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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

The Mulshi
Pether.

THE extremists in Poona who are obstructing the Hydro-Electric Works at Mulshi Peta deserve the sympathy of all for the sentences of hard labour which they are drawing upon themselves, but the moral support of none. Indeed this so-called "Satyagraha" campaign deserves the reprobation of all right-thinking persons, considered either from the point of view of its objective or its methods. On a former occasion we have fully discussed the merits of this question; in that article the case for the owners and occupiers of land is put at the very highest. But these people take up a position which is entirely indefensible; they refuse, on any terms, to give up their land to the State for the good of the community. Equally objectionable are the means adopted by the Satyagrahis—they no longer confine themselves to the use of non-violent means but resort to violence in its naked form. The Tata Power Company, in order to protect its employees from the obstruction of agitators make a ring of guards round the spot where work is carried on, and the "Satyagraha" campaign consists in sending volunteers in batches and making them forcibly break through the ring! The *Mahratta* evidently feels how utterly un-Satyagrshi it is to use brute force in this way, for it says "the Satyagrahi volunteers *happened* to enter the ring." Such a thing cannot happen except by design. If Truth and Non-Violence are necessary ingredients of Satyagraha, the present campaign is the very reverse of it. It is indeed a very difficult problem how best to counter and sterilize such a general movement of obstruction, but the most scrupulous care must be taken to

avoid all unnecessary force. Rumours are rife that the volunteers and even women are being ill-treated. We would earnestly request the Government and the Company to see that no ground is given for complaint, as it would only weaken the otherwise very strong position which they hold morally.

* * *

IT will probably be remembered that the Rev. H. A. Popley at the time of Mr. Gandhi's arrest sent an impassioned letter of protest to the papers, contending that in condemning the saintly leader of Non-Violence the Government had condemned itself. For ourselves, whilst of course we could but appreciate the generosity of feeling which did credit to the reverend gentleman's heart, we felt that his logic was not quite so sound, since the Government were not taking action because of the Mahatma's non-violence, but because his teaching on the subject was, rightly or wrongly, believed to lead inevitably to violence pure and simple. Taking this view, however, we on our part wish to protest all the more strongly against the strictures recently passed on this incident by Lord Willingdon at the laying of the foundation stone of a new Y. M. C. A. building at Ootacamand. His Excellency expressed himself only partly mollified by the assurance that Mr. Popley, who is one of the Y. M. C. A. Secretaries, had acted in a purely private capacity and that the non-political standpoint of the association remained unimpaired by such expression of a purely personal opinion. We must say, we would feel more impressed by Lord Willingdon's devouring zeal for the very strictest political neutrality on behalf of the Y. M. C. A., if we were assured that he would have frowned with equal sternness on an analogous letter in which some officer of the association would have lauded to the skies the wisdom of arresting Mr. Gandhi.

* * *

THE Y. M. C. A.'s object, as Lord
Motes and Beams. Willingdon understands it, is to "help individuals without reference to race, caste or creed or political opinion." Does that imply that the officers of the association may not have a political opinion of their own? Nor a creed? Nor a race? Really! Of course it's always my doxy which is orthodoxy and my opponent's doxy which is heterodoxy. To a Tory a Tory political opinion naturally is not a political opinion at all, but just pure common sense; it's only these wretched

Radicals and Socialists who must import their political bias into everything. The absence of clear thinking about the catch-phrase of "No Politics!" is truly amazing and the self-deception on the subject a psychological revelation of the human mind. Education is a good example. At every turn one meets with the horror-struck wonder: "But you would not introduce politics in schools, would you?" Now it may be a good thing or a bad thing, but it is of course quite comprehensible that the teacher of, say, history, should take a severely judicial attitude, showing the good and the bad of both sides, Tories, Whigs, and capitalists and workers, Boches and Non-Boches. That would be keeping politics out of the schools. But is it done? Are our schools particular to emphasize all the failures, the meannesses, and injustices of British rule in India, so as scrupulously to counterbalance their praise of its benefits, its ideals, its successes? If Lord Willingdon wishes for new non-political worlds to conquer, we would draw his attention to the so non-political, so scrupulously impartial "History of India for Junior Classes" by E. Marsden which we open at random on page 234, where we read the following typically judicial passage:

"The Germans are indeed a savage and a brutal race. In this war they have broken every law of God and every law of man. They say openly that solemn treaties are mere scraps of paper to be broken at any time they please; they kill their prisoners in cold blood, they torture those they do not kill; they murder women and children, toss them on the points of their swords, and laugh at their screams of agony; they destroy churches and hospitals, they shoot doctors and nurses; they poison the wells and the streams and the air, they cut down the crops and the fruit trees; they lay waste the whole country as they go over it burning down the villages and leaving the towns heaps of smoking ruins. They are without religion, and in their cruel hearts there is no mercy, no pity, no kindness, no truth, no honour. They cannot be counted among civilised nations and are indeed more like wild beasts than men."

Effect of
Temperance.

EVEN to those of us who are studying the applicability of total prohibition the views of the adherents of Temperance proper are not very familiar. This latter school advocates the total prohibition of any beverage above a minimum alcoholic strength of, say 5%, but would freely allow indulgence in *light* wines, beer, cider, &c. This point of view comes to one's mind when reading an article by a French physician, Dr. Ruffier in the *Progres Civique* of April 8th. The French of course have never been total abstainers: their vineyards are one of their principal natural assets and their products are meant even more for domestic consumption than for export. Notwithstanding that wine was the universal beverage in France, the French used to be eminently sober a race; their wines, already light, were always consumed mixed half and half with water, and as a matter of fact it was most rare to see any drunken people at all there. All this has completely changed during one generation and Dr. Ruffier describes the appalling result of the widespread introduction and consumption of

spirits—crude and potent—the produce, no longer of an agricultural industry, but of a highly capitalized, urban industry. Alcoholism, formerly quite unknown, has become the principal curse of France and Dr. Ruffier traces to it alone the appalling fact that the French recruiting authorities have to-day to put back 50% of all conscripts, because of their undersize and underdevelopment! Corroboration of these facts comes from Bavaria, the great home of beer. During the war and the blockade Bavaria had to dilute its beer drastically—the result being (according to the *Frankfort Gazette* of April 4th) that drunkenness and crimes arising thereout disappeared completely during that period. Since a few months that war regulation has been rescinded and, once more, rivers of "strong" beer are flowing—with the result that drunkenness is worse than ever!

* * *

SOUTH America being one of the few "No Admission." countries open to German emigration, we came across a translation in the *Berliner Tageblatt* of the regulations issued by the respective governments there on the subject. But we received an unpleasant shock as we reached the end of the Argentine rules, after reading about passport, photos, &c. &c., to find that "the blind, deaf, dumb and paralytic; persons without their right arm or suffering from contagious diseases; Gipsies and Hindus; are not allowed to land." The bracketting of Hindus and raggle-taggle Gipsies is as quaint, as that of Hindus and the contagiously infected is offensive. One would like to know whether the regulation was framed with malice aforethought or is due to sheer imbecility. Has the Government of India made representations, anyhow; and if not, why not?

* * *

THE White Paper published in England for the information of Parliament on the Political Situation in India tells us little that we did not know before, but it reveals the fact that the responsibility for the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi is solely the Bombay Government's.

Somehow the impression had got abroad that they were opposed to the arrest and cried it out under the orders of the Government of India. This Paper shows how unfounded such an impression is. It tells us that the Bombay Government was long urging the arrest of Mr. Gandhi, and the Government of India only stepped in to countermand the order for arrest which they had sanctioned before in view of the suspension by the Congress Committee at Bardoli of the aggressive forms of non-co-operation. The subsequent arrest, again, was due wholly to the initiative of the Bombay Government without pressure from above, and the Central Government's only part in the affair was that it approved of the proposal made by the Bombay Government. It is well that the responsibility is thus clearly fixed.

* * *

ECONOMICS AND GEORGICS.—III.

IN the two preceding sections of an article which we are concluding to-day, we have endeavoured to analyze the elemental forces called into being by the advent of the Machine Age; and we have led up to the fundamental fact without which the present economic chaos cannot be understood, viz. the fact that the machine has made frontiers impossible.

This fact unfortunately is unpalatable especially to the "statesmen" of the Nations, and their policy therefore has been, first, to ignore it, and latterly, to circumvent it. These men, in charge of their countries, have of course, with Mr. George at their head, realized all along that some sort of international accord was necessary. But they have always tried to continue with it the old shibboleths of national separatism and individualist exploitation. Mr. George of all people knows the light. But he is never strong enough to act according to the light. He for ever compromises, now with French chauvinism, now with English capitalism.

The Supreme Council failed, because it was built on the denial of any rights to "enemy" nations. The League of Nations is failing, because it is not allowed to be truly a Society of *All Nations*.

Now Genoa has been called together by the same master of compromise, who realizes that to leave out Germany and Russia hurts the rest of the world even more than those two outcasted countries. Yet he goes on compromising. He utters great truths, but in the same breath he will act in complete opposition to them. Mr. George knows that Germany and Russia are peopled with human beings who in no essential differ from the rest of the world. Yet he goes on pretending that he is doing them an undeserved favour by trying to call in their aid for the reconstruction of Europe. He is Prime Minister of England because he promised to hang the Kaiser and to make Germany pay. To-day he cannot get away from the forces of national hatred and capitalist cupidity which put him into power, much as he recognises the folly of it all. He sold Germany at Versailles and tried his best to sell France as well at the time: now he cannot get away from the French policy of revenge. He is a prisoner of his Coalition at home and of his Entente abroad.

The international problems of Money, of Production and Consumption can be solved, but they can only be solved internationally. Mr. George and his Genoa circus try to solve them capitalistically, not with a view of organizing production for the benefit of the consumer, but for that of the financier. Money which should be the connecting link between consumption and production is to-day the method whereby financiers can rule the world to their advantage. Gold is bursting the vaults of American banks—yet the trade depression is worse in America than any-

where else. Five million unemployed walk the streets of American cities; farmers burn wheat, because it does not "pay" to sell it. America is in danger of drowning in an avalanche of gold. "Gold" and "money" have become two different things; just as we have already seen that the currency notes of Europe and "money" have lost their identity.

The only alternative to the chaos into which civilization is drifting to-day, is the recognition that to provide the necessities, the decencies and the amenities of life is the only function of production; that therefore production must be publicly controlled. And since the machine has through specialization made every human being ultimately dependent on every other human being, the control of production must not only not be left in the hands of any single individual, but not even of any single State. Machine production means international interdependence; and international interdependence means international control and co-operation.

That control and that co-operation, and they alone, will be able to resolve the currency problem; for they will make possible the issue of money which will then in the aggregate represent the totality of the consumable expressed in terms of the sum total of work done in producing it. If once humanity becomes the master, as it is now the slave, of the machine age, money will have the dual function of certifying the amount of work done and at the same time certifying the holder's share in the consumable.

Instead of all this, we find Genoa relegating the currency problem to a committee of financiers, who are as likely to advise the elimination of private financiers, as a committee of tigers would be to press for the abolition of meat-eating.

Instead of recognizing that the machine abolishes all boundaries, Genoa assembled on the distinct understanding that no political questions are to be discussed on any account—as if the economic question was not the political question.

Instead of starting from the solid fact that the more directly one depends on another, the less can the one get "richer," if the other gets "poorer": the performers at Genoa are engaged in finding a means of stultifying this natural law and in discovering a formula which will enable them to keep their cake patriotically, whilst they are eating it economically.

Mr. George and his colleagues know only too well the solidarity of the human race: but instead of trying to devise means of doing away with any remaining obstacles to the fullness of its attainment, they are engaged in trying to make it altogether nugatory. Like so many Mrs. Partingtons they employ their brooms in trying to sweep back this rising tide and when the tiresome tide goes on rising all the same, they belabour each other with their broomsticks. They will have solidarity, but it must be partial; they want division of labour, but they refuse to divide

rationality; they all want to take, but none of them ventures to give.

To expect that, starting with such aims, the Genoa Conference can solve the economic problem, is to expect them to solve the quadrature of the circle. The old order has changed, the old civilization has gone. The great war was the last spasm of its death agony. The question to-day is not, how to resuscitate it. Our alternative is whether there is to be a New Order or—No Order, anarchy and chaos. And Mr. George knows it. How long then will he kick against the pricks?

The sands, meanwhile, are running out. . . .

THE BOMBAY LIBERAL CONFERENCE.

THE Conference of the Liberal Party in the Bombay Presidency which met in Bombay last week end helped to give precision to the demand for further constitutional advance of which all political parties are now thinking. This question of the next step in self-government has now arrived at a peculiarly difficult stage. While it is quite evident that the growing consciousness of the people and the experience which has been obtained by the reformed legislatures demand an enlargement of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, it is also clear that the present moment does not happen to be entirely propitious for an amendment of the Government Act. The Indians naturally become impatient when they are told that Parliament cannot be moved immediately for a further big instalment of reforms with any chance of success, but the hard fact has to be recognised and our future plans of action laid accordingly. The hostile atmosphere which obtains in Great Britain just now necessitates much caution on our part, for to suffer a defeat on this matter would so aggravate the seriousness of the situation in India as to have very grave consequences indeed. But however much caution may be needed in enforcing our demand for further progress in constitutional reform, we must demand that the next step shall be so big as to amount practically to Swaraj. We all realise that certain reservations will be found necessary but it is not to be in any case one of a long series of steps which will lead ultimately to full responsible self-government. The President of the Conference, Mr. Sastri, made certain constructive suggestions as to the way in which we may proceed to agitate in this matter, and though the Conference passed no formal resolution to endorse them, we may take it that the suggested procedure generally recommends itself to the Liberals. There can be no question that a scheme of reforms framed by the members of the various legislatures with the aid, if necessary, of some co-opted members of recognised authority in the political sphere and explained to the British people by a deputation selected by all the legislatures jointly, stands a far greater chance of success than any other scheme, and it is to be hoped that a Convention will be held when time should come for it and further con-

stitutional reforms insisted upon with as much tact as firmness.

The resolutions passed at the Conference covered a wide field and the proceedings derived added authority and weight from the fact that the popular ministers took an active part in them. All the three ministers spoke to some resolution or other and the speeches made by them were such as to prove, if proof were needed, that the ablest men available have been selected for the portfolios which they hold. The Hon'ble Mr. C. V. Mehta, in a speech which evoked admiration from all who listened to it for the lucidity and the cogency of the arguments advanced, exposed the gross injustice from which the Bombay Presidency suffers on account of the exchange of land revenue and income tax which has taken place between the Local and the Central Governments. The yield from both these sources of revenue is nearly the same, and therefore it appears to superficial observers that in giving up half the proceeds of income tax to the Government of India in return for half the produce of land tax which formerly they had to yield to the Central Government the Bombay Government did not lose much. But these critics ignore that land revenue is not capable of much expansion, but liable in years of scarcity to a considerable shrinkage, while income tax is a rapidly expanding source of revenue. In the past ten years income-tax had advanced from 45 lakhs to 6 crores, while the land revenue expanded in the same period by only 4 per cent annually. If, in these circumstances, income-tax was wholly taken from Bombay in exchange for the whole of land revenue, it is clear that this Presidency must suffer in the bargain. More than one-third of the total revenue from income-tax is supplied by Bombay alone—6.20 out of 16.84 crores, and it is but fair that, as an exceptional case, Bombay should be given a substantial share of income-tax—Mr. Mehta suggested one-third. It is not only fair, but absolutely necessary if Bombay is to be saved from bankruptcy with which the Presidency is faced. This year the Legislative Council sanctioned measures of taxation after the Government had given practical proof of its desire for retrenchment, but Mr. Mehta bluntly told the authorities concerned that next year there was no hope of proposals for additional taxation passing the Council. He said the Council could not be charged with unreasonable obstruction if they refused, merely keeping for the sake of the administration at the present level to add to the already excessive burden under which Bombay was groaning. The amount of taxation in this Presidency is Rs. 8 per head of the population—several times higher than that which obtains in other provinces. This makes the case of Bombay altogether exceptional and the Government of India must take it into their consideration immediately and afford needed relief. It is objected that it is against the principle of the clean cut which has been adopted by the Government to divide the proceeds of any head of revenue

among the Provincial and the Central Governments, but that strict adherence to a clean cut is not possible is admitted even by the Joint Committee inasmuch as they modified the original arrangement by providing that the Bombay Government should receive three pies for every rupee of income assessed to the tax over and above the income assessed in 1920-21. It is true that the modification does not amount to much in actuality; but still it is enough to vitiate the clean cut. The demand of Bombay, therefore, is that a substantial portion of income-tax be assigned to her, especially in view of the fact that the anticipations by the Meston Committee of the normal growth in the provincial sources of revenue have been falsified by our experience of last year—the increase which has been realised is half of what was forecasted by the Committee. The case made out by Mr. Mehta is quite unanswerable, and he deserves the thanks of the Presidency for so unreservedly placing himself at the head of the movement for a proper and equitable distribution of income between the Supreme and the Local Governments.

By moving the resolution on the Indianisation of services, the Hon'ble Mr. Paranjpye similarly put himself at the head of another popular agitation which must bear fruit in the near future if the reforms are to be attended with the fullest success. Mr. Paranjpye gave his weighty support to the idea expounded in these columns that these services should no longer be paid at the rate of the European market but at that of the Indian. As Sir Stanley Reed has well put it in a letter communicated by him to the *London Times*, a Rolls-Royce administration cannot be run in a country with the resources of an ox-cart. When the whole of the public services were manned by Europeans it was inevitable that they should be paid at rates prevailing in the country from which they were drawn. But if now the recruitment will be mainly Indian—even under the present arrangement the recruitment will be 48 p. c. Indian in ten years—it is absurd to keep up the old rates. We must now reduce them, so far as Indians are concerned, to the lowest figure compatible with the efficiency of the services, paying to non-Indians whatever salary may be necessary. As Mr. Paranjpye said, ordinarily all the services should be recruited in India, recourse being had to foreign countries—not only England—only for men of qualifications not attainable here and then engaging such people temporarily, the object being to train up Indians for the posts.

The Hon'ble Mr. Gulam Hussain Hidayatullah also made a notable speech, calling for a drastic reduction of military expenditure. With his experience of border tribes, he pointed out that it was folly to replace local levies by standing army and roundly condemned the mad adventure of occupying Waziristan. Mr. Gulam Hussain made certain constructive proposals as to how to effect economies in the military budget which deserve the earnest consideration of the Government. It

would appear from the *Times* that the policy in regard to Waziristan has not been initiated and is not approved by the Government of India, but that it has been foisted upon them by the Imperial Government. If so, any agitation that Indians will make on this question will only have the very desirable effect of strengthening the hands of the Government of India in conducting their internal fight with the Imperial Government. The military budget blocks the way to all progress in India and it is essential that the Government and the public should use their best efforts in removing that block.

DECCAN POLITICS.

THERE is now a distinct breach in the ranks of the Deccan Nationalists on the question of re-entry into the councils. The discussion that is raging at present in their press is full of mutual recrimination, and ample scope is afforded for their remarkable power of invective by the fact that not one of them has been consistent throughout—either on the side of entering the councils or on the side of boycotting them. If A now considers it *anathema maranatha* to serve on the councils, probably a few months ago he was the most vociferous advocate of the best men giving themselves up to council work. If B now sees the folly of the whole of the Nationalists abstaining from the seats of power and responsibility, some time since he worked the hardest in dissuading people either from seeking or exercising the suffrages of the electorates. And thus there is no end to the *tu quoque's* which are hurled from one side to the other, and the most amusing part of it is that they are both equally true.

First listen to the Boycotters: These followers of Tilak have an infinite capacity for adjustment. Really they have no faith in N.-C.-O.; they believe in co-operation. "Responsive Co-operation" is the word, but this variety of co-operation is not distinguishable in any essential respect from that adopted by the most hardened co-operator. One could have some respect for their principles if they had adhered unflinchingly to responsive co-operation or unqualified co-operation for the matter of that. But do they so adhere? They showed some fight in the special congress of Calcutta but, untrue to the memory of Lokamanya Tilak and his methods of political agitation, they surrendered at the very first blow, and quickly transferred their allegiance from Tilak to Gandhi. For a while they professed to pull their full weight on the side of Mahatma Gandhi and one felt for the moment that they would redeem their plighted word. Many of them withdrew their candidature and conducted a raging and tearing agitation in the press and on the platform against the council elections. Having themselves determined on an abstention from the councils it was no wonder that they were very active in preventing others from going in. The Congress decision was represented

to be of a mandatory character and those who acted in violation were held up to popular opprobrium as betrayers of the country. In doing this, however, they overshot the mark. They made the elector sign a declaration to the effect that they would not participate in the elections in any way till the nation's triple demand—Swaraj, the Punjab and Khilafat—was fully satisfied.

But, the non-co-operators say, having betrayed the late Mr. Tilak, the former Responsive Co-operationists did not take long to betray Mr. Gandhi. The whole basis of their anti-election agitation was the supposedly mandatory nature of the congress resolution, but soon afterwards they met in solemn conclave and declared that the Congress resolutions were only advisory, which Congressmen might carry out or set at defiance at their own sweet will! If it was so, why did they themselves retire from the election contest or dissuade the electors from casting their votes? But even the thin disguise which they wore some time ago is now discarded and they are unabashedly proclaiming themselves as very eager to go into the councils. Really quick change actors these! The late Lokamanya must have wept unnumbered tears of sorrow—I am giving the *ipssissima verba* of N.-C.-O. prints—when, on the morrow of the Calcutta Congress, his followers, without any compunction, rejected his doctrine of responsive co-operation a month after his death in favour of the Gandhi an N.-C.-O., while again they are prepared to repudiate a month after Mahatma Gandhi is locked up in prison. They are again swearing by the Lokamanya, but only because by that means they hope to overthrow the Mahatma's movement. For their devotion to principle is no better than that of the lady of easy virtue who bestows her attentions upon a new visitor every day of her life—again, I must remind the reader that I am textually quoting N.-C.-O. papers.

But the Tilakites are not slow to retort. They in their turn twit the N.-C.-O.s with the desire which they once publicly expressed of going into the Councils and with the desire which they are known to cherish of doing so at no distant date. For it must be remembered that Maharashtra cannot boast of a single Rajagopalachari, or a Konda Venkatapayya, or a Rajandra Prasad who are thoroughgoing and honest non-co-operators but that all the prominent N.-C.-O.s there are sheer opportunists. The Tilakites prefer a counter-charge of inconsistency and make themselves quits: Even those who are now in favour of abstention from councils were candidates for them once; at the Calcutta Congress they did not support the boycott of councils as they did not support any other boycott; they did not object to converting the mandatory character of the Congress resolutions into recommendatory; nor do they wish to continue the boycott of councils till Swaraj is established. They also hope to be able to persuade the now imprisoned leaders, when they come out, to allow them to contest the elections; entry into

the councils is not thus taboo to them as it is to Mahatma Gandhi. That being their position, it is clear that their present attitude is not in strict conformity with the philosophy either of Tilak or Gandhi.

The Deccan Nationalists say that they have always been opposed to non-co-operation, but if at times they did not press their opposition very far it was only due to considerations of strategy. They claim that the passing of the N.-C.-O. resolution by the Calcutta Congress became possible only because, the proceedings of the Congress being protracted, many Nationalists had left at the time when votes were taken on it. They were determined, however, to resist all attempts to reaffirm this proposition at Nagpur. It is a fact known to many that Mr. C. R. Das himself drew up amendments which would have had the effect, if passed, of jettisoning the whole N.-C.-O. movement. But they were implored by Mahatma Gandhi and his followers to give a trial to the Calcutta programme for a year, after which they were told they were quite free to turn it upside down if they chose. It will be remembered that before the year was out Mr. V. J. Patel, who is now so averse to modifying the programme in any way, made it clear in public that after the lapse of one year the Nationalists would be quite at liberty to modify or abandon N.-C.-O. At Ahmedabad again the Deccan Nationalists offered opposition, but because of the extraordinary circumstances of the time they could not press for such modifications as would at least *outwardly* meet their objections. But their determination to oppose N.-C.-O. and to revert to responsive co-operation is unalterably fixed. This is what the Nationalists have been writing day after day. Naturally they resent very much the accusation hurled against them by the N.-C.-O.s that "like rats, they are deserting the sinking ship at the earliest opportunity."

There is a clear recognition on both sides that to abandon the boycott of councils is to kill N.-C.-O.; no one pretends that the movement will live for a day longer after those who profess to non-co-operate with the Government will get into the councils. And, further, the Nationalists in Maharashtra scrupulously avoid committing themselves to the opposition of all Government measures, good or bad. They are at heart opposed to this N.-C.-O. in councils as well as outside; they stand for responsive co-operation—which means co-operation in the case of good measures and withdrawal of co-operation in the case of bad measures. There seems no doubt that if the Deccan Nationalists get a chance to go into the councils they will give the go-bye to Mrs. Das's idea of obstructive non-co-operation. Therefore the Liberals can unreservedly welcome the Nationalist campaign in favour of re-entry into the councils.

How far, then, is unity possible between the Deccan Nationalists and the Liberals? There is no question that so far as political aims and methods are concerned, the Nationalists are very much

nearer to the Liberals than N.-C.-O.s, between whom and the Liberals the differences are really fundamental. There are not many such honest N.-C.-O.s, it is true; but the few who are prepared to follow out the non-co-operation principle to its logical conclusions are as poles apart from the Liberals. The N.-C.-O.s themselves are quite alive to this fact. The *Janmabhumi*, for instance, admits that, holding the views they do, "it is not likely that any early *approchement* is possible as between the Non-Co-operators and the Liberals. The differences between the two are not merely mental or temperamental, they are fundamental, they are really moral." In spite of these political differences, however, in all that pertains to principle and moral values, the Liberals are more of kin with the true N.-C.-O. leaders, than with the Nationalists whose political aims are similar to their own. The Liberals are thus in a peculiar situation so far as Maharashtra is concerned. Their politics just now differ little from the Nationalist politics, but their ethics differ radically; while in the case of genuine N.-C.-O.s, of whom there is not one among prominent men, the ethics are identical, but their politics radically different.

ONLOOKER.

EDUCATION OF MEN AND WOMEN WORKERS.

BY MISS PEARCE.

IN factories and mills where men and women begin to work when they are children there seems to be little time given to education. As soon as the children are old enough to be taken into the mill they are plunged into their life's work without a thought of there being a possibility of a choice in the matter. There can be very little home life in such a mill area, and schools will be very probably the last things thought about. The families begin work in the early morning, and at night the fathers are tired, and naturally think only of their own relaxation, while the women are probably cooking for them.

Therefore it is clearly the duty of the mill management to look ahead, and plan such schemes for the education of their people as will train their minds to right thinking and their brains and hands to more skilful work. Of course money will have to be spent, but it will not be wasted, as it will all come back in the long run, in the efficiency and happiness of the workers. Every one knows how difficult it is in this country, where the mass of the people can neither read nor write, to keep the workers informed about the mill rules, bonuses, co-operative stores, etc., without misrepresentation or misunderstandings occurring unnecessarily. With the growth of elementary education this state of things may be changed.

If the mill is in a country where the State provides free and compulsory education for the young, it is much easier for the mill authorities to continue the education of adults. In such a case children will be prevented from entering the mill

at a very early age, and, on beginning work, boys will have a fair knowledge of reading, writing and arithmetic. The fact of the children being at home instead of in the mill will also keep more women in their proper sphere—which is certainly the home. With early education thus provided for, continuation classes should be provided by the mill for youths. Some subjects may be taught in the evenings, but others—like literature and mathematics—should be arranged for mill hours, thus giving the youth a certain part of working time for thinking. For youths from fifteen to eighteen years the study of their own language and general knowledge will tend to broaden their needs, whilst that of mathematics will stimulate their reasoning powers, especially if the course of study be planned out to suit the particular work they are doing during the day. Then again classes in gymnastics (swimming, if possible) should be included in the mill hours for youths and girls up to the age of eighteen, and afterwards when desired in evenings. A developed mind in a healthy body is essential to the best type of either men or women workers.

The evening classes should be more in the form of relaxation. Games such as football, tennis, badminton and cricket should be arranged for and the men should form their own clubs and run them themselves. Leading libraries, containing educational books as well as fiction and periodicals, may help to carry on the education of the adult workers. There may be reading rooms provided, so that the men may find a quiet place for sitting, with writing materials kept for use. Also clubs for debating on various subjects in connection with mill life and work, give outlet for expression of thought, and often clear up difficulties which otherwise might be brooded over. Lectures on various subjects such as hygiene, history, literature and art may interest the men, and, by elevating their minds, cause them to desire to live in better surroundings than before. If they learn to want good houses and good conditions of life, they will do much to help the management towards bettering their conditions in every way.

A good example of this scheme worked almost to perfection is to be seen in the Bourneville Works in England. On the other hand, if free and compulsory education is not given by the State, then, the mill authorities might with advantage provide day schools for half-timers and children of the workpeople as a foundation upon which to build up the education of the adults. Also elementary Night Schools for adults should be provided. These schools must be made to fit the particular pupils they serve. The hours must be short, and the lessons taught must be practical. In the half-timers' schools it must be remembered that the pupils have to work for about five hours a day, so the lessons should not occupy more than two to two and a half hours. But even ten hours a week of study is better than nothing, and in that time it is possible to teach them to read, write and count and to acquire a certain amount of general and

useful knowledge. A practical workshop attached to the school, and open to the boys at any time, is one of the best ways of teaching them to be handy and of helping them to discover what branch of manual work they prefer. If girls and women are working in the mills, classes may be held for the former with the boys, and needle-work may be taught as an extra subject. The mothers of the children should be encouraged to attend the school dispensary in order to learn how to keep their children clean and free from disease, and the use of simple remedies. Simple lectures in hygiene and the care of children may be given to the women in the school premises.

In the night school, also, the subjects taught must suit the particular pupils. The school may be a continuation school for the day school where the boys may study up to the higher standards, or it may contain elementary classes for those who have never been to school before, or it may contain classes or elementary technical subjects such as geometry, machine drawing, and workshop arithmetic. Boys who have passed through a practical school such as this, very often discover in themselves a great aptitude and liking for some branch of engineering work.

Scholarships may be given to young boys of the sixth standard while they work in the school shops, and when they become skilful with their tools, and of a proper age, they may become apprentices to some branch of technical work in the mill. Between the ages of fifteen and eighteen they should continue attending school classes in mill hours as may be arranged. Subjects such as language and literature, geometry and mechanical drawing, and practical arithmetic should be taught in these special classes for young apprentices. From these elementary classes in their own school, they should be drafted to a properly organised Trades' School. This might be run in the mill itself, or in connection with several mills and factories. The best lecturers on technical subjects should be obtained, and classes of the more advanced apprentices should be taught during their working hours.

Summing up—by this system of combining ordinary subjects with a technical training, the school serves the nation, through the proper development of young persons for their life's work.

If one looks back in the history of any country it is evident that with the growth of education the conditions in mills and factories are improved very considerably—the more so as the education progresses. With education the men themselves are content to work long hours, if they think they can gain more money for themselves in that way. They are content to allow their children to work when they ought to be at school, merely for the sake of the money they earn—little enough as it may be! Without education a man is content to live in squalid surroundings without even a thought of bettering his condition. If men can read and write they can also think for themselves,

and will not be so inclined to be led astray by may-be mischievous persons.

With education men and women become more rational creatures. They know that a skilled workman can produce more money than an incapable or incompetent one, and they wish their children to become better men than themselves. They, therefore, take advantage of the means of education provided for their children instead of sending them out to work. Instead of distrusting new labour-saving machinery they do their best to learn to understand it and are willing to use it, so doing away with the necessity of child labour, and at the same time increasing the production of the mill.

THE WORLD OUTSIDE.

Judges of Mankind.

NO reference has yet been made in these columns to the formal constitution of the *Permanent Court of International Justice* at the Hague on February 15th. This Court is perhaps the finest contribution yet made by the League of Nations to the well-being of the world, and the League's representative at the opening ceremony put the whole idea in a nutshell, when he charged the members of the newly constituted Court "a henceforth to deliver judgment on behalf of all mankind." What finer privilege, what more urgent duty, what greater responsibility than that which thus devolves upon these fifteen jurists, selected from all the nations? A Dutchman, Mijnheer Loder, is President; an Alsatian, M. A. Weiss, Vice-President; and a Swede, Herr Hammarskjöld, has been appointed Registrar. Of the remaining twelve judges, they belong respectively to twelve countries: Senor Altamira to Spain, Senor Bustamante to Cuba, Senhor Barboza to Brazil, Signor Anzilotti to Italy—and these may be said to represent the Latin point of view. Lord Finlay (England) and Mr. J. Bassett Moore (United States) stand for Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence; Herrer Beichmann (Norway) and Nyholm (Denmark) for Scandinavian. Gosp. Yovanovich (Serbia) and Negulesco (Rumania) represent the Balkans; Messrs. Wang Chung Hui (China) and Oda (Japan) the Far East. And Germany? Herr Max Huber is a Swiss, to be sure, but a German Swiss after all. And so the selection seems really a representative one, as far as it goes: though one could have thought of alternatives to Cuba. Again, to have both a Dane and a Norwegian, a Serb and a Rumanian, seems a trifle pleonastic. Instead of Cuba, why not India? Instead of a Norwegian why not a Moslem? And instead of a Serb, why not—a Russian?

Haytian Society.

TALKING of the League of Nations, we reproduced in our issue of April 20th an opinion according to which the palm for making the best speech of all (both in form and contents) at the recent meeting of the Assembly should be awarded to Monsieur Belle-

garde, the negro delegate from Hayti. The *New Republic* of March 22nd had a most illuminating article on Hayti by Katharine S. Angell—not that the lady added anything new to the known facts regarding the unashamed, indefensible and nakedly brutal occupation of the country by the United States. From 1804 to 1915 Hayti was a sovereign country, a French speaking Negro Republic occupying the eastern half of the beautiful West Indian island of S. Domingo: so much one knew, but what is new and so interesting in Mrs. Angell's article is, that she gives a glimpse of Haitian Society, into which it seems she was received without reservations. And this Society is apparently one of great refinement and polish. We read of clubs at Port au Prince which compare with the best Europe can show, of beautiful villas and motor-cars; of highly cultured people, widely travelled, mostly educated in Europe, speaking several languages; lovers of the best music, highly gifted artistically. Mrs. Angell proceeds:

"Colored people? yes certainly, almost all of them have negro blood mixed with their French, a very happy combination, for they are above all distinguished for their charm, sweetness and esprit"

and of one of her hostesses "who with such graciousness received us in her cool darkened salon:" she says,

"Her white hair, clear cut features and sensitive aristocratic face made one feel at once, This is one of the world's elite. She spoke English perfectly, having lived in Washington where her father was Haitian Minister during Lincoln's presidency. And now her face was drawn with pain when she put her hand on her heart and said, How I am hurt, I who have counted so many Americans my close friends. Ah, you can never comprehend ce grand fossé."

Ce grand fossé—that great ditch, which divides now the American invaders from the Haitians. For, *élite* or no *élite*, to the American generality these people are just—niggers.

The Descent of Man—and of America. WE have not unfrequently maintained that the United States are of all Western countries the most out-of-date. Should there be any of our readers who will think that it is mere love of paradox which makes us say that the U.S.A. are fifty years behind Europe, we could earnestly beg of them to ponder a bill now before the legislative assembly of Kentucky, a bill entitled, "An Act to prohibit the teaching in public schools and other public institutions of learning of Darwinism, atheism, agnosticism, or evolution as it pertains to the origin of man." Yes, dear reader; we are not speaking of the year 1872, but 1922. And so far from the movers of the Bill being locked up in an asylum, our American contemporary "Science" feels the need of organizing opposition so that the precious bill may not become law! You shrug the shoulder and say "Kentucky". Well, here is a sample from a New England State, Massachusetts, to wit, Clark University, Worcester. At its Student Liberal Club a well known American publicist, Scott Nearing, delivered a lecture on

"The Control of Public Opinion in the United States" and ventured therein to suggest that such control was being exercised by the "vested interests" of plutocracy: whereupon the President of the University who attended the Club's meeting arose in his wrath and declared the meeting dissolved! What a home freedom of science and teaching has found in the "Land of the Free!"

German Learning.

THE other day we came across some interesting statistics of the number of books published in the principal western countries—statistics which somehow seem to have a not fortuitous connection with these remarks of ours on the freedom of learning in the American Republic. According to *Le Droit d' Auteur* there were published respectively in 1919 and 1920:

	1919	1920
Germany	26,194	32,335
England	8,622	11,004
U. S. A.	6,422	8,594
France	5,361	6,351
Italy	6,066	6,230
Holland	3,746	3,974
Denmark	4,465	3,974
	60,876	72,456

In other words, Germany in 1920 produced as many books as the whole of England, France, Italy and the United States put together! What power in the world can permanently keep under such a nation as this; and worse still, if by any chance it could be done, what a loss to humanity as a whole! Czecho-Slovakia (with a population of 136 lakhs) is one of the foremost countries trying to stamp out the German language and civilization of 36 lakhs of its inhabitants and is descending to such tricks as to bar its German subjects from serving on juries (even in purely German districts), because they do not know Czech! Will Czech culture really gain in richness, in proportion as German learning and art are eliminated?

Whose Country is Palestine? FEW people realize how truly Palestine is for the Jews "their" country and how great a share they are already taking, not in any amenities and of their citizenship advantages—how can a derelict country like Palestine offer any?—but in the burdens which Jews all over the world cheerfully shoulder, simply because Palestine is their patrimony of old and because as pious heirs it is incumbent on them to restore it to its pristine glories. We were led to these reflexions by a perusal of the Zionist Education Department's Report for 1920-1, from which we see that this department to-day caters for 12,830 pupils and employs 505 teachers in 53 kindergartens, 65 primary schools, 3 secondary schools, 3 teachers' training colleges, 6 technical schools and 7 workshops. And who pays for all this? Let the figures speak for themselves:

Tuition Fees	£21,211
Government Grant	2,237
Zionist Education Dept.	109,707
	<hr/>
	133,155

Again, we just read in the *Westminster Gazette* a description by Mr. Ramsay Macdonald of a visit paid by him to a Jewish Labour camp on the northern slopes of Mount Gilboa: a description which illustrates the indomitable faith in the future on the part of the settlers themselves and their sacrificing devotion to the Zionist ideal.

The Jewish workers there, he writes, are planting 14,000 eucalyptus trees, 4,000 pines, 500 cypresses, 10,000 olives, together with apple orchards, vineyards, tobacco plantations and orange groves.

The land belongs to the Jewish National Fund and can never become private property. Most of the workers are Socialists, and they work well because they believe they are laying the foundations of a new Zion.

Japanese Swaraj.

THE *Labour Monthly* for March contains a very interesting article on "Present Day Japan" by a Japanese labour leader, Mr. Sen Katayama. The article is all the more interesting, because it affords some striking analogies to the development through which India is passing. How many of us knew that more than half the National Budget is earmarked for armament purposes—the navy alone in this year of grace swallowing the equivalent of something like 75 crores of rupees! If such things are possible under swaraj... But then, have the Japanese got Swaraj? Less than 5% of her population of 58,000,000 has the parliamentary franchise: what kind of swaraj have the 95% got, one wonders. And it throws a lurid light on the average income that everybody is entitled to vote who pays 5 yen (say 8 rupees) per annum in direct taxes. Mr. Katayama says bluntly that "this franchise has placed Japanese politics entirely in the hands of the capitalists... the workers have no voice at all." The latter are notoriously struggling under a perfectly barbarous system of exploitation, and as for the ruthless rule of the police—this surpasses anything that any country, let alone India, can show. The people of Japan, as elsewhere, are groaning beneath a perfectly fantastic burden of taxation and are under no illusion as to the utter bankruptcy of the militaristic regime and ideology. But how to end it? Mr. Katayama closes his article with these thought provoking words: "The brutal policy of Japanese Militarism in Korea, her pitiable policy with regard to China, have made Japan the Prussia of the East. Taught by the War, the Japanese people have lost all faith in bureaucratic government and military autocracy. Discontent and unrest is growing fast. For these reasons it can be stated that Japan is ready for the social revolution."

MISCELLANEA.

FURTHER CONSTITUTIONAL ADVANCE.

MR. SASTRI'S SPEECH.

BELOW we give a summary of the speech delivered by Mr. Sastri as president of the Liberal Conference:—

The Right Hon. Srinivasa Sastri who began by apologising for not having found the time to write out his speech said that they must all experience a sense of devout thankfulness at the calm exterior which our country wore at the present time after the stressful time through which we had passed. But the question was whether the peace that we saw around us was an outward peace or an inward peace. Even the outward peace was now and then broken in upon by the threat of a possible resumption of a campaign of civil disobedience. He felt that that this talk need not be taken too seriously and that their whole attempt must hereafter be to convert this temporary and outward peace into a real and permanent peace. There was no doubt that the non-co-operation movement which was lying low just now under the exhaustion of a great effort started with many advantages, the foremost of which was the leadership of one whose character was of the purest. It had to its credit intensive political activity by means of which the gospel of Swaraj was carried into the nooks and corners of the country and it lent its popularity and its momentum to social causes like the removal of the taint of untouchability which we all had at heart, irrespective of party distinctions. He was glad to acknowledge this for the movement, but it had also much evil to account for. It was responsible for the destruction of property, loss of several lives, it was also indirectly responsible for the deprivation of the liberty of citizens, it had given an excuse for the maintenance of the military budget at a high level, it had in Madras torn up by the roots friendly feelings between Hindus and Mahomedans, it had enormously increased the slave mentality of the people, it had given much vogue to a habitual divorce between profession and practice and so forth. Our realisation of the harmful character of N.-C.-O. being so strong, we must see to it that nothing was done on one side or the other which was calculated to lead to the execution of the threat of reviving civil disobedience which was occasionally held out. It might be asked of the Liberals how they proposed to redress the country's grievances. The Liberals had no method to suggest which would promise immediate relief, continual effort on their part would be required, and such effort being postulated, there was no reason at all to lose hope. Just now he found that there was profound trust in the public mind in regard to the Government's motives. People required practical proof that the Government desired to redeem to the very letter the pledges of Government, touching, for instance, the Reform Act. The admission of Indians into the higher ranks of the army or the appointment of Indians to the post of Secretary or Director of Public Instruction for example would perhaps convince people of the sincerity of Government's intentions. The road to such a contentment was for the present blocked by the imprisonment by Government of some 20,000 people. There was probably no occasion for complaint in the Bombay Presidency, but in the United Provinces, Bengal, and somewhat in Madras also, indiscriminate arrests had taken place. Many persons had been arrested simply for announcing themselves to be members of associations which Government thought fit to proclaim. It was idle to expect that there would be any lasting peace in the country till this gratuitous addition to the sufferings of people had been removed. Persons arrested for technical offences should be immediately released and inquiry made into the cases of those whose offences were not of a very serious character. But the mind of India would refuse to be satisfied until the way was opened for a fresh constitutional advance. He supposed that there was no one in the Liberal ranks who did not ask that the next instalment of reforms should be so big as to take us almost to our desired goal. Three methods were suggested by which the advance could be made. It was the idea of some Britishers that without any demand on the part of the Indian people the Government

should offer to them either provincial autonomy or dominion status, but it was unnecessary to devote more thought to the proposal since there was no statesman who carried authority enough to make such a proposal, without an agitation on their part to sustain it, acceptable to Parliament. Another suggestion was that a united demand should be made by the people immediately for an amendment of the Government of India Act by Parliament. His personal opinion was that the present time was not particularly propitious for such an attempt. The unfortunate atmosphere which now prevailed was not of our making, but it was a fact which we had to reckon with, for in the present state of public feeling they must not suffer a defeat in the constitutional sphere. The campaign must be so conducted as to promise reasonable assurance of success. He would therefore favour the third method of working through the existing constitution. He suggested that they should educate the electorates to ask for a big constitutional advance at the next elections of their legislatures, that the electorates should charge their representatives to make such a demand in the constitutional manner, and the representatives of all provincial and also Imperial legislatures, charged with such a mandate, should, with the help of a few persons specially co-opted for the purpose, formulate a scheme. Such a scheme, coming from such a source and having such authority at its back, had every chance of being accepted. It would be still better if the members of the legislatures sent a deputation to England to enlist British support. He felt certain that no one in England would treat such a scheme with contempt and that it would be possible, if conditions were favourable, to give legislative effect to it, say, at the end of 1925. Many people raised the objection that the ten-year clause in the Government of India Act forbade all progress within the interval. But that was not a correct reading of the clause. He had always interpreted it to statesmen in England to mean that while it imposed the obligation of an inquiry after ten years it did not preclude Parliament from taking a further step before ten years if circumstances were favourable. It would be wrong of British statesmen to dwell with pedantic exactitude on a clause the object of which was to ensure periodical revision. Our demand for a big constitutional advance we could support by many arguments, one of which was the experience we had obtained of dyarchy. It must be remembered that the Liberals supported the diarchical system under a sense of necessity and always insisted, before the Joint Committee and elsewhere, that dyarchy should be so watered down and correctives introduced into it as practically to eliminate the harsh features of dyarchy and to convert it as nearly as possible into a unified Government. For instance, collective deliberation of both wings of Government on all important matters was one of the modifications which we never ceased to emphasise, and we made it clear that whatever the system was in theory, in practice there should be no serious departure from unitary government. In provinces where the system was worked in that spirit dyarchy exhibited best results; but all these safeguards were not rigidly observed in every province, and the evils of dyarchy had been brought out into strong relief by the Government's own action. As regards the Central Government he was not as enthusiastic as he was sometime ago for the introduction of an element of responsibility into it. He would of course be glad to defer his views to the considered conclusions of the Liberal Party as a whole, but he was inclined to that view at the moment. For although the Joint Committee had laid down that the extraordinary power vested in the Government of India was to be used for every day purposes the fact was that the Government was not using it for every-day administration but had allowed it to lie dormant. When our power extended practically to all departments of Government, though in an indirect and partial manner, by the introduction of dyarchy it was possible that by making a distinction between reserved and transferred subjects in the Central Government we would lose more than gain. Anyhow when a big step forward was desiderated by us, the introduction of the dyarchic system was hardly a measure which they should advocate.

PURCHASE OF RAILWAY MATERIALS.

In view of the purchase of railway material for India, it is interesting to see what other countries are doing which have large orders for such material to place. The following is taken from the report on orders placed to Jan. 1st 1922, by the Russian Railway Mission.

Orders were placed in Germany to the extent of £14,470,000, and included 700 locomotives and 1,000 oil trucks. 1,000 locomotives were ordered in Sweden, in addition to 100 cylinders, 100 handcars, and other railway material, making the value of the total order placed in Sweden £14,118,000. 200 boilers and other material have been ordered in England to a total value of £820,000. In addition, smaller orders were placed in Austria, Denmark, Czechoslovakia, and Canada to a total value of £850,000. In all, the value of the orders placed by the Mission abroad amounts to over £30,000,000. In addition to rolling stock and other railway material the orders include tools and machines of all kinds, nails, motor tyres, telephonic and telegraphic apparatus, and nautical instruments.

Of the 700 locomotives ordered by the Mission in Germany and the 1,000 ordered in Sweden, eighty-five locomotives had already arrived in Russia from Germany towards the end of January, and fifty from Sweden. Deliveries of German locomotives are being somewhat retarded owing to the absence of suitable transport facilities, and until these are available the locomotives are being warehoused at Hamburg. It is expected that in March over 200 locomotives will be thus awaiting transportation.

MIND AND BODY

	Rs. A.
1. Mind Concentration and How to Practise it....	0 9
2. Joy Philosophy. By Elizabeth Towne.	1 5
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