

THE Servant of India

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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE anniversary of the foundation of the Servants of India Society was as usual celebrated this year on the 12th June and subsequent days. In the absence of the President, the Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Mr. G. K. Devadhar conducted the proceedings. The heads and other members of the different branches gave an account of the work done by them during the year and explained their plans for the immediate future. The most noteworthy event was the admission of several young men as Probationers. They are: Mr. R. M. Chatterjee, B. A., from Orissa, Mr. Har Datt Sharma, B. A., LL. B., from the Punjab, Mr. M. S. Madhava Rao, B. A., Joint Secretary of the Depressed Classes Mission, Mangalore, Mr. P. Kodanda Rao, M. A., who was lecturer in the Central College, Bangalore, and Mr. K. G. Sivaswami Aiyar, B. A., from Tinnevely.

IN regard to the apology of the Ali brothers, Mr. Gandhi practically endorses everything said about it by Mr. Mahomed Ali: that the speeches for which the apology is tendered were not really inducive to violence or open to any other serious objection, their only fault being that they were so worded as unfortunately to render them susceptible of an adverse interpretation; and, again, that both the apology for the past and the undertaking for the future were intended for friends and not for the bureaucracy. No final verdict on this matter is possible till the whole account of what passed at the interview is available, but what has been so far published makes it extremely hard for outsiders to

accept without demur the version of the Maulana and the Mahatma. If the speeches in question were not really calculated to incite to violence, but were only capable in unfriendly hands of such an interpretation, we cannot understand why Mr. Gandhi should have at all worried about them. If the worst about these speeches was that "some passages in them did not read well," the anxiety which Mr. Gandhi showed in persuading the brothers to apologise and to engage themselves not to utter incitements to violence in future was excessive, if not entirely misplaced. This atonement, Mr. Gandhi says, was necessary "to put themselves right with their own conscience and with their friends." What had they done to put themselves wrong with their conscience? That they made speeches which were unjustly suspected of instigating to violence, perhaps by Lord Reading? In that case Mr. Gandhi should have made the Viceroy apologise and not the Moulanas. Again, who are the over-scrupulous friends to whom the speeches appeared to be of a violent character? Not Mr. Gandhi, nor any other friends whom we know of; for they have all been saying that the speeches did not in fact contain an instigation to violence? To whom, then, was the apology due? To none.

BUT was it required by the Government? There is no clear answer to this question either in Mr. Gandhi's or Mr. Mahomed Ali's statement, but this much is certain that the whole affair was initiated by the Government. The Viceroy placed the Moulanas' speeches before Mr. Gandhi, presumably in order that he may judge for himself whether the speeches did not contain incitements to violence. Mr. Gandhi's opinion about the speeches does not seem to be very harsh, he feels that they were somewhat incautiously phrased and are likely to create a wrong impression, but that they are not objectionable in themselves. And yet instead of assuring the Viceroy that there was nothing seriously wrong in them and that he need not trouble at all, Mr. Gandhi became so uneasy on account of the Maulanas that he ran up to them and obtained their apology. Till then no friend of the Ali brothers seems to have felt any alarm for their speeches; Mr. Gandhi alone had begun to think since the Simla interview that the speeches "did not read well." And still Mr. Gandhi thought it necessary to publish the apology to the world. The Government have since declared their intention to drop the prosecution which they say

was contemplated against the Ali brothers, in view of the expression of regret and the undertaking into which they have entered. Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Mahomed Ali feel aggrieved that the Government have taken undue advantage of the Ali brothers' action, which arose from causes quite independent of what the Government had intended to do to the Ali brothers. It is very material to the determination of this matter to know whether or not in the conversation between Mr. Gandhi and Lord Reading the threatend prosecution of the Maulanas figured. If it did, there is not much force in the complaint.

* * *

THE Temperance Association of Poona intends shortly to call a Provincial Temperance Conference for formulating the demands of the people in regard to excise reform in the Bombay Presidency. From the preliminary discussions which the Committee of the organisers had, it is clear beyond doubt that the ideal of total prohibition of the manufacture and sale of spirituous liquors is acceptable to all without any exception. But a considerable difference of opinion prevails as to the method by which the ultimate goal should be reached. One school of thought, which was in the majority at the meeting of the Committee, advocated the prohibition of drink by direct State action, while the other was inclined to adopt local option for the purpose. The ultimate result of the informal discussions was that a strong endeavour should be made, in the first instance, to bring in a bill in the local Legislative Council for the prohibition of the manufacture and sale of spirituous liquors in the Bombay Presidency after the 1st April 1924, failing which, another measure based upon the principle of local option should be introduced as early as possible.

* * *

THE Social Service League, Bombay, has suggested some important modifications in the Indian Factories Act Amendment Bill, which will result in affording greater protection to factory workers than is contemplated in the Bill. This provides that the minimum number of employees necessary to constitute a factory should be 20 instead of 50 as at present; while the League desires a further reduction with the object of bringing even smaller factories within the purview of the Bill and presses that the minimum should be fixed at 10. The Bill contemplates the vesting of the Local Governments with the power of bringing small factories employing between 10 and 20 people under the Act. It should be noted that they enjoyed a similar power even under the old Act; but that it was never put to use. Hence the necessity of incorporating the above provision in the amending Bill itself. The weekly hours of work are proposed to be limited to 60 under the Bill; but the League proposes that there should be a 54-hour week rather than a 60-hour one. The Bill proposes to fix the hours of work for children at 6, which the League desires to see reduced to 5.

* * *

The League's other suggestions are also well worthy of note. As regards factory inspectors, it suggests that they should be recruited from the medical profession in India and that they should possess some knowledge of mechanical and engineering science. It is also recommended by the League that none but Indians should be appointed to these posts. The welfare of the female and child employees would be doubtless promoted if the League's suggestion for the appointment of "a few lady inspectors in every large industrial centre" is given effect to. We agree with the League in thinking that the appointment of honorary inspectors or visitors "with definite powers and working under the chief inspectors on the lines of the honorary organisers of co-operative societies" would also help in achieving this object. The League supports the idea of employing whole time medical officers by provincial Governments to administer to the requirements of labour, but rightly emphasises the need of their being none other than Indians. It has also been suggested that no over-time work should be allowed until the hours of work are brought down to 8. In the opinion of the League, repetitions of offences on the part of employers should be visited, not with mere fines, but with simple imprisonments. The League has also suggested that the Bill should provide for the grant of privilege leave to women for six weeks before and six weeks after confinement.

* * *

The report of the Committee appointed by the Cochin Government to revise the educational system in the State has been published. The Committee has ruled out compulsion even in regard to primary education as being uncalled-for. The progress made by the State in educational matters on a voluntary basis is, in the Committee's view, so satisfactory as to make a resort to compulsion unnecessary. 70 p. c. of the total school-going population is already at school and the State has every hope of bringing another 20 per cent under instruction by opening more schools. The State seems to be specially fortunate in this respect. Its authorities are never faced with the problem as to how to fill their schools. Their experience in the past has been that no sooner are new schools opened than they attract the necessary number of students. There are, however, in Cochin some backward communities which are rather slow in realising the value of education. It would, in our opinion, have quickened their educational advance if in their case the Committee had recommended the introduction of the principle of compulsion. Such a recommendation would have been more in accord with modern requirements in the light of which the Committee was asked to frame their recommendations. This would have prevented all avoidable delay in bringing every child of school-going age under instruction. It is true that coercive action even in regard to education should be adopted only as a last resort; but it is equally true that it should not be shirked in case of necessity.

THE CHANDPUR INCIDENT.

It is sad to contemplate the needless misery and loss of life to which the unfortunate Assam labourers at Chandpur were subjected by the wrong attitude of the Bengal Government and of the local non-co-operators. Mainly on economic grounds, but to some extent being misled by outside agitators, the coolies began to migrate from Assam and found their way to Chandpur in Bengal. In the interests of public health and humanity, it was necessary to help them to go to their homes as they refused to go back to the tea gardens under any circumstances. Mr. De, the Commissioner of the Division, sent about a thousand coolies by steamer to Goalando at the expense of a private fund; but when it was exhausted and the stream of coolies continued to pour in, he moved them on at Government expense, but without the sanction of the local Government. When, however, the latter came to know about his action, it disapproved of it in adherence to the principle, in the words of Sir Henry Wheeler, "that in the case of labour disputes to which Government itself is not a party and of the merits of which this (Bengal) Government is not the judge, its attitude should be one of neutrality. It is not the duty of the Bengal Government to side with one party or the other. To do so would be to intervene gratuitously in favour of one party to an industrial dispute and to create a most dangerous and unjustifiable precedent for the future." This decision was most unfortunate as it was the main cause of all the subsequent misery and loss of life. If the Assam Government had argued in this manner there might have been some force in it, though we should still have disapproved of such an attitude as rights of property are always subordinate to the right of life. The duty of the Bengal Government was only to look upon the situation from the point of view of humanity and public health. The industrial concerns were in Assam and not in Bengal. Mr. De took the right view of the situation and moved the coolies on until his hands were stayed by the local Government. The latter forgot the good old maxim that prevention is better than cure and while it refrained from helping in the matter of repatriation, arranged for medical aid—in other words, refusing to give food to a starving man, met his funeral expenses after death.

Though Mr. De's attitude was perfectly right on the repatriation question, he was absolutely wrong in employing force in the way he did in clearing the railway station. No doubt it had been rendered dangerously insanitary by the coolies who squatted there and it was necessary to remove them to another place. But they clung to the station platform because they wanted repatriation and Mr. De's own action had strengthened their demand. He also knew that local non-co-operators had influence with the coolies, and what he should have done was to have assured them of repatriation and to have invited the local leaders to persuade them to camp elsewhere. But instead he wired for a Goorkha

contingent and as soon as they arrived employed them in clearing the station. He did so, according to his own admission in an interview with the local leaders whose assistance he however sought after creating the trouble by employing the Goorkhas, in order to produce a moral impression, which Mr. Andrews more correctly described as an immoral impression. Mr. De surely could not have been unaware that the Government of India had, in connection with the Punjab disturbances, strongly repudiated the employment of force for creating a moral impression. It is passing strange that the lesson of General Dyer should have been so easily and so soon lost on him. It is this attitude of his and the refusal of the local Government to help in repatriating that led to the long *hartals* and the railway and steamer strikes, which resulted in aggravating the sufferings of the stranded coolies, in spreading cholera and disease and in paralysing the business of the town. In the Commissioner of a Division more tact and foresight are certainly expected. His and the local Government's follies were a godsend to the local non-co-operators. They provided opportunity and excitement. The embers burst into high tongues of flame.

But it is reprehensible that in catching a political opportunity, the non-co-operators should have paid no heed to the dictates of humanity. Medical help for the sick and dying from Government was not accepted with any readiness. Aid from a relief fund was rejected because Mr. De was indirectly connected with it. The *hartals* and strikes called by the non-co-operators interfered with the supply of food and medicine to the patients, besides putting the general community to great hardship. They were continued with the object of 'bringing the Government on its knees' though by doing so the repatriation of the coolies was necessarily postponed, and cholera and disease found time to play dreadful havoc. Thus the lives and interests of the innocent coolies were sacrificed for the sake of a political gain by those who professed to be their friends. The follies and passions of the Government and non-co-operators thus added an unnecessary load to the melancholy burden of the country.

DYARCHY IN THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT.

ONE of the problems which, in the near future, should engage the attention of thoughtful politicians is the introduction of dyarchy in the Central Government. Notwithstanding the Cassandra-like forebodings of many persons, the system devised by the Montford scheme for the Government of the Provinces has been a success. The working of the system has revealed certain defects, and has also convinced the evil prophets that the people at this moment have the capacity and statesmanship for shouldering a larger measure of self-government than the Montford Reform proposals have given them. But the time has come for considering seriously whether the plan which has worked so well

in the Provinces should not be introduced in the Central Government. It is true that from the Imperial Councils more than from the Provincial Councils very many capable men have kept away; and yet the testimony borne by the President of the Legislative Assembly proves that the Assembly as a whole is capable of undertaking heavier responsibilities than have been entrusted to it. I have no doubt that it can as efficiently as the mofussil councils discharge the functions which dyarchy will confer on it.

The determination of *modus operandi* for the introduction of the scheme deserves serious thought. The proper procedure would be to dissolve the present Assembly and to bring in a new set of members for working dyarchy, because the present Assembly was not elected for that purpose. But it may be said that the sitting members have put themselves to considerable expense and trouble, and it would be unfair to ask them to go away within a year of their election. If the members consider that the sacrifice they are asked to make with a view to ushering the new order of things will not be sufficiently compensated by the step, they cannot be accused of being indifferent to the welfare of the country. They have two alternatives before them—one, personal sacrifice and the prospect of being turned out in the hustings, and the other, the prospect of securing for their country a real step in the path of self-government. As regards the second alternative, there is the prospect of giving opportunities to men who had stood aloof in the elections to come in and to assist in the administration of the country. On the other hand, the members of the Assembly can argue that they are as capable of undertaking the new responsibilities as those that, like Achilles, have skulked in the tent. If that is the predominant view, they should ask that further powers should be conferred on them. This ought not to be difficult. Anyhow, the time is come for claiming to go up another step in the ladder.

I have written this note with a view to eliciting public opinion on the suggestion herein contained. I am sure that the subject would be discussed with the seriousness and responsibility which it demands.

T. V. SESHAGIRI AYYAR.

AN EXPERIMENT IN HAND-SPINNING.

AN experiment on a fairly large scale is being carried on in Kathiawad some months past to see if hand-spinning and weaving can be made remunerative. In January last I received an offer of a lakh of rupees from a friend to be utilized as capital for the encouragement of spinning and manufacture of *khudder* in Kathiawad. Before closing with the offer, I had to consult friends and colleagues as to the feasibility of the work; therefore in order to study the local conditions and to see the work of a colleague who was already working in that direction, I went to Kathiawad and ulti-

mately decided to try the experiment with headquarters in Amreli town.

Cotton of the *Mathia* variety, which is short-stapled and the cheapest available in this country, is grown in abundance in the southern half of the province and is considered best for making coarse cloth. Kathiawad is a poor province comparatively and the *charkha* has not yet died out there. It was therefore considered to be the best place for the experiment. I have been working there for the last four months and the following facts in connection therewith will be found interesting to the reader.

Over 5000 *charkhas* are now at work at 25 centres, a quarter of them being supplied to the spinners by the promoters of the experiment, and the rest being supplied by the spinners themselves. Cotton is regularly supplied and yarn collected at the different centres by paid agents. The spinners mostly belong to the ordinary cultivating class and the lower middle class and earn at the rate of about two annas a day. They are all women and are not in a position to go out to earn a livelihood. Some of them are *purda* women, who will not stir out of their homes. However small the income may appear to be, they feel it a great boon and bless the soul that has revived the spinning wheel. It must be borne in mind that it is only a supplementary income. Two annas a day may not be much, but it is better than nothing to these poor people. As was mentioned in this paper in its issue of May 19 last by "An Economist" of wide repute: "The possible subsidiary earning by means of spinning wheels in a family of a poor ryot or agricultural labourer is very likely in millions of cases to make all the difference between adequate and inadequate maintenance" or in other words between a state of sufficiency and semi-starvation. (The italics are mine).

Carded cotton is supplied to the spinners, carding costing about an anna per lb., which brings about rupees two per day to a carder of ordinary strength. The yarn is given to the village weavers, who are exclusively members of the Dhed community; for the ordinary weaver has not yet overcome his objection to weave handspun yarn, on the score of its being uneven and breaking often, thus requiring a longer time to weave than the mill-made yarn. The weaver gets four to five annas a lb., whereby he is enabled to make about a rupee a day. The *khudder* that is produced is sold either locally or in Bombay. The percentage of local sale at present is small, but it is hoped that in the near future by a little advertizing most of the *khudder* produced will be consumed in the province. A maund of 40 lbs. of ginned *mathia* cotton costs at present about Rs. 9 and the same quantity of cotton turned into cloth (about 31 lbs.) costs about Rs. 32. Of this Rs. 2½ go to the carder, Rs. 6½ to the spinner, Rs. 10¼ to the weaver and Rs. 3¾ for supervision and miscellaneous charges. The *khudder* costs about seven annas a yard by 27 inches. The whole business is conducted on commercial and not on philanthropic lines, but no profits are earned and

the *khudder* is sold at cost price. At present about 80,000 rupees are employed in capital expenses and during the last month over Rs. 20,000 in all were distributed in wages to the different classes of workers. It is hoped to extend the business after the rainy season. Spinning is the least remunerative of the three operations, but in spite of that, scores of women come every morning, some from distances of four to six miles, and some have to be sent back without cotton, as the yarn collected can not be woven as fast.

From my experience I can say that there is a great future for spinning but as a supplementary home industry only, provided cotton is regularly supplied at various places. By providing such an occupation, it adds to the slender income of the rural population and is bound to prevent the tide of men and women going in search of employment to towns in normal times and prevent them flocking to relief works in famine times. The indirect benefits to the weaver and the carpenter are obvious. So long as the country remains a predominantly agricultural one, some supplementary source of income is absolutely necessary for those who depend upon land for their daily bread. Next to that of food, clothing is the greatest universal need and spinning is the most suitable home industry for this country. It may be said that the demand for *khudder* cloth is artificial and hence ephemeral and is bound to disappear sooner or later; but this is due to the misapprehension that mills can make even coarse cloth at a cheaper rate than the *charkha* and the handloom. When such cloth is produced locally and is known to be decidedly more durable, and the middleman's profit eliminated, it is bound to supply all local demand, at any rate on the part of poorer classes of the population, who form such a large percentage of the total. So the revival of the spinning wheel can be looked upon as a permanent feature and not a mere passing phase in rural Indian life. The nation lives in villages, not in towns.

A. V. THAKKAR.

RACE FEELING.

STUDENTS of current politics all the world over will easily recognise that the most difficult problem which requires immediate solution is the question of the relations subsisting between the different races inhabiting the globe. Everywhere the conflict is growing and in spite of the efforts of well-meaning statesmen to bridge the gulf and establish cordial feeling, the progress made in this direction has so far not been satisfactory at all. To the white, liberty, equality, fraternity and other ideals to which he pays homage have no meaning when other races are concerned. His dominance is of greater importance and usefulness to his race. This deplorable fact makes one despair of any immediate prospect of the establishment of that high ideal, "the brotherhood of man" which all religions have preached time and again. Some historical circumstances have enabled the white

man to extend his rule over lands where he has no right to govern. He speaks of the civilising mission of his race, but rarely understands how best that mission could be carried out unless what is professed is also practised. In most cases he has failed to live up to the ideal set up by his religion and in his lust for power and money he has totally neglected his mission. Even the missionary working amidst other races often forgets the fundamental truths of his religion and falls an easy prey to passions which speak of a less developed mind. His close association with those permeated with race feeling has discredited the religion of Christ to propagate which he migrates at great personal sacrifice to far-off lands. So everyone interested in the reformation of the existing state of things will read with great relief the proceedings of the conference on International and Missionary questions that assembled at Glasgow in January last wherein much attention was devoted to the subject of the contact of the West with Asia and Africa.

We have heard it said that if political justice is administered properly alien rule may be considered tolerable. If this is a fact those familiar with conditions in India can bear testimony. The Britisher often boasts of his impartiality, uprightness and efficiency. He has stood for justice between many warring elements. While it is not possible in the course of this article to examine this extravagant claim, we must emphasise the fact that he at any rate has not stood for equality between race and race, especially in a matter where the white and the coloured races are involved. Lord Reading's recent speech wherein he speaks of race equality is a confession of the existence of this just grievance. It is in the interest of all concerned also to bear in mind that mere political justice even fully adopted will not go much to smoothen the present strained relations between the governors and the governed. Rev. Lenwood of the London Missionary Society in a paper read at the Glasgow Conference says: 'I am inclined to think that good social relations are more important than political justice.' The insults that Englishmen in India offer to Indians is the main cause of the present unrest. Mr. Curtis of the Round Table fame expresses with refreshing frankness the disgraceful behaviour of many Englishmen in this country. He observes:

"If the true history of every Indian anarchist is written I venture to say that hardly one would be found in which the bent to political crime has not been given by some disgraceful incident of the kind. . . . I fear that the class of Englishmen who not merely offer, but consider it their duty to offer, these insults to Indians, whenever the occasion arises, must also be numbered in hundreds. To the peace of India and the British connection they constitute an incomparably greater danger than anarchists."

The events in the Punjab during the martial law regime, events of which only vandals can be proud, and the numerous instances of the manner in which justice is administered when Indian lives and Indian honour are concerned afford ample proof

of this. Race feeling, as Rev. Lenwood remarks, becomes worse when it is reinforced by theories of white dominance. The Non-co-operation movement in this country is in effect a revolt against the prejudice with which Englishmen start their career in India, "Indians must be kept in their place." Every circumstance that a ruling class possesses is taken advantage of to carry out this idea. The arrogance of the ruling class is so great that as Rev. Lenwood mentioned at the Conference even in England Indians find it difficult to get rooms in English Hotels.

If Englishmen in India are filled with such extravagant notions of their own importance, it is no wonder that the educated Indian resents their interference in the affairs of his country. The Indian feels that these Englishmen have a controlling voice in the Government and any act, however good its intentions may be, he looks upon with suspicion. Of course the inauguration of the reforms has led to the decline of the bureaucracy. The system meant to perpetuate the 'unquestionable claim' of the white man to rule India is being abandoned. Whether they will or not, they are forced to acquiesce in the new arrangements. But Sir William Marris pertinently says in his paper read at the Conference that the success of the new order of things will largely depend not only on Indians who will act and utilise the powers vested in them with a due sense of responsibility but also on Englishmen who will give their lives to India in what is called the missionary spirit. They must be prepared to give of their very best in the spirit of Christ.

It is well to bear in mind that the worth of a movement is generally judged by the actions of its followers. Christianity is judged by the action of Christians. It behoves a Christian to do all he can to change his standards of value which are now based on race prejudice. He must be able to recognise the good that is in others and give up looking down on their ways merely because they differ from his. Rev. Lenwood asked his hearers to cultivate a very sensitive imagination. He says: "The imagination of others' feelings is one of the rarest gifts, yet for want of it infinite harm has been done. We must learn instinctively to see every situation as other races see it; to know what they desire, to understand why they are repelled. Let us avoid accepting privileges given to us because we belong to a ruling caste, but denied to the real inhabitants of the country. At least we need not forget to be gentlemen."

Social intercourse plays a great part in removing suspicions that people of different races entertain of each other especially when one belongs to the ruling race. Many Englishmen are often given to express their sympathy for India's struggle for freedom. But how few have really helped the cause is a matter of history. The feeling of brotherhood can be considered genuine only if it is shown in act. That is the only way of removing the suspicions that lurk in the Indian mind.

So Rev. Lenwood concludes that positive creation of friendship at all costs is the only solution for this difficult problem. The mentality of the Englishman that makes him believe in the superiority of white races must undergo a radical change.

In this connection it is necessary to recall to our mind the treatment accorded to Indians in the Colonies. Judged by the standards enunciated by Rev. Lenwood, it is un-Christian. It is scarcely conducive to mutual good feeling without which no friendship can grow between the communities inhabiting these colonies. Nor is it consistent with the spirit of the British Commonwealth in which all members should receive equal treatment. The bad feeling exhibited by the colonials in South Africa, Canada, Australia, Fiji etc. towards Indians and other Asiatic races is a serious lapse of good sense. Unless equal treatment is accorded to all alike, the prospect of removing racial feeling is not hopeful.

The existence of the evil of race feeling is recognised; remedies have been suggested. What is it then that stands in the way of accomplishment? It is prejudice due to selfishness. All are sons of God. If this sonship is recognised, brotherhood must follow. This, Rev. Lenwood thinks, is God's view of man. This is the only tolerable view of human beings. Even historically the permanent superiority of the white races cannot find support. Superiority run on the races of the past has faded away. The appeal which Rev. Lenwood addresses to those that come out to work in India must certainly find response. For the mutual good of the two races which by Providence have been brought together, recognition of the brotherhood of man is essential. Any deviation from this course will greatly reflect on the character of the offender. While recognising the tremendous sacrifice the non-co-operation movement calls for from its followers, one cannot be blind to the fact that it is likely to end in the danger of creating race feeling too. In either case the result is deplorable. The sooner this race feeling dies out, the better for India and the Empire.

R. S. R.

MR. GANDHI'S APPEAL TO THE LIBERALS.

IN the last issue of *Young India* Mr. Gandhi has addressed an open letter to the Liberal party, appealing to them to lend assistance in working out such items of non-co-operation as command universal assent, and he particularly mentions temperance among these items as one which ought to evoke their whole-hearted support. This appeal has already been fully answered by the party through their accredited organs, and their unreserved support has been pledged not only to temperance, but also to the elevation of the social and political status of the so-called untouchables. It is somewhat strange that, although the latter occupies the first place in Mr. Gandhi's revised programme of non-co-operation, it is the former for which he seeks

Liberal support, in the first instance. The Liberals do not believe that temperance or removal of untouchability can at all form part of a movement for the withdrawal of co-operation from Government; did it really form an integral part, Mr. Gandhi could not in reason ask the Liberals to participate in it. Nor is Mr. Gandhi's assurance of much value that "the deprivation to the Government of the drink revenue is of the least importance in the campaign" in the face of the resolutions passed in due form at political conferences, and adverted to editorially in the SERVANT OF INDIA, to the effect that the temperance movement must be supported by the country because thereby they would be able to paralyse the ministerial section of Government. But, even so, the Liberal party, and I may say the ministers drawn from that party, are eager to give their unstinted support to this movement, although intended to hamper themselves and although identified with a political movement of which they strongly disapprove. Surely, the movement would have gathered greater strength if it had been kept clear of these unnecessary complications, but the Liberals as a party, I am proud to say, have risen superior to these minor considerations and welcomed help from all quarters, irrespective of their political persuasion, in the abolition of the drink traffic, which forms a leading plank in their own programme.

Mr. Gandhi's appeal is thus already answered by the Liberal party, but may I, as a young Liberal, state my personal view that the methods adopted by non-co-operationists in the cause of temperance are incapable of doing abiding good, if not absolutely futile? What is it that they are now doing? They picket as many grog shops as they can and try to dissuade the usual frequenters of these shops from drinking. I will at once concede that in this they have succeeded to a large degree. But my contention is that this does not go a long way. It will not be claimed for picketing that it turns back the drinkers, converted to abstinence. All that can be reasonably claimed is that the very sight of the picket, if strong in numbers, is often enough to shame the would-be drinkers into going back to their homes without their usual dose. The battle is thus won at the first blow, but the victory will last only so long as the picket is maintained. Directly it is withdrawn, the shop will be alive with the usual frequenters. No permanent change in habits has been effected, nor did I see any serious attempt at persuasion made at the centres I visited. The net result of the present movement will therefore be that while the enthusiasm which is just now observable lasts and liquor shops are attended by volunteers in large numbers, the shops will be deserted, but not a day longer. It is thus inherently impossible to close down permanently any of the existing shops by these means. The Liberals have ready to hand a much more effective means of suppressing the drink traffic, of which the non-co-operationists in their perversity have deprived themselves. It is calculated to yield

lasting results, of which the present movement is from its very nature not susceptible. To my mind, therefore, there is very little advantage in the Liberals participating in the picketing that is at present going on; I would rather have them concentrate on the method which is exclusively open to them and devise the best practicable means to prohibit, once and for all, the sale and manufacture of liquor by legislative action. Mr. Gandhi invites the Liberal party "to take advantage of the wave of feeling that has been roused against the drink traffic." It is perfectly unnecessary; the Liberal party are quite aware of the feeling on the subject. The picketing movement had a utility of its own when the matter was in the hands of an irresponsible Government which questioned the strength of the popular sentiment in favour of abolition; but now that it is amenable to popular control and in charge of ministers who are quite alive to the public feeling, the demonstration serves no very great purpose. If the ministers do not adopt prohibition forthwith, it is not because they fear that such a measure will meet with popular opposition, but only because they do not see their way clear to replenishing the treasury which will be largely depleted by the immediate application of prohibition. The non-co-operationists do not provide a solution for this financial difficulty. Even if picketing were to lead to a complete cessation of the drink traffic, the financial difficulty would remain as before. The non-co-operationists do not even attempt its solution. Mr. Gandhi says that, even at the cost of the stoppage of education and other useful activities, prohibition ought to be introduced. If ministers were to take up this position and to persuade the general public to undergo this grave sacrifice for the sake of a dry India, drink traffic would be abolished to-morrow. But such a serious question cannot be tackled in this airy fashion. Alternative sources of revenue have to be provided, if it is desired to dispense with the drink revenue in the near future. What is Mr. Gandhi's contribution to such a permanent solution of the problem? It is only this: he declares that "the country cannot bear fresh taxation; even the existing taxation is unbearable." By such pronouncements Mr. Gandhi, without intending it, is seriously retarding the advent of prohibition or temperance. No one is a greater enemy of progress in India at the present moment than he who persuades the people into believing that the limits of taxation have been reached. The disservice which Mr. Gandhi is unwittingly doing to the cause of political and social reform is proportioned to the influence which he wields. The non-co-operationists are going the wrong way about the work, and if they continue to preach what Mr. Gandhi has been doing, namely that the Indian people have come to the end of the tether, they will prove in practice the greatest stumbling blocks on the way to the attainment of what they and we have at heart in common. Nor is Mr. Gandhi's statement true in fact; if he can raise, as he hopes to do, several crores of rupees merely for

"With such a state of affairs existing," said Mr. Sastri, "India would definitely oppose the policy of Imperial Preference. Freedom to trade also means freedom to enter another country, and so long as this is denied so long will India continue to demand a Dominion status in the Empire."

PROBLEMS OF IMPERIAL DEFENCE.

With regard to the problems of Imperial defence, Mr. Sastri thought that the discussions of the Conference would range chiefly round naval matters. He was strongly in favour of an Indian navy, manned by Indians; but he was of the opinion that India wished such a navy to be controlled from India and not from the Admiralty. The relationship of an Indian navy to the Imperial Fleet had to be carefully discussed. For example, he could not imagine an Indian navy being ordered, in the event of war, to the protection of Australia, who had definitely closed her doors to Indians. But these were not new problems and at the coming Conference India would merely reiterate claims often put forward in the past.

Discussing the present situation in India, Mr. Sastri said there was no question of immediate danger to British rule. There had been sporadic outbreaks, and the danger had not yet passed, for Mr. Gandhi had by no means emptied his quiver. The full strength of his campaign had yet to be felt. But the reports of discussions between the Viceroy and Mr. Gandhi were a hopeful sign, and he thought they would probably lead to a happy compromise.

The new councils were working well—extraordinarily well. At first it was feared that obstructionist tactics would be used, that votes of supply would not be passed, and general disorganisation of the administrative machinery ensue. However, thanks to the abstinence at the elections of the extremists and non-co-operators, the new councils were composed of men with sound moderate views. Much useful legislation had been passed, and bills of a definite social reform character were now being introduced by members.

The appointment of Lord Reading had been very well received in India. The methods of the new Viceroy in visiting certain places, such as Jallianwalla Bagh, and conferring with the leaders of the Nationalist movement showed a definite sympathy towards Indians and Indian opinion. It was hoped that under his guidance India would enter upon a new relationship with the Empire of sympathy, respect, and prosperity.—*Manchester Guardian*, May 19.

NATIONALIST ATTITUDE TO NON-CO-OPERATION.

THE following translation of passages from articles that have recently appeared in local vernacular papers edited by prominent Nationalists reflect the views held in Nationalist circles with regard to Mr. Gandhi's non-co-operation movement, the fear of an Afgan invasion and the Ali Brothers' apology:—

FOR GOD'S SAKE, DON'T FALL INTO THIS MISTAKE.

It must be frankly admitted that the non-co-operation movement of which the object was stated to be the fulfilment of Indian aspirations by bringing about a paralysis of the Governmental machinery has failed to achieve its purpose. Educational institutions have as usual been filled to overflowing; some erstwhile non-co-operating professors are surreptitiously trying to secure employment in semi-Government colleges; pleaders and litigants are seen to crowd the law courts as before; Government servants are firmly sticking to their posts, and non-co-operationist leaders have begun to run up to the hill tops of Simla. If there is any item of non-co-operation that has done great harm to the nation than any other, it is the one relating to the boycott of councils. Whatever other items of the non-co-operation programme the country might have accepted, in no case should we have thrown away the opportunity afforded by the councils. Look at Ireland. Why has the Sinn Fein party which has set up a rival Government of its own completely captured the Southern Irish parliament established under the Government of Ireland Act? ... Are they fools? and are we the only wise people on the face of the globe? The reason rather is that

the Irish patriots are practical-minded men; while we are mere visionaries. ... Had the councils been filled with large numbers of Congressmen the bureaucracy would have had no alternative left for it but to sit and sulk in its tents. In the present state of India, the real way to *swaraj* lies, not in keeping aloof from the bureaucracy, but in putting in as many of our own men into the different Government departments and institutions as possible. Take local bodies, or universities or councils, or even the several Government services, an attempt must be made to control the reins of Government by flooding all these with members of the Congress party and their friends. That is the only way to bring the bureaucracy down on its knees. ... The handle of the sword ought really to adorn the hands of our young men; but it is a matter for profound shame that no effort is spared to see that the *charkha* replaces the sword. Mother India has in the past given birth to such manly women as Jijabai, Yesubai and Laxmibai, Queen of Jhansi; the same motherland is now bringing forth feminine men who rely upon the *charkha* as the only means of attaining *swaraj*. ... Speaking at the Gujrat Political Conference on the resolution regarding non-co-operation, Mr. Patel said that the country must as from the beginning of the next year absolutely refuse to pay taxes. Mr. Gandhi, who was present, did not dissociate himself from this statement. Some newspapers are making the suggestion that the Congress should "establish" *swaraj* in India. Non-payment of taxes is no doubt an effective means of making the bureaucracy powerless for evil. But the point is, not whether the remedy is the best, but whether it is practicable. And from this point of view any reasonable man will pronounce it as unpractical. Refusal to pay taxes is ordinarily a precursor of a declaration of war. The same phenomenon is noticeable, whether in regard to America or any other country which has won its independence from a foreign people. Can anybody say that we in India are yet ripe for such a grave step as non-payment of taxes? ... War will always be carried on with weapons of warfare and on scientific lines. To distinguish nicely between a peaceful war and a bloody war is to practise self-deception and to delude the whole nation. ... Is the nation to-day in a position to declare such a war? If not, why indulge in such impossibilities? If the nation has been found to be unequal to the burden of the present non-co-operation programme which is admittedly far less radical than non-payment of taxes, why run after a thing beyond your capacity and strength? This year's Congress is to meet at Ahmedabad and there is every possibility of there being no lack of people to blindly raise their hands in the Congress. It is even likely that Mr. Patel's proposal about the non-payment of taxes might come up in the form of a specific resolution. All reasonable and thoughtful people must from now prepare themselves to oppose such a motion, if made. Mahatma Gandhi was not in favour of this step at Bezwada. Whether it has now found favour with him, we cannot say. Whatever that be, all Congressmen must seriously ponder over the situation. For our part, we are opposed to it. It is our wish that a responsible body like the Congress should pass only such resolutions as can be carried out by the people. It is nothing short of madness to pass a resolution declaring the establishment of *swaraj* and the non-payment of taxes, if such a resolution remains a mere pious wish with no corresponding action on the part of the people. Such resolutions would only help in crowding Indian jails with leaders of secondary importance. ...

—*Lokasangraha*, June 8.

IF INDIA IS INVADED.

... We may have to practise non-co-operation with, or for that matter offer opposition to, the bureaucracy; but when our motherland is threatened with foreign invasion, we must whole-heartedly co-operate with the bureaucracy in repelling it. Hindus ought to, and as a fact do, sympathise with Mahomedans on the question of the *khilafat*, and they should by all means help the Mahomedans in every possible way in getting that wrong righted. But if some of them would pervert the *khilafat* movement to the end of establishing a Muhama-

dan power in India, Hindus and genuine non-co-operators will have no alternative but to dissociate themselves completely from it. . . .

We cannot help saying that the views expressed by Mahatma Gandhi on the possibility of an Afgan invasion are most unsatisfactory. We have high respect for him. . . He is a saint; he has undergone great sacrifices for the country and he is a genuine patriot. There can be no difference of opinion about this. But he lacks that brilliance of intellect and that independence of judgment which is required in the successful leader of a vast country like India. Not only that, signs are not wanting which convey the impression that his anxiety to give a trial to the principles of Tolstoy and Thoreau in India regardless of the limitations of Indian conditions and without minding whether they are practicable or undesirable or even ludicrous is getting keener and keener day by day. And we are perfectly certain that unless he curbs his anxiety in this regard there is sure to set in a reaction in India sooner or later against his philosophy of life. He says: "I shall try my best to prevent the Afgans' entry into India but will not help Government either by men or money." When the war was in progress and when India was not faced with the danger of a foreign invasion, Mahatma Gandhi set himself in opposition to Mr. Tilak and remarked: "It is only by helping the Imperial Government at this crisis that India will attain *swaraja*." He also carried on a vigorous recruiting campaign throughout Gujarat in those days. That the same Mr. Gandhi should now say that he would do his best to repel Afgan invasion in stead of helping the British Government in repelling it is a thing we confess we fail to understand. Supposing the armed forces of Afganistan invaded India, what steps will he take to turn them away? Will he raise an independent army of his own under his tricoloured banner bearing the mark of the *charkha* to fight them, or is he going to use the sharp ends of the *charkha* instead of the bayonet to wound them? Will he bombard them with machine guns or will he try and crush them by means of the *charkha*? Will he attack the enemy's forces in order to kill them or will he obstruct their progress through Northern India by making non-co-operators lie flatly on the ground in their path? It is difficult to know what course of action he would adopt. . . To tamely accept this philosophy of life is to replace the slave mentality engendered under the bureaucratic dispensation by the slave mentality induced by the Gandhian dispensation. We for our part thoroughly disapprove of this step and shall try our best to prevent it to the best of our capacity. Only one course seems clear to us in case of an invasion. Maybe bureaucracy has killed our sense of self-respect; maybe it has even ruined the *khilafat*; so long as it is a fight between democracy and bureaucracy, the Indians must persist with their agitation on a fierce scale until at last the bureaucracy is forced into submission. But if an outside nation took advantage of the present political upheaval in India to invade her, the people must at once sink all their differences and must range themselves on the side of bureaucracy and place all their resources at the disposal of Government. There will be time enough to agitate for *swaraj* with redoubled force, if necessary, after the fear of such an invasion is set at rest.

Lokasangraha, May 27.

ALI BROTHERS' APOLOGY.

The reasoning that the Ali brothers apologised, because the use of strong language indulged in by them in the flow of their oratory was calculated to incite people to violence and was thus detrimental to the movement of non-violent non-co-operation might appeal to Mahatma Gandhi; but it will certainly not appeal to all. It would be better not to give expression to thoughts for which an apology would be necessary later on. The brothers Ali repeatedly boasted of their preparedness to go to jail. It is not in keeping with such tall talk on their part to escape a trial for sedition by tendering the apology. Who had asked these Islam heroes to indulge in such vain and self-concoited talk? It would have been better not to be responsible for the kind of speech which

Mahomed Ali is credited to have done at Madras. However much you may defend the Ali brothers, according to the well-known adage that reputation once lost is difficult to recover, people will properly rate all their future boasts of bravery and boldness.

—Rajkaran, June 5.

TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

The Irish Government is freely accused in Parliament of condoning the unspeakable outrages committed by the Black and Tans in Ireland. The excuse put forward by the officials is that the Auxiliaries were improvised in a hurry, and in the process some men got in who were undesirable and who did certain things "which are not defensible." The Prime Minister, by way of extenuation, thus described (April 24) the conditions in which they had to work: they were

"Working in the terror of their lives, with hundreds of them killed, never knowing when they were walking along the street whether the man passing them would not shoot them when they had passed, never knowing when they entered their houses, even when sick, or for repose, that someone would not knock at the door and that trouble would begin. Fourteen of them were killed in those conditions; people going for food to a bakery shot by men who happened to be in the street. Thirty of them on their way to the worship of their God were killed. Most of them were of the very faith of the people who killed them. Those are the conditions under which these men, meeting for the first time, undertaking a new task, having to organise whilst they are fighting, . . . have had to work. Is there no allowance to be made for them?"

One cannot but feel a certain amount of sympathy for this plea, but the Government's principal defence is that they have adequately dealt with the delinquents. Mr. Lloyd George said: "*A considerable number have been punished. A considerable number have been dismissed.*" Irishmen are by no means satisfied with this treatment, but look at the difficulties the Government of India make here in regard to the punishment of the officials who, in the judgment of their own Committee, were guilty of excesses. Even Mr. George, who is openly charged with defending and encouraging the miscreants in Ireland, does not trot out the theory that to a military man censure is worse than death, and that therefore such an one should be mildly reprimanded and kept in service rather than be dismissed.

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