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Editor: S. G. VAZE.

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## TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE reception given by His Excel-  
lency the Viceroy to the joint deputation of the Chambers of Commerce of Calcutta and Bombay, headed by Messrs. Rhodes and Purushottamas, was as cordial as one could wish. They pointed out the dangers of expenditure exceeding revenue year after year, leading inevitably to borrowing for unproductive purposes, enhanced rates of interest, inflated currency, consequent high prices &c. and urged economy in various directions, such as military expenditure, the construction of Delhi, departments which have been provincialised and so on. The Viceroy readily granted the force of their arguments, having himself been shocked to learn that in the last four years the excess of expenditure over income had amounted to no less than Rs. 90 crores. Referring to the Inchoape Committee, he said that his Government would submit their expenditure to its scrutiny as unreservedly as a patient submits himself to an expert physician's examination, “and we are prepared, as far as it is compatible with efficient Government and the primary necessities of safety and good administration, to submit to the operation, to cautery, to the letting of blood, or to a rigorous diet.” Further he said that even in advance of the Committee, special officers had been instructed to examine the departments and ‘prune and lop off redundant and unnecessary branches.’ With this admirable spirit prevailing in the Government, the labours of the Inchoape Committee should prove exceedingly fruitful.

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**Burma Reforms.** A DETAILED consideration of the Burma Reforms Committee's report must be postponed till the report itself and the Government of India's dispatch there-

on are to hand, but a perusal of the summary telegraphed from Simla leaves the impression that both in respect of franchise and the subjects to be transferred to the control of ministers, the recommendations are liberal. They constitute a very large instalment of reform and in the hands of wise statesmen will undoubtedly prove an instrument of rapid national progress. Burma is probably the very best instance of the prodigious change which a mere advance in national consciousness produces in that undefinable quality which is supposed to indicate a nation's fitness to govern itself. A country which some four years ago the Lieutenant-Governor thought could be fobbed off with just a little tinkering change of the nature of Morley-Minto reforms, is now to be given at the pressing request of the same Lieutenant-Governor a reform which in some respects may be said to be more advanced than what the Indian provinces at present enjoy.

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**Councils or Civil Disobedience?** Mr. V. J. PATEL hit the nail on the head when he asked the Subjects Committee of the Gujerat Political Conference to choose between the Legislative Councils and civil disobedience, since it was clearly impossible to maintain both the boycott of councils and the suspension of civil disobedience for long. No doubt Mr. Patel said this with a view to driving the Conference into the adoption of civil disobedience, but his remark is nevertheless very true, and we have a right to use it in order to prove how much better it would be to give up non-co-operation and go into the councils rather than encounter the grave perils attendant on a campaign of civil disobedience. That the present programme cannot be allowed to stand as it is, if stagnation is to be avoided, is obvious, and when the only alternative methods of revising it that are open to the Congress are a full use of the existing constitutional machinery or resort to a dangerous agitation which above everything else Mahatma Gandhi wanted to avert, no one need have the slightest hesitation in making his choice. For, as we showed last week the choice really lies between non-co-operation, which after all is a temporary expedient, and non-violence which is an eternal principle. It will not be difficult for anyone to believe that, in the absence of Mr. Gandhi's restraining influence, to inaugurate a movement of civil disobedience or non-payment of taxes is practically to give the rein to lawlessness, and in order to prevent that, if for nothing

else, it is necessary that the Congress should advise all political workers who have an aptitude for it to go into the councils or do allied work. What will follow unless such an opening is provided for the activities of Congressmen is illustrated by the Mulshi Peta agitation. for we may safely assert that this wrong-headed agitation would not have been carried on if the patriotic impulse of the leading men had a better outlet than is provided by the "constructive" part of the Congress programme.

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**BUT** the question arises, what are the Congressmen to do when they go into the Councils? Obstructive tactics, in the sense of opposing all measures, good, bad or indifferent, are generally disapproved; how then is their work to be distinguished from that of the present members, *e. g.* the Liberal party? Here the *Tribune* comes to their aid; it has their work cut out for them. They should not, like the Liberals, support the Government wherever it is right and oppose it wherever it is wrong; no, they must preserve their individuality as a party, and this can best be done of course by opposing every measure which deserves to be opposed, but in the case of a good measure which deserves the support of all good men, by refusing to cast their votes in favour of it if there is no danger of its being otherwise defeated and rallying to its support only when there is such a danger. Congressmen will see on reflection that this is a distinction without a difference. In the case of measures which require to be opposed, *ex hypothesi*, Liberals and Congressmen will act alike; so also in the case of all good measures to which there is any serious opposition. Is, then, the continuity of the great Congress party's principles to be maintained, or even its *amour propre* satisfied, by its representatives refraining to support measures which, even without their support, are sure to be carried? We do not think it will be regarded by Congressmen as a sufficient differentia of their creed or a dignified position for their party if, after first making sure that their support is not at all needed for any particular measure, they are to withhold their active support from it. The Congress party is also advised to repeal all repressive laws to promote universal education, prohibition and like measures of public utility, and generally to weaken the forces of bureaucratic reaction and strengthen those of democratic progress. The Liberal party claims to stand for this very programme, and Congressmen will be disappointed if they seek to make that their distinguishing mark. It is best they realised that they would do in the councils very much what others are doing now; but that does not lessen the importance or necessity of their entering the councils, which will not function at their highest level unless they are thoroughly representative.

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**SIR SURENDRANATH BANERJEA** has earned the gratitude of Bengal by the energetic way in which he has set about solving the greatest problem of Bengal, viz. its public health. He is carrying on a vigorous propaganda against water-borne diseases like cholera and dysentery, promoting anti-malarial schemes, paying special attention to the supply of good drinking water and creating every facility for adequate medical relief to reach the villages. He found out that it was extremely inadvisable for villages to depend upon tanks for their drinking water, because the local bodies are too poor to maintain in an uncontaminated condition the large catchment areas which are their sources of supply and to incur the capital expenditure and maintenance charges of filter beds and silt-removing operations. He therefore had boring experiments made in various parts of the province, which proved that it is possible to obtain clean potable subsoil water in most places at a cost which the poorest district boards and municipalities can easily afford. With regard to medical relief, while for nearly a century before he took charge of the portfolio there were only two Medical Schools in Bengal, he has started five new ones within two years; he has arranged for post-graduate classes at the head-quarters of every district for the training of rural medical practitioners and is offering subsidies and other attractions for qualified medical men to practise in rural areas. He has removed invidious racial distinctions in the admission of patients to hospitals, in staff appointments to the Medical College and the Tropical School of Medicine, in important councils of medical men. He has everywhere broken the monopoly of the European and made the institutions really national. He has fully proved the utility and success of the Reforms so far as they go and established the claim for complete Home Rule.

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**GENERAL TOWNSHEND'S** denial of the massacre of the Greeks by the Turks would be amusing, if the subject were not so tragic. The fact is the Turks are massacring the Greeks, the Greeks are massacring the Turks—there are atrocities, reprisals and counter-reprisals, all going on in a vicious circle. A narrow nationalism has exalted hate into a virtue and unabashed appeals are made to the basest passions. The *Manchester Guardian* publishes the translation of an article by a prominent Kemalist leader in an Angora newspaper, which as a hymn of hate can scarcely be equalled. The following is only one of its many paragraphs:

And thou, the army of the Creator and the Just. Every time you massacre a Greek you are pulling down one of the corner-stones of the British Empire. Therefore, for God's sake massacre, for the love of your country massacre, in revenge of your dead brethren massacre, in the name of crying humanity massacre, for the salvation of the world and the peace of Hades massacre.

To massacre in the name of crying humanity—diabolical irony!

### "CAN'T SUPPORT IT ANY LONGER."

THE withdrawal by the *Bombay Chronicle* of its support from the Mulshi Peta agitation will give, we hope, a much desiderated pause to that campaign as it is being conducted at present. The reader will excuse us if we say that in this affair we are in similar case with our Bombay contemporary. In its earlier stages we too lent our humble support to the Mulshi struggle, for whatever it was worth; we now feel, like the *Chronicle*, that we cannot conscientiously continue this support any longer, and for identical reasons. The *Chronicle* says that so long as the ryots appeared to be face to face with compulsory expropriation on a mere money compensation, and a miserable scale of compensation at that, it felt impelled to protest against such a gross injustice. But as soon as an offer of equivalent land in compensation was made, the justification which existed previously disappeared from the movement. Our position is identically the same. The offer of an exchange of land necessitated a similar change in our attitude, and we were also influenced in the same sense by the offer made by Government to determine the amount of compensation, in case of disagreement, by arbitration. Being convinced—as the *Chronicle* is—that the hydro-electric scheme which makes the displacement of the ryots necessary is a public purpose, we concluded that the terms now tendered ought to satisfy all reasonable men and that, at all events, if yet there were any outstanding differences, they could well be accommodated by further negotiation. Anyhow the blank *non-possimus* which the ryots or those who presume to act on their behalf opposed to the scheme seemed to us to be altogether indefensible on any known principle of social science. Mr. N. C. Kelkar also publicly condemned this purely negative attitude on the part of the ryots in a signed article in the *Mahratta* and said that if arbitration was conceded, there would be no ground for complaint in the matter of compensation. The conditions mentioned by him have since been fulfilled, and yet he allows his papers to advocate a policy which he himself has roundly denounced. The *Bombay Chronicle* is being censured for its "inconsistency"—an "inconsistency" in which we share. But this change in its or our policy was dictated by a change in the policy pursued towards the owners of land in Mulshi Peta and was thus, we should think, necessary and commendable. But the inconsistency of which Mr. Kelkar is guilty is very different, being due merely to the fact of his inability to retain his "leadership" except by consenting to follow blindfold his "followers," regardless of his own innermost convictions.

The other reason which compelled the *Bombay Chronicle* to refuse its support to the agitation in Mulshi Peta is the countenance which the leaders in the agitation are known to be giving to violence. Indeed, it believes that the whole object of the movement is to discredit the principle of

non-violence. On this point our contemporary appears to have inside knowledge which, fortunately, is denied to us. But apart from whatever clandestine preachings of the gospel of violence may or may not be going on, the methods openly pursued by the so-called Satyagrahis clearly partake of the use of physical force. Does any true Satyagrahi pretend that the forcible uprooting of the railway lines or the breaking through of a ring of guards planted on land duly purchased by the Company with the consent of its owners, with a view to the obstruction of the works, is in consonance with non-violence, as it has been preached by the patriarch and pontiff of the non-violent non-co-operation movement? Will it be non-violence for any non-co-operators, on hearing of the issue of a warrant for the arrest of their leader, to go to the officer to whom it falls to execute the warrant and to confine him in his house, so that the arrest may not be effected? Or, if the leader is still taken into custody, to break open the gaol and let him out? Some people ask, in defence of the exercise of violence, "How else can we prevent the completion of the hydro-electric scheme? You do not mean to say that because of our adherence to non-violence we should sacrifice all our lands and let the scheme go forward merrily?" These good folk may well ask, "Why should non-co-operators allow Mahatma Gandhi to be quietly imprisoned instead of their forcing him out, if they can?" It is time these men realised that to one who pins his faith on non-violence no form of violence is permissible, whether the practice of non-violence may succeed or not, and the kind of violence which the Mulshi Peta crusaders are freely using is forbidden not only to a "non-violent non-co-operator" but to a constitutionalist as well. It can be adopted only by those who belong to the "physical force" party.

The fundamental question is whether the scheme is or is not calculated to serve a public purpose. For it is granted by most of the supporters of the present "Satyagraha" struggle—in fact by all except Mr. Gandhi—that where large public interests demand it, compulsory expropriation is perfectly justifiable. But the judgment of many of those who theoretically grant the proposition is clouded in this concrete case by the fact that the works are to be managed by a private company. That fact should really make no difference to the merits of land acquisition. For we must remember that the company to whom the works have been given over appears on the scene only after the acquisition has been effected. The State first acquires the land for what is undoubtedly a public purpose and then, instead of proceeding to carry out the purpose itself, entrusts the business to others, desiring thus to relieve itself of the trouble and risk that would be involved in State management. It is quite possible to maintain that State management would have been the better course, but the fact that the State, instead of running the concern under its own management, leases

it out to a private company for a certain period, restricting meanwhile the price at which electricity that will be generated there will be sold to the public, does not affect the nature of the purpose for which land is to be acquired. No one desires the railways to be abolished because, instead of being operated by the State, they are being operated by private companies. If the electricity that will be supplied from the hydro-electric works enables the mills in Bombay to be worked by power and thus relieves a lakh of workmen from the sooty atmosphere in which they have to spend all their working hours, how much brighter and happier—or less miserable—their lives would be? Let this be weighed in the balance against the disturbance that will be caused to many—but still far fewer—people in Mulshi Peta, for if compensation in money and land is offered it is only the disturbance that remains. If the good outweighs the evil, it is but right that the State should go forward with the scheme and call upon a section of the people to make a sacrifice on behalf the community; and it is the duty of the citizens to support them in such measures, only seeing to it that those of whom sacrifices are required do not suffer any unnecessary hardship and are fully compensated wherever compensation is possible. Anyhow the State has the right to say that no person or group of persons shall sabotage the industrial development of the country.

The only ground on which opposition can be offered to the present scheme is the one set out by Mahatma Gandhi, that no one must on any account be compulsorily dispossessed of his land or house, whatever good may accrue therefrom. He wrote in April of last year :

"What is the value of all the boons that the Tata scheme claims to confer upon India, if it is to be at the unwilling expense of even *one* poor man? I daresay the problem of disease and poverty can be easily solved, and the survivors will live in luxury if the three crore half-starved men and women and lakhs of the decrepit humanity were shot and their bodies utilised for manure or their bones utilised for making knife-handles. And yet no one but a lunatic will put up such a suggestion. Is the case any weaker when men and women are not to be shot but compulsorily dispossessed of their lands, about which sentiment, romance, and all that makes life worth living have grown up?

But this extreme individualistic doctrine is so patently absurd that we have not known any single follower of his to own allegiance to it. Indeed Mr. P. M. Bapat, who is leading the movement, is a convinced Socialist and a sort of Communist, and that he should lend his support to it can be accounted for only by the general want of an intelligent understanding of the issues involved in this question. It is sincerely hoped that when the All-India Congress Committee will lift this question out of the small groove into which it has fallen in Maharashtra, it will bring to its consideration a larger vision and a deeper insight into the basic principles that are at stake.

## THE KISAN MOVEMENT IN OUDH.—II.

### THE EKA.

THE agrarian disturbances in Oudh took place in January, 1921; the Oudh Rent Amendment Act was passed in November of the same year; and the Eka movement began in January, 1922, *i. e.* within less than two months of the passing of the new Rent Act. The Kisans having found that neither constitutional methods, nor *Charkha* and *Khaddar* have proved of any avail in bringing them immediate relief as regards their grievances, took to direct action and began to form Kisan Unions with a view to resist the unjust demands of the Zamindars and Taluqadars. The movement was given the name of Eka. It was initiated and led by a man of low caste and no education, named Madari Pasi. The movement spread through the entire district of Hardoi and a part of Lucknow. Its chief weapon was social boycott. As an illustration, say a thousand or two thousand people of the surrounding locality would gather together in a particular village and take an oath to stand together against the Zamindar and refuse to accede to any illegal exactions or forced labour and to have no connection with the man who would go against this resolve or keep himself out of his Eka. Sometimes these people boycotted Zamindars also, *i. e.* people of the village would sever all connection with him, nobody would accept any service under him, even the barber and sweeper would not go. As the Zamindars would not accept merely the recorded rent, in a large number of cases no rents were paid at all. It is also alleged that Madari Pasi had caused letters to be sent to certain unpopular Zamindars, threatening violence unless they behaved better. Three facts about the movement are undisputedly clear. First, it was mainly agrarian, based on genuine grievances of the tenantry against the Zamindars; second, though liable to blaze up into mischief and disturbances, it was exceptionally free from crime and violence, during the short period of its existence; third, the potentiality of danger was exaggerated, out of all proportion, by the Taluqadars. These facts are clearly borne out by the special official report on the movement recently published by the Government of the United Provinces. Says the report:—

The land-owning classes in Hardoi were seriously alarmed by the Eka movement. Something had to be done. The Eka movement had to be quelled at all costs. Mr. Dible, the then Deputy Commissioner of Hardoi, wrote as follows on the 25th January, 1922: "In the Atrauli police circle of Sandila tahsil I am afraid that there has been a recrudescence of agrarian trouble. I visited Atrauli during the Christmas holidays and I found that the zamindars were fully determined to force my hand and make me take proceedings at once against the leaders of the kisans. This I was not prepared to do, since I recognized that the treatment of the kisans by the zamindars of this part of the tahsil has been very bad." Mr. Calder, who succeeded Mr. Dible as Deputy Commissioner when the latter went into hospital with enteric fever, wrote as follows: "While the apprehensions of the zamindars are undoubtedly real, the zamindars have shown a tendency to exaggerate the

actual danger. They ask for much more drastic measures against the tenants than are justified." Alarmist articles on the Eka movement appeared in the press and alarmist tales were poured into the ears of influential officials. At the time when these alarmist tales were in circulation, the Hardoi district was remarkably free from serious crime, which is, after all, the acid test. If we compare this with the state of affairs which the Kisan Sabha movement rapidly produced in Rae Bareilly in the previous year and which I have attempted to describe in the opening paragraphs of this report, it will, I think, be recognized that the excitement aroused by the Eka movement was slightly premature.

Further on the report says:—

In view of the fact that the tenant has got rid of his most serious grievances in consequence of the passing of the new Oudh Rent Act, it may appear strange that agrarian agitation should continue. The reason is partly the efforts of non-co-operating and Khilafat agitators to stir up any kind of trouble which will hamper Government and partly the fact that in certain estates the tenant still has real grievances. These are: (1) refusal to give receipts for rents paid, which is intimately connected with the concealment of rent, (2) the exaction of unauthorized or unpopular cesses.

To these may be added a further grievance of the *Kankutha* and *Batai i. e.* the system of taking rent in kind instead of in cash since the appraisal of the same by the Zamindar or his agent results in considerable loss to the tenant. The evil of charging the tenant very much in excess of recorded rent has grown so far in several districts of Oudh that the responsible officers of the Government have been compelled to use strong language in condemning it. We make no apology for further quoting from the report the opinions of two responsible officers of the Government:—

Pandit Janardan Joshi, Deputy Collector, Rae Bareilly, an officer of ability, who has had considerable court of wards and settlement experience, writes on this subject as follows:—"In one estate out of a rental of Rs. 77,000, Rs. 9,500 were concealed. In another estate Rs. 13,000 out of Rs. 32,000. If the *karinda* has to collect Rs. 13,000 without receipts, why should he not collect Rs. 18,000 (Rs. 4,000 for himself and Rs. 1,000 to earn approbation and support of his master)? "If the tenantry revolts against this rotten system, what wonder is there?" I quote also some remarks made by Mr. Calder, I. C. S., a capable officer lately Deputy Commissioner of Hardoi, on this subject. "The tenants' grievances, as already reported, were and still are a considerable cause of discontent. The chief are non-granting of receipt for rent, illegal or excessive exaction of *hari*, *bhusa* and *begar*, and the exaction of more than the recorded rent. It is a well-known fact that the collection of concealed rents took place almost universally throughout Hardoi. O—, gave me an authentic case, for the correctness of which he vouched, in which the rent roll being Rs. 1,700, collections were made of not less than Rs. 5,700. This, I should think, is an extreme case. It is not easy to arrive at any correct estimate of the actual collections, but I think that for the whole district a safe estimate would be collections 50 per cent. above recorded rent."

The Taluqadars and the Zamindars, having received fulsome eulogy at the hands of the Finance Member in the Legislative Council, as regards their disinterestedness and generosity in the matter of support they had given to the Oudh Rent Amendment Bill, were naturally taken aback at the perversity of the tenants in kicking up another row so soon. The Government having convinced

itself and openly declared, that no cause for dissatisfaction remained, could not account for this perversity of Eka but as, on the part of tenantry, a sheer madness which had to be put down. Besides, the Taluqadars who had behaved so well were alarmed and had to be reassured. So, though "no request for the employment of troops was made by the district authorities" and "Hardoi has had for some time a considerable additional force of armed police," a moving column of Indian cavalry was marched through the district; for the authorities "are always glad to see a little display of this kind, which tends to make the peasantry reflect that there still may be a government with some force behind it." Further "proposals for the imposition of punitive police in certain notoriously troublesome localities are being submitted. Selected landowners have been encouraged to enlist retainers to assist the police in keeping order. All district officers have been instructed to carry on a vigorous campaign against the bad character element, who have shown a tendency to get out of hand owing to various causes, one of which is the large amount of political work the police have had to do during the past year. District officers have been particularly warned to see that the persons proceeded against under the bad character sections of the Criminal Procedure Code are *the organisers and leaders and not the petty village burglars.*" The lines quoted above from the official report bear eloquent testimony to the drastic nature of the measures adopted for suppressing the movement. Our readers can very well read between the lines, without the aid of any comments from us. Along with these measures the Local Government put Lt. Col. J. C. Faunthorpe, I. C. S., on special duty to make detailed investigations regarding the Eka movement and submit full report. Col. Faunthorpe has submitted a very comprehensive and detailed report which has been published along with a resolution of the Government thereon and from which we have already quoted at some length. We now propose to deal with the recommendations made by Col. Faunthorpe and the attitude of the Government towards his report.

#### COL. FAUNTHORPE'S REPORT.

The report of Col. Faunthorpe is a comprehensive document; it deals with the inception and the chequered career of the Kisan movement in Oudh including Eka, describes how on both occasions it was suppressed and contains a detailed examination of the grievances of the tenantry and the recommendations, which in his opinion will remove the existing friction and eliminate a possible danger of further disturbances in future. We may say at the very outset that, apart from his incurable bias against the political agitator and the "gentlemen of Opposition" which is perhaps inherent in the bureaucratic mentality of the Indian Civil Service and of which there is ample testimony in the report, Col. Faunthorpe has shown genuine appreciation of the difficulties and grievances of the tenant and has fairly stood by him.

His analysis of the grievances and the treatment that he suggests are all right, so far as they go. But we are afraid Col. Faunthorpe has failed to go to the root of the question. His treatment of the disease is superficial; it may act as a temporary palliative but cannot prove a cure. In brief his recommendations are:—

(1) The court of wards should set the example by consolidating all cesses into a cash demand in all court of wards estates in Oudh. We need not concern ourselves with cesses paid by non-agricultural residents of the village. These are paid in lieu of the privilege of residence or other advantages. They are unimportant and may be left to the parties to settle among themselves. (2) The attention of the British Indian Association may be drawn to the whole question and they may be asked to consider whether they cannot induce the zamindars of Oudh as a body to abandon rent concealment, give receipts as a matter of course, and commute into a cash percentage most, if not all, of the cesses realised from agriculture, tenants. In some of the large estates cesses such as *hari* the ploughing cess, have already been commuted. (3) The *bhusa* and straw cesses which are the cause of more dissatisfaction than any others, should, if not commuted, be defined by weight. This will go a long way towards eliminating the present friction.

The sum and substance of these recommendations is that Col. Faunthorpe asks the Government to advise the Taluquaders in a friendly manner to behave like a good boy. A few Taluquaders even now treat their tenantry with consideration and fairness. If the Government of Sir Harcourt Butler act up to the recommendations of Col. Faunthorpe, which is very doubtful, a few more Taluquaders may be persuaded to remove some of the most acute grievances of their tenants. But this does not solve the agrarian problem of the tenantry of Oudh. And it can never be solved unless the law puts tenants in a position to resist the unjust demands of the Zamindar and safeguard his own interests in a legal and peaceful manner, without having recourse either to direct action, violence and disturbances or unfruitful appeals to the generosity and fair-mindedness, either of the Zamindars or the local authorities. This can be done only by conceding hereditary occupancy rights to the tenantry of Oudh. No remedy short of this can prove more than a temporary palliative. And of anything like a permanent remedy there is no hope during the régime of Sir Harcourt Butler and the term of the present Legislative Council. As regards the prospects of Col. Faunthorpe's recommendations being given effect to without hesitation and delay, the concluding portion of the Government resolution on the report, gives a quietus to all hopes of prompt action. The resolution consists of three small paragraphs, of which the last runs as follows:—

The thanks of the Governor in Council are hereby conveyed to Colonel Faunthorpe for his able and interesting report. The report contains matters and comments on which His Excellency in Council does not propose to offer any opinion at present. It gives valuable material to clear the ground for the further detailed enquiry which is to be made.

Had it not been the case that the vital interests of millions of human beings are involved in the ques-

tion and that on the prompt and proper solution of it depend the future peace and prosperity of our Province, we might very well have admired the terseness and summary nature of the official pronouncement.

KRISHNA PRASAD KAUL.

### THE C. P. LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

#### THE BUDGET SESSION.—IV.

##### DEMANDS AND GRANTS.

AS in other Provinces, months before the budget for the current year was formally presented to the Council, members, as well as the public outside, knew that they were faced with a *heavy* deficit and that in consequence some proposals for additional taxation would be placed before them. The campaign for retrenchment and economy gained both in volume and intensity; and the legislature as a whole would have been more than human if they had not availed themselves of this opportunity to enter their protest in some signal manner against the policy of running up expenditure in different directions not approved by them. A single instance will suffice to show how a sort of spirit, not merely of protest but of revolt, was generated in the Council by the way in which so many vacancies in existing cadres were filled up only a few months before the Reformed Government came into existence. There were three or four vacancies in the Imperial Agricultural Service and these were filled up only a few months before the department was transferred to the charge of the Minister, and one of the vacancies was filled up even after the Minister took charge but without any consultation with him, and without any requisition having been made by him. In another department, viz. Education, the same state of things prevailed. There were some vacancies which, owing to some difficulty of recruitment were not filled up. This circumstance, which was purely accidental, enabled the Council through the Minister to enforce the policy of not making any appointments to these highly paid posts unless they were absolutely necessary. The appointment of three I. E. S. men to headmasterships could thus be kept in abeyance with a view to these posts being ultimately knocked out of the cadre altogether, which under the Government of India Act can be done only with the sanction of the Secretary of State. As has been explained in the first of the present series of articles, the members of Government and all the officials in Council have themselves now come to the conclusion that our revenues cannot bear the burden of such highly paid services any longer. It is not surprising therefore that members of the Council, as a body, should have thought that appointments like those in the Agricultural Department were hurriedly made, just a few days before the Ministers came into office, deliberately so as to tie up the hands of the Ministers in advance for a generation at least. So also in the matter of the revision of pay of establishments. Most of the increments were

given just in the year preceding the advent of the Reformed Government. The provincial and subordinate and ministerial services alone account for an additional expenditure of nearly 70 lakhs per annum. Nobody argues that the whole of this additional expenditure could have been saved. But if the Reformed Government had been left to deal with the matter if not in its entirety then at least with regard to those who were drawing, say, more than Rs. 100 per mensem, the situation now would have been altogether different. There would not then have existed the same feeling as exists now that the Executive part of the Government alone is responsible for the present sorry plight of the Provincial finances. It is not contended that there is nothing to be urged on the other side in reply to all this. But the object here is only to explain the *raison-d'être* of the feeling of the ordinary member of Council, who in this case has only reflected the feeling of his constituents as well as the general public.

The inference cannot be resisted that the taxation proposals of Government came to grief mainly because of the failure on the part of the Finance Member to understand and properly appreciate the present popular psychology as well as that of the ordinary member of the Council. The Finance Member, it must be admitted, honestly and conscientiously dealt with the situation as he found it and he placed all his cards on the table. He was extremely scrupulous and his one anxiety seemed to be not to create any false impressions or raise any false hopes. But from the materials placed by himself before the Council, a proper case could have been made out for the taxation proposals of Government without offending the susceptibilities of most members of Council and in a manner that would have appealed to them. This however, is, exactly where, in a popular assembly even highly capable officers of Government with only an administrative training suffer in comparison with seasoned politicians. In the current year with a revenue of Rs. 5 crores 25 lakhs and an expenditure of Rs. 5 crores 68 lakhs, our deficit is about Rs. 43 lakhs. Taking into account all our existing commitments an annual recurring deficit of Rs. 48 lakhs is estimated in our normal revenue position. Recently, on account of the loud complaints made by Berar, a Committee, known as the Sim Committee from the name of its President, was appointed to suggest a fairer allocation of expenditure between the C. P. districts and Berar, considering the revenue they respectively contribute to the common exchequer. According to the recommendations of this committee all new expenditure is to bear the ratio of 3 to 2 as between C. P. and Berar: this result, however, is to be achieved without detriment to the scale of expenditure which at present obtains over the C. P. districts. If the Sim Committee's recommendations are to be carried into effect, an additional sum of about Rs. 33½ lakhs will have to be found, which will increase the amount of our normal annual

deficit to Rs. 72 lakhs. Against this, if we take our existing sources of revenue alone, instead of an annual growth which was estimated by the Meston Committee at Rs. 5 to 6 lakhs a year under all the heads put together except Excise, we shall now have, on account of the adoption of a policy of gradual prohibition and the consequent dwindling of Excise revenue, a progressive deficit of Rs. 10 lakhs every year. The situation therefore required to be handled with very great care. A tactful Chancellor of the Exchequer with Parliamentary experience would have not only himself set the tune of economy and retrenchment from the start but would have "made the welkin ring with it." As a matter of fact, the Finance Member did mention the various economies that had been already effected and some other lines of retrenchment that were under investigation.

"Some economies have already been approved by the Government: such for instance, as the abolition of the posts of Inspector-General of Registration and Stamps, of the Inspector of European Schools and Science, of three Deputy Directors of Land Records, of one of the Personal Assistants in the Excise Department, of two posts of Supervisors and two of Inspectors and of a number of posts of Sub-Inspectors in the same Department and the reduction of the menial excise and revenue staff. This represents a saving of 1,50. It has also been decided to hold in abeyance the posts of Director of Public Health and Deputy Director of Industries until larger allotments can be made to the Departments. Other measures are under consideration such as the abolition of Commissioners, the reduction of the number of districts, further reduction of staff in the Education and Medical Departments and the transfer of works to the district councils and boards which will render possible some reduction of establishment in consequence of the avoidance of the overlapping of Government and district council establishment which now obtains."

But the effect of this announcement was practically wiped out by the *caveat* entered along with it that "it was already clear that the amount which could be thus saved was not large in comparison with the amount of the deficit." This was like throwing a wet blanket over the enthusiasm which the Council had throughout the last year manifested in its pursuit of the campaign for economy and retrenchment. But the situation was really not so bad as the caveat made out. To meet the estimated deficit of Rs. 43½ lakhs Government were relying on increased taxation, only to the extent of Rs. 19½ lakhs. The rest was bound to be obtained by retrenchment in existing expenditure as must be evident from the following extract from the statement made by the Finance Member:

"The Local Government has had under its consideration several means of raising additional funds by methods which will not materially increase the burden of taxation on those classes which are least able to bear it. The most important of these are the enhancement of the court fees and the stamp duties and of the fees for registration of documents. These with a few minor measures, such as the increase of copying fees and of the miscellaneous revenue fees, may yield about 19½ lakhs in a full year."

Mr. Mathias, the Finance Secretary, on the last day of the session, did make an attempt to press the point home when the first measure of addi-

tional taxation, viz. the Court Fees Bill came up for consideration. Dealing with the normal deficit of 48 lakhs in our normal revenue position, he emphasized the point that as all the fresh taxation proposed was expected to yield only 11½ lakhs in the aggregate "we were still left with 28½ lakhs which, he was careful to point out, we must obtain by economy and retrenchment." But by that time the voting of the budget was over and the temper of the Council had been set. Members of Council had not their minds open to any conviction at that stage. "Retrenchment first and taxation afterwards" was the cry that passed round. It was a popular cry and was bound to make strong appeal to the constituencies. "For purposes of development," said one member, "the House will not grudge additional taxation." "Let us wait for a few months more," said another, "at any rate till the August session of the Council." "If by that time," said a third member, "we do not put forward any constructive scheme for raising more revenue or saving expenditure, we will then see our way to support the Court Fees Bill."

Even now, after an impartial survey of the whole situation, it does not appear that all fresh taxation could be avoided altogether. Probably, in the August session or later another attempt might be made to bring up the measure, if the revenue position shows no signs of improvement. But so far as the fate of the measure in the last session of the Council is concerned, one cannot resist the feeling that more than anything else, it is to the following extract in the Finance Member's statement that its failure is mainly due :

"I would ask the Council to consider the circumstances in which this budget has been prepared and the various stages through which the proposals have passed. The demands are first made by the Heads of Department who are thoroughly well acquainted with the desire of the Government to economize and whose proposals were coloured by that knowledge; next the Standing Committee discusses the allotments made for new expenditure. They have an opportunity of recommending the omission of some items and the inclusion of others. Their views and the proposals of the Heads of Departments are considered by the Member of Government in charge. The whole budget is laid before the Committee of Public Accounts sitting as Finance Committee. This Committee recommended large reductions in a budget already prepared on economical lines, and the Government after considering their recommendations pruned it still further. Items which the Standing Committee wished to include have been omitted and expenditure approved by the Committee of Public Accounts cut out. *What further room for pruning is there likely to be in a budget already so drastically treated?*"

The italics in the last sentence are ours. Does not the sentence produce an impression that Government intended to do nothing to effect economy or retrenchment? This impression is by no means correct. It is the bureaucratic excess of caution in making promises that has cost the Government this defeat. But why not make a little more of your virtue, why hide your light under a bushel and, above all, why not give a good deal of the credit of having forced this virtue on you to the members

of Council? It will appeal to their self-love and put them right with their constituents.

SITABALDI.

### THE LABOUR DEPARTMENT IN MADRAS.

It is not every province that has a Labour Department; but even in such other provinces as have the department its objects and functions are not so wide and multifarious as are those of the Labour Department in Madras. But the latter is unique also in the mistakes it has committed and in the treatment it recently received at the hands of the local Legislature. Its recent history is therefore quite instructive to the public worker, showing as it does that a department or an institution quite good in itself may become odious on account of its unsuitable personnel, that public sympathy may be alienated from a good cause on account of bad leadership and wrong methods, that prestige is as apt to put up the backs of popular representatives as those of officials and that when angry the former are quite capable of cutting off the nose to spite the face. The Madras Labour Department happened to incur the wrath of the party in power and the latter took revenge upon it during the budget session by removing its most vital part and thus made it a helpless cripple.

The Member of Government in charge of the portfolio of labour explained to the Legislative Council that the following duties were entrusted to the Labour Commissioner in Madras: "The administration of the Factories Act, working of the Planters' Labour Act, working of the Workmen's Breach of Contract Act, emigration of Labour, Labour Bureau and Employment Bureau—Wages census, industrial disputes—on the side of industrial labour, management and control of settlements under the Criminal Tribes Act and investigation into the conditions of the Depressed Classes and also Hill-tribes outside the Agency Tracts and measures for their advancement." In other words he is in special charge of not only all problems connected with agricultural and industrial labourers but also those of Criminal Tribes, Depressed Classes and Hill-tribes. The department was created in 1919, perhaps even more in the interests of the Depressed Classes than in those of industrial labour. The amelioration of the Depressed Classes had been engaging the attention of the Government for nearly 30 years without any tangible results. The creation of a special department was therefore considered indispensable. The Board of Revenue wrote as follows on the futility of asking the Revenue Department to look after the Depressed Classes and on the need for creating a special agency :

"After a careful consideration of the problem of the depressed classes, the Board has come to the conclusion that however liberal and generous the attitude of the Government towards the depressed classes may be and whatever may be the facilities accorded for the improvement of the condition of the community, the effect desired is not likely to be produced so long as there is no separate agency to carry out the policy of the Government in this respect. Supposing the improvement of the condition of these classes has in the past received the approval of the Government, owing to the lack of special organisation they have failed in their object. There is a general indifference and even hostility to measures calculated to improve the depressed classes and the Collector has not the force or the will to carry out such measures; so they will become inoperative owing to the passive obstruction or indifference of the subordinates. It is therefore essential that a special staff of officers should be appointed as protector of the depressed classes."

When the Department was created an able and sympathetic officer was found in Mr. G. F.



Paddison who had endeared himself to the people by his enthusiasm, accessibility and affable manners. He also proved very tactful in handling industrial labour at a time when it had begun to organise itself under the guidance of persons and parties who were not always friendly to Government. He came to be looked upon as a friend of labour without incurring the hostility of capital. Very soon the department developed under his care and he was given three special Assistants to work in selected districts whose duty however was mainly concerned with the amelioration of the depressed classes. A well considered programme was adopted, the main items of which were the acquisition of house sites for Panchamas in delta areas where the want of house sites had made them practically serfs to the landlords, the starting of co-operative societies and the digging of wells for drinking water. In delta areas almost every inch of cultivable land has been brought under the plough on account of their exceptional irrigation facilities and only a very limited area is available for hutting purposes. But it is all owned by high-caste landowners who compel the Panchama agricultural labourer to work for them by threatening to eject him otherwise. The Panchama is thus absolutely at the mercy of the landlord and a virtual helot. The only way of liberating him is to make him the owner of the site on which he is living. One of the most important duties of the Assistants to the Labour Commissioner has therefore been the acquisition of house sites and giving them to Panchamas. In doing so the co-operative movement has been utilised to enable the Panchama to pay the value of the site in easy instalments out of his savings. A better way of making a thrifty and self-reliant man of the Panchama could not be thought of. This work, however, was bound to lead to some friction between the land owning classes and the Labour Department. A strong agitation was therefore set afoot sometime ago and though it was true that in individual cases excessive zeal and tactlessness had been exhibited on the part of the officers concerned, the agitation on the whole did not succeed, as the justice of the case for Panchamas was clearly recognised. The other items of the programme were unexceptionable and the popularity of the department would not have suffered but for the serious blunder committed by the acting head of the department during Mr. Paddison's absence.

That was in connection with the mill strikes of last year. The acting head of the department during Mr. Paddison's absence was Mr. T. E. Moir. Whatever his excellences were, events showed that he was not the right man to handle labour in a crisis. While Mr. Paddison had prevented strikes and had come to be looked upon as a friend of labour, Mr. Moir precipitated strikes and came to be looked upon by labourers as their enemy, though Government intended him to be their protector. He thought more of his supposed duty as protector of depressed classes than his duty as Commissioner of Labour, but whatever his zeal, he was no wise protector of the former. Last year about this time labour unrest was specially conspicuous in Madras and several unwise strikes were organised. It happened that the principal office-bearers in labour organisations were politicians who professed no love for the Government. In some cases it is also true that they encouraged strikes for political reasons. The connection of such politicians with labour organisations will easily prejudice a Government officer against them, but it is the duty of the Labour Commissioner to rise superior to that temptation and take a long view of things.

Mr. Moir failed to do this. Among the Buckingham and Carnatic Mill hands that went on strike in June last year, a small minority consisted of Panchamas who, it may be admitted, were likely to suffer more than their high caste fellow-workers from the organisation of the strike. The Labour Department, the Mill authorities and Mr. M. C. Raja, the leader of the Panchamas, all combined to persuade this minority not to join the strike. They also went about actively recruiting new Panchama workers to take the place of the strikers. They sought and obtained the help of the police and the military to protect these blacklegs. An individual might have the right to join or not in a labour organisation or a strike called by it; but the Labour Commissioner cannot surely engage himself in splitting up labour organisations or defeating them. But apart from ethics it proved a most unwise course. Backed by the Labour Department, the police and the military, the Panchama workmen became militant, managed to get dangerous weapons and committed indiscriminate assaults on members of their communities. There were retaliations and reprisals; the disturbances assumed the character of a feud between the Panchamas on one side and the high-caste Hindus and Muhammadans on the other. Murder and arson became common and anarchy prevailed for several months in the metropolis. On various occasions shooting was resorted to by the police and the military, but the victims were generally caste Hindus and Mussalmans. Relief from State funds and public subscriptions, administered by the Labour Department, was given exclusively to the Panchamas. Government supported wholeheartedly its officials of the Police and Labour Departments and refused to recognise their mistakes or drawbacks. Responsible representatives of the people including the leaders of the party which is in power in the Legislative Council, tried to bring about peace but obtained little support from the authorities. The result was the Labour Department became odious in the eyes of the people and particularly in the eyes of the party in power.

Mr. M. C. Raja, M. L. C., nominated member of the Legislative Council, is the most capable non-official leader of the Panchamas. He worked hand and glove with the Labour Department and was as much influenced by it as he influenced it. His followers indeed looked upon that department as their own. He failed to take a long view of things and adopted a militant policy. The Panchamas lost all sense of proportion and lay themselves open to the charge of impudence. He carried on his propaganda not only in the city of Madras but in the neighbouring district of Chingleput, as a result of which the Panchama agricultural labourers began to defy the landowners under whom they were working and to strike work here and there. Much friction was therefore caused between them, which in some cases not only made the general administration difficult but landed the Panchama labourers in great difficulties. Work was refused to them and in some cases they were obliged to leave their villages. What is more important, they incurred the opposition of the district authorities by looking up to a protector outside the district and therefore not caring much for the local officials. The result was that the Labour Department, in spite of its special agency working in the district, was able to achieve very little. The impression gained ground that the Labour Department existed to favour the Panchamas against the general public. Not only the representatives of the landowning classes but the majority of the members of the Legislative Coun-

oil were resolved on humiliating both the department and Mr. Raja.

Long before the budget session several members had given notice of their intention to move resolutions recommending the abolition of the Labour Department. But they did not come up for consideration partly because the agenda was very much crowded and also because of some attempts to bring about a compromise. The matter was therefore taken up in the budget session. It was the Personal Assistant to the Labour Commissioner and the three special officers working in three districts that had given effect to the policy of the department and the Legislative Council thought the best way of punishing the department was to refuse funds for these appointments. The ostensible ground was economy—a very convenient word when the entire provincial budget is on the minus side. But it was mere camouflage, as the amount cut down was less than Rs. 25,000 out of nearly Rs. 7 lakhs. Mr. Raja had attacked the leaders of the *Justice* party both in the Legislative Council and outside. They therefore wanted to take their revenge on him. The Personal Assistant to the Labour Commissioner was known to be his chief friend and adviser. So they refused the grant on his account. Their feelings were expressed frankly by a prominent member of the party who is reported to have said: "We want to abolish this Labour Department even if it be for a day, to teach Mr. Raja a proper lesson."

In spite of some serious mistakes the Labour Department has done special good to the Panchamas and is capable of doing much more. Nearly 7,000 persons have been enabled to acquire house sites in Tanjore district alone and applications have been received from more than 10,000 others. Nearly 200 special co-operative societies have been organised for the benefit of the Panchamas in that district, which have been doing inestimable good to them by inculcating habits of thrift and temperance in their members. Many schools have been started and wells dug in all the districts where the special agency was at work. But at present the work is in abeyance. The consequence of the adverse vote of the Legislative Council has been to retain the Labour Commissioner without giving him any superior executive staff. The district authorities, about whose zeal and energy in the cause of the Panchamas the Board of Revenue has been so outspoken, are now entrusted with the carrying out of the programme and it may safely be predicted that they will not depart from their traditions.

The whilom Personal Assistant to the Labour Commissioner has now gone to Geneva to take up an appointment there on the International Labour Bureau. It may interest our readers to know in this connection that at the last Assembly of the League of Nations, the Indian representatives vigorously protested against the appointments under the League being almost monopolised by three or four countries and India not being sufficiently represented on the staff, though she was contributing quite a large amount to the funds of the League. At that time out of nearly 360 officials only one was an Indian. The Assistant Commissioner of Labour in Tanjore District whose energy and zeal brought him into conflict with the landed interests of Tanjore has now been installed as the Publicity Officer. To an energetic executive officer it is as good a punishment as solitary confinement in a jail.

The anger of the popular representatives against individuals has been visited upon the institu-

tion and its good work of amelioration has been suspended. Let us, however, hope that the party in power which has now asserted itself and humiliated its opponents will restore the special agency and allow the good work to be carried on.

A SOCIAL SERVANT

## THE WORLD OUTSIDE.

*Partial Starvation Part of Normalcy.* ONE hopes sincerely that all our readers have studied Dr. H. H. Mann's already classic researches into the economic conditions of the cultivators of the Deccan. If they have done so, they cannot but remember the startling conclusion our investigator was driven to, viz., that on an average a Deccani villager was 25% underfed. This was in certain quarters poohpooed as preposterous: but as a matter of fact this habitual underfeeding of the bulk of the population seems by no means unique nor a merely local occurrence. In the United States of all countries, with their notoriously high level of the standard of life, it would appear that the phenomenon pointed to by Dr. Mann is by no means unknown. Prof. M. E. Jaffa, an eminent dietitian of the University of California has specified the minimum health and food requirements of a working class family: but comparing this minimum with the actual items of food bought by these families, Mr. B. M. Jewell of the Railway Employees' Union calculates that there is an annual deficit for each family of 75½ pounds of meat, fish, milk and eggs; 24 pounds of flour, rice and other cereals; and 14 pounds of potatoes, vegetables and fruits. This falling below the minimum, *i. e.* partial starvation, is the result of an average railway employee's family expenditure for 1921 of \$1989.64—and in this connection two further facts must be borne in mind: firstly, that the total money contributed by the Railway Companies only came to \$1795.49 and, secondly, that the wages in other industries compare unfavourably with those paid on the railways. Not only therefore is the actual income of an American railway employee less than what a living wage should be, but even of that income the railway employer supplies only about 90%, leaving it to the main breadwinner's family to eke out their otherwise still more insufficient income.

*Under-production and Under-consumption.* AND in other industries the position must evidently be still worse! Well may Mr. Geo. Soule of the American "Labour Research Bureau" raise the question in the *New Republic* of May 3rd, whether a Living Wage can be paid at all? Speaking with all the authority that his specialist knowledge of the subject gives him, Mr. Soule states that with the plant existing in the United States today 40% more products could be turned out than is actually the case—and that thus there already exists the physical possibility of properly feeding and clothing and housing the whole of the country's working

population. "The truth seems to be," says he, "that we always have a surplus equipment of plant and operatives which we do not keep anywhere near busy even in normal times. Undoubtedly we have the natural resources and the technical skill, probably we have the plant and the workers, to produce a high standard of living for everyone, if only we used them for that purpose. But unfortunately we do not do so." Why? Because a living wage is not yet the first charge on any industry. If, regardless of running at a loss, all industries had to pay a living wage, the working population would stimulate consumption at least by as much as represents the difference between their present wage and the minimum living wage then enforced. As a result, the at present compulsory under-consumption would cease, demand for the products of all industries would automatically increase and what at first seemed a certain loss would speedily be transformed into a balance between cost of production and "just price."

*Vicious Circles.* THIS venture, however—for a venture of faith of course it is—cannot be expected from the present economic system. Capitalism makes the first charge of an industry not the living wage of the worker, but the insuring of a steady and increasing return to the capitalist. The venture of faith required in putting the living wage of the worker first is impossible to anybody who merely hopes, that it may pay in the end: it can only be made by people who consider that, whatever may be the consequence, it is not *right* to put the claims of money before the claims of human personality. And that surely is the best proof that capitalism is intrinsically evil, that its inevitable tendency is to defeat itself. The more it squeezes the worker, the more it reduces the worker's purchasing capacity; the more therefore it restricts the consumption of the very products on the sale of which its profits depend. This is one vicious circle; another one, which would be equally ludicrous, if it was not all so tragic, is this: to increase the profits on an article you must increase competition for that article; that competition is least, when the number of the articles in question is greatest—therefore to increase your profits, reduce production of the article. And when, of course, greater competition for the smaller number of articles available results in an increase in price, the bulk of the population, *i.e.* the worker, whose wages (whether at, below or above minimum) were related to the former, *i.e.* cheap, price of the article in question, is unable to consume this said article as much as it used to do; and the less it consumes, the less the incentive for the producer to produce it; the less workers needed to produce; the greater the unemployment; the greater the compulsory under-consumption. And thus we have again arrived at the first vicious circle and can join up both to make one. And still do reputedly rational beings put

up with a system, which not merely permits such criminal lunacy, but is actually based on it!

*Milk and Rubber.*

IN April we read of an "overproduction" of milk in England! And this of course in face of the notorious fact that neither the children of the East-ends nor their mothers ever yet have had the necessary minimum of milk. But no, milk of course is not produced in England to feed babies, but to yield profits. The farmer is exploited by the trusts controlling feeding stuffs and fertilizers; the public is exploited by the trusts that buy the milk from the farmer at a minimum and sell it to the consumer at a maximum—and so the only way of not being ground into powder between the upper millstone of the one trust and the nether millstone of the other, is for the farmer to restrict the total amount of milk available! Take another example—rubber. This raw material so necessary to our modern civilization used to be sold for a couple of rupees and more per pound. To-day's quotation is about ten annas—a price which has ruled now for more than a year. To get so necessary a material at a third of its former price should, one would imagine, rejoice the heart of everybody. As an actual fact the very opposite is the result of this cheapening: "market gloomy"—"feeling of depression"—"disastrous drop in prices"—being the usual headlines referring to the present state of the rubber market. Why? Again, because rubber plantations have not been called into being, to produce rubber, but profits. And when a Government, like that of British Malaya refuses to enforce by statute law a curtailment of the production of rubber, it is punished by capitalism; by the latter refusing to lend it money—as the fiasco of the recent flotation of a Straits Settlements loan in London has proved.

*Capitalistic Counter Communism.*

THEN again we have this pretty little tangle. Rubber is so cheap today, because there is more produced than is consumed. That again is so, because one of the great world consumers of rubber is not allowed to get the rubber it wants. We refer of course to Russia, which has imported not an ounce of rubber for nearly five years, although, normally, it is one of the largest world consumers of that commodity, mainly for the manufacture of "goloshes", *i. e.* rubber over-shoes, which have become almost a necessity in a Russian winter. And because Soviet Russia has hitherto refused to allow any manufacture for profit making, *i. e.* on the sacrosanct capitalistic basis, capitalism boycotts all its attempts of carrying on manufacturing, even if such boycott hurts some of its own capitalistically run industries. For of course the capitalist would rather put up with temporary loss than with ocular demonstration that industrial manufacture is possible on other than a capitalistic basis. So that, when prices were high, the rubber industry was engrossed in the making of

profits of which there was no end, whilst when they are low, it is engaged in waging war against the insidious dangers of Bolshevism. The one purpose for which quite evidently the rubber industry never yet has existed, is the production of rubber!

*A Tolling Bell of Capitalism.* WITH all such facts—and could they not be multiplied indefinitely?—staring one in the face, it is not

surprising that even capitalists are beginning to lose their faith in capitalism. Of course, it is not to be expected that the "hard-faced men of business" should make any other venture—least of all that of faith—except the time-honoured one of a merchant adventurer. But after all, there are others. Some time ago a new Society was founded, consisting of and appealing to property owners—a society of people who were troubled in their consciences about the existing economic system and who saw the necessity of ending capitalism; not because it might pay to do so, but simply because they realized that it was not right, not to do so. Thus was started in England a "National Movement towards a Christian Order of Industry and Commerce"; and Mr. B. Seebom Rowntree, the well-known Quaker Cocoa Magnate, Philanthropist and Author, has recently delivered an address under the auspices of this new Society on "Industry as a National Service." Mr. Rowntree has since a long time experimented along lines of his own towards such end and his well known Cocoa Works near York are proof, how much can be thus achieved. This reluctant capitalist who refuses to leave his religion outside his factory distinguishes between executive work and the work of laying down policy: whilst he cannot see that the former can be usefully shared by the workers, the latter is actually shared with them. The Works' policy is dictated by a Central Council of 29 workers' representatives and of 27 representatives of the administrative staff, and under it are 15 similarly constituted departmental councils. This as yet, alas, *rara avis* of an employer looks upon labour (vide his book "The Human Factor in Business"), socially, as a means of service, and individually, as a means of self-expression; and he not only thinks thus, but has the greatness of acting thus, even if it should curtail his own profits. "Even factories might be beautiful", has this wealthy revolutionary the audacity of saying! He looks upon himself as an industrial leader, as necessary to a factory, as an officer is to his platoon. In this he may be right or not; his method of an amalgam of profit-sharing and control-sharing may be a good solution or not: in any case it is refreshing to find men like him amongst the capitalists themselves. And that he is not merely a solitary voice crying in the wilderness is proved by the formation of the C.O.I.C.—a portent indeed, and not the least significant, of the passing of the bad bold age of unashamed capitalism.

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