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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

The Karachi Trial.

GOVERNMENT cannot be said to have gained anything as a result of the Karachi trial. The accused were acquitted on the main charges of conspiracy to seduce Muhammadan soldiers and were convicted only of intention to make them fail in discharging their duty, which is a technical and trivial offence in the present political condition of India. Nor can it be claimed that law has been vindicated as from numberless platforms the same offending resolution has been repeated, subsequent to the launching of the prosecution, without any legal action being taken against the offenders. The Government could easily have foreseen that such would be the result and that there would be a political gain to the adversaries. It is incredible that in such an important State trial the prosecution should have made an untenable charge. The only useful purpose from the Government viewpoint served by this trial is—and it is useful to a very limited extent—that it emphasised that religious opinion cannot be pleaded as an excuse for breaking the law of the land. In spite of the undignified and truculent behaviour of the accused, the judge preserved an admirable judicial detachment and his charge to the jury is a model of fairness which other judges trying political cases will do well to copy. Regarding the accused he said :

"Some of the accused seemed learned and pious men and all seemed esteemed citizens to whom the country would owe much if they followed the right path, and Islam and the Empire and this country might have profited by them had they not taken up the attitude they had done. Yet the accused could not but deeply regret that some of them were at the bar in this court instead of being high in the service or the councils of His Majesty."

Such men certainly ought not to be treated as ordinary criminals and we trust that Lord Reading will reduce the sentence to one of simple imprisonment and in other ways mitigate it.

Repression Unwise.

WHILE at Karachi the charge of sedition against the Ali brothers was withdrawn, the Government of Madras, with its usual gift for blundering, has instituted proceedings against Messrs. Yakub Husan, Abdul Majid Sharar and Varadarajulu Naidu for sedition and for promoting class-hatred. Surely these men have not been more seditious than the Ali brothers or Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Yakub Husan is in no sense a danger to the peace of Madras. The dignified tone of his brief statement before the trying magistrate is in every respect a perfect contrast to that of Mr. Muhammad Ali. No serious consequences have resulted from his Tanjore presidential address which had almost been forgotten by the public, until the prosecution gave fresh publicity to it. It is the oft-repeated policy of the non-co-operators to speak wildly and court imprisonment. The Government generally has refused to play into their hands and adopted a policy of patience, trusting in the common sense of the people. Sedition has now become so common and has been so much tolerated that any special notice of it comes as a surprise. By provincial Governments departing now and then from this wise policy of tolerance they are only adding fuel to a dying fire. The mass of non-co-operators are quite tired of the movement and their enthusiasm can be kept up only by excitements such as these trials afford. During the next two months non-co-operators are bound to do their utmost, for it is fairly certain that after the time fixed for the attainment of Swaraj is past, the movement has not a ghost of chance. During this period not only will there be more sedition; but civil disobedience of various kinds will be practised in several places, although the conditions laid down by the All-India Congress Committee for persons and localities in respect of the use of *Khaddar*, may not be fulfilled. It is now that Government should exercise the greatest patience. It is now that the policy followed by it so long will be really tested. We hope that the local authorities will be instructed to keep their heads quite cool.

Malabar.

NO important military operation against the Moplahs has been reported for some days. After getting

a good taste of the Gurkhas, the Moplahs seem to be avoiding them as far as possible. Mr. Knapp, the newly created Commissioner, has interested himself in the formation of a territorial force which is to consist of 800 men. A local recruiting committee has been formed and we hope the required strength will be easily made up. They will be trained at Cannanore for one month from the 15th of December. Refugees are daily pouring into the relief camps at Calicut, Palghat and other places. The local non-official committee had in its charge nearly 10,000 refugees a few days ago but the number must have increased considerably since then. The Congress Committee also is reported to be giving relief to an equally large number. Money, however, is not coming in as quickly as it ought to. Mr. M. S. Madhava Rao of the Servants of India Society, who is joint secretary of the Central Relief Committee, complains that little babies, expectant mothers, as well as those who were recently delivered (often during their flight from the Moplahs) are in great need of milk and other nourishing food, which for want of funds the committee is unable to provide. The country has not responded to the call of fellowship and humanity as generously as it ought to have done. Madras has contributed very much less than what is expected of her, while nothing has yet come from several provinces. There is no room for party feeling in this humanitarian work. We earnestly request the hearty co-operation of all. He gives twice who gives promptly.

Brutes.

WE are much pained to learn that Mr. C. F. Andrews was assaulted at a railway station in East Africa when he was proceeding to Uganda and that as a result he will be unable to move about for a fortnight. We presume that this brutality was the work of some European, who vented his spleen in a blind rage at the outrage of "white" prestige by a "white" man who places justice and righteousness above loyalty to race and nationality. Is this person fit to teach Africans, we wonder; is a brute fittest to civilize a savage? As for Mr. Andrews, our deep sympathy is mingled with the knowledge that he, the truest disciple of Christ it has ever been our good fortune to meet, will rejoice in the blessing of his Master, "Blessed are they that are persecuted for righteousness' sake; for theirs is the Kingdom of heaven. Blessed are ye, when men shall revile you and persecute you and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely for my sake. Rejoice and be exceeding glad; for great is your reward in heaven; for so persecuted they the prophets which were before you."

A First Step.

HIS HIGHNESS the Thakore Saheb of Rajkot has, in consultation with the leading citizens of his State, issued some rules under which public meetings may be convened. They lay down that the convener should be a tax-payer, merchant or cultivator in the State, that notice of the meeting with the

names of the president and the convener should be given to the authorities at least three hours before the proposed time and that the subject should not be such as to create disaffection against anyone. Every meeting, it is laid down, should be attended by a Karbari, or a first class magistrate of the State. We should like, of course, that no restrictions of any kind existed, excepting those imposed by the ordinary law. But we recognise that for an Indian State these rules are not illiberal and that their mere presence restricts the arbitrary exercise of power by local authorities. 'Disaffection against anyone' is too general an expression and requires amplification. The provision that a Karbari or first class magistrate should be present at every public meeting may act as a restriction, though not meant to be one. In practice it may mean that when he is on tour or is otherwise unable to attend a proposed meeting, it could not be held. It would also make meetings in rural areas impossible. We should therefore urge the removal of this provision or at least that it should be made clear that it is only an injunction to the officers and no disability on conveners of meetings. We make a present of these rules to the Chief of Bhor whose absolute prohibition of meetings created a very unpleasant situation in his State a few weeks ago.

* * *

Action and Reaction
in
Travancore.

WE were able in our last issue to congratulate Travancore on the progress made with reforms which in other Indian States seem still matters of a dim distant future. But in Travancore no less than anywhere else, the reformer's path seems to be not always one strewn with roses. Another reform in Travancore which we understand is about to be carried out, is the separation of the Devasom from the Revenue Department. Hitherto Temple Management and Public Revenue have formed one department, because according to tradition a former Maharaja once offered up, when in great peril, the whole of the country as the private property to a deity, which returned it to him as a trustee and temporal steward only. Public Revenue thus being only a special form of Temple Revenue, it follows that none but caste Hindus can fill posts in the Revenue Department, which thereby becomes closed to the Christians, Moslems, Izhuwas, &c. who for some years now have protested against such curtailment of their civil rights. The tradition certainly is a very convenient one for the ruling classes, whose sons thus have at least one preserve in which they are safe against competition. The reforming zeal of the present Dewan is therefore not everywhere appreciated and the recent students' strike at Trivandrum is said to have been in reality nothing but a demonstration against him and his declared policy of throwing the Revenue Department open, the question of enhanced school fees being merely a peg on which to hang action ultimately intended to discredit the Dewan and to result in his supersession by a more conservative official.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE.

AMONG the several things which have remained obscure in the campaign of non-co-operation, the connection between the *charka* and civil disobedience is the most obscure. One can well understand that the boycott of schools and law courts, or the renunciation of titles and Government service, or civil disobedience and non-payment of taxes are different forms of non-co-operation, but why home-spinning should find a place in the non-co-operation programme is more than one can understand. The spinning wheel may work all the miracles which are claimed for it or may have a limited utility which no one denies; whatever may be the value of spinning, it can never be part of a movement which professes to bring the Government to its knees by cutting off all intercourse with it. The strongest adherent of Government may happen to have faith in all the magic virtues of *charka* which Mr. Gandhi is so fervently preaching; and the bitterest enemy of Government may feel sceptic about the economics of spinning as Mr. Gandhi puts it forward. There is no essential connection between the desire to promote hand-spinning and the desire to taboo Government for the wrongs of the Punjab and Khilafat which it has inflicted upon the people. If it is not intelligible as to why the *charka* movement should be made an integral factor of non-co-operation, it is still less intelligible as to why the adoption of civil resistance and non-payment of taxes should be made contingent on the spread of Swadeshi in the narrowest sense of the term, *i. e.* on a general use of *khaddar* of hand-made yarn. And yet that is what Mr. Gandhi has been saying and that is what has now been endorsed by the All-India Congress Committee.

According to the decision of this body, any individual who uses only hand-spun and hand-woven clothes and any tract a vast majority in which also use this kind of clothes are allowed, under the authority of the Congress organisation, to practise civil disobedience. Why the use of *khaddar* of this variety should be a necessary and sufficient qualification for civil disobedience no one has yet taken the trouble to explain, though Mr. Gandhi has often expressed this idea with much unction. In the last issue of his paper, he says that when we are fully possessed of the Swadeshi spirit (in his sense), "thousands of us involuntarily, as if by a common impulse, will march forward to civil disobedience." But those to whom a mere energetic reiteration of a proposition is no substitute for a convincing reason must still continue to ask the why and the wherefore of the thing. We should have been greatly surprised if in the All-India Congress Committee this question had not been raised. Mr. Hasrat Mohani, who blamed Mr. Gandhi in the U. P. Provincial Conference, for first launching the country on the movement of non-co-operation and then taking out of his campaign every single item of non-co-operation, leaving

in it only the *khaddar* and anti-untouchability movements which, whether good or bad, do not react upon Government at all, except indirectly. He and several others inquired how the completion of the Swadeshi programme fits any individual or place to offer civil resistance to Government. They objected to the condition laid down by Mr. Gandhi on two grounds: (1) that it is impossible of universal practice; and (2) that it is economically ill-conceived. In spite, however, of these objections forcibly put, Mr. Gandhi's reasoning carried the day, as is to be expected from the present personnel of the All-India Congress Committee. There is one distinction to be noticed between the qualification prescribed for individual and that for mass civil disobedience. In the case of individuals it has been laid down that they must show in their conduct that they do not regard the depressed classes as untouchable, while no such condition is to be enforced when a district or a taluka adopts civil disobedience. We do not see any organic connexion between anti-untouchability and civil disobedience, just as we see none between the *charka* and civil disobedience. But active opposition to untouchability seems to be required as a necessary condition of Swaraj. Mr. Gandhi has often declared it to be so; if an individual must be an adherent of the anti-untouchability movement in order to become a civil resister, so must be a district. But while the use of swadeshi clothes is enjoined upon both individuals or territorial units practical support of anti-untouchability is required only of individuals, territorial units being relieved from the obligation. Being ourselves strong supporters of the anti-untouchability movement, we rejoice that it has found partial recognition in the All-India Congress Committee's resolution though we fail to see any logical connexion between that movement and civil disobedience; but our rejoicing is rapidly dissolved by the resolution calling upon all workers to "devote their exclusive attention to the completion of the boycott of foreign yarn and cloth," thus again throwing the anti-untouchability movement into the background. The way in which the Congress is dealing with this question leads one to suspect that that body is not after all very serious about it.

The All-India Congress Committee's resolution, with Mr. Gandhi's gloss on it, amounts to this, that Mr. Gandhi will commence civil disobedience in Gujarat and that workers in other provinces will watch the result for some time. It should be noticed that the civil disobedience campaign which Mr. Gandhi will now initiate is not a "conscience movement" like the one which Thoreau and Tolstoy preached. It is not proposed that those laws should be broken which offend against the conscience, but all laws which it may be convenient to break, however consonant they may be in themselves with the dictates of conscience. Mr. Gandhi says in *Young India*, that "those only can take up civil disobedience who believe in willing obedience even to irksome laws imposed by the State so long as they do not

hurt their conscience or religion," but we doubt whether Mr. Gandhi intends to observe this condition himself. We feel sure rather that the movement of civil resistance will not be limited to laws which hurt conscience or religion, but will be extended to all laws which Mr. Gandhi may think it expedient to break. It exemplifies what we have said before that it is on expediency rather than on principle that the movement of non-co-operation is based.

THE TRIAL AND AFTER.

THAT WAY DOES NOT LIE THE SOLUTION.

THE great State trial of the Ali brothers and other Khilafat leaders has ended. I wrote a few days before their arrest and prosecution of the unwisdom of such a course, not on the merits of the case itself, but on grounds higher than even the formal vindication of the established law of the land, penal or criminal. My contention was twofold. I showed that the harm arising out of that step—whether in the case of the very vindication of the law and the maintenance of the authority and prestige of the Government or of coping with the situation and restoring calm and quiet in the country—would outweigh all other considerations combined together. And therefore, I submitted, *That way did not lie the solution.*

I now write after the great trial has ended to examine briefly, not the judicial findings of the Judge and the jury, but the position of the Government with respect to the Khilafat and non-co-operation movements, during and after the trial. I have carefully watched the proceedings and tried to study the effect of those proceedings on the public mind from day to day of the progress of the trial upto the verdict of the jury and the Judge, and finally the very partial conviction of the six learned Maulanas and the acquittal of the Shankaracharya.

The very first question that I would like to ask the supporters of the prosecution is, Have the proceedings in the courts, both the lower and the sessions, added to the prestige of the law courts and the majesty of the law, or shaken that prestige and brought the ridicule and jeering of the man in the street at that majesty of the law which it was intended to vindicate?

And then what is to be said of the verdict of "Not Guilty" of the Judge and the jury on the main charge of criminal conspiracy and attempt to seduce troops, to safeguard against and to prove which the whole prosecution, I understand, was started. Even where the verdict of the majority of jurors and the Judge is "Guilty," what is the case? The Government by the prosecution of the seven leaders have incited anybody and everybody in the Khilafat and non-co-operation movements to issue manifestoes or hold public meetings to proclaim and repeat the very resolution which was the sole contention of the subsidiary charges and conviction, and thus defy the Government in their face and the very law it was intended to vindicate by the

prosecution. Has that, I ask, added to the prestige of the Government, and helped to vindicate the majesty of the established law, or undermined that prestige further and flouted the very law it was intended to vindicate? Let the supporters of the prosecution once again answer after due reflection.

What then is the sum total of the result of the whole trial? Has it abated the fury of our non-co-operating friends and made them relax their programme? Or, has it been a fresh moral and political victory for the non-co-operator, and an impetus to him for further drastic action? Has all that brought the solution of the great problems confronting the Government and the well-wishers of the country nearer or, has it made the issues more complex, more bitter, and the situation graver and graver?

And yet I am not quite without hope. I see that there is yet a way to bring peace and harmony in the country so far as the Khilafat and the Turkish Peace terms are concerned on mainly rests and which fosters the great non-co-operation movement.

HOW IT CAN BE DONE.

Let the Government of India, and through it all supporters and well-wishers of the country, say to the British Government: "Vindicate your pledge to the people of India, the pledge which Mr. Lloyd George gave to the Indian Musalmans in 1918, before it is possible for us to vindicate the law in its reality and restore true peace and harmony in the country." That is the great truth which the Government of India themselves have to realise first, and then openly to press it upon the British Cabinet. The Government of India are fully aware of the intensity of feeling on the subject of Khilafat and the Turkish Peace Treaty among not only the Musalmans of India and the entire Indian community, but also other Asiatic Powers, principally Muslim. It will serve no useful purpose, at the present moment, to go into the rightness or otherwise of this feeling. The fact remains, that nothing short of an honourable peace, consistent with the dignity and integrity of Islam, would satisfy this feeling. The Government of India themselves have from time to time expressed their fullest sympathy with the people of this country on this subject. They and that great champion of the Muslim cause, the Secretary of State for India, have been putting forward the Muslim view before the British Cabinet from time to time. But the reason why their efforts have not brought due recognition from the appreciation of the Indian community is that these efforts have led to *little or no appreciable results* so far as the early prospects of an honourable settlement are concerned.

On the contrary the unfortunate course of events that have followed leading to and in the development of the Turco-Greek War has created a very strong impression in this country that the British Cabinet, though apparently observing neutrality, are flouting the Muslim sentiments by per-

mitting a private supply from England of arms, ammunition and money loans to Greece and thus equipping Greek armies with what the Angora troops so badly need but are unable to have.

In this connection, it is worth noticing what the attitude of the Prime Minister was, till very lately. He was emphatic in his reiteration of the statement which he first made when approached on behalf of the Angora Government and the Mussalmans of India to intervene in the Turco-Greek War that the policy of his Government was to leave the issue to be decided between the Greeks and the Turks themselves. His recent statement after the first reverses sustained by the Greek armies that the "proper moment for intervention had not yet arrived" has, however, given rise to another suspicion that the present refusal may be made the pretext for an intervention of another sort, when the Greeks are completely beaten. Should this suspicion, rightly or wrongly, gain ground and should an intervention take place at a latter stage when the Greeks are actually completely beaten, it would lead to disastrous effect not only in so far as the movements of Khilafat and non-co-operation are concerned, but also as the various Mussalman States in Asia go. It would be going against the very vital interests of, nay, it would be a death blow to, the British Empire in Asia.

To show that I am no alarmist, that this is not my view alone, but also of those who represent the Government of India, I may be permitted to point out what the Honourable Mr. Bray, Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, said in the course of his speech on my motion of adjournment regarding the Khilafat movement in the Delhi session of the Council of State:—

"There is a great belt of Islamic countries stretching unbroken from the south of the straits of Gibraltar far away into Northern China. One block of India itself stands within that belt—that great frontier buttress on the North-West made up of the North-West Frontier Provinces and Baluchistan. But it is even more relevant to my present purpose that within that Islamic belt are included nearly all the foreign countries with which India is most closely concerned. It is thus palpable that from an external point of view alone the welfare and goodwill of Islam must in the very nature of things be of paramount importance to India and the British Empire. This fact is in itself a powerful reinforcement of the cause which Muslim India has at heart."

Reuter informed us the other day that the Afghan armies were fighting by the side of the Turks against Greek armies. A later telegram announces the conclusion of a defensive and offensive alliance between Afghanistan and Persia. There are also signs which portend that the problem is assuming larger dimensions and prejudicing friendly relations between England and the various Islamic powers which are at present neutral, for the reason that England, being the most important and influential of the Allies, and wielding largest influence in the conferences and councils of the Allies, is, as I have stated above, suspected at this moment of befriending Greece against Turkey, whereas France and Italy are said to favour the

conclusion of the Treaty with Turkey, more or less on the lines laid down by Mr. Lloyd George in January 1918.

I have already pointed out above how the recent prosecutions and convictions have given a fresh lease to the grave discontent and excitement already prevalent in the country. Add to this the further excitement due to the confiscation of the Ulemas' *Fatwa*, and also all kinds of rumours of Mahatma Gandhi's and other leaders' arrests, should they resort to civil disobedience or acts of that kind. It is only desirable that the Government, not out of their weakness but strength, should pacify the discontent and excitement as far as it reasonably could before it is too late.

The only way by which, it appears to me, the Government of India can do so, and thus avert both the external danger of an anti-British Alliance by Foreign Muslim Powers and internal discontent, riots and bloodshed is for the Government, for Lord Reading himself, and for various Governors and Governments of Provinces to use their personal and official influence with the British Cabinet and move it *now*, and *at this stage* to conclude an honourable peace with Turkey *without waiting for the results of the Turco-Greek War, on the lines laid down by the Prime Minister on behalf of the whole Empire on 5th January, 1918, viz. "not to deprive Turkey of their capital and the rich and renowned lands of Thrace and Asia Minor"*

This surely cannot be characterised as anything like or approaching the 'impossible' demand of *status quo ante bellum*. What it in fact amounts to is that Turkey should not be treated worse than other enemy Powers, that she should retain those provinces which were admitted even by the British and Allied statesmen to be predominantly Turkish, that the Arab Provinces should be granted full autonomy and finally that the Holy cities of Mecca and Medina may remain under the suzerainty, *however nominal*, of the Khalifa.

Is this too much to ask of the Indian and the British Governments? Will they be so blind or stubborn as not to see facts in their true perspective, and not to resort to the *proper remedy at the proper moment*? No, I still retain my optimism, my faith in the statesmanship and farsightedness of Lord Reading and his Government, and hope that they will take time by the forelock and press on the Cabinet the necessity for immediate action in the direction, referred to above.

G. M. BHURGRI.

"LAND AND LABOUR IN A DECCAN VILLAGE."

THE question as to whether India is getting richer or poorer is of a very long standing and it is a well-known fact that several Government officials always maintain that it is getting richer, while most of the leaders of the public hold the opposite view. Notwithstanding this keen difference of opinion, nobody until very recently attempted to collect firsthand and detailed information to as-

certain the truth. Dr. Harold H. Mann and his colleagues started in 1912 a close study of the Deccan villages in order to throw some light on the question. A very large majority of the Indian people are living in villages and therefore they naturally thought that if typical Deccan villages were studied the information gained would lead to some definite results especially with regard to the Deccan. The first book containing a detailed study of a village near Poona was published by them in 1917 and now they have brought out another book of a similar nature which we propose to review to-day.

Land and Labour in a Deccan Village, Study No. 2, by H. H. Mann and N. V. Kanitkar, has been published by the University of Bombay as one of their Economic Series. Even a very cursory reading of the book will show that these gentlemen have combined their scientific methods with their knowledge of Agriculture and Economics in collecting information. There is not a single aspect of any importance in the study of the village which they have left out. Climatic conditions, rocks, soils and waters; crops and cattle; division of land and land tenure; population, income, expenditure and debts family by family and also the information of the village from old records since 1698, are all recorded in the book. The special feature of this record is that all the information it contains is firsthand, collected on the spot directly from the people and confirmed by cross checks and hence thoroughly reliable to draw conclusions from.

The subject-matter of the book is a village called Jategaon Budruk about 25 miles from Poona on the Poona-Nagar Road and had until recently communication with Poona only by an unbridged road and hence is not much under city influences. It might, therefore, be taken as a typical village representing a large dry tract in the Deccan. In the dry tracts water supply acquires great importance and has been properly treated along with the soil. In this village with an area of 2,450 acres there are 26 wells actually in use and two channels (only one in use now) for irrigation. In the year 1886-87 there were only 16 wells and now the number has gone to 26, but one of the channels has gone out of use. The use of the channel involved an annual expense for clearing out the head which silted up every year. The removal of the silting was getting more and more difficult until at last the cultivators gave it up altogether and now the channel is all silted up. It is a pity, as the authors say, that no help is given to the cultivators in getting over the undoubted engineering and other difficulties that occur in maintaining such a channel. When every attempt has to be made to make all possible sources of water available to the cultivators, it is disappointing to find the existing sources disappearing under the eyes of the Government officials.

The division of land has almost reached its limit in this village as in other villages. The question of the fragmentation of land is still under consideration and no definite solution has yet

been proposed which would be considered satisfactory on all sides.

With regard to the land revenue one interesting fact brought out by the authors from the old records is that in pre-British times assessment was paid only on actually cultivated area and not on the whole village land as at present. Another important fact connected with the payment of land revenue is that whenever any expense was incurred on account of Government officials or impressed labour or any loss was sustained on account of the ravages of armies or burglars, &c. all the loss was made good out of the revenue collected before it was sent to the central Government. The principle underlying this system is sound. It saves all extra burden on the villages and puts it on the central Government which takes the responsibility of protecting the villages for the payment it receives from the cultivated land.

The most important crops of the village are Bajri with mixtures and Jowar with safflower. These occupy nearly 2,000 acres. Wheat and gram which come next occupy about 100 acres each, while the most paying crops like sugarcane and oranges occupy about 15 acres. If the sugarcane and oranges are excluded the average nett return comes to Rs. 5-12-0 per acre in an average year. This nett return when considered in conjunction with the fact that 70 out of 146 holdings are of less than 10 acres each, it brings out clearly the pitiable condition of the people.

All the information about land, crops and cattle must culminate in an enquiry of an economic type in a study of the economic condition of the people of the village. The information must be able to tell whether the bulk of the people are in a sound economic condition or no. There are 147 families with a population of 736 souls. All the people are in whole or part cultivators. The necessary expense, excluding the interest on debts, has been ascertained to be about Rs. 220-0-0 per family or Rs. 44 per head per annum for providing food to maintain efficiency and for clothes required to maintain self-respect. The total income of the people as calculated for 1917 (considered to be an average year) is Rs. 24,903. This works out at Rs. 167-13-0 per family per annum or an annual income of Rs. 33-12-0 per head. The debts of the village were Rs. 29,348 in 1917, the rates of interest varying from 12 to 72 per cent. while the average rate works out to be 23.4 per cent. These figures show the whole state to be unsatisfactory, but that it is worse still can be seen when the families are divided into three groups. The first group consists of families whose income from land alone can maintain them in a good economic position and there are only 10 such families, the second class with 12 families can maintain themselves from the incomes derived from land and labour together; while the last group consists of as many as 125 families whose incomes of all sorts put together cannot give them a sound economic position. What is true of this village is true of a large number of villages in the precarious

tract of the central Bombay Deccan and [it is certainly disheartening.

In old days these villages were self-governing and self-contained, they protected themselves and were not much affected by changes in the central Government; but that state is now passing away. It is high time for the leaders of the people to decide whether they want the old self-contained and self-governing villages or they are in favour of doing away with the villages as in England and other countries. From the information collected by the authors it seems that the rainfall at Jategaon is very precarious and even in a good season the corn produced is not sufficient for one year for all the people. What can be done then to improve the situation?

It is an easy matter to put all the blame at the doors of the cultivators. They are generally considered lazy and ignorant; but at least in the village under consideration that does not seem to be the case. Even in recent years the villagers have introduced improved ploughs and the cultivation of such a paying crop as the oranges. They are trying hard to keep their land in good condition by building new embankments and repairing old ones. They are also trying to tap all the sources of water supply.

Then it would naturally be proposed that a large number of the people be induced to leave their village and go to some place like Bombay where labour is in great demand. This would reduce the pressure on land but would not necessarily help in getting the village richer. Many people from this village did go to Bombay at different times, but only one of them was able to buy land. Others must have learnt the wasteful ways of the city. If the present state of affairs is allowed to continue, the village life of the old times will soon disappear and the country will tend to be what England is to-day, full of factory labourers.

If the self-contained and self-governing units which these villages are, are to be preserved then definite efforts in that direction must be made. It was once thought that the rise in prices would benefit all cultivators, but the authors have conclusively shown that the gap between the rich and the poor increases by the rise in prices. Debt redemption may bring a temporary relief, but it will be only temporary. A single famine will put the cultivators into debts and as there is a likelihood of having one famine at least for every eight years, in about 40 years the village will be as bad as it is at present. Yet debt redemption would go a great way and should be encouraged. Another suggestion we would like to offer is the improvement in cultivation. This may not completely solve the problem; yet it should bring about ten per cent. relief. Co-operative work in supplying ploughs, seeds, &c., also will help a great way, but above all and especially in combination with the improvements suggested above, secondary and cottage industries will go a great way towards the solution of the problem. A serious attempt must be made

to introduce suitable secondary and cottage industries which will bring work to the doors of the cultivators so that their unemployed time will be utilised and they will get additional income. All these improvements must be tried before the villages are allowed to run their own course of destroying themselves.

In conclusion, we congratulate Dr. H. H. Mann and Prof. N. V. Kanitkar for the very excellent work they are doing in bringing facts to light by publishing such useful data. Their methods of work are strictly scientific and therefore thoroughly reliable. The Government and the public can no longer shut their eyes to facts revealed during enquiries made by these gentlemen.

D. L. SAHASRABUDDHE.

A SCHEME OF COMPULSORY PRIMARY EDUCATION.

THE Government of Bombay have appointed a committee, consisting of the members of the Legislative Council, to consider and report on the question of introducing free and compulsory elementary education in municipal and rural areas of the Presidency including Sind but excluding Bombay City. The Committee is instructed to submit a definite programme which can be carried out in successive steps, so that a complete system of free and compulsory elementary education may be introduced throughout the presidency within a definite period of time. The committee has begun its work and it is quite possible that several schemes might be placed before it for its consideration. Those who are familiar with the state of things in this country will at once realise that universal compulsion introduced at once will only defeat itself. All parts of the country are not equally ripe for it and hence we must go in for compulsion gradually, piecemeal, and area by area. Taking into consideration the magnitude of the problem, and the financial burden it involves, it is necessary to proceed step by step. But the ideal must be reached in as short a period of time as possible. I should like to suggest the following stages in which elementary education should be made compulsory in this presidency:—

I *Municipal areas* :—Primary education to be made compulsory at once both for boys and girls simultaneously;

Rural areas :—Compulsion should be introduced in the following stages:—

II *For boys only* :—(i) In villages with a population of more than 2,000,

(ii) In villages with a population of less than 2,000 but more than 1,000,

(iii) In villages with a population of less than 1,000, but more than 500.

III *For girls as well* :—(iv) In villages with a population of more than 2,000,

(v) In villages with a population of less than 2,000 but more than 1,000,

(vi) In villages with a population of less than 1,000 but more than 500.

IV For boys and girls simultaneously :-(vii) In villages with a population below 500, and sparsely populated localities.

Stages i, ii, iii, and iv should be completed in one year each and the remaining in two years each. Compulsion, in order to be really effective, must be directly enforced by the Government; mere permissive legislation will not achieve the desired object. If the schools will be run in two shifts throughout the compulsory primary course, the question of providing additional school accommodation will be largely solved by using the same teachers, buildings and appliances for two sets of pupils in one day. This device will enable us to increase the present school accommodation by 100 per cent. at an increase of about 25 per cent. in the cost. The adoption of the double shift system will be much welcomed by agriculturists, who will, thereby, be able to utilise the services of their children for domestic or other kind of work for at least half the day.

The following table shows approximately the present diffusion of primary education in the four main groups indicated above :—

(Figures in thousands)

Group.	I	II	III	IV
Population	2,400	12,000	12,000	3,600
Children of school age	300	750	750	450
Pupils in M. or L. B. schools	130	410	33	nil.
Pupils in aided schools	50	40	20	nil.
Expenditure Provincial	Rs. 1,300	Rs. 5,400	Rs. 450	nil.
Local	1,300	600	50	nil.

The proportion of children of school age to the total population is calculated at 12½ p. c. The following table shows the approximate total school accommodation that will have to be provided by local bodies on the supposition that the number of pupils in aided schools remains constant :—

(Figures in thousands)

Group.	I	II	III	IV
Accommodation required.	250	710	730	450
Accommodation secured by double shift	260	820*	66	nil.
Additional accommodation to be provided	nil.	nil.	664*	450

* In this case by adopting the double shift system, we get accommodation for 1,10,000 pupils in excess of the requirements. As groups II and III cover the same area the excessive accommodation in schools for boys can be utilised for girls. Then the accommodation to be provided for group III will be 664-110=554 thousands only.

I. The present expenditure on primary education in municipal areas is Rs. 26 lakhs approximately, out of which the municipalities are spending Rs. 13 lakhs and the Government contributes an equal amount. To this we must add Rs. 5 lakhs required for giving salaries to teachers according to the revised scale. There being at present 4,373 male and 874 female teachers in municipal schools the above amount will suffice for the purpose, if on an average an increase of Rs. 8 p. m. is granted to a primary school teacher.

The total expenditure will thus be Rs. 31 lakhs. One-fourth of this amount will be required in addition, on account of the introduction of the double shift. Then the total expenditure on primary schools will be Rs. 38,75,000. Of this Government should contribute ⅔s. Then the Government share would be Rs. 26 lakhs and the municipal share would be Rs. 13 lakhs approximately. This means that the municipalities will not be required to increase their present expenditure, while the Government's share will be doubled by introducing compulsion in municipal areas.

Thus, if the double shift system is adopted in municipal schools, the necessary accommodation required by the adoption of compulsion can be obtained, at an additional expenditure of Rs. 13 lakhs only on the part of Government.

II. In 1919-20, the total expenditure on Local Board primary schools for boys was Rs. 57,08,369, out of which Rs. 50,30,212 were spent from the provincial funds and Rs. 4,42,447 were spent from Local Fund cess. To this we must add the amount of Rs. 16 lakhs approximately for revision of the salaries of male teachers in Local Board schools, whose number in 1919-20 was 17,627, and an additional expenditure of ¼ of the total for the introduction of the double shift. Then the total expenditure = Rs. 73 lakhs + Rs. 18¼ lakhs = Rs. 91¼ lakhs. This shows that by incurring a total expenditure of Rs. 92 lakhs we can provide accommodation in Local Board schools for 8,20,000 pupils. Supposing that the Local Fund contribution remains constant, the Government will be required to spend Rs. 87 lakhs, i. e. Rs. 37 lakhs in addition to their expenditure in 1919-20. But in 1920-21, the provincial grant has risen to Rs. 54 lakhs and the Local Fund contribution to Rs. 6 lakhs. Therefore, Rs. 32 lakhs only will be required for additional expenditure. But it must be noted that by an additional expenditure of Rs. 32 lakhs and the adoption of the double shift, the Local Board primary schools for boys will provide accommodation for 1,10,000 pupils in excess of the present requirements of the villages in this group.

III. In 1919-20, the total expenditure on Local Board primary schools for girls was Rs. 4,23,789, of which Government contributed Rs. 3,72,286, and the Local Boards Rs. 50,359. The increases in the salaries of 591 female teachers in Local Board primary schools for girls, will amount to Rs. 50,000. The sum of Rs. 6 lakhs on an average is required for introducing the double shift in

the existing schools for girls and providing accommodation for 66,000 pupils. For the remaining 5,54,000 pupils, an additional expenditure of about Rs. 66 lakhs will be required, if we calculate it on the basis of spending Rs. 12 per head. The expenditure per head is less than Rs. 12 in the case of boys.

Rs. 72 lakhs will be required if the principle of compulsion is extended to girls in the villages mentioned in group II. Out of this amount Government have been spending Rs. 5 lakhs now and hence Rs. 67 lakhs more will have to be raised annually for this purpose.

IV. With regard to this group, the principle of compulsion should be applied simultaneously for boys and girls; otherwise the requisite number of pupils for a school will not be obtained. The population of these villages is about 37 lakhs, and their number is about 15,000. It will not be possible to provide a school for everyone of these localities. Children of school age in such of the villages in this group as are within a reasonable distance from localities where compulsory education is introduced should be made to attend schools in the latter areas. In other localities, the primary schools should meet for three days in a week, and the teachers should be itinerant. The cost of compulsory education in these areas will be about Rs. 40 lakhs.

To this expenditure must be added Rs. 3 lakhs for inspection of schools and Rs. 7 lakhs for training of teachers in addition to the present expenditure on these heads. Then the total new expenditure involved by the introduction of free and compulsory primary education in the presidency except the city of Bombay, comes to Rs. 160 lakhs annually. But provision has already been made in the budget for 1921-22 for expenditure of Rs. 22 lakhs on revision of salaries of primary school teachers. Therefore Rs. 160 lakhs—Rs. 22 lakhs=Rs. 130 lakhs will have to be raised annually by fresh taxation.

K. G. LIMAYE

"NON POSSUMUS!"

THE speech addressed by Dr. Nansen to the recent Assembly of the League of Nations is one of the most noble and most moving ever delivered anywhere. After the blight of disillusionment which has fallen on public affairs subsequent on the high emotional and moral pitch of the war effort, Dr. Nansen is the first statesman who, once more calls to all people to rise above the ethics of dirt, the blindness of spirit, the callousness of cunning and brutality, into the clear atmosphere of Truth and Righteousness. Even to read his speech is to refresh one's weary spirit and to invigorate it, as by a breath from the eternal snows. But the speech is not only all that: it constitutes a historic document of the first importance, to which succeeding ages will turn as evidence of the criminal folly, nay, the satanism, which ruled unchecked the period of the Versailles Peace. Wheat rotting in the States, maize burnt as engine fuel in the Argentine, ships idle and mariners

drawing unemployment doles—and on the other hand twenty million human beings in Russia dying; dying because the ships are not used, because the corn is not shipped; dying because an ancient debt has been repudiated!

"Let me remind the Assembly," said Dr. Nansen, "in one sentence of the situation which I laid before you. There are at this moment between 20 and 30 millions of people who are threatened with starvation and death. If help is not forthcoming within two months from now their fate is sealed. Everything that is needed to save them is only a few hundred miles away. The necessary transportation can be available at a month's notice. Agreements have been made for perfect control and distribution in Russia of the surplus that we may bring. The methods for the execution of those agreements are ready. There has been raised in committee no valid objection against those agreements or the methods proposed for their execution.

No more is necessary to avert appalling disaster than the provision of a relatively small sum of Government money. It is no great sum that we ask for; we have only asked for £ 5,000,000. If we get that, we think, indeed we are convinced, that it is possible to carry out very important work before Christmas and save the situation to a great extent.

The Governments have said that they cannot do it.

The Governments throw back the whole responsibility on to the voluntary organisations. I cannot think that that is right. None the less we shall go on with our appeal to private charity. We have already made a start. We are doing what we can through private charity, but even our charity is being impeded, and being very seriously impeded, by the campaign of misrepresentation which is being carried on. There are any amount of lies being circulated:

I may remind you of one story that went to the papers which you all remember—namely, that the first train that Mr. Hoover sent in to feed the Russians was looted by the Soviet Army in Russia. It was a lie, but still the same story is repeated over and over again in the press of Europe. I was abused for having sent an expedition to Siberia, and I understand that it was said that I was bringing arms for a revolution. It was a lie.

There are many similar stories being circulated. It is perfectly evident that they come from some central agency, I do not know where. It is from somebody who seems very much interested in preventing anything being done to save the starving people of Russia, and I think that I know what is the underlying thought of this campaign. It is this: that the action which we propose will, if it succeeds, strengthen the Soviet Government. I think that that is a mistake; I do not think that we shall strengthen the Soviet Government by showing the Russian people that there are hearts in Europe and that there are people there ready to help the starving Russian people.

But supposing that it does strengthen the Soviet Government. Is there any member of this Assembly who is prepared to say that rather than help the Soviet Government he will allow 20,000,000 people to starve to death? I challenge this Assembly to answer that question. The situation is this: In Canada this year the crop is so good that Canada will be able to export three times as much as is necessary to meet the difficulty caused by the famine in Russia. In the United States wheat is decomposing in the farmers' stores because they cannot find purchasers for the surplus. In Argentine maize is lying in such abundance that they cannot get rid of it, and it is being used as fuel in locomotives because that is the only way in which they can use it. Between us and America ships are lying idle; we cannot find employment for them; and on the other side, in the east, twenty or thirty million people are starving to death.

The Governments are not able to give £ 5,000,000! At this moment they cannot do it! They cannot find amongst themselves this sum, which only means about the amount which it costs to build a battleship!

Is it possible that Europe can sit quietly and do nothing to bring that food over and save the people on the other side? I consider that to be impossible. I feel convinced that the people of Europe will compel the Governments to reverse their decision. I believe that the greater number of those Governments who are represented in this room to-day will join the ranks of the few who have already acted. For let me remind you that a number of smaller Governments are already giving help to relieve the famine in Russia. If they only sacrifice the cost of half a battalion of troops alone they would be able to find the money. They cannot do it? Then let them say so frankly, but do not let them go on summoning committees and conferences and discussing day after day and month after month while people are dying.

Do try and imagine what it will be when the Russian winter sets in in earnest, and try and realise what it means when no food is left and the whole population is wandering through a barren land in search of food; men, women, and children dropping dead by thousands in the frozen snow of Russia. Try and realise what this means. If you have ever known what it is to fight against hunger and to fight against the ghastly forces of winter you will realise what it means and understand what the situation will be. I am confident you cannot sit still and answer with a cold heart that you are sorry and cannot help.

In the name of humanity, in the name of everything noble and sacred, I appeal to you who have women and children of your own to consider what it means to see women and children perishing by the million. In this place I appeal to the Government, to the peoples of Europe, to the whole world, for their help. Hasten to act before it is too late to repent."

The *Manchester Guardian*, reporting the speech adds:

During this speech Dr. Nansen seemed, in spite of the hostility of certain delegates, to dominate the Assembly as it has never been dominated before. He was pale, and seemed at times to master his emotion with difficulty, especially when he alluded to his own experiences in the northern snows, battling against death by famine. When he ended, the public galleries burst into uncontrollable applause. It was the triumph of the practical man with a heart over the theorists and doubters of the Assembly. Only one man in the Assembly, Corthin, the Serb, ventured to take up his challenge and declare roundly that he would rather the Russian nation died than risk aiding the Soviet Government.

But it was the Corthins that prevailed.....

SELECTIONS

LUMBWA ANTI-INDIANS.

THE following letter appears in the *East African Chronicle* of September 17:—

SIR,—As most people are aware, many of the settlers in Kenya are in financial distress. They possess farms, it is true; but they cannot realise any money on them for the reason that Europeans have no money to invest and these unfortunate people are not allowed to sell any land to Indians. They have sunk their original capital and in most cases committed themselves for further liabilities in the way of mortgages. Now they have no money with which to meet their bills and are in the galling position of knowing that they could do profitable business with Indians, which, however they are debarred from doing, at least openly. The reason is not far to seek, the only reason, namely, that would-be purchasers are coloured people.

I am aware that almost all the European anti-Indians have taken advantage of Indians in one way or other, and some of them are on friendly terms with Indian leaders. Some are in business partnership with Indians, but that is kept dark. Why then do they carry on and seek to foment this artificial agitation, and pretend to be violently opposed to Indians owning land? Those who can afford to do this calmly look on and see the smaller men being gradually frozen out, when by the help of Indian capital they might be enabled to carry on themselves, while giving enterprising Indians the opportunity of developing the country in their turn. Do these hypocritical European settlers care? Not they. Seeing that while certain of them are agitating against the transfer of land to Indians in the highlands, would it not be a good plan to form a syndicate, buy out the small and unsuccessful farmers and so relieve them of their distress? There would be less of "the dog in the manger" in such a scheme. At present Europeans will not help Europeans and will not allow Indians to come to their rescue.

It is not likely that any such scheme will be promoted, however, because these very people will be only too willing to transfer to Indians, and will be first in the field if Mr. Churchill proves fair and just in his decision on the Indian question, and has the courage to take the bold and righteous step.

I am convinced that before long, many who may differ from me now, will be crying out, "Save us from our self-styled leaders."—Yours etc.,

A DISTRESSED EUROPEAN SETTLER.

THE NATIVE PROBLEM IN KENYA.

THE following is the *East African Chronicle* report of the speech delivered by Mr. B. S. Varma at the Pan-African Congress which recently met in London:—

Mr. Varma, who is a member of the Indian Delegation at present in London, said that the Africans of East Africa had delegated him to represent their grievances before the Colonial Office and other societies. The Africans had many problems. First of all he would take the question of native reserves. He knew a reserve, Likipia, where the Europeans had taken possession of the territory and had shifted the natives of Africa to some other place. Likipia had been very fertile and the place given to them now in exchange was not so good as Likipia. That was an opportunity for the Pan-African Congress, if any further attempt should be made to dislodge the natives of Africa from their land.

As far as the native vote was concerned, the Africans were the children of the soil and he would put their interest before the interest of anybody else. It did not matter whether they were Europeans or Asiatics; they were interlopers in Africa. That was the position he took up, and their efforts should be to see that Africans should stand on their own legs. So long as they did not, others were there; but beside that it was not right to be in that country. They could give their support economically up to the time the African could take up the work of development. That was quite all right. That was the position he took up; it did not matter whether they were Europeans or Indians there in East Africa.—he included Kenya Colony and Uganda, Zanzibar and Tanganyika Colony, which used to be called German East Africa.

In talking of Kenya Colony the population of natives was approximately 3,000,000; the population of Indians 23,000; and the population of Europeans was 9,000. They would see what he meant by putting those figures before them. Nine thousand settlers there were given the land mostly. Now, Kenya Colony was not a white man's country because no white labour could be used in that colony. Consequently the European settler, the Indian settler, or any other settler had to depend ultimately upon native labour and it was there the issue reached. They should remember that with an ever increasing number of European and Indian settlers they wanted more native labour. Unfortunately the policy which very recently the British Government in East Africa had committed

itself to was a policy which he would call "back to slavery." It was the policy of forced labour. That was another danger against which the Pan-African Congress could protest. A native was required to work about eighty-four days in a year before he got any exemption. On the other hand there was a movement on behalf of the European settler to reduce the wages of the native. They would be surprised to learn what they got now when wages were not reduced—six rupees and ten rupees to the pound. They could just imagine it. And the latest move was to reduce wages still further by 33 per cent. That meant four rupees instead of six and ten rupees to the pound (cries of "robbery"). These are facts and the thing which surprised him most was that these gentlemen were supposed to be the protectors of the interests of native races. The natural result of the forced labour, the "back to slavery" policy, was registration. He was simply surprised that these things could be done within the British Empire. As opponents of forced labour, they knew that slavery degraded the slave owner as much as the slave. As a result of this forced labour, they found abuses. The natives retaliated. As a barrister practising in Nairobi, he could not shut his eyes to those abuses. A European who knocked out a native's eye was fined thirty rupees, that was £3. A native who knocked out the eye of a bull was sentenced to four months. They could deduce from that what was the status of natives in the judicial eyes of the people there. (A voice: "He is less than an animal.")

Unfortunately, or fortunately, he was a member of the Board of Education and there he had to fight for the education of the native. There was no native on the Board of Education in Kenya Colony. They would be simply surprised at the treatment when he said that their population was 3,000,000, the European population 9,000—and there was an even greater disparity between the numbers of native children and European children—and the natives got for education one-fifth of the money voted for Europeans. Could they believe it? That was what they called a sense of equity and fair-play! And this game had been played for the last fifteen years. Instead of improving the little education of the children of the soil, they were reduced to the position of hewers of wood and drawers of water. That was the greatest danger against which they had to fight.

The position of Africans in East Africa was far from satisfactory and if the Congress wanted to watch their interests, they should do it now. The Africans were not masters in their own house. (Voices: "Not at all" and "Nor in other parts of Africa.") He told them the ground was being cut away from under their feet.

TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

WE have seen with much pleasure a report from Amritsar by the *Bombay Chronicle* correspondent there to the effect that picketing of brothels is being carried on over the whole city with remarkable success and that in the face of threats of violence the picketers have been able to dissuade visitors by purely peaceful means to keep away from these houses. The women affected by the picketing requested the magistrate to give them protection, it seems, but he rightly refused to interfere so long as no complaint of assault or violence was made. As a result a large number of them are reported to have left the place and let us hope they will also leave the profession. We wish to see similar steps taken in every city. We understand that some years ago the Christian missionaries in Colombo organised a vigilance committee, who, by determined peaceful picketing, succeeded in ridding the port of its lurid plague spots. We commend their

example to missionaries and other public workers in India. It is work in which all social reformers can join hands, whatever their other opinions be, care being taken to avoid objectionable methods.

* * *

WE wish to draw the attention of our readers to two extracts from the *East African Chronicle* which throw an interesting light on the real character of the anti-Indian agitation which is carried on by some Europeans in Kenya Colony. One is a letter from a European which shows that there is a class of settlers to whose interest it is that Indians should not be prohibited from purchasing upland properties. The other is a summary of the speech delivered by Mr. B. S. Varma, a member of the East African Indian Delegation which recently visited England, delivered at the Pan-African Congress held in London in the first week of London. The Native Africans requested him, his colleague and Col. Wedgwood to represent them at this Congress. The fact that the Native Africans chose the Indian Delegation to represent them shows that they have full confidence in the Indians of the Colony and effectively proves the hollowness of the interested cry of the Europeans that the Indians are a danger to the children of the soil. The fact is the Indians are asking for equal treatment with Europeans not only for themselves but for all civilised persons in the Colony. Therefore they have the support of the natives.

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