying the interests of capital and labour. To achieve this end, profit-sharing between capital and labour and making labour a partner with capital by allotting shares to it in industrial con-

cerns, have been recommended. There is no doubt that by these means the desired result will be largely achieved. The elimination of strikes, however, can procure only the uninterrupted production of goods. It will leave certain other great evils unremedied. It will not regulate production, that is to say, it will not prevent over-production and therefore not solve the question of unemployment. Nor will it prevent profiteering—capital and labour in combination taking undue advantage of the necessitous position of the rest of the community and selfishly fleecing it. The prices of certain commodities will become unnecessarily high, a section of the population will be unable to live up to a tolerable standard, and strife, unrest and misery will follow. To remedy these evils and to make lasting peace possible, earnest thinkers in the west have been looking to the organisation of industry on co-operative lines.

Here again experiments have been made in two different directions. One is the control of industry by consumers who have been organised on co-operative lines and the other is the organisation of producers on co-operative lines. The former secures a ready market and avoids over-production and consequent unemployment. But it has not been able to eliminate the divergence of interest between the employer and the employed. Consumers, though co-operatively organised, have not always borne in mind what is due to labour. Wages and hours of work are fixed with reference to the competitive standards prevailing in society and not based on an enlightened conception of the physical and moral needs of the employed. A small gain to themselves has weighed with them more than a large gain to the employees. There have been strikes among the employees of large co-operative societies which in England and other countries own large factories. The control of production by consumers cannot therefore be said to have solved the question. Nor has the organisation of producers on co-operative lines been on the whole more successful. It is said that the fate of productive co-operative societies has generally been one of these three—failure, conversion into joint-stock companies and becoming the productive department of a consumers' society. The main difficulties which these co-operative organisations of producers have to face are three-fold, relating respectively to capital, management and marketing. Labour being generally poor and uneducated, these co-operative productive societies have not been able to find sufficient capital and directing capacity among their members and have therefore had either to convert themselves into joint-stock companies or become merged in store societies. In the latter case they have the further advantage of obtaining a ready market. But in all these cases they cease to exist. A better type of organisation has therefore to be evolved.

An ideal organisation for small or large industries appears to be a co-operative organisa-

tion where capital, labour and consumers combine to produce and distribute the goods needed for the entire community. Capital should be welcome from any source and given a reasonable interest or dividend, just as labour is given wages. But any profit remaining thereafter should be equally divisible among capital, labour and the consumers. The respective shares of the profit would be a supplementary dividend at so much per share of capital, a bonus at so much per rupee on the wages earned by the employees and a rebate at so much per rupee on the purchases made by the consumers. In accordance with co-operative principles the share value should be low and the share list always open. To enable labour to possess as many shares as possible special facilities such as payment of share capital in small instalments should be provided. The shares should always be sold at par. Goods should be sold without distinction to shareholders and others alike. On the management all the three interests should be represented though not necessarily in an equal degree. It is thus only that our industrial future can be securely built.

V. VENKATASUBBAIYA.

THE POLICY OF NON-CO-OPERATION.

A VARIETY of causes have forced the question of non-co-operation to the fore. The Turkish Treaty, the Punjab tragedy, the Reform Rules and the Reform Act itself—all these matters, taken singly, appear to certain sections of the public a sufficient reason for the adoption of a policy which everyone admits is attended by grave risks. It may be thought that when so many diverse forces are at work, all converging at the same point, it is at best a question of time when the whole country will embrace and carry out the doctrine preached by Mr. Gandhi. As a matter of fact, the only thing which can be foretold with any amount of certainty is that Mr. Gandhi and a few of his immediate followers will practise non-co-operation; all else is doubtful. It would not be so if the so-called leaders always expressed their genuine convictions and really tried to lead instead of merely following the path marked out for them by popularity. The silence of our politicians on critical occasions would not be blameworthy if it were inspired by a sense of the tremendous issues involved or by the difficulty of arriving at a clear conclusion on them. Often it proceeds from a desire to avoid saying unpleasant things which they are firmly convinced need to be said but which would expose them to public odium which they need not bear. From such judicious silence to an outward show of approval of heroic remedies while inwardly denouncing them becomes an easy step. One reconciles oneself to such an apparent inconsistency in one's conduct on the principle that whatever measures taken in protest against any wrong done by Government you cannot actively support, you are bound in honour not publicly to condemn. You may remonstrate in private,

but, so far as external appearances go, there must not be a weakening of the united front. If the public knew how leaders' silence was to be interpreted and their public declarations to be discounted, it would not result in any serious mischief, and, in fairness to our prominent politicians, it must be owned that the country is now becoming fairly familiar with their mentality.

On the Khilafat question, Mr. Gandhi and his Mohammedan co-workers have sent in their ultimatum to the Viceroy. They launch upon a policy of non-co-operation if within a month from now the Viceroy either fails to obtain a revision of the Peace Treaty or to resign office in order to lead the movement. So far as they are concerned, they are committed to progressive non-co-operation, whatever measure of support the policy may enlist from the Hindu or the Mohammedan communities. But the Congress and the Muslim League which may be supposed to represent these communities, have as yet expressed no opinion. The latter body has not yet met; the executive of the former met, but dispersed without coming to a conclusion. The whole question has been referred to a special session of the Congress to be held towards the end of August. The genesis of the Special Congress is truly described in the *Janmabhumi*: "He (Mr. Gandhi) proposed (at the All-India Committee) a resolution upholding non-co-operation as the one remedy of the situation, and this bomb created a stir and sensation in the young and the old who sank all differences, joined hands and discovered a way out of the muddle that this 'impossible man' had created. On Mr. C. R. Das's motion the question was agreed to be regarded a fit one for settlement at a Special Congress, and a Special Congress was decided upon to give a decent burial and a public funeral to this unwelcome intruder into Indian politics—non-co-operation." Mr. Tilak's refusal even to attend the Hindu-Moslem meeting at Allahabad immediately after the meeting of the Congress Committee on the plea that it was for the Mohammedans to devise the remedy and the Hindus merely to put it in effect lends ample justification for the view, cynical as it may look, which the *Janmabhumi* takes. The Khilafat itself is a religious question only in parts. Much of it, as the Mohammedans have propounded it, is secular. But the question of adopting suitable means to undo the wrong has nothing religious about it, and the Hindus must certainly have a say in it. It is indeed a very curious doctrine which Mr. Tilak has laid down that in any matter which primarily concerns the Mohammedans, it must be left solely to them to determine upon the remedies, the Hindus accepting their decision without demur. To such ridiculous lengths is this doctrine carried that Mr. Tilak contends that the Hindus must not even help the Mohammedans in coming to a decision. If the Hindus are bound not merely to carry out the decision after it is arrived at on a consultation with themselves, but to refrain scrupulously from expressing their opinion even while the

decision is being taken for fear lest the decision should be influenced to any extent by such an opinion, why is a Special Congress to be held at all? Let the Moslem League meet if it correctly represents Mohammedan sentiment; if it does not, let steps be taken to ascertain Muslim feeling. In any case there is no need for a Special Congress. Mr. Yakub Hassan pleaded with the Hindu delegates in the Tinnevely Conference for an expression of their real opinion on the question of non-co-operation without being influenced to an undue extent by the views of the Mohammedans. His desire was to gauge the strength of public feeling in favour of non-co-operation. But that is just what Mr. Tilak wants to prevent. The device is too transparent. There will certainly be a section of Mohammedans behind whom non-Satyagrahi Hindus can shelter themselves. It is hardly just, however, that the blame for Hindu reluctance should be laid at the door of the Mohammedans. Mr. Tilak's position is wholly untenable. As Hindus are entitled to exercise their mind on the methods suggested by Muslims to bring about a just solution of the Turkish Treaty, and to discountenance such of them as do not commend themselves to their acceptance, so must Hindu leaders, instead of passively following the Moslems, take the initiative when needed and persuade the Mohammedans to adopt the course which they may not approve but which seems to themselves the best in the circumstances. If Mr. Tilak thinks with Mr. Gandhi that non-co-operation is the only effective remedy, he must advocate and adopt it, even when the Mohammedans do not take kindly to it. It is the inherent merits of non-co-operation that must decide the question whether we should participate in it or not, and not the view which Mohammedans take of it. It may be that non-co-operation being yet new to India, the Mohammedan community may be full of doubt as to the expediency of resorting to it; but those who believe in non-co-operation owe it to themselves as well as to the Moslem community to overcome their objections and demonstrate its effectiveness to them. Those who make the Mohammedans the custodians of their conscience in this matter do so because they are opposed to non-co-operation and are fairly certain that the Mohammedan community will not approve of it. In the Tinnevely Conference also the Nationalist leaders were put to the test and were found unequal to it. They were unusually reticent on this matter, which clearly proved that at heart they were opposed to it. Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao declared that non-co-operation was a spiritual question and so outside the purview of Congresses and Conferences. And his opinion was hailed with delight by all those who desired nothing so much as to avoid a clear expression of opinion on this topic. Messrs. Kasturiranga Aiyengar and A. Rangaswami Aiyengar maintained a Sphinx-like silence throughout the Conference, but Mr. Satyamurti took occasion to say that non-co-

operation must not be taken up till 60 per cent. of the population were prepared to take part in it. Mr. Srinivasa Aiyengar took a longer curve, but ultimately reached the same conclusion. It was bound to prove ineffective, he said. And yet the Conference recommended the adoption of non-co-operation to the special Congress. It is only to be hoped that the average delegate was not governed by the considerations which prompted the leading politicians.

Withdrawal of co-operation from Government has also been suggested as a remedy against the failure of justice in the Punjab, and Mr. Gandhi is strongly for undertaking non-co-operation on this account. The Madras Provincial Conference supported this movement, too. Mr. Lajpat Rai also has unfurled the banner of non-co-operation, but it must be noted that the policy he advocates differs widely from Mr. Gandhi's. It is confined, in the first place, to the boycott of the council, and he does not wish its extension to a renunciation of titles, posts, practice in courts, etc. Again, he does not seem to advocate it for the whole of India, but wants to limit it to the Punjab. His motive appears to be not so much to secure justice as to avoid, from a feeling of self-respect, coming into contact with the perpetrators of inhuman cruelties upon the Punjab people. Men like Mr. Bosworth-Smith still remain in office; will any Punjabis like to meet them in the council chamber and have the heart to co-operate with them? The reasoning is quite intelligible. Few men can enter the Punjab Council without feeling some qualms about it. But the Lala has no illusions about the effect this movement will have in obtaining redress from the Government. Mr. Lajpat Rai wishes also to organise a committee for the purpose of seeing that those who are so much lacking in self-respect as to offer themselves as candidates for election will be defeated; but this too has no other and wider object than to teach the people of the Punjab to demean themselves well. It would be a scandal of the gravest order if the administration is not purged of Bosworth-Smiths and O'Briens, and I for my part shall not be sorry if the good men of the Punjab decide on a policy of abstention in protest. The larger non-co-operation which Mr. Gandhi supports has in it more elements of success in respect of the Punjab atrocities than in respect of the Turkish Treaty, but the dangers involved in this are no less serious. So far at least as the wrongs in the Punjab are concerned, there is no need as yet for any one to despair that the principal miscreants will go scot-free. On the contrary, there is every likelihood that the Government will deal sternly with them. In any case we may institute legal proceedings against offending officers, and it is much better to turn one's energies that way than urge upon the country measures of doubtful value.

The Reform Act itself is thought by some to be a fit subject for non-co-operation. This again is entirely different from Mr. Gandhi's non-co-opera-

tion. Those who pledge themselves to Mr. Pal's no-co-operation will not boycott councils, but, entering them, produce therein as much friction as it may be possible to produce so that the constant deadlocks that will result may bring home to the British statesmen the necessity of revising the Indian constitution early in a liberal sense. Mr. A. Rangaswami Aiyengar is now converted to this policy, but it has secured few fresh recruits. It must be owned that logic is all on the side of Mr. Pal. What is wrong with him is his major premise; but there is little flaw in the process of his reasoning. The reforms are not so disappointing as the Nationalists would prove them to be; if, however, they are, there is no escape from the policy which Mr. Pal advocates, of deliberately wrecking the reforms in the hope that on their ruin a more enduring fabric will be reared. In this connexion, the reluctance of the Nationalists who oppose Mr. Pal's policy to enter into a controversy with him is remarkable. They are almost conscious that they will be worsted in any such encounter and compelled to admit that they entirely misjudged the reforms. The rules made under the Act are also described as on the whole unsatisfactory, and one occasionally finds non-co-operation advocated in this connexion also, but the support this cause alone is likely to secure is infinitesimal and this question may be left out of account. In regard to the other three matters, there seems to be occasionally much enthusiasm for it, but the good sense of the public may be relied upon to discard this dangerous weapon for one less heroic perhaps but more likely to succeed.

A CRITIC.

CORRESPONDENCE.

CONDEMNATION BY THE MISSIONARIES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR,—On my return from two months in the inner hills, I have seen the newspaper summaries of the Hunter Commission Report, and received also your issue of June 3rd.

Will you allow me to express my thanks through your columns for Dr. Macnicol's excellent article on the Commission Report? It appears to me to express clearly the attitude which should be adopted towards these heart-rending occurrences by those of us at least who, as Christian Missionaries, believe that the Cross represents the divine—and therefore the ideal human—method of dealing with violence and wrong, and whose deep desire for the British Empire is that it should approach that ideal as closely as possible.—Yours etc.,

JOHN S. HOYLAND.

Matiana, Simla Hills,
June 20.

IMPEACHMENT.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR.—It is not surprising that the general desire in the country should be to adopt towards the worst offender in the Punjab Tragedy—Sir Michael O'Dwyer who inspired the whole policy—the sternest measure of justice open to the British constitution, and Parliamentary impeachment being popularly supposed to be such a measure it is very widely supported in India at the present moment. But that particular

form of trial, under which official miscreants are accused by the Commons of England at the bar of the House of Lords, has latterly become obsolete, and though Sir Michael richly deserves such treatment it must be regarded, in practical politics, as out of the question. But people lose sight of the fact that impeachment has now become thoroughly out of date and that none of the constitutional writers contemplate its revival. They think it both unnecessary and undesirable. Professor F. W. Maitland says in his lectures on "Constitutional History of England":

"It seems highly improbable that recourse will again be had to this ancient weapon unless we had a time of revolution before us. If a statesman has really committed a crime then he can be tried like any other criminal: if he has been guilty of some misdoing that is not a crime, it seems far better that it should go unpunished than that a new law should be invented for the occasion and that by a tribunal of politicians and partisans; for such misdoings disgrace and loss of office are now-a-days sufficient punishments."

Lord Courtney of Penwith observes as follows in the "Working Constitution of the United Kingdom":

"This form of prosecution of State-offenders played an important part in the 17th and even in the 18th century, as illustrated by the trial of Warren Hastings, but though copied and even enforced in other constitutions it must be regarded as fallen into desuetude among ourselves. President Johnson was impeached before the Senate of the American Congress in 1867... but an impeachment could not now be begun at Westminster. The procedure is uncertain and dilatory, as was exemplified in the trial of Hastings, and there prevails to-day a strong and probably growing distrust of the justice of a multitudinous tribunal. Moreover, the courts of law afford the surest means of obtaining conviction and punishment for actual crime, whilst more ordinary official misconduct can be promptly investigated by committees of either House, and is in general sufficiently met by the dismissal from place from which no functionary is exempt. It may be confidently declared that this rusty weapon of impeachment will not be again taken from the political armoury."

Sir James Fitzjames Stephens says in "A General View of the Criminal Law of England":

"It (the weapon of impeachment) was used throughout the whole of the seventeenth century by the different parties which rose in turn into power; it was also used at intervals in the 18th century, especially in the memorable case of Warren Hastings, when its inherent weakness and unfitness for modern times were strikingly displayed. One impeachment only, that of Lord Melville in 1805, has taken place in the present century and it is to be hoped that it will be disused for the future, for the House of Lords is in no degree fitted for the functions of a criminal court of first instance charged with a decision on matters of fact."

Thus the objection which writers on the constitution take against the process of impeachment is not only that it has fallen into disuse past all possibility of recall, but that it is not calculated to secure justice in the circumstances of the present time, and the latter consideration at any rate must weigh with us.

In America, indeed, impeachments are still current, but it must be remembered that their character is entirely different—they are not penal, as impeachments in England were. As Leibler says:

"American impeachments are tried indeed by the Senate, but it will be observed that the American trial of impeachment is not a penal trial for offences, but a political institution, trying for political incapacity. The Senate, when sitting as a court to try impeachments, can only remove from office, whatever the crime may have been; and the impeached person can be penally tried after the Senate has removed him from office. In its political character, then, but in no other point, the American impeachment resembles the Athenian ostracism, which

was likewise a political, but not a penal, institution. The English impeachment is a penal trial."

Though impeachment is thus not available, it is open to us to take criminal proceedings against officials who exceeded all bounds of humanity in using force in the Punjab.—Yours, etc.,
HISTORIOUS.

A FRANCHISE QUESTION IN ASSAM.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR,—The present sex disqualification, which is to remain at least till after the next Council elections take place, threatens to result in practical disfranchisement of the whole Indian population of the urban seat of Shillong, the capital of Assam. The vast majority of the rate-payers of Shillong are Khasis, among whom peculiar social customs prevail: The husband marries into the wife's family, the wife or her mother being regarded as the head of the household. In a recent communication addressed to the Chief Commissioner of Assam by Mr. N. C. Bardaloi, the General Secretary of the Assam Association, attention has been drawn to the fact that most of the registered rate-payers of the Shillong municipality are Khasi women and that this is due to the peculiar custom of the Khasis, viz. that women succeed to real property. Now the question arises, whether this case of the Khasi women rate-payers of Shillong should be treated as a special one or a large section of the Indian residents of Shillong should be voteless. If the latter course is adopted, the European rate-payers, whose number in Shillong is next only to that of the Khasis, will control the election of the Shillong urban seat, and over and above five seats already reserved for them from the whole province they will have an opportunity of adding to their number in the provincial Legislative Council. The rules framed by the Assam Government are silent on this point, and even in the note of the Chief Commissioner no reference has been made to this important issue. In any case, grave injustice will be done to the Khasi residents of Shillong, if, on account of this accidental disability they are excluded from representation in the Provincial Council. Will the Government of India treat this question of the Khasi rate-payers of Shillong as a special one and allow them to exercise their franchise?—Yours, etc.,

S. C. B.

SELECTION.

VOLUNTARY REPATRIATION OF INDIANS.

THE following is the text of the interim report submitted by the Asiatic Inquiry Commission in South Africa:—

During the course of our inquiries strong evidence has been led before us, which tends to show that there is at present, owing to the shortage of rice and other causes, a considerable number of Indians who, with their families, would be prepared to return to India if opportunity were afforded them. We have also had evidence from an influential Calcutta merchant, at present on a visit to the Union, who until recently was a Chairman of the Central Employment and Labour Board under the Government of India, that at the present time, owing to industrial development, the labour supply in India, is insufficient to meet the demands, and that good wages are being paid. The evidence on these points is confirmed by Sir Benjamin Robertson and Mr. G. L. Corbett, the official representatives of the Indian Government.

We, therefore, strongly recommend to Your Excellency that prompt steps be taken to provide the necessary shipping facilities, and to appoint an official well acquainted with the Indian mind and their methods, to act in a sympathetic manner, and to lay before the Indians the advantages of immediately returning to India.

Two main causes have hitherto militated against the return of many Indians, viz. (1) The excessively long time they are kept at the Durban depot awaiting shipment, during which time they spend their available money in subsistence, and are consequently driven to re-entering employment to enable them to provide for their families and themselves; and (2) the fact

that they are not allowed to take with them to India their earnings in the shape of gold and their jewellery.

We, therefore, recommend immediate steps be taken (a) to appoint an official (not connected with the Protector's Department) to organise the return of such Indians as are prepared to go; (b) to provide frequent shipping facilities at short intervals; (c) to relax the restrictions on the export of gold in so far as necessary in order to allow returning Indians to take their legitimate savings and jewellery with them to India; (d) to make provision, where necessary, for enabling returning Indians and their families to reach their home after arrival in India.

Evidence was given before the Commission that at a meeting held at Durban during March last of Indians employed by the South African Railway, 80 per cent. of those present expressed their wish to return to India, if assisted thereto. We consider that if action were taken by the Government in furtherance of this desire on the part of their own employees, it would become widely known amongst the Indians wishing to return to India, and have a good result. We feel, too, that advantage should be taken of the presence of Sir Benjamin Robertson and Mr. Corbett, in whom the Indian community have the utmost confidence, and whose influence is consequently great, to obtain their assistance and advice in initiating the scheme which we have recommended.

TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

IN his thoughtful presidential address to the third Sind Students' Convention Mr. Jayakar offered some advice to our young men which deserves their serious consideration. The importance of the formation of proper habits in early life can never be over-estimated and we are glad Mr. Jayakar also takes the same view. He seems to deprecate participation by the young in the day-to-day politics of the country which he compares to a 'dust storm that obscures the accepted land-marks of truth, justice, decency and humility.' While he would like them to undertake a 'critical and discriminating study of the affairs of the country through reading and observation', he would rather they 'concentrated their minds on the principles that ennoble the struggle for freedom'—a position all reasonable well-wishers of the country would accept. The retention of caste is obviously incompatible with our aspirations for political freedom and those who hold a contrary view evidently indulge in self-deception; for, according to Mr. Jayakar, 'your mind cannot admit of water-tight compartments, one in which you conceal social inequality, injustice and intolerance, and another in which you dress up your notions of political equality and justice.' He also advised his young hearers to 'cultivate a dignified and quiet species of courage, an irresistible attitude of self-possession, that is painfully aware of our present political inferiority—nay smarts under it—but refuses to accept it as indicative of a permanent or all round inferiority to the European.' We wish Mr. Jayakar had also enforced the need of speaking out one's mind even when the opinion expressed is likely to run counter to the prevailing current of thought, for the situation now requires fearlessness of this variety even to a greater degree than that to which Mr. Jayakar adverted.

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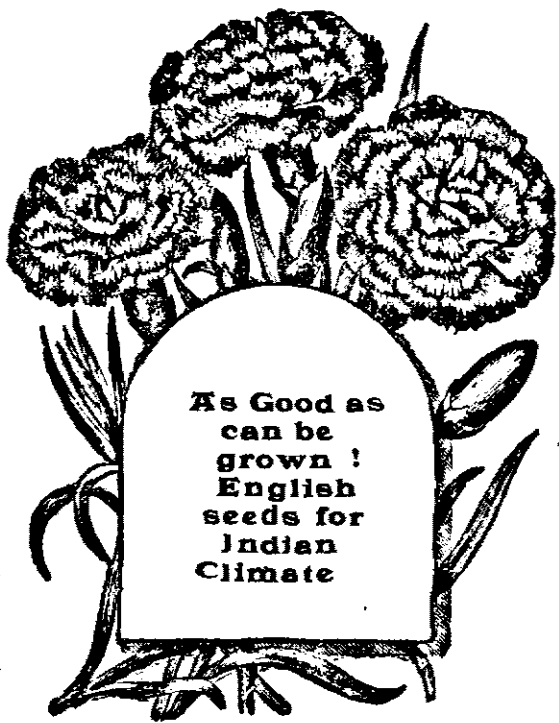
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