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TOPICS OF THE WEEK

May Day. MAY Day has in the West always been a day of joy: the common people's joy that the tyranny of Winter is overpast; joy at the pledges of Spring's victory which so gaily deck a Western landscape at this time of year after Winter's long spell of gloom. In our days, the first of May has become the great festival of organized labour, of the common people claiming once more their share in the joys of human life, which the rich would fain monopolize, as they would. And more than that—for "this at least we have: that the Dawn and the Day is coming, and the banners go," as Morris sings. Very naturally, the first phase of the workers' emancipation has been mainly negative—a movement of strikes and bargains, for wages and hours of work. But, especially since the War, it has more and more come to be realized, that this is not enough: that if the Labour Movement is nothing, but an attempt to apply to all the capitalistic ideals of "little work and much pay", it is a sorry business indeed. Hence though all men of good-will must go on insisting that the needs of the needy must rank before the comforts of the comfortable: the whole outlook of Labour must go beyond that. Labour, and all friends of labour, must to-day consciously and determinedly fix their eyes on the end—which is the economic self-determination of man, his resumption of economic responsibility. This workers' control of industry is primarily a matter of duties, not rights: and all the worker's efforts, direct and indirect, should now be concentrated on making himself capable of exercising that control efficiently. That and that alone is the goal—the serving of their fellows by free men: and may the May Day soon dawn, when that goal will have been reached!

The Adventures of Marianne. THE change which has recently come over the Turkish scene is really very amusing to an onlooker. France, which for so long had posed as the one and only true friend of Turkey, which had forsaken its English alliance in the Near East in favour of one with Angora—behold France, massing troops on the Cilician border and despatching to Syria General Weygand, who in military importance ranks immediately after the great Foch himself! That Franco-Kemalist honeymoon has after all been of very short duration indeed, and with Americans getting their big Chester concession and England a Smyrna concession, it looks as if Angora was perfidious enough to prefer hard cash from the Anglo-Saxon pair to all the sweet nothings of fair Marianne. One only wonders now, when dear Marianne will realize that one cannot go on wasting all one's living on riotous arming and at the same time have plenty of money left to buy markets with. Especially when all one's 800,000 bayonets and 2000 aeroplanes and 100 submarines cannot produce a single ton of Ruhr coal! When will the people of France, hypnotized by staring at that chimæra, Military Glory, wake out of their pitiful trance?

Noblesse Oblige. THE assistance given by Sardar Mehtab Singh and his fellow-members of the Sikh community in repressing the recent disturbances in Amritsar, so soon after their protracted and bitter fight with the Government in the Guru-ka-Bagh affair, is a bright page in India's history, promising as it does a speedy restoration of good feeling, latterly so violently strained, between different classes in the Punjab. This splendid act on the part of the Akalis is now rewarded by the Punjab Government by the release of 1100 to 1200 Akali prisoners. The release was long overdue, having been demanded by a unanimous non-official vote of the Legislative Council, but it took the Punjab Government a serious riot in Amritsar to take a step which was in any case inevitable and which would have come with far greater grace if Government had not given it the appearance of a reward for loyalty.

Indians in the F.M.S. WE congratulate the Indians of the Federated Malay States on the stand taken by them over representation in the Federal Council. At present (*vide* our "topic" on the subject in our issue of March 8th) the Federal Council, as the legislative chamber of these States is called, consists of 13 Europeans, 5 Malays and two Chinese: Indians, who form 23 p. c. of the total population, not being represented at all; and to add insult to injury,

the Governor tried last January to close down all further discussion on the subject in words quoted by us at the time. It speaks well for the awakened political sense of our countrymen in those States, that they have refused to take any such answer as final, but on the contrary have made it the occasion for more effectively organizing themselves. We see from the last *Malay Mail* to hand that 45 representative Indian delegates from the four States of the Federation gathered on the 15 ult. to form a "Federal Indian Association" and to pass a Resolution requesting the Government favourably to reconsider the question of Indian representation on the Federal Council. The Chairman, Mr. Sharma, Bar-at-Law, had no difficulty in showing that Indians, who numerically and economically constitute the third largest community of the F. M. S., had rights of prescription, of natural justice and of the Constitution on their side; and the next speaker, Mr. M. Kumarasami, waxed sarcastic at the professed solicitude of the Government for the Malays, according to which Indians could only be allowed to sit in the Council, if such was "in the true interests of the Malays." One really would like to know, how it is proved that the appointment of two Chinese Councillors is "in the true interests of the Malays" but that that of two Indians would not be!

Imperial Humbug. * * *
 HOWEVER, from an answer recently given in the House of Commons it would seem that the past three months have sufficed to bring about a complete change in the Governor's mind. Only in January his attitude was one of *non-possumus*; now already it seems that he himself really desires the appointment of an Indian on the Federal Council, and that he has delicately put the suggestion to his Malay Sultans: but that he can do nothing until the latter's consent is obtained. This deference of the mighty British Empire to the "rights" of some Malay petty chieftains is indeed very pretty: why not turn it into an Empire Day Tract? But once we are pulling out this British Empire stop—why not apply the *civis Britannicus sum* (that great oratorical asset on Empire Days) to the Indians in those British "Protected" States? Thinking Imperially, should one not say that of the 13¼ lakhs of inhabitants in the F. M. S. 5 lakhs are foreign born, 5¼ born in Malaya and 2¾ elsewhere in the Empire? And if so, why have on the Federal Council, two representatives of the 494,548 Chinese, when 412,469 of them are foreign-born; or five representatives of the 483,324 Malays, when 89,975 are foreign-born: and yet have no representatives at all of the 305,219 Indians of whom only 157 were born outside that glorious Empire, of the total population of which India furnishes 70 p. c.? But we forget.—Empire Day comes but once a year. As for the stale argument that Malaya "belongs" to the Malay Sultans, we shall be more inclined to believe in it, when England has retroceded Penang to the Sultan of Kedah and Singapore to the Sultan of Johore. And if newcomers are to have no rights there, what rights have the Malays themselves as against the aboriginal Sakais, of whose rights not a cock has yet been known to crow in Malaya?

The Frontier Out-
 rage.

THE release of Miss Ellis from the hands of the Orakzai ringleader, Ajab Khan, on the N.W. Frontier is hailed by every one with a sigh of relief. Such an outrage in the Frontier Province is not a rare one in modern times, but of frequent occurrence during the last twenty years, especially on Hindu inhabitants of Dera Ismail Khan and Bannu. We are reminded of a case in which four children—boys and girls—of a rich Hindu family were kidnapped one midnight in 1920 from a well-built house in the walled and strongly guarded town of Bannu, and released after an enormous sum was paid as ransom to the captors. In the present case the kidnapping was accompanied by the murder of Mrs. Ellis for no reason whatsoever except to avenge the humiliation inflicted upon the murderer when some stolen Police rifles were recovered from his house in his village five miles from Kohat. The intrepid and resourceful Mrs. Starr of the Peshawar Medical Mission and Risaldar Moghul Bazkhan, himself an Afridi and personal Assistant to Sir John Maffey, deserve the best thanks of Government and the public for the courage and determination showed by them in this awful business. This incident need not however frighten the Government of India into a reversal of their recently altered frontier policy, as suggested so hastily by the *Times of India* in its issue of the 26th last. Orakzais have as much in common with Mahsuds as Poles with Italians, or Persians with Javanese.

Certification
 Procedure.

* * *
 NEWS was cabled the other day that, according to the *Daily Chronicle* Political Correspondent, "constitutional authorities consider that Lord Reading's certification of the Budget must be tabled in the House of Commons before it becomes law." Many will wonder as to why there should arise any doubt at all on the point. But the bad drafting of the Government of India Act does give some room for doubt, and we are glad that the law officers of the Crown have interpreted the provisions of the Act so as to confirm Indians in the rights which Parliament evidently intended to confer on them. According to the Act, any Bill certified by the Governor-General becomes an Act, in regard to which it is provided that "every such Act shall be laid before both Houses of Parliament, and shall have not effect until it has received His Majesty's assent and shall not be presented for His Majesty's assent until copies have been laid before each House of Parliament for not less than eight days." When, however, in the opinion of the Governor-General, a state of emergency exists, he may direct that a certified Act "shall come into operation forthwith, and thereupon the Act shall have such force and effect as aforesaid, subject, however, to disallowance by His Majesty in Council." In the present case Lord Reading has applied such an "emergency" power (which fact is not yet widely realised in India), and it seems to have been thought—to which no doubt the wording of this provision lends some colour—that the exercise of this power dispenses with the need for submitting the certified Act to Parliament. That Parliament's intention was, however, quite different is clear from the fact that the previous subsection says "every such (certified) Act shall be laid before both Houses of Parliament."

THE SITUATION AS BETWEEN PARTIES.

THE truce between the two fractions of the Non-co-operation Party is now formally at an end—if indeed it was ever observed in spirit. The Madras section of the Das party repudiated the compromise as soon as it was entered upon, and in Maharashtra the embittered controversies that usually mark the relations between the no-changers and the pro-changers lost little, if anything, of their former verve, during the currency of the compact. No substantial change will therefore result from the fact that the two groups are once again free to join battle. The Dasite Press has been ringing for some time past, and will ring for a considerable time hereafter, with cries about the miserably inadequate response the no-change party has received at the hands of the country in its preparations for civil disobedience. We do not know yet how much money and how many men it has secured, but one thing is certain that if the response is not as poor as the Dasites allege, it is not so brilliant either as to intoxicate the no-changers with sense of victory. On the contrary the danger is great that the latter will fall back into a slough of despond, and sheer desperation may drive some of them into coups and stampedes which ordinarily they may be trusted to avoid. So far as true Gandhians are concerned, their attitude is accurately reflected in the *Calcutta Servant*, the able exponent of orthodox Non-Co-operators' political philosophy: "In the present stage of our national development civil disobedience is to us what a wrestling championship is to an invalided patient," and it strongly deprecates the intermittent talk now going on of civil disobedience being included within the orbit of "proximate politics." But can the general run of Non-Co-operators be expected to overcome with equal firmness the temptation of trying this short-cut which has been recommended to them for a long time past and to rest content with the all too uninspiring and humdrum "constructive programme," which indeed is not a programme for months and years but for generations. That even the *Bombay Chronicle* is persuaded to declare its preference for forceful Council action to anæmic non-co-operation shows that, unless Council action is resorted to, there is no small danger of the no-change party embarking upon civil disobedience in a fit of despondency.

The Das party is not so feckless; but it labours under the necessity of having to conceal two incompatible policies under one label in order to bring into its fold such irreconcilable elements as sheer obstructionists and responsive co-operationists. The policy advocated by the Party is declared to be one "of uniform, continuous and consistent obstruction within the Councils," but it is immediately qualified by a limiting condition which serves to nullify it completely: "But before adopting such a policy the representatives of the party in the Councils will, if necessary, strengthen

themselves by obtaining the express mandate of the electorates in this behalf." What exactly does this mean? Members of the Party first contest the elections, not on the policy of obstruction, but on a programme more or less acceptable to all parties, and then such of them as are successful at the polls, seek a mandate of the electorates as to the policy they should pursue in the Councils. Such a mandate can only be obtained by members resigning their seats and seeking re-election. But this is not what the Dasites seem to have in mind. If they have, they are going about the business in a wrong way. It is a sheer waste of energy, first, to obtain an entry into the Councils on an indeterminate programme and then to go to the country again for having it clearly defined. If re-election is not contemplated, the electors' mind cannot be ascertained with any degree of certainty and each member will be in a position to declare his constituency to favour indiscriminate opposition or discriminating support, as he pleases. And this is precisely what the Das party seems to desire—it wishes to wrap up its policy in an indefinite formula till the elections are fought, and then to leave individual members free to interpret the formula as may suit their personal predilection. This is of course the only way, short of adopting the Liberal policy, in which an appearance of harmony could be given to two policies opposed to each other. One thing at least is plain, that the party has definitely abandoned the doctrine, on which Mr. Das and Pandit Nehru have previously dwelt with such insistence, that non-co-operators can only oppose, and in no circumstances support, a measure of Government.

If the Das party's future policy is thus left deliberately in an equivocal condition, on one point it is quite unambiguous: "in no case will any member accept office." We have of course no quarrel with the party so far as non-popular office is concerned and we can also understand that obstructionists desire to place a ban on ministerial office as well. But we would put it to men like Mr. Jayakar who are not in favour of wholesale obstruction, but wish to extract from the reforms the maximum good they are capable of yielding, whether it is not inconsistent with their general policy to refuse office as a matter of principle. Responsible government is founded upon the theory that there would be two great parties in the State, the more numerous one being in executive authority, the less numerous, serving as an alternative administration ready to assume office as soon as it is able to convert itself into a majority. The utility of an Opposition resides in the very fact that it forms an alternative government and is willing and eager to be returned to power. Only those who aim at producing deadlocks can desire to be in a majority in the legislature and yet, having obtained a majority from the electorates decline to assume responsibility for the execution of the policy for which they stand. All others must be prepared, when called to office in virtue of

their being in majority, make themselves responsible for shaping policies. Else a deadlock will inevitably be created, whether you will it or no. It may be that the Swaraj party has passed this self-denying ordinance upon itself with a view to impressing the country with its utter disinterestedness in pressing for Council entry in the teeth of the opposition of a large majority in the land. It is hardly a mark of a high political sense of our people that they should look upon office rather as a source of self-advancement than as a means of carrying to fruition the age-long aspirations of the country in matters most nearly touching their welfare. We do not think it would be very difficult to convince the masses that if we have all long asked executive office to be made amenable to popular control it was in the interests of the commonweal, and if we now ask that such popular control be established by the acceptance of office by leaders of thought it is again in the interests of the commonweal. It is not right merely to pander to popular prejudices and shirk a plain duty which devolves upon all those who go into the Councils not for the purpose of wrecking but for the purpose of working. Between the two sections of the Non-Co-operation party therefore, one of which stands aside altogether from the constitutional machinery whilst the other uses it in the wrong way, there is indeed not much for the country to choose.

CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM IN MYSORE.

IT is only natural that the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms should also lead to constitutional reforms in the more progressive Indian States. Travancore, Cochin and Mysore have now taken steps to modernise their constitutions by giving the power of the purse to their Legislative Councils. As the Mysore reforms are still under consideration and contain some features of more than local interest, we propose to deal with them here. Mysore possesses an Executive Council, a Legislative Council and a Representative Assembly. The first and the third have been in existence from 1881, while the second was established so late as 1907. In the beginning the Assembly consisted of members who were all nominated by Deputy Commissioners but in 1891 the principle of election was introduced. It has, however, not enjoyed hitherto any definite powers, the object of the Government in bringing it into existence being only to afford popular representatives an opportunity of making representations to the head of the administration. The Legislative Council was created because the Assembly, composed as it was and containing about 300 members, was considered unwieldy and incapable of discharging legislative functions. But it is also true that Mr. V. P. Madhavarao, who created the Legislative Council, was not getting on smoothly with the Assembly, and his opponents attributed this creation of his to a desire to lessen the importance of the Assembly which was proving inconvenient to him. The

existence of these two bodies, neither of which can now be done away with, has rendered difficult the distribution of power and influence between them. The difficulty can really be solved only when the Assembly and the Council are made respectively the lower and upper Houses of Legislature. We wish very much that the Government of His Highness had realised this and that the Dewan had mentioned it in the important announcement which he made on the 7th October last regarding constitutional reforms, as the end in view, to be reached in two or three stages if not at once. What, however, has been attempted is to reform the electorates, to give the power of the purse to the Legislative Council and to give influence without power to the Representative Assembly. The last object is sought to be achieved by providing that no new taxes shall be levied without previously consulting the Representative Assembly, by giving it power to move resolutions on public administration and on the budget, and by requiring the executive to place before it for the discussion of general principles their legislative programme for the year. The Assembly is thus enabled to discuss every important matter, but its decisions are only recommendations and have no binding effect. It is true that no executive dare permanently defy a popular assembly, especially when it has the good will of the Ruler behind it. But, after all, influence is different from power, and it is the latter which is the right of a popular body. We should therefore earnestly suggest to the Government of His Highness to improve even now on the announcement of October last and convert the Assembly and the Council into the lower and upper Houses of Legislature, vesting the power of the purse in the lower.

Soon after the first announcement a Committee of officials and non-officials was appointed to make detailed recommendations about the number of members, electorates, procedure &c. That Committee has now completed its labours. It has recommended that the membership of the Assembly should be 250, of whom 200 are to be elected by territorial constituencies, 15 are to represent special interests and 35 to represent minorities. The Committee's recommendations regarding the representation of minorities are a valuable and special feature of its report, though they have not had the approval of all the members. Minorities eligible for representation are defined as communities numbering not less than 20,000 in the census tables. Of the 35 seats reserved for them 25 are to be filled on the recommendation of Associations and ten by nomination, so that where a community cannot be adequately represented through an Association it may have the benefit of nomination. The Committee has recommended that such an Association should be a registered body having for its object the furtherance of one or more specified interests or the general advancement of a particular community; that its minimum membership, excluding Government servants, should be 100 or such other

number as the Government may fix from time to time; that its managing committee should meet at least once in three months; and that six months before the triennial elections, the Register of Associations privileged to return a member should be revised after due enquiry into the public work done by each Association, so that only the deserving ones may be allowed to elect representatives. We hope the Government will accept these recommendations as they are calculated to stimulate public spirit and foster associations for the amelioration of backward communities. These recommendations will also turn communal consciousness into constructive channels and prevent combinations out of hatred for a particular community.

The Committee's recommendations regarding the Legislative Council are not very satisfactory. It has recommended that in addition to the Executive Councillors it should consist of 50 members, 22 of whom are to be elected, 20 to be nominated officials and 8 nominated non-officials. Obviously the proportion of elected members is unduly low and that of officials unduly high. It will perhaps be said that a large proportion of officials is necessitated in the Legislative Council on account of the Representative Assembly being composed entirely of non-officials. (Under the present reforms some officials are to be nominated to the Assembly, but though they are free to take part in the discussions they may not vote.) One has only to compare with this the Legislative Council of Travancore, which State also possesses a purely un-official popular Assembly, to be convinced of the illiberal composition of the Mysore Legislative Council. Travancore too has a Legislative Council of 50 members, 28 of whom are elected non-officials, 15 nominated officials and 7 nominated non-officials. The Legislative Council of Cochin is even better constituted. Of its 45 members 30 are to be elected and 15 nominated; of the latter 4 are to represent minority communities, 3 special interests and only 8 are to be officials. Even the Council of State, the avowedly conservative second chamber of the Indian Legislature is much more liberally constituted than the Mysore Legislative Council. It has 34 elected members, 20 officials and 6 non-officials, making a total of 60 members. Why should the Mysore Legislative Council be so illiberal?

Of the 22 elected members, the Committee has recommended that 10 should represent territorial constituencies and 4 special interests; and 8 are to be elected by the Representative Assembly. The property and other qualifications are made much higher for candidates than for voters in the 10 territorial constituencies, while in the others any voter can be a candidate. Why is this invidious distinction? What need is there for making the qualifications for candidates higher than for voters? No artificial restrictions need be imposed on the judgment of a person who is considered fit to exercise the vote.

He may vote for an undeserving candidate once or twice but he will soon correct himself. At any rate the imposition of higher property qualifications will not help the voter, for it keeps out a deserving candidate as often as it does an undeserving one. Another objectionable recommendation of the Committee is to the effect that "Members, whether elected or nominated, should possess in the opinion of Government a sufficient knowledge of the English language to be able to take part in the Legislative Council." This again is giving too much guidance to the elector. Let him learn, without the intervention of the Executive, the wastefulness of sending to the Council a person who cannot take part in its business. But apart from it, if such a restriction is not needed for Bombay and Madras Councils where several language areas are represented and where occasionally vernacular speeches are made, and if the business of the Legislative Assembly with an English President has not suffered by one or two vernacular speeches in a session, why should Kanarese, the undisputed vernacular of the State, be banished from the Mysore Legislative Council, when it would perhaps be more reasonable to require that the proceedings shall generally be in that language? It is like turning out the owner of a house in order to accommodate a stranger. The only reason that we can see for such a recommendation is that the present Dewan may not be quite conversant with Kanarese and may feel hampered in discharging the duties of a President. But he can always have the assistance of the Executive Councillors and in any case it is not wise to legislate for the convenience of an individual.

The announcement of the Dewan left the Executive Council almost untouched and the Committee of course was not required to make any recommendation regarding it. The reference to it in the Dewan's announcement was confined to the remark that there was nothing to prevent His Highness from appointing a non-official to the Executive Council when he thought such appointment necessary, and that his discretion should not be fettered in any way. In the absence of a foreign bureaucracy claiming vested interests, it is perhaps wise for this time to leave absolutely free the discretion of so enlightened a Ruler as the present Maharaja. What is of importance is not the constitutional provision for the appointment of a non-official but the actual appointment of one. This is rendered rather difficult in Mysore by the paucity of towering personalities in public life, the best local talent being generally attracted to the State service and public life itself being in an undeveloped condition. But it is also true that the appointment of a non-official to the Executive Council will itself awaken the ambitions of many young men and develop public life. The argument thus moves in a vicious circle. But, after all, things are not worse in Mysore than in some British provinces where Executive Councillors and Ministers have been appointed from what at

the time appeared equally unpromising non-official material. The success achieved by the latter may surely be expected of the Mysore non-officials also. The appointment of a non-official to the Mysore Council is particularly desirable because there as in other States officialdom is more rampant than in British India, the Mysore civilian being even more bureaucratic than his confrere of the I. C. S. Here and there, this can only be remedied by appointing deserving non-officials to positions of power and influence.

AN OBJECT-LESSON FOR CRITICS.

IF there are any who still cheat themselves into the delusion that the present Legislatures are powerless to exert any pressure on Government, they can easily disabuse themselves of it by a perusal of the persistent and severe, but able and reasonable criticism to which the United Provinces Government is subjected in its Legislative Council. The criticism certainly does not err on the side of excessive forbearance, and the Government winces under it. This is best illustrated by the manner in which the financial proposals of the Government were treated by the Council this year and last year. The new financial settlement which the Government of India made with the Provincial Governments secured to the United Provinces an addition of 5 crores to its normal revenues, though it had to pay back to the Central Government something like $2\frac{1}{2}$ crores by way of provincial contribution. In spite of this enlargement of resources, the U. P. Government's budget for the year 1921-22 showed an excess of expenditure over revenue (i. e. expenditure debitable to revenue over receipts from revenue) of 36 lakhs, with a consequent raid on the balance to the extent of 27 lakhs. A large part of this apparent deficit of 36 lakhs was, however, unreal, as an item of 30 lakhs was included in recurring expenditure under the heading of Famine Insurance Fund, which was really no expenditure, and the real deficit in that year's budget may therefore be said to have been 6 lakhs. Government made no proposals for additional taxation in order to fill this comparatively small deficit, as it had hoped by eliminating obsolete expenditure to add 15 lakhs to the resources of the province. It was moreover maturing a loan policy for the purpose of financing from capital development projects of a productive nature which were till then a charge on revenue. In that year's budget provision was made for a crore of non-recurring expenditure, at least 70 lakhs of which could be, it was then thought, met from borrowing. Apart from this, the normal growth of revenue for the next two years was calculated at 12 lakhs, while normal expenditure was calculated to decrease by 9 lakhs. The Government did not therefore feel justified in proposing fresh taxation in order to increase its revenue and the Legislative Council was naturally gratified.

But the Government's applecart was completely upset when the time came to present the budget

for next year. The revenue fell short of the estimate by 51 lakhs and the expenditure increased by 50 lakhs, with the result that the whole of the previous year's balance (87 lakhs) was swallowed up and about 27 lakhs spent from the development loan, which had been started for the purpose of financing development works and had then been subscribed to the amount of 418 lakhs. The Government therefore felt it necessary, by enhancing court fee rates, to add about 30 lakhs to its recurring revenue, and even then to leave a gap of 10 lakhs between revenue and expenditure charged against revenue, which deficit could be met from interest on the unexpended balance with the Government of India. The proposal to impose a fresh burden of taxation was however stoutly resisted by non-official members, who did not, indeed, oppose a blank *non-possumus* to the proposal, but made alternative suggestions which in their opinion would place 30 lakhs at the disposal of Government. Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru, whose constructive criticisms on this matter were as fruitful as his destructive criticisms were deadly, suggested that a loan of 20 lakhs to agriculturists provided for in the Budget should be paid out of the Famine Insurance Fund, which every Local Government was required to set aside as insurance against famine. By debiting it to the Famine Insurance Fund, as was allowed under the rules, the U. P. Government could release 20 lakhs for use on other objects and would therefore to that extent be relieved from the need of finding more money. For the rest several retrenchments were suggested. An official Committee had suggested the reduction of 35,000 in the number of village chaukidars. The Government, however, had not carried out the recommendation in full, although a year and a half had elapsed since the Committee reported. To put the entire recommendation in operation would effect a retrenchment of $5\frac{1}{4}$ lakhs, and several other such directions were mentioned in which the cutting down of the expenditure would be found practicable. The proposal to amend the Court Fees Act was rejected by 34 to 26, and this action on the part of the Council may be said to have been intended as a protest against the Government's slackness in carrying out retrenchment of public expenditure.

At the budget time this year, however, things wore an exceedingly gloomy aspect. The Finance Department's estimates were again falsified by the course of events, and the Government and the Council placed in an unusually difficult position. Had the expectations of the budget for 1922-23 been fulfilled there would have been an excess of expenditure over revenue of 80 lakhs. But revenue had fallen short of the estimated yield by 43 lakhs and expenditure had increased by 23 lakhs, thus increasing the total deficit in the revenue accounts by 146 lakhs. On the year's accounts the gap between revenue and expenditure was a little under 48 lakhs, and the Government submitted three measures of taxation to the Council, of

which the proposed enhancement of court fees was estimated to yield 40 lakhs, stamp duties 19 lakhs, and the taxation of motor vehicles 9 lakhs. It was clearly impossible for non-official members, if they were to act with a sense of responsibility, to refuse all the three measures, leaving the Government to face the music as best it could. Such an opposition would have been the more unreasonable, as Sir William Marris's Government had earnestly undertaken the work of retrenchment and had already effected a saving of 74 lakhs, exclusive of capital expenditure. [If the figures for capital expenditure were included as they have been in Bombay, the U. P. Government's total saving would be 139 lakhs.] The line which non-official members therefore took in dealing with the financial position was this: they unreservedly acknowledged the efforts made by the new Government towards economy, but maintained that economy could be carried farther, and in order to ensure it, they decided to give the Government only a part of the money asked for by it, thus deliberately leaving a gap between recurring revenue and recurring expenditure to be used, as put by Pandit Kunzru, " as a lever for bringing about further retrenchment." Pandit Kunzru therefore suggested to the non-official members that they might pass the Stamp Amendment Bill and Motor Vehicles Taxation Bill (with necessary modifications) and postpone the consideration of the Court Fees Amendment Bill. By the two former measures Government would be placed in funds to the tune of 25 lakhs. The Government had besides realised 12½ lakhs by increasing irrigation rates by an executive order and there were several proposals for retrenchment which the Economy Committee had yet to explore, e. g. in regard to the Divisional Commissions, Public works, etc. But contrary to the advice given by Pandit Kunzru, the Court Fees Bill was referred to the Select Committee by a vote of 31 to 25. Yet if the non-official members suffered a defeat, it should be remembered that the Government could obtain a victory only by winning over men like Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra to its side. After this motion was carried, non-official members naturally opposed the Stamps Bill, their object being of set purpose to leave some deficit, but here again they were outvoted. However, when the measures were considered by the Council several important amendments were made, which lowered the pitch of taxation and reduced the burden on the shoulders of the people.

In the first place all the bills, which as originally drawn were meant to make a permanent addition to the revenues, were limited in their operation to one year. The Court Fees Bill, estimated at first to yield 40 lakhs, was so changed that in its final shape, it was calculated to produce only half the amount. The Stamp Bill originally intended to yield 16 lakhs, was estimated, in the form in which it was passed, to yield 10 lakhs, and the yield of Motor Vehicles Bill was reduced from 9 to 4½ lakhs. That is to say, the amount of taxa-

tion which the executive Government desired to impose was nearly halved by the Legislature. The first two measures had already been passed in all the other provinces in a more drastic shape in dealing with a financial situation much less grave than that with which the United Provinces were faced. The deficit in revenue account on that year's working alone was 48 lakhs when the Budget was introduced, which was later reduced to something like 40 lakhs. The Council left the past deficits and the loan position out of account, intending to deal with them only when the normal revenue and expenditure were equalised, and confined its intention to the present year's deficit. It had intended to postpone the consideration of the biggest of these taxation measures, in order to accelerate the pace of retrenchment, and if it failed in this object it did not give to the Executive quite enough taxation to fill the deficit without some further economy. Throughout the discussion the Finance Member showed very great deference to non-official opinion, which in a sense increased the difficulties of the Opposition. Pandit Kunzru was quite blunt about it. He said, " I confess I regret the conciliatory attitude of the Hon'ble Member in charge of the Bill ; I am afraid it strengthens the chances of the (Stamp Amendment) Bill going through, while, as I have explained on several occasions, I should like him to feel the want of money... I am afraid that unless Government feel that there is not as much to spend as they would like to, unless they are driven by the goad of poverty and necessity they might not proceed (in taking measures to relieve the financial position) as we would like them to. "

It is easy enough to take up a sheer obstructive attitude, opposing every proposal irrespective of its merits. But if the criterion of the function of an Opposition be to carry opposition as far as one can, compatibly with the duty of keeping oneself within the limits of reasonableness, the United Provinces Council has without a doubt satisfied that criterion in an admirable manner. The Opposition's criticism, if severe and occasionally biting, was at the same time marked by grasp of the financial position, an adroitness in debate, an abundance of valuable suggestion, and a firmness and yet courtesy of manner which were freely acknowledged by Government spokesmen, so that it may well serve as an object-lesson to those who aspire to play the not easy rôle of Government's critics.

REVIEWS.

BLACK MEN'S BURDENS.

ESSAYS ON THE DEPOPULATION OF MELANESIA: By the REV. W. J. DUBRAD, DR. FELIX SPEISER, REV. A. I. HOPKINS, REV. W. B. O'FERRALL, MR. C. M. WOODFORD, SIR WM. MACGREGOR AND DR. W. H. R. RIVERS. With a

preface by Sir Everard Im Thurn. Cambridge. 1922. pp. 116.

THE essays contained in this volume were collected and edited by Dr. Rivers, whose death last year has not only robbed Anthropology and Psychology of one of their foremost investigators, but all science, and letters as well, of a philosophic mind which knows how to combine an encyclopaedic breadth of interest with thought, at once original and profound. The size of this slender volume, now posthumously published, is therefore no indication of its importance; and though the concrete theme deals with Melanesia, the general purport of the book is the far wider problem of the clash of two civilizations, the one primitive, the other adult.

The Melanesians, of whom our book treats, inhabit groups of islands which stretch in a southeasterly direction from New Guinea to Fiji, the most important being the Solomons and the New Hebrides. The latter are ruled by an Anglo-French condominium (going back to an arrangement made in 1806); the rest of these scattered isles are British. Strange to say, these people's contact with the white people of the West dates barely 75 years back; but short as that time is, it has proved long enough for the aboriginal population to dwindle to such a degree that they seem to be within measurable distance of total extinction: as an instance we would quote the experience of the Rev. C. E. Fox (p. 86) who from one hilltop "was shown the sites of 46 once flourishing villages of which only 3 are now inhabited."

That this rapid dying-out of the race is directly caused by contact with the West, is admitted on all sides, and the Rev. A. I. Hopkins tersely sums up the position by his epigram (p. 65) that "the white man is the black man's burden." The real tragedy of it all is that most of all this injury done to black by white was done unwittingly, out of sheer ignorance. Sir E. Im Thurn well points out that all the whites were at one time guilty in this respect: the scientists, who were interested in the native culture, but not in the natives; the missionaries who were only interested in the natives, but not in their culture; Government officials who only knew the native as a malefactor; settlers and traders who only cared for him as a plantation coolie or as a "market." Of course one would not minimize the inhumanity of the horrible traffic known as "black-birding," which at one time supplied the sugar plantations of Queensland with labour from these islands; and though now wholly suppressed, the recruiting for estates within Melanesia, which is still lawful, even now exhibits only too many traits of malice aforethought. Even to-day, says Dr. Speiser (p. 43.), the recruiters "must perforce create trouble—e. g. they must distribute alcohol and firearms" and then be on the spot with their vessel to collect the fugitives from the consequences of the violence and debauch originated by themselves.

It is true that this only refers to the New Hebrides and that elsewhere the British Government has completely suppressed the supply of alcohol and firearms to natives; it is true also that all the other more blatant forms of cruelty in connection with recruiting have been generally done away with. But the fact remains that even the injuries unwittingly inflicted on the race by enticing their members to work on plantations are none the less fatal. The planter wants strong

workers: hence it is the young and healthy that emigrate and only the old and the infirm that return. Even if some of them go back after their three years' indenture, they bring with them "all the rudeness of speech and behaviour of the baser kind of white planter and an imitation of his vicious life" (p. 46). Worst of all, the very work on the plantations is of a nature to unfit them for the life in their old surroundings and at the same time fails to give them an interest in their new life on the plantations.

If that is what the white planter has done for the Melanesian, the white trader's role has not been very different. A trader is interested in exports and imports: hence a self-contained community is his bane. The exports are mainly copra, the preparation of which requires only little work; as a consequence the villager is induced to neglect work in his own garden—work which supplies him with healthy food and a healthy interest—and to exchange it for desultory copra-making, in return for which he obtains food imported by the trader (of course!), i. e. rice and tinned meat. The Melanesian consequently also gives up the weaving of the loin-cloths hitherto worn by him and decks himself and his women folk in the shirts and skirts and tweeds peculiar to the Western intruder. Not only does that kill another industry of his, but the insanitary nature of the foreign clothes kills his body too. For in that steamy, tropical country (average rainfall half an inch, day in, day out!) clothes beyond the very minimum are altogether *de trop*: in fact the Melanesian only wears them by way of ornament, to show that he can dress like the Great White People. But he has never heard of clothes being washed or dried or changed: he puts on his shirts and jackets and she puts on her petticoats—one on top of another; sweat and rain sodden they soon rot, but they are never taken off, only a new layer is put on! "One of the most pathetic contrasts in the islands" says Dr. Speiser, "is the lithe and glossy skin of the healthy native and the dirty, over-dressed Melanesian masquerading as a white man." (p. 31).

Is it a wonder that disease is rife amongst these people? Who can live exclusively on tinned meat, without in the end wrecking his constitution? Who can live, day and night, in wet clothes, without in the end contracting influenza? Where does infant mortality not rise, where tinned milk is substituted for nature's own food?

To cap all, it so happens that this race seems to be curiously susceptible to colds. Unknown apparently before intercourse with the outside world, a mere cold in the head now assumes for these people the nature of the worst epidemic imaginable, which may be set going by the mere arrival of a ship in port—leading to the ravage and decimation of a whole countryside by influenza colds and coughs which almost invariably end fatally. And this is the race which has simultaneously taken to the wearing of garments perpetually sodden from within and without!

And will it be believed that some Christian Missions made the wearing of European clothes compulsory on their converts, in the supposed interests of "decency"? Yet such is unfortunately the case and though the absurdity of that ridiculous prudery and prejudice seems now generally to have been recognized, only few Missions have gone the length of those of the Anglican Church, who now very sensibly discourage the wearing of any but native clothes. And "the old ways" in the matter of clothes are not the only ones which on second

thoughts have now been recognized by the Missionaries as after all perhaps not evil but good. In fact the Rev. A. D. Hopkins now says that "White men often misunderstand and therefore despise native customs that are helpful morally and" pleads that "native marriage customs and morality should be respected both by Church and State." (p. 65). As a case in point, Dr. Rivers (p. 93) quotes the widespread custom in Melanesia according to which the men of the community slept apart from the women in a special house. This "seemed to the Missionaries contrary to the ideals of the Christian family; and the custom was stopped or discouraged without it being realized that the segregation of the sexes formed an effectual check on too free intercourse between them."

Thus customs were forbidden "without any inquiry into their real nature, without knowledge of the part they took in native life, and without any attempt to discriminate between their good and bad elements" (*ibid*). Society, in Melanesia as elsewhere in the world, is built up on certain religious beliefs: in Melanesia these included the cult of dead ancestors and the respect to be paid to the chief on account of his powers with the unseen. Into a civilization—a very highly complicated civilization—such as this, blundered the white man. Missionary or trader, he feared not the chief's magic powers; he laughed at secret ceremonies of the utmost importance to the Melanesian. He never as much as bothered about hallowed customs and immemorial institutions, which hitherto had been a matter of life or death to themselves. With a ruthlessness and callousness none the less real because unconscious, these whites invaded this nursery of a child race, smashed their toys, stopped their games and exploded their fairy tales—and all, without a suspicion of the appalling harm they thereby wrought.

For the White man, Missionary or magistrate, who so crushingly proved himself to be above the religious system of the native, thereby clearly proved also the uselessness of the system itself. It was necessarily abandoned: and its place only too often left a complete blank. The Government appears to be one merely of punitive expeditions, without any idea of helping the people towards a better life. As long as the whites are not affected, the people apparently can commit any crime they like amongst themselves, without any interference by the white "Protecting" Power, who seem to consider all this to be none of their business. Again, the Missionary influence only too often is exercised by an utterly ill equipped "teacher whose scanty message consists in mere negations and repressions, leading to a condition of stagnation and lifelessness which is neither heathenism nor Christianity." (p. 12). With all the tribal traditions and sanctions gone, the village becomes a collection of individuals without any corporate life; hence a feeling of homelessness and insecurity supercedes the old tribal enthusiasms, which at any rate were able to take the individual out of himself and give him his proper place in a universe that had need of him. To-day these Melanesians have become the flotsam and jetsam of powers, of whom all they know is, that they cannot control them. They feel that they are no longer wanted, that there is no future for them; dispirited and demoralized, their women refuse to bear and their men to provide for future generations. They have lost all interest, even in life itself—and so they sicken and die.

Such is Dr. Rivers' penetrating analysis of the

true inward cause of the rapid extinction of these Melanesian people. An appalling picture indeed and one that must make many a white man wince, when he thinks of such effects of his "civilizational mission." And the most appalling point of all probably is this, that these effects are not inevitable, but are directly due either to the conscious selfishness or to the unconscious stupidity of the invader.

Dr. Rivers (p. 95) says that "certain islands and districts of Melanesia show a degree of vitality in striking contrast with the rest." These exceptional cases fall into two classes: one includes those parts where European influence is not yet in the ascendant and where these remoter and wilder folks therefore "still believe themselves to be a match for the invader. Here the old zest and interest in life persist and the people are still vigorous and abundant." This is very interesting as proving the correctness of Dr. Rivers' psychological analysis of this racial decay; but even more interesting is the other group of people who show vitality. This group consists of "those who have adopted Christianity, not merely because it is the religion of the powerful white man, but with a whole-hearted enthusiasm which has given them a renewed interest in life, and with this interest has come the desire to live." (p. 96) The example of Tanna (pp. 51 ff.) is relevant here; a small island where the chiefs worked with the missionaries, with the result that "corporate tribal action under the chief continued as of yore and allowed the development of the people to proceed naturally." According to Dr. Rivers (p. 111) "experience has amply shown that Christianity is capable of giving the people an interest in life which can take the place of that due to their indigenous religion": yet its actual effect in these isles of the curst has mostly belied this inherent capability. And why? Simply, because assimilation from within has been neglected in favour of application from without. For the latter, authority and machinery suffice; for the former, not only love, but understanding is needed.

That surely is the saddest part of all: that for all its enthusiasm and personal worth, for all its high ideals and best intentions, so much Missionary effort should provoke its best friends not to a "Well done, thou good and faithful servant," but to a "Father forgive them, for they know not, what they do." . . .

But rather than end on this melancholy note, one would gratefully record by way of conclusion, that the book before us has been published by and "for the benefit of the Melanesian Mission"—a portent indeed and pledge of better things to come.

Z.

SHORT NOTICES.

Sinha, Purnendu Narayana: RELIGIOUS THOUGHT IN THE EAST. (Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.) 14 Annas.

THIS is a series of four lectures on the development of religious thought in India, beginning from the Vedas down to the recent Brahma and Arya Samaj movements, and describes how the efforts of the Theosophical Society have succeeded in illuminating to the modern mind the grand truths and unity underlying them all. The bird's-eye-view of the entire field of religious thought in India is very well drawn, and the modern educated Hindu who is ignorant of the subject and has been taught to be rather ashamed of and become apologetic about his Puranas, will, after the perusal of the book, not only learn something valuable but may feel a flush of satisfaction and pride

in his heritage. His modern spirit of eclecticism, of universalism and of service to Humanity will gain a new vision and strength by reading what the author has to say of the all-embracing and reconciling tendencies of the Hindu Puranas and also how "the perfection of individuals, like the burning of bricks, can have no meaning if the universe is not to be served thereby, if no empire of life is to be built with the individual bricks that are built up."

Krishnamurthi Iyer, T. S.: *LEPROSY IN INDIA*. (Tagore & Co., Madras.) 8 annas.

THE book is a collection of articles contributed by the author to the *Social Service Quarterly* of Bombay and the *Hindu* in 1918-20 on the subject. After pointing out, with the help of statistics, the enormity of this problem in India, the writer makes an earnest appeal to make vigorous efforts to deal with it, emulating the example and supplementing the efforts of Missionary organisations which are, at present, working in India for the cause.

Rathnaswamy, Prof.: *THE POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF GANDHI*. (Tagore & Co., Madras.) Re. 1.

MR. RATHNASWAMY contributed a series of articles on this subject last year to the *Daily Express* of Madras and here they are collected in book form. The author brings to bear a good deal of sympathy in his able analysis and criticism of Mr. Gandhi's political philosophy. One feels, however, that in a personality like that of Mr. Gandhi's we should try to understand his philosophy of life as a whole, of which his politics and its application to the Indian problem is but a part, and Mr. Rathnaswami's chapter on "Some Fundamental Notions" could have been fuller than it is. But he has done his work, so far as he has set its scope, in an extremely satisfactory manner and the book should prove very useful in the hands, especially of the Indian students. Mr. Rathnaswamy's estimate of Mr. Gandhi as an Indian political leader is: "We must set Mr. Gandhi down as one of the great *Might-Have-Beens* of Indian history." One cannot agree with this as it is impossible to say what Mr. Gandhi may still not do for our country with his wonderful powers, after he comes out of incarceration and takes a different view of the Indian situation; nor can we share the author's pessimistic and poignant remark that this seems to be the fate of almost all the great men that have been given to India; that is they have all been the great "*Might-Have-Beens*." India's great men have played their part on the whole very well, judged by the times and circumstances in which they lived and worked.

M. S. M.

A LETTER FROM LONDON.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

LONDON, APRIL 12.

FURTHER REFORMS.

THE *Daily News* regards the query of the *Times of India*, whether the doubling of the salt-duty over the head of the Legislative Assembly is a triumph for the autocracy or for Gandhism as a penetrating one. The paper thinks that it is hardly an answer to say, as most commentators do, that they do not see what else the Viceroy could have done. Further incidents of the same kind, it remarks, would almost inevitably wreck the reforms scheme. By one means or another they must be avoided. The *News* adds, pregnantly:—

It is becoming clear that we have either gone too far or not far enough on the road to Indian autonomy. The Assembly is able to strike a shrewd blow at Government policy, but has no responsibility for the consequences. When it threw out the salt-tax it destroyed the Budget balance, yet was under no obligation to balance it again. That is an impossible position. When the reforms were

inaugurated it was recognised that they would ultimately have to be taken further. What has happened is that the Indian people have shown unexpected readiness and capacity to use the powers confided in them and have made their extension both urgent and feasible much sooner than was anticipated. The Home Parliament, in creating the Indian Legislature, left the Indian Executive still responsible, not to the Indian Legislature, but to the Home Parliament. The time has come for a further devolution. The Indian Government must look less to England and more to India. It cannot continue indefinitely to look both ways.

That, of course, is true. In fact the Indian Government would doubtless look to India much oftener than it does but for the intervention of the Secretary of State and the constant breach of the understanding whereby he should refrain from intervention in matters on which the Indian Government and the Legislature are in accord. But it is not enough that the *Daily News*, a liberal organ, should see this fundamental truth. The Liberals are not in power. The Unionists are, and it is essential that a strong contingent of Indian public men, drawn preferably from the ranks of those who are known to desire an advance in the reforms on purely constitutional grounds and for the sake of administrative efficiency, should be here in conference with the Unionist leaders, so as to convince them that it is absurd and dangerous to await the events of the next seven years before making a move in the direction of reform.

THE PRESS IN INDIA.

Mr. Everard Cotes read an interesting paper on "The Newspaper Press of India" at Monday's meeting of the East India Association, Mr. J. A. Spender presiding. Mr. Everard Cotes paid a high tribute to the Indian-owned English Press, and at the same time pointed to the growing influence of the vernacular press. He argued that the influence of the Press in India was a factor of larger significance in the politics of India than was generally realised. It was true that Indian papers often had a comparatively small circulation, but they were read aloud in the Indian villages, and so exercised a great power among people who attached an unexampled importance to the value of the printed word. Behind these Indian-owned papers were a number of Anglo-Indian journals, the significance of which was, in any case, large, but greatly magnified by the Indian papers that often drew much of their information from the more moderate British organs. He was much struck by the rapidity of the increase in the supply of Indians capable of assuming a real share in the higher branches of European journalism in India. Indians had found their way into a large number of editorial rooms, long the exclusive sanctum of Europeans. The political influence of the Press, with a weak Government and a strong Opposition, grew stronger every day. The lecturer recommended a greater co-operation between the Anglo-Indian and the Indian-owned Press, stipulating that the English newspaperman in India should be himself of good-standing. "The

increasing share taken by Indians in the running of the Press," he said, "in no way diminishes the field it offers for European talent. The responsibility of its work demands the best in the way of men that the West as well as the East can offer. Neither Indians nor Europeans by themselves can run it to the best advantage, but if the right men of these two communities cordially combined in its service, it can bring, I maintain, into the realm of solid achievement far more in the way of valuable results than is even now envisaged in the unsubstantial sphere of thought."

"SEDITION" PRESS.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer thought this a fit occasion for an excursion against his favourite bug-bear—the seditious vernacular press. If, he said portentously, we were to protect the people of India from that evil, we must realise that we could not allow in India that unfettered liberty of the Press which was our pride in England. Perhaps Mr. Kali Nath Roy could say something of what this satrap allowed and did not allow when he was sole arbiter before the reforms of the destinies of the Punjab. Sir Thomas Bennett, the proprietor of the *Times of India* that has recently rendered yet another service to India by its opposition to the salt-tax, declared that there never was a better chance for Anglo-Indian newspapers to serve England than now. He evidently does not think the considered views of the *Civil and Military Gazette*, the *Englishman*, the *Statesman*, or the *Pioneer* quite as helpful as they might be. Mr. Spender, in summing up the discussion, put Sir Michael O'Dwyer's remarks in a proper perspective, with the remark that, when he was in India in 1911, it occurred to him that the standard of sedition was put rather high and that some of it would be set down as no more than a vigorous opposition to the Government in England.

INDIA IN PARLIAMENT.

Indian affairs have not been much to the fore in Parliament this week probably owing to the fact that the session has only just been resumed after the Easter recess. Mr. Fisher elicited some information about the extent to which the recommendations of the Sadler University Commission had been acted upon in different parts of India, special reference being made to the official reviews on Indian education for the years 1919-1922. The Colonial Office evidently does not consider that the poll-tax upon non-Fijian residents in Fiji will bear hardly upon the Indian population, a large proportion of whom are suffering serious economic distress as a result of the recent reduction of wages by the Colonial Sugar Refinery Company, nor does it appear especially to sympathise with the unanimous protest of all communities in Tanganyika against the new taxation and other administrative proposals, which affect the Indian community so severely that a hartal lasting for nearly a fortnight has been in existence and a special delegate is coming over here to lay the Indian case before the Imperial Government. Next Wednesday,

day, Sir Thomas Bennett will reply at the 1900 Club to Major Grogan on the Kenya question, and to-night, at the invitation of Col. Wedgwood, Mr. Hope Simpson, and Mr. Lansbury, friends of India are meeting in Committee Room 13 at the House of Commons to consider the state of affairs in India and what can be done to improve things.

CORRESPONDENCE.

MORAL DEGENERACY IN THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR,—The Liquor trade of the world is responsible for untold misery to humanity. But apart from the infliction of this misery it is also responsible for a certain type of degeneracy, the like of which was never known to history. When an individual or a community, or a nation makes a living out of the liquor trade, its degrading power inevitably and invariably tightens the grip upon them.

Iceland adopted a dry policy and proclaimed Prohibition. She is dependent for her very life upon the export of fish and one of her chief customers is Spain. Perhaps Spain can get her fish elsewhere but Iceland cannot secure other customers for her fish. The liquor interests, operating through the Spanish Government, brought weight to bear upon Iceland that she must abandon her dry policy or she will not find a market for her fish in Spain. And Iceland had to recede. What her legislators and her citizens did not desire has been forced upon her by unprincipled and degenerated liquor traffickers. A people have been deprived of their legitimate freedom and liberty that the liquor trade might have more "filthy lucre." And a Government has permitted itself to be made the dupe of this baneful traffic. No wonder it is Spain which is the victim of this complicity. The history of her fall from a first-rate power in Europe to a fourth-rate principality is explicable in the light of such glimpses as these.

Another phase of the moral degeneracy of the trade is in the flagrant and black lies circulated about Prohibition in America. The International Lie Factory is most assiduously busy in the manufacture of falsehoods in spite of the fact that reports are constantly coming in about the practicability and success of the dry policy in America. The liquor interests have absolutely no scruples about the manufacture and circulation of these falsehoods. They forget that everybody cannot accept their statements. The average man has such a thing as reason which compels him to weigh and consider what he finds contradictory. Nevertheless, distilling and brewing liquors are not the only jobs of the trade in these days. Manufacturing falsehoods about Prohibition seems to take a large share of their time and energy.

A dastardly phase of the effort of the trade is visible in America. The liquor interests in America are inciting and encouraging the murder of officials who enforce the law. An official statement indicates that liquor traders are responsible for the murder of 125 enforcement agents and the wounding of 3,500 more. And instead of any sign of regret the liquor trade seems to gloat over every murder committed.

Indians have reason to rejoice that the Excise policy of the British Government in India has not allowed the development of an extensive liquor trade with vested interests. This means as much more reason for India to refuse to allow such an industry to get entrenched here. And India must act soon to save herself from an enemy which breeds a desire to exercise an immodest pressure to curtail the liberty and freedom of others, an enemy which engenders a community of liars, and an enemy which creates and fosters an army of law-breakers and murderers.

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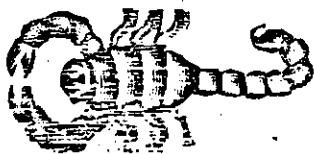
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