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TOPICS OF THE WEEK

The Premiership. THE resignation of Mr. Bonar Law after only half a year's premiership will be received with genuine regret in all quarters. Mr. Law has always had a "good press" and deservedly so. Though a Conservative, he had plenty of shrewd commonsense and was therefore just the man to save the Tory extremists, whose man he was, from their own follies. Mr. Law was needed to win the elections and to put a Tory government in power: but when he had done the part he was chosen for, indications were not wanting that the extremists of his party were beginning to chafe under his cautiousness. There have been all along two voices speaking in the British Government: witness England's attitude on the Ruhr question. Lord Curzon's understudy in the Commons one day would treat the world to a tirade in the best war time style on the absurdity of feeling pity for the Boche; Mr. Law the following day would condemn France's action and wash his hands of the whole business. Well, during Lord Curzon's short vicegerency the extremists have had it all their own way. The moment Mr. Law went on his health trip and Lord Curzon took up the reins, there was no more doubt, as to which voice had prevailed: Germany was duly snubbed. Again, Lord Curzon, who has never forgiven Mr. Chicherin, immediately took the occasion to break with Russia. Unfortunately for Lord Curzon, he overdid it and even Conservatives felt that to have a pompous and conceited man like him at the helm of things, would only lead to one thing: the utter discrediting of the *ancien regime* party in power now. Under Mr. Law the Conservatives might conceivably have continued in power until the natural end of this Parliament; under Lord Curzon it is inevitable that the government of the

hour would have provoked sooner rather than later such a conflict with public opinion in England, as would have necessitated a dissolution. Hence even the *Morning Post* was against Lord Curzon's Premiership and sponsored Mr. Baldwin as the right man for screening decently and democratically the Torydom of the government in power. Mr. Baldwin's task is not an enviable one: the only satisfaction one feels is that even at such a juncture as this the Georgians never had the slightest look-in.

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Africanderdom. THE latest news both from London and Capetown about East Africa reveals in its nakedness the goal the "Whites" are aiming at: viz. the permanent ascendancy of a small white caste lording it over a mass of black helots. This version of the White Man's burden is of the particular South African brand and owes its inspiration to the Boer, to whom black men are and always have been a species of cattle, as incapable of property rights, let alone citizenship rights, as oxen. The perfect flower of this conception can be studied in the Orange Free State, where the Boer is absolutely untrammelled and has been able to establish a commonwealth after his own heart, with the "natives" controlled and jim-crowed and dispossessed of every square yard of land. But this poisonous Boer theory and practice is no longer restricted to the Orange Free State: it has been adopted throughout the length and breadth of the Union as the dominant policy of all parties. And not enough with that—it has spread over its borders into Rhodesia and during the War was bodily transplanted into Kenya, where quite half of the white settlers are Africanders. *Hinc illae lacrymae.*

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Facts and Fancies. TO gauge to the full the significance of this fact, it must be remembered that the whole Eastern half of Africa between the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan in the North and the Union of South Africa in the south there stretch a series of contiguous British colonies and "protectorates", of which Kenya is the northernmost. Kenya therefore obviously holds the key-position for a future Boer Africa under British suzerainty from the Cape to Cairo: for once Kenya is Africanderized, the balance of territories remaining between it and the Union can then be attacked both from front and rear. A few statistical facts about this African complex are rather illuminating:

	Area in 1000 sq. miles.	Population in lakhs.		
		Total.	Asiatic.	European.
Kenya	245	26.3	0.36	0.09
Tanganyika	365	40	0.14	0.02
Uganda	110	30.7	0.06	0.01
Zanzibar	1	2	0.23	0.003
Nyassaland	39	12	0.006	0.02
Basutoland	12	5	0.001	0.02
Bechuanaland	275	1.5	...	0.02
Rhodesia North	291	10	...	0.04
" South	149	8	0.03	0.34
Swaziland	7	1	...	0.02
Total	1494	136.5	0.827	0.583
Union of S. A.	473	69.5	1.523	15.229
Grand Total	1967	206	2.35	15.81

* * *

Some Trusteeship. FROM the above figures it is clear that even in the Union the whites are in a minority (of 22%), whilst in the rest of this complex, over which they now wish to establish their ascendancy, the number of whites is still more disproportionate, being less than half per cent., whilst even including South Africa, the whites would only form 8% of the whole population of an area, only just exceeding that of India. That such an area should in Africa carry a population of 20 and in India of 320 millions, gives moreover occasion for much furious thinking, especially when it is remembered that Africa is infinitely richer and more fertile than India. But what makes these protagonists of Boer Empire so particularly to detest the Asiatic, is the fact that once the possessor of a pigmented skin is acknowledged the political and social equal of unpigmented man other pigmented races, including negroes, will be able to gain that status by the mere process of education. And where will then be the dream of White Supremacy over the "Dark Continent"—a continent of serfs on the one hand, and of plantation and mine owners on the other? Already Central Africa is the reservoir of labour for all South Africa: to make it quite "siccier" for the Boer, is the clear policy of Mr. Smuts and his slim compatriots, who will fight the Indian "intruder" in Africa tooth and nail, since they know that the rights of the Indian today will be the rights of the African tomorrow. "Trusteeship of the native", we believe, does the Rev. Dr. Arthur call it.

* * *

The Indian Social Reformer has apparently acquired a new vision which enables it to make strange discoveries: such as that the Liberal party, excepting a few individuals, is a drag on social reform; that there was only one great social reformer in it viz, the late Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, and now that he is no more, the success of the Liberals at the polls will mean another three years of social stagnation; and that 'it is precisely because the Congress movement today is essentially a social reform movement that the bulk of the social re-

form party including the large majority of educated and intelligent women are to be found within its fold.' We do not know when the Liberal party lost its social reform character or when the Congress acquired it, for recently there has been only one conversion of note from one to the other, that of Mr. K. Natarajan. It is not easy to understand who in the opinion of the *I. S. R.* is a social reformer and who is not. Sir Surendranath Banerjee is not one; for, while on the Southborough Committee, he was opposed to the enfranchisement of women, though subsequently he has become a champion of women's suffrage. Sir Dinsbaw Wacha has lost his claim for being called a social reformer on account of having voted in the Council of State against the raising of the age of consent against procurers from 16 to 18, though those who voted in favour of it are not entitled to be called social reformers. But we certainly did not expect the *I. S. R.* to descend so far as to refer to the good and original work of the Hon. C. V. Mehta in regard to the excise policy in the words "we need not refer to the way in which three good years have been wasted by the Liberal Ministers." If the *I. S. R.* really wants to know whether the Congress or the Liberal Federation stands more for social reform, we invite it to examine the names of the citizens of Bombay who invited the public to the railway station to meet the train carrying the ashes of Sir Narayan to Bombay and find out whether more belong to the Congress or to the Liberal party.

* * *

The De Valera touch. SAYS *Young India* in its issue of last week, in the course of an "appreciation" of the late Sir N. G. Chandavarkar: "It will be ever regretted that a career of service of the Motherland was cut off in 1901 by association with a Government with whom a large part of the country is at war." "At war" presumably means "non-co-operating": but however was Sir Narayan to know in 1901 that in 1919 "a large part of the country would be at war" with the Government with which he then associated himself, when the very Mahatma of non-co-operation so little dreamt of it in 1917, that he volunteered to become a zealous recruiting agent for the same Government with which "C. R." and friends now call themselves "at war"? Really! The whole passage has that touch of doctrinaire, mono-ideaed futility, to which Mr. De Valera has so abundantly accustomed the world during these last two years: is "C. R.", one wonders, a kindred spirit, working up inexorably to a kindred fate of pathetic self-stultification?

* * *

Privilege and Peevishness. THE *Times of India* understands "that the grant in the case of all European High Schools in this Presidency has been reduced from one third to one quarter" and on this news our contemporary comments in a leader which almost reads as if this new order was due to feelings of pettiness and

jealousy against Europeans and Anglo-Indians. We must say that this sort of attitude is really amazing in face of the fact that the reduction from $\frac{1}{3}$ to $\frac{1}{4}$ is not a reduction in the ordinary grant, to which all schools are entitled, but to the supplementary grant which European Schools alone receive over and above the rest. Bombay is the only Presidency which distinguishes between "English teaching" and "European" schools, which differ from each other, not according to the curriculum or medium of instruction, but according to the race of the pupils: a "European" school being defined as "one in which at least four-fifths are of European or Indo-European descent." That this is racial privilege pure and simple needs no arguing. It is usually defended on the score that, unless 80% of the children have English for their mother tongue, the whole purpose of the school is defeated, in that idiomatic English will no longer be spoken by the pupils. English certainly has become an Indian language and not an unimportant one either: it is, therefore, quite legitimate that there should be "English teaching" schools maintained at the public expense.

* * *

No more
favouritism!

But how in fairness to the general Indian taxpayer can it be justified to maintain the exotic of "European" schools at non-Europeans' expense, so that European children, forsooth, may have in India the same kind of scholastic environment that they would have had, if they or their remote forefathers had never left Britain? What would be thought of the demand to maintain 80% Dutch schools in New York at the expense of the general American taxpayer? or of 80% Portuguese schools in Girgaum, for the matter of that? An acquisition of the correct Oxford drawl may be a good in itself: in which case it would be desirable to keep it pure and undefiled from Cockney contamination—but who ever would have the audacity to ask the London general ratepayer to maintain Eton for the exclusive use of the relatives of Old Etonians? The very expense of the "European" school proves what an exotic it is: why then saddle the already overburdened Indian masses (who provide the bulk of all the revenues) with the cost of such a luxury? The luxury may be very good in itself: but we are not considering the educational usefulness of these schools, but the justice of getting Indians to pay for the education of people, who by their insistence on such special schools for themselves only prove, how little they consider themselves to be Indians. The true facts of the case surely are, not that a reduction in the grants specially made to privileged "European" schools spells an anti-European animus, but that their very continuance contravenes against the only principle on which Indian nationhood is possible—viz. that of equal opportunity for all, regardless of race and religion.

THE LIBERALS' ANSWER TO THE CHALLENGE.

THE outstanding feature of the Bombay Liberal Conference, which held a very successful session at Karad on Saturday and Sunday last, was the adoption by the Liberal Party in the Bombay Presidency of a policy of retaliation against the arbitrary action of the Governor General in certifying the salt duty. The retaliatory policy took the shape of rejecting supplementary demands for grants that the Government may submit to the Legislative Assembly in the July session. The Conference did not feel competent to issue a mandate to the members in this sense, but left it to their discretion to refuse any or all the estimates that may happen to be placed before them, pledging its own support to whatever action they may decide upon. In recommending a policy in general terms to the Assembly and leaving it to them to work out the details of it, the Conference acted wisely in our opinion, but that this policy was recommended by the Conference is in itself a portent of the utmost consequence. It shows that if the Governor General elects to exercise as a normal proceeding his special powers reserved for use in emergencies, the Liberal Party will feel bound to push its opposition to the point of obstruction of Government business. The leaders of the Party have always declared that the constitutional opposition which it is their duty to offer to all harmful measures of Government, also includes obstruction as circumstances may warrant, and that the Liberal Party passed so easily from opposition of the orthodox type to obstruction, on the very first occasion which justified such a drastic step, shows that the Party, in despite of all that its detractors say, is fully alive to this fact and is prepared for all contingencies. We do not know whether in the next session of the Assembly there will come up many supplementary estimates and whether their rejection will cause serious embarrassment to Government, but, however little or much actual harassment it may cause, it will at least serve as an impressive gesture of protest on the part of the Liberal Party, which, we hope, the Government will note and inwardly digest. In our leading article entitled "The Challenge" (of March 30) we remarked that, with an extensive use of the reserved powers, Indian Nationalism will tend inevitably to take the turn which Canadian Nationalism took immediately before the grant of self-government. Our prophesy is not long in coming true. The adoption of obstructive tactics in the Assembly is the first fruits of this tendency, and if obstruction is on this occasion to be limited in extent, the Liberals will not hesitate to enlarge its sphere as expediency may suggest. And that the first step in this direction should be taken on the motion of Mr. G. K. Devadhar at the Liberal Conference is as fitting as it is significant. He hates politics of the fireworks variety most bitterly, but his deep

concern for the hardships of the poor and oppressed and his tender solicitude for their welfare drove even him to recommend what may perhaps be regarded as extreme action in certain quarters. The Liberal Party could not have found a better person through whom to declare their determination to avenge the wrong done to the poor by placing an impost upon a prime necessity of life.

If in this resolution the Liberal Party has given an answer to the Government, it has given an answer to its non-official critics as well. It is determined, not only to oppose all bad measures of Government, but to carry its resistance to the farthest possible limits within the constitution. Obstruction it will assuredly practise on occasion but it cannot lend itself to the unvarying obstruction which Deshabandhu Das and Pandit Nehru advocate but with which the Das-Nehru party is toying in a lackadaisical fashion. This party still professes to adhere to non-co-operation and regards obstruction of all Government business to be required on the part of all adherents of that doctrine, whether the business is conducive or prejudicial to the interests of the country. The Liberal Party owns no allegiance to non-co-operation and is not bound by its principles to obstruct every measure. It is free to support, oppose and obstruct as occasion may demand, and the only criterion by which it will judge of Government's action is whether it will promote or injure national interests.

The Liberal Party, naturally enough, seized the occasion of an annual gathering to strengthen its organization in the Bombay Presidency. It suffers at present from the fact that its numbers are small; but a party which is not very numerous should be at least well-knit. The Liberal Party is perhaps the most disorganised among existing political groups. There are undoubtedly several reasons for such a deplorable state of things. This is no occasion to go into them. But it is obvious that a party which does not possess many adherents and which lacks one-pointedness which a closely-knit organisation alone can give cannot have much striking force. The Conference devoted a large part of its time and thought to this aspect of its business and has concerted certain measures which it is hoped will make the Party more effective as a political group than it is. If now there is very great need for extensive propagandist work, there is an even more urgent need to take effectual steps for strengthening its internal organization. That the leaders of the Party gave their most serious consideration to this topic is a highly encouraging circumstance, and it is the bounden duty of all to give their loyal support to all the measures that may be taken to this end and to be prepared to undergo all the sacrifices which they may be called upon to make.

INTER-COMMUNAL RELATIONS IN THE PUNJAB—II.

If one person more than any other has promoted directly or indirectly, the present communal feel-

ing in the Punjab it is Mr. Mian Fazl-i-Husain, the Muslim Minister. He is a Congressman of the pre-non-co-operation days, a member of the Muslim League and was not left unnoticed by the Martial law authorities. As a co-operator, he was bound to combat the non-co-operation movement. And as a Congressman and member of the Muslim League, he was bound to give executive effect to the Congress League Compact at Lucknow, which was adopted in the new reformed constitution by the Government as far as the Legislative Council was concerned. It is sometimes argued that the principle behind the Lucknow Compact was that Muhammadans should wield 50 p. c. of the influence in the Punjab, whether in the Legislative Council or in other bodies. It is, therefore, a very logical inference from the Lucknow Compact, that the principle of 50 p. c. influence should be extended to local boards, municipalities, educational institutions, the public services, etc., etc. Mr. Fazl-i-Husain is following this policy and in doing so claims only to be giving loyal effect to the Lucknow Compact, under the mandate of the Congress and the League. If it has the effect of running counter to vested interests or of creating communalism in a marked manner—well, that is merely incidental and unavoidable.

The most dramatic result of this policy is the discomfiture of the non-co-operation movement in the Punjab. The Muhammadans, whether co-operators or non-co-operators, saw that a bird in hand was worth two in the bush, that their community derived immediate and tangible advantage from even partial Swaraj under Mr. Fazl-i-Husain, and that this was worth more than the prospective, but uncertain, complete Swaraj of Mr. Gandhi. They therefore solidly rallied round his banner. A wedge along communal lines was driven right through co-operators and non-co-operators. This rapid change of front on the part of Muslims disquieted the Hindus, who began to doubt their fate under the Muslim Raj.

On the top of this came the Malabar rebellion in 1921 and the reports of forced conversions of Hindus to Islam. It is not a matter of great surprise that in view of the past tradition of the two communities in the Punjab, these reports should have had greater effect in the Punjab than in other provinces. The comparatively feeble protest on the part of the Muhammadans against these conversions, and the attempt either to discredit the reports or to find other excuses, did not help to reassure the Hindus, whose faith in the Muhammadans was rudely shaken.

The full effect of these events and tendencies was not, however, felt at the time. Mr. Gandhi was still free and his non-co-operation movement was at its height and occupied the whole stage. His personal influence kept under check the purely religious excitement of the Muslims. It was not the correct thing to do to discuss the policy of a co-operating Minister or of Government posts, or votes or seats. And Mr. Gandhi had asked, in the

name of Hindu-Muslim unity, that the Hindus should forgive the Muslim conversions in Malabar.

With his arrest in March 1922 and with most of his trusted lieutenants still in jail, the non-co-operation movement showed signs of rapid disorganization. People could no longer help taking notice of the Government and its policies and current events of less importance than non-co-operation. It was then that the non-Muslims began to express their discontent against Mr. Fazl-i-Husain's policy.

Then came the passing of the Gurudwara Bill. It is not necessary here to go into its merits. What is relevant is that Mr. Fazl-i-Husain introduced it. It affected only Sikhs and Hindus and was not even remotely concerned with Muslims. It was bitterly opposed by the former. All the elected Hindu and Sikh members of the Legislative Council opposed it. Even the Government members did not vote together as is generally the rule. Yet the Bill was passed in the Council entirely with the support of the Muslim members. Now the Lucknow Compact contains a clause that if three fourths of the members of a community object to any measure that affects that community, it ought to be dropped. The passing of the Gurudwara Bill was a violent breach of this wholesome understanding. If this was an earnest of Muslim Raj in the Punjab, the doubts of the non-Muslims about their fate under it were evidently not a mere fancied grievance or an exhibition of perversity.

To avoid the undesirable result of a public agitation which would drive the communities apart, and which would only result in solidifying the Muslim support of the policy, the non-Muslim members of the Council tried to get the Governor in virtue of his special responsibilities towards the minorities under the Instrument of Instructions, to use a moderating influence on Mr. Fazl-i-Husain. So they waited on the Governor in a deputation but he declined to interfere in the matter on the ground that Mr. Fazl-i-Husain commanded a majority in the Council for his policy. He failed to perceive the absurdity of applying purely democratic principles to communal councils. The reservation clause in the Lucknow Compact referred to above is the only sensible solution.

The deputation had the very effect it sought to avoid: a public meeting of the Muhammadans, which solidly supported the policy of Mr. Fazl-i-Husain, was held in Lahore as a counter blast to the deputation. It is not, however, to be understood that there are no Muhammadans of influence, who disapprove of the lengths to which Mr. Husain is carrying his policy. But they do not like to declare their opinions publicly.

The non-Muslim members of the Legislative Council next moved a vote of censure on Mr. Husain. As was to be expected, the Muhammadan majority solidly opposed it and the motion failed.

It made clear that the Muslim Minister had completely lost the confidence of the Hindu and Sikh members. But that did not deter him from continuing in office.

The non-Muslims felt that only two alternatives more were left to them—to demand a change in the constitution of the Council, so that no single community can dominate the other two combined, and to take to non-co-operation with the Muslim Raj. The Sikhs claim that the Gurudwara Act has not so far been brought into operation, because of the threat of direct action by the Akalis.

The non-Muslim co-operators started an agitation for a change in the constitution of the Council. And it is remarkable that the non-Muslim non-co-operators, who would have nothing to do with these Councils, also joined the agitation. These had found that the rapid development of communal distrust and hatred, not only among the intelligentsia which profited directly by Mr. Fazl-i-Husain's policy, but also among the masses, since the arrest of Mr. Gandhi, had rendered Congress work well nigh impossible. And even they, therefore, desired to have a clear and common understanding like the Lucknow Compact, as to where they would stand under complete Swaraj. These discussions culminated in the Lahore conference in April last, which was attended by the All-India Congress leaders.

Before discussing this conference, we have yet to consider the attitude of the masses since Mr. Gandhi's arrest. It has been mentioned already that the forced conversions in Malabar greatly disconcerted the Hindus and sowed the seeds of distrust in their minds. But that was not the end of the influence of Malabar on the Punjab, where the Arya-Samaj, an aggressively proselytising Hindu organization, is very strong. For the benefit of the distressed in the rebellion, the Malabar Central Relief Committee, under the inspiration of Mr. G. K. Devadhar of the Servants of India Society, had organised relief operations on a non-communal basis. Unfortunately, in India, even charity to the distressed must come to be coloured with communalism, and so the Arya Samajists and the Muhammadans started separate and avowedly communal relief operations in Malabar. In order to raise money from the communities concerned, these well-intentioned workers imported communalism wholesale in their appeals to their communities. The result was that sympathy for the victims gave place to communal sympathies and intercommunal hatred. Communalism triumphed over humanity.

The Multan riots did not improve these estranged feelings. The riots may be said to be of the old type—religious frenzy leading to a sudden conflagration. The Hindus, however, were disappointed that their hearty participation in the Khilafat had not toned down the fanaticism of the Muhammadans. And on account of the general political awakening, the Multan riots came

to have wide influence. Again, the comparatively feeble protest of the Muhammadans against the vandalism of their co-religionists in Multan was taken as a warning by the Hindus.

Almost for the first time, the Hindus thought seriously of organising themselves for the defence of their lives and property, and particularly, the honour of their women. This incipient defensive organization was construed by the Muhammadans as an act of hostility to themselves.

Finally, the Suddhi movement started by Swami Shraddananda among the Malkana Rajputs near Agra added fuel to the flame. These Rajputs are Muhammadans in name, but for all practical purposes Hindus. Among their customs are some which are radically opposed to Muhammadanism. The Arya Samajists under Swami Shraddanand undertook to convert these nominal Muhammadans back into Hindus. It is unnecessary here to discuss the motives of the action. It is sufficient to say that Hindus have as much right as any other religionists to convert other people to their faith. But it has already been said that the Khilafat agitation had exalted the Muhammadans to an unprecedented degree and in the absence of the better leaders, ignorant priests came to have a free hand over the masses. The priests construed the Malkana Suddhi movement as an insult to Islam. An agitation was carried on to inflame the Muhammadans to avenge the insult. It had the other effect also of rallying the Hindus to the support of the Suddhi movement. These circumstances drove the two communities apart and they have drifted into 'armed camps,' ready to fly at each other's throats on the slightest provocation. The repeated Amritsar and Multan riots in the recent past indicate the dangerous possibilities.

In destroying communal unity, the Vernacular Press in the Punjab has played no inconsiderable part. The perpetual excitements provided by the non-co-operation movement have vitiated public taste, while increasing the demand for journals. The public taste now demands strong language, screaming headlines, sensational news, exciting paragraphs. Most of the papers are edited by owners who do not pretend to possess statesmanship or vision. They are honest commercial people, with a keen eye to sales and profits, serving such matter as the readers demand. When the non-co-operation thrills ceased, something equally paying had to be substituted and communal bickerings served the purpose well. These editors could not afford to think of the permanent evil consequences of their glaring headlines. Fortunately the recent communal riots have generally been limited to cities, where the assistance of the popular leaders, the police and the military could be easily secured. But if the vernacular press should continue its campaign of communal hatred and it should affect the rural population as well, no leaders and no Government will be able to cope with the disorders that might arise. It is a vicious circle: communal feelings are rife because the press

inflames them; the press inflames them because the people want to be inflamed. The Congress leaders have tried to reason the editors into a sense of greater responsibility for public welfare, and an association has been formed in Lahore to improve for the better the tone of the vernacular press. Let us hope that it will have a useful career.

BHISHMA.

THE WORLD OUTSIDE.

THE recent questions in the House of Commons on the Eastern frontier of Poland are not intelligible unless one takes cognizance of the Franco-Polish Alliance. The latter is based on a Poland large and strong enough to be a match for Germany. But since there are only about 10 million Poles, the Poland required by France must be created by adding to Poland surrounding territory inhabited by subject races. When, however, the Peace Treaties were made in Paris four years ago, the "self-determination of peoples" principle was still unquestioned and therefore no open breach with it was possible. France therefore insisted that the eastern frontier of Poland should be left on open question for the time being, until the matter had been thoroughly "studied", when it should be referred to the "Ambassadors' Conference" for final disposal. One does not know what "study" there has been: but one does know that the Polish Government has utilized every day since, to establish Polish ascendancy in all its eastern marches and to consolidate its power there by all means—not excluding such as have led to sanguinary revolts. Poland staked out its claims at once, of course: thus it annexed Eastern Galicia (which is Ukrainian) in June 1919 and Vilna (which is Lithuanian) in October 1920. But theoretically the claims had to be still adjudicated by the Ambassadors' Conference, which is the successor to the notorious "Supreme Council".

NOW after so many years of unrightful Polish rule in these districts, the *quondam* "Allied and Associated Powers" have given their decision (in March of this year) and have awarded both districts to Poland, not because the Polish claim is true, but because the Franco-Polish Alliance demands it. What the inhabitants of East Galicia itself think, is well put in the pathetic protest which the Ukrainian National Council of East Galicia has addressed to the "Ambassadors' Conference":

"We have been promised", the protest runs, "that the eventual settlement of the juridical status of East Galicia would be determined according to the wish of the population, i. e., according to the right of self-determination. During the whole period of the Polish occupation from 1919-1923 the Ukrainian population of East Galicia, as the overwhelmingly preponderant majority in this country, has been absolutely opposed to the union of East Galicia with Poland and has unanimously claimed and still claims, in the name of national justice, the recognition of East Galicia as an independent State of free peoples."

The case of Vilna is even more flagrant; so much so, that for quite a long time Poland had to disavow the occupation of this district by General Zeligowski, as the irresponsible action of a free-booting individual. Indeed Vilna came before the League of Nations, who tried to give their verdict impartially; so impartially indeed, that Poland refused to accept the award. Mr. Balfour at the time voiced in a beautiful and impassioned speech the universal indignation felt at the iniquity of a Polish Government which placed Might before Right. To-day Vilna, which is as Lithuanian as Bombay is Indian, is calmly handed over to Poland and all the beautiful speeches remain—*voces et præterea nil*. Not only so, but in order to make one black out of two whites, Lithuania is being compensated for the wrong inflicted upon her over Vilna, by Memel—a purely German territory—being taken from Germany and given to Lithuania. If the League of Nations ever enjoyed any moral authority in political matters, these three decisions made over its head have certainly torn from it the last shred of any such pretence.

The Discredited League. THE League of Nations indeed has never ranked lower in politics than to-day. That of course might simply be due to its practical impotence. Unfortunately the League has fallen much lower than that: for this great instrument forged, so it was said, to make the world safe for democracy, is now found to be but an instrument of chicanery ruthlessly wielded by the victors against the vanquished. The Upper Silesia award probably was the turning point in the life of the League. Anyhow from then onwards, the League has but registered what France wishes it to do: witness the League's rule in the Saar district, which has become so blatantly bent on making the district permanently safe for France, that only recently in the House of Commons indignant questions were asked about it. Lord Robert Cecil has just now spent a fruitful time in the United States, making propaganda for the entry of America into the League: but one really doubts whether the League is still worth reforming and saving. Such a League, to be of any use, must be like Caesar's wife, above all suspicion: it must have the reputation of standing for Right, not of bowing to Might. It is the greatest tragedy of our days that the League to-day should be so utterly discredited: but since it is, it is useless to blink the fact. In the circumstances, it really seems that President Harding is taking the only feasible line, by declaring America's willingness to join the International Court of Justice founded by the League, but not the League itself.

The good Progeny of a bad League. IF this recommendation is approved of by Congress, it is quite conceivable that eventually Germany and Russia too will follow this example. In that case the League itself may soon be seen to have been a merely transitional creation, ephemeral itself,

but possibly destined to have a perishing offspring. Of the latter, the Permanent Court of International Justice, (already mentioned) certainly must perjure, if—in President Harding's phrase—war is ever to be outlawed. No less deserving of long life is another child of the League—the International Labour Office, whose weekly publication ("Industrial and Labour Information") alone gives it a title to lasting gratitude on the part of all concerned about economic questions—be they Governments, owners, labour or students. No less proof of utility have given those other international bureaux organized by the League, such as the International Committee of Agriculture; such technical organizations, as that for International Health and Sanitation; such humanitarian Commissions, as those concerned in the traffic in Deleterious Drugs, or in Women and Children; such Relief Agencies as those set up for the famine-stricken or for war refugees. The list is long and altogether admirable: and whatever the fate of the League, to have given birth to all these separate entities is in itself no mean achievement. But however gladly one acknowledges this, and just because one does so, one cannot but insist that when it comes to political questions, the League has become a broken reed, as indeed it must be, if its primary function is to guarantee the follies and iniquities of the Versailles Treaty.

America's League Policy. WHO can still expect anything from the League for the reduction of armaments? or in the matter of the alleged, "mandates"? or by way of protection of minorities? To ask the questions, is to answer them and that being so, the most devoted friends of a Society of all Nations can wish for nothing better than swift euthanasia for the already decrepit League. Meanwhile the non-political functions, already devolved upon special bodies, will be carried on by altogether separate entities, of which the Permanent Court of International Justice and the International Labour Office are already existent and outstanding examples. Obviously this is the policy favoured by the American President, and, one would fain believe, by the American people as a whole. One is glad to find that America is beginning to see the wrong it did when it refused to subordinate its national sovereignty to any supra-national authority and thereby poisoned the main-spring of the whole League idea. It is a generous nation, is America, as far as its emotions go: one therefore may expect a real desire from it to atone to-day for its former spokesman's betrayal of Humanity at Versailles. This, however, is not of easy accomplishment: it demands more than a facile "landslide", replacing "Democrats" by "Republicans"; it demands national self-denial, the readiness of a country, that considers itself the greatest on earth, to abide by the verdict of others, who *ex hypothesi* are of less stature. Will, one wonders, American idealism be equal to that test?

ONE joyfully chronicles in this connection indications that better counsels are generally beginning to prevail in the United States. Next in importance to the President's adhesion to the Permanent Court of International Justice at the Hague one would rank the unanimous vote of the Governing Board of Harvard University, reversing President Lowell's religious and racial discrimination against Jews, Roman Catholics and Negroes. This is indeed splendid and a complete vindication of those principles of equal opportunity for all which used to be the very tradition of Harvard. Again, who could have hoped for the acquittal of so prominent a communist as Wm. Z. Foster, indicted under the laws of Michigan for criminal syndicalism? Yet so it is, and for the first time since America entered the War the trial of a 'Red' has again been conducted with scrupulous impartiality. As cheering is the decision of the U.S. Supreme Court in the case of some riots which took place in the State of Arkansas in October 1919, when 14 negroes and 5 whites were killed. By nearly all accounts this rioting had been started by the whites who were exasperated by the economic emancipation of the negro and wished to cow him back into subjection. The State Court listened to a charge against 79 negroes of plotting to massacre all the white people in the county and speedily sentenced five of them to be hung. But an appeal was made to the Federal Courts and the Supreme Court has now ruled (February 19th) that the negroes in question were not given a fair trial and that the sentence of the State Court must therefore be quashed. Not only is this splendid in itself, but it also demolishes the last defence of the opponents to the Dyer Bill, viz. that in these matters the sovereignty of the State cannot be infringed by the Union. Is America coming to herself, her better self?

REVIEW.

THE CHALLENGE OF JUSTICE.

THE RETURN OF CHRISTENDOM. By a Group of Churchmen, with an introduction by BISHOP GORE and an epilogue by G. K. CHESTERTON. London. 1922. 7½ x 5. pp. 251. (Allen & Unwin).

THE recently published judgment in the case of the persecuted Roman Catholic clergy in Russia (see Russian Information and Review of April 21st) shows that one of their main indictments was wilful disobedience of § 121 of the Russian Criminal Code—a section which makes punishable the giving of religious instruction to groups of persons under eighteen. Bolshevism therefore plainly ranks religion amongst the vices, [such as drinking, gambling, prostitution &c.,] which though tolerated amongst an adult population, must be kept from the immature, until they know the difference between—what? "Good and evil," one would naturally say; but on the

Bolshevik hypothesis of course that is impossible: and all they can say is—between what the Government permits and what it prohibits. The thing would be ludicrous, were it not so tragic.

Yet, truth to tell, the Bolsheviks only carry to the logical limit the secularist conception of the State, which originated with Hobbes and ended with Hegel. According to this conception, the *raison d'être* of human fellowship is safety; and safety demands power and a State in which the monopoly of unlimited power is vested. Hence the idea of the Omnipotent State, in which is inherent sovereign power. Faith in this power gave Western Civilization their former undoubted sense of security; and there is no question, but that this faith was universal until 1914.

Nobody however who went through the war could possibly retain this previous sense of security, nor the faith in the Omnipotent State, on which it rested. Power suddenly appeared to be a very powerless thing, quite powerless certainly to give safety. But perhaps power only failed, because there was not enough of it—what, if all the Big Powers pooled their big powers? Thus was born the League of Nations; but to-day even to suggest that this rickety infant born of an unnatural union of Might and Right affords security to anybody, would be nothing but cruellest sarcasm.

No—whatever was believable in far off pre-war days: to-day the theory of safety as the end of society and power as the sole means to it, is utterly discredited. Its falsity stands revealed in the light of the hard facts of the past seven years, and man, who had thought of his latter-day civilization as grounded fast for ever, now finds it crumbling to pieces, disintegrating before his very eyes. If one thing is proved, it is that power offers no possible principle for holding together the fabric of any Society.

What other principle is there, then, capable of fulfilling this fundamental need? What is the true *raison d'être* of social life, since it cannot be safety? The authors of the challenging volume before us reply that neither the arbitrary absolutism of democracy nor of enlightened minorities are anything but superstitions; that the Labour Movement itself, if built on the "class war" would but mean "a fresh start on the same old foundations" (p. 26); and that the only way of reintegrating society is to reverse the attempt made in the West for the last two centuries—viz. of organizing the life of man apart from God. After the complete failure of the away-from-God experiment, these writers would recall mankind to a restoration of the glorification of God as the purpose of all Society, to a time before "Society, a harmony of directly interwoven vocations, gave place to the State with its monopoly of power for the glorification of its rulers"; (p. 20) to a faith in God as the only end of all human fellowship and in justice as the only means to that

end. From the confusion of utility with principle, from "the theory of the safety or the convenience of society as something which is beyond right and wrong" (p. 125) they would have us retrace our steps to the *natural law* of Gratian, "superior to all other laws, primitive and unchangeable, because the expression of the will of God Himself" (p. 123); to the absolute authority of *justice*, contravention of which makes null and void all laws or constitutions, whether ecclesiastical or secular, whether King's or Pope's.

As S. Augustine already put it so tersely in his *Civitas Dei* (bk. 4, ch. 4): "Justice being taken away, what are kingdoms, but great robberies? For what are robberies themselves, but little kingdoms? The name itself is conferred, not by the removal of covetousness, but by the addition of impunity." Is not that a fit epitaph of the past century or two? Having taken away justice, nothing is left but covetousness; and on this covetousness the Westerner has tried to build up a civilization of competition within and of balance of power without! Rather surprisingly—seeing what the title of their book is—our authors say nothing on the international aspect of the matter, but concentrate on the domestic result of founding social life on avarice.

To the allegedly Christian nations their would-be Saviour had said: "Be not anxious for your life or its food, for your body or its raiment: but seek ye first the kingdom of God and His righteousness—and all these things shall be added unto you". (Mt. 6. 25-34). But the West proceeded to the organization of its society on the exactly opposite assumption: Seek ye first, it says, material prosperity—and righteousness will be added to it; seek ye first your own profits, and service to the commonwealth will be added to it.

"But somehow or other," adds Mr. A. J. Panty grimly, "it does not work out. These other things are not added, and in the long run the pursuit of riches does not even bring material prosperity. For the concentration of all effort and mental energy upon material achievement upsets the spiritual equilibrium of society. It produces contrasts of wealth and poverty, and out of these come envy, jealousy, class hatreds, economic and military warfare, and finally the destruction of the wealth which has been so laboriously created. For no society built on a lie can endure." (p. 130)

Or take this faithful picture (by Fr. P. B. Bull) of society under Plutocracy:

"Money gives power. It affords pleasure. It inflames selfish ambition. It gives or withholds the higher education. It controls the lives of millions in the labour market by giving or withholding credit, and so manipulating employment and unemployment. It bribes or crushes every opponent. It controls the legislature. It penalizes virtue. It commercializes vice. It makes desolating war and sordid peace. It corrupts and stifles the conscience, and drugs and deadens the soul." (p. 226.)

"Slum, beggar, factory, land itself", adds Mr. M. R. Beckett, "testifies, as it were sacramentally, to the moral impossibility of plutocracy: we look upon the outward and visible signs of an inward and

spiritual disgrace" (p. 21). Having "transformed the deadly sin of avarice into the haughty virtue of enterprise, the whole capitalist creation can but move towards the imminent and hellish menace of successive world wars". (p. 23.)

Over against these nightmares of society un-morally, not to say immorally, organized, our writers set up mediæval Christendom which, "whatever its shortcomings, at least believed firmly that the first and last principle of social life is justice" (p. 117), and that the primary function of the State is a moral function: that its primary end is the establishment of some moral order." (p. 119). This mediæval society was built up on the concepts of *vocation*—every man by the very talents, the aptitudes, propensities of his nature exhibiting the profession to which his creator had called, had destined him; and of *fraternity*—all men's professions being interrelated, because all men were interrelated as children of God, because in this great joint family every man's purpose was not his own, but for the service of all. Both of which principles were crystallized in that matchless rule of the Just Price, "not fixed at individual discretion, but corporately determined to protect the consumer in the maintenance of a standard of quality and to safeguard the producer in his standard of life." (p. 172).—

Our authors themselves admit that they have not written their book "to formulate a precise social programme, but to present an ideal and to make clear what is involved in it; "(p. 18) but enough has been said, one hopes, to make our readers agree that "the point of view of these writers, and the principles on which their point of view is based, urgently needs presentation to the bewildered world of to-day" (p. 12); and to send them to the study of these provocative and challenging pages, even though for completeness of treatment they will have to turn subsequently to more technical treatises.

Z.

MISCELLANEA.

RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT KARAD BY THE SECOND BOMBAY LIBERAL CONFERENCE.

The first five resolutions recorded the grief of the Conference at the death and offered condolences to the families of the late Sir N. G. Chaudawarkar, Rao Bahadur Sathu, Sir Bhalohandra Krishna, Sir Vithaldas Thakersey and Dr. P. D. Gune.

6. Further Constitutional reforms.

This Conference emphatically protests against the rejection by Viscount Peel of the Legislative Assembly's demand for an enquiry into the question of granting further constitutional Reforms at an earlier date and reiterates its firm conviction that the time has arrived for an immediate grant of full Provincial autonomy and for introducing responsibility in the Central Government in all Departments except Military, Political and Foreign, with a view to India's attainment of its goal of complete self-government as early as possible.

7. Royal Commission.

This Conference protests against the appointment of the Royal Commission on public services and is of opinion

that no question as regards the salaries etc. of the "services" should be considered unless it be accompanied by a further grant of reforms.

8. Salt Duty.

(a) In view of the fact that public opinion as voiced by the Legislative Assembly was strongly opposed to the doubling of the salt duty, this Conference deplures the most arbitrary, unwise and inexpedient action of Lord Reading in certifying the measure and regards it as a menace to the Constitutional development of India, betraying a regrettable want of solicitude for the interest of the poor masses of the Indian population. This conference is further of opinion that the circumstances in which the power of certification was exercised can by no stretch of imagination be described as an "Emergency" and trusts that the British Parliament will pray His Majesty the King-Emperor to disallow the enhancement of duty on a poor man's necessary of life.

(b) This Conference is of opinion that the non-official members of the Legislative Assembly will, in the circumstances that have arisen, be justified in refusing such further supplies of money as they think fit.

9. Military Expenditure.

While appreciating the reduction in Military Expenditure made by the Government in pursuance of the policy of Retrenchment recommended by the Inchoape Committee, this Conference is of opinion that a further reduction in it is necessary and should be effected by

1. Giving full effect to the recommendations of that Committee,
2. Effecting further reduction of the Expensive British Element in the Army,
3. Expediting the Indianisation of Army Officers and by so modifying the conditions of recruitment in the Territorial Forces as would assure to the Indian Members thereof the same treatment as is accorded to British Privates generally.

10. Liberal Programme.

In view of the fact that it has become highly necessary to lay down a programme of the Liberal Party to work to this Conference

(a) Declares that the Liberals have full faith in the principle of Parliamentary system of Government and would, acting on their creed of co-operation wherever possible and opposition whenever necessary, endeavour to:

1. press for immediate and complete autonomy in the Provinces and substantial responsibility in the Central Government.
2. press upon Government the necessity of retrenchment and economy all round;
3. insist that taxation should be so adjusted as to be in proportion to the ability of the people to bear the burden;
4. endeavour to secure social and political enfranchisement by work inside and outside Councils; and
5. to take all measures necessary for the uplift of backward and depressed classes.

(b) Urges all the members of the party

1. To educate the electorate about the soundness of the Liberal principles, establishing organisations in towns and villages and collecting funds to carry on propagandist work throughout the year.
2. To induce the electorate to elect as its representatives, without regard for caste and creed, only those who are competent and pledged to carry out these principles and will urge the Government to follow the same policy in recruiting for responsible posts in the administration.
3. To encourage the use and production of Swadeshi articles.
4. To endeavour to promote all measures calculated to make for the educational economic advancement of the masses whether initiated by Government or others.

(c) Appoints a Central Committee for the Presidency consisting in of the President of the Conference (Mr. C. M. Gandhi), the Hon. Mr. C. V. Mehta, the Hon. Dr. Paranjpye, Mr. N. M. Joshi and Mr. G. K. Deodhar, with power to take all steps necessary to organise the party immediately, in con-

sultation with the leaders of the Liberal Party, on the lines of the programme laid down above.

11. Village Panchayats.

In view of the great reluctance shown by the people in rural areas to have village Panchayats formed in their villages owing to the obligation laid upon all the village panchayats to levy house tax in their villages, this Conference requests the Government to bring in an amending Bill at an early date empowering such village Panchayats to raise the necessary funds, levying such taxes as they may deem proper, subject to the approval of the Government. This Conference further calls upon all the District Local Boards to earmark a fixed proportion of the Revenue assessment on each particular village for the particular needs of the same.

12. Meson Award.

This Conference reaffirms its resolution of last year relating to the Provincial contributions and expresses its emphatic opinion that the nation-building departments under the charge of the Ministers cannot be properly developed till an appreciable portion of the province's income tax receipts are made over to the province.

13. Separation of the Executive and Judicial functions.

This Conference regrets that no progress has been made in giving effect to the resolution adopted by the local Legislative Council more than a year ago for separating the judicial from executive functions, voicing the strong public feeling with regard to this over-due reform, and trusts that the Government will carry out the wishes of the Legislative Council in this matter without further delay.

14. Retrenchment and Economy.

While thanking the Government of Bombay for having effected retrenchment amounting nearly to a crore of rupees in its expenditure of the last financial year, this Conference feels that the same was effected mainly in the non-recurring expenditure, and a part of it on bad lines, leaving still ample room for cuts in the permanent recurring expenditure as suggested by their own Retrenchment Committee, and hopes that early effect will be given to its recommendations with a view to larger funds of money being made available for the nation-building departments in charge of the Ministers.

15. Abolition of Tolls.

In pursuance of the promise made by the Government, this Conference urges that the tolls on all the roads should be abolished as early as possible.

16. Indians abroad.

This conference expresses its complete adherence to the resolutions passed by the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State in their last Sessions on the subject of Indians in Kenya and trusts that, as a result of the negotiations now going on in London between the Imperial authorities on one side and several Indian and European deputations on the other, full political and civic rights and complete equality of status will be assured to Indians; that no restriction on Indian Immigration into the Colony will be tolerated; and that the Government of India will adhere to their despatch of October 1920.

This Conference protests against the Profit Tax Ordinance Pedlar's License Ordinance and the Trading Licensing Ordinance, recently passed by the Government of the Tanganyika Territory as likely to hamper and jeopardize the trade of Indians there and therefore requests the Government of India to use all its endeavours for the repeal thereof.

This Conference desires to enter its most emphatic protest against the iniquitous proposal to levy a one pound residential tax on Indian residents in Fiji, and while grateful to the Government of India for their good offices in their behalf trusts that they will not slacken their efforts until an assurance is forthcoming that the collection of the tax in question will not be proceeded with.

This Conference is alarmed at the spread of the anti-Indian feeling in South Africa in general and in Natal in particular as evidenced by the recent passing by the Natal Provincial Council of the Rural Dealer's (wholesale and retail) License Ordinance substituting a Licensing Board for License Officers.

and restricting the right of appeal, and requests the Government of India to bring pressure upon the Union Government, with a view to their disallowing this Ordinance and to take such other measures as may be necessary to that end.

17. Total Prohibition.

This Conference expresses its approval of the policy of rationing country liquor which has been introduced by the Hon'ble Minister and in pursuance of which two successive reductions in supply have already been made. It is of opinion that this policy should be steadily continued and extended and applied to foreign liquors so as to bring about total prohibition at an early date.

18. Ecclesiastical Establishment.

This Conference is of opinion that in the interests of economy and of maintaining neutrality in religion it is necessary to reduce the expenditure on military ecclesiastical department and strongly urges the necessity of amending the Government of India Act so as to do away with the provisions relating to the civil ecclesiastical department.

19. Treatment of political prisoners.

While noticing with regret that the Government has not given full effect to the resolution passed by the local Legislative Council relating to the treatment of political prisoners, this Conference urges the Government to take immediately necessary steps to give full effect to the spirit of the said resolution.

20. Visapur Jail.

In view of the facts brought to light in the Enquiry by the Visapur Jail Committee this Conference resolves that Government should take immediate steps to discontinue bell-chaining and other barbarous practices found to prevail in the said Jail.

21. Removal of the Residential qualifications.

That this conference strongly urges upon the Government the desirability of repealing the obligation imposed by the electoral rule upon candidates for Council elections in this presidency, of having resided for six months in the districts for which they desire to stand, and requests the Bombay Government to recommend to the authorities concerned the throwing open of all Territorial General Seats to every elector otherwise qualified for contest.

(b) This Conference is of opinion that graduates of the Bombay University possessing necessary qualifications but residing in the Indian States within the Presidency of Bombay should not on that account be disqualified to vote in the election by the Bombay graduates.

22. Untouchability and backward classes.

(a) This Conference, while appreciating the steps taken by the Hon'ble Minister for Education for securing the admission of the children of the depressed classes on a basis of equality with other communities in all educational institutions, urges upon the Government and local bodies and upon the other Hindoo communities the desirability of taking all practical steps necessary to remove the stigma of untouchability in every other respect.

(b) This Conference further urges upon Government the necessity to provide adequate facilities for the education of the backward classes including the depressed classes and for their admission into the public services consistently with efficiency of administration.

23. Primary Education.

While recognising the services of the Hon'ble Minister for Education in successfully piloting the Compulsory Primary Education Act and recording its warm appreciation for the same, this Conference urges upon both the Government and the local bodies to do their best to universalize elementary education within a period of ten years and to readily undergo monetary and other sacrifices for carrying it out.

24. Grants to secondary schools and colleges.

While recognising that larger funds are needed for the expansion of primary education this Conference regrets the policy of Government in stinting grants to institutions imparting secondary and higher education and urges upon it the necessity of helping them liberally.

25. Indian States Protection Bill.

This Conference is of opinion that the Indian States Protection against Disaffection Act is not in the interests of British India or subjects of Indian States and therefore urges upon Government to repeal or to modify the same in the interests of British Indians and the people of the Indian States.

26. Additional seat for West Khandesh.

This Conference is of opinion that one more seat in the Bombay Legislative Council should be provided for West Khandesh in view of the large number of voters in the district and requests the Government to take the necessary steps for the purpose.

27. Industrial and Agricultural development.

This Conference is of opinion that for the better development of agriculture and industries the two departments of Industries and Agriculture should be amalgamated and over-hauled and urges upon the Government the need of :

1. helping infant industrial concerns by the grant of loans at lowest possible rates of interest,
2. encouraging handloom and other cottage industries in rural areas,
3. improving agriculture by the construction of irrigation works large as well as small such as dams for storing water of rivulets in the villages.

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