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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE sympathies of the whole of India will be with the people of South India in the great calamity that has overtaken them in the shape of unprecedented floods due to excessive rainfall in the Western Ghats. The whole of the Cauvery basin and the coastal areas of South Canara, Malabar, Cochin and Travancore are very severely affected. Portions of towns and in some cases entire towns have been submerged, many villages completely washed off, bridges and railway lines destroyed and all communications cut off. Thousands of lives are said to have been lost, while the loss to property cannot by any means be calculated. More than all this will be the loss due to the destruction of cattle and the prevention of agricultural operations. Scarcity of food is already felt in many places in the affected area and as it will be many weeks before communications can be restored, it is bound to become very acute in a few days. The profiteer has already discovered this opportunity and it is of the greatest importance that the authorities everywhere, with the help of local committees, should assume control over food-stuffs and arrange for their proper distribution. We hope officials and non-officials, irrespective of any existing differences, will join hands in the work of humanity and organise relief on an adequate scale all over the country.

Indian Labourers in Malaya.

IN the course of the very interesting account which Sir Rabindranath Tagore gave of his recent visit to China, he contrasted the condition of the Indian Labourers in Malaya with that of the Chinese

labourers there, much to the latter's advantage. He said:

The Chinese did nothing by which they humiliated either themselves or their country. They went there as poor people but have grown rich by their industrious habits. Whereas labourers from Madras were leading a contemptible life. They rested content with working as coolies and by their action they made the whole Indian people go by the name of coolie. If they earned 70 cents, 40 cents went to the Sardar. So they remained indigent to the end of their lives and could never improve the condition either of themselves or their descendants in such a manner as to rise above slavery. The cause of the difference in the condition of the Chinese labourer and the Indian labourer lay in the spirit of distrust, disunity and petty selfishness and want of love for each other, which existed among the Madras immigrants.

It is unfortunately too true that the bulk of Indian emigrants being unskilled labourers who went out on the indentured system, the prestige of the whole nation has been very much lowered by them. But we are not sure that for this they are so much to blame as their educated brethren who have hitherto not done their duty by them. Only the other day we pointed out that it was not an Indian organisation but the Y. M. C. A. which deputed a worker to Fiji to help the Indians there. Malaya is somewhat better than distant colonies in that it has a fair proportion of educated Indians. We should blame them and people here more than the ignorant and depressed labourers there, who cannot be expected to understand their responsibility to their mother country. What Indians in the colonies very badly need is leadership, and those who are keen on raising the international prestige of India cannot do better than organise a mission of education to the various colonies. Dr. Tagore is reported to have also said that his friend Mr. Andrews, who is now in Malaya studying the condition of Indian labourers there, and others would blame the capitalists but he did not agree with them. If as he said the Indian labourer's wage is 70 cents out of which 40 cents go to the coolie Sardar, than the capitalist employers are surely not free from blame. We have however our doubt about the facts as mentioned by the poet. We should like them to be verified by the agent of the Government of India, Rai Sahab Arulanandam Pillai, who has recently been sent there from Madras. He made a name for himself in the Co-operative and Labour Departments of Madras and is now trying to secure a higher wage for Indian labourers in Malaya and also to start co-operative Societies for them. We are sure that far as it lies

in his power he will remedy the defects pointed out by Dr. Tagore.

* * *

Swarajist Reasoning. IN Mr. C. R. Das's opinion, given in a signed article in *Forward* of the 26th inst., the effect of the new rule permitting the inclusion of refused grants in supplementary budgets is to be interpreted as follows:

"The control of the Council over the transferred departments was the main ground for the belief maintained by some people that the Reforms Act after all provided for some small beginning of self-government. This control consisted in the right of the Council to vote out the budget of the transferred departments. That right is now practically destroyed by the added rule. I welcome this amendment as it destroys that false security upon which the system of Diarchy claimed to thrive. So Diarchy is dead."

Accustomed to much subtlety as we are in Swarajist reasoning, we were not prepared for such a big jump on Mr. Das's part. The promulgation of the new rule only amounts to a recognition of the imperfection of the rules hitherto in force regarding supplementary grants—an imperfection which was brought home to the Government by that peculiar form of non-co-operation which sought the aid of the highest Law Court of the satanic Government itself. If the refused grants were not to be submitted to the Council for reconsideration, but were restored by executive authority, Mr. Das's interpretation might have been right. As it is, if the supplementary grants be passed, as we hope they will be, the only legitimate conclusion will be the waning of Swarajist influence and the return of good sense to the Council.

* * *

Swarajist Swagger. THE Swarajist's policy is said to differ from that of the Liberals in two points: first, that the Swarajists concentrate their efforts on the winning of *Swaraj*, leaving administrative reforms like the separation of the judicial from executive functions to take care for themselves; secondly, that they pitch their demand for essential reforms higher. Since, however, the ban on the Swarajists making constructive proposals in the legislatures was removed, we find them engaged on pitiful little things: one member asks for an improvement in the conditions governing the giving of passports; another seeks permission to see annual reports of departmental heads! Even on these petty things the Swarajist demands are much too modest. And yet the Swarajist friends do not seem to realise how utterly inconsistent this anxiety to get some slight reforms accepted or minor disabilities relaxed is with their profession of complete indifference to constitutional reforms, on the ground that these reforms are of a too restricted character. In fact, in the Bombay Council the other day the Swarajists cut a very sorry figure when these gentlemen, threatening to obstruct Government at every step because full self-government has not been not conceded, went on their knees praying Government to constitute District Advisory

Councils, which were merely to discuss questions that the Collector might bring up before them at his discretion, the final disposal of these questions again being left to him. The pathetic faith which these members display in such advisory bodies, depending for their very life on the good-will of the Collector, betrays their true character in an unmistakable manner, and when they issue threats that they would walk out of the Councils if complete responsible government is not established, their swagger only excites an amused contempt.

* * *

Good Advice. IT is not to be wondered at, though very much to be regretted, that the

leaders of the depressed classes who are so inexperienced in public life, should fall easy victims to the die-hard British politicians. The other day Mr. Gavai, who as nominated member of the C. P. Council is doing quite good work, read an address to the Governor at Buldana on behalf of his community, in which it was said that before a Royal Commission was sent out to India to recommend further constitutional advance,

"An entirely separate and impartial Royal Commission should first be appointed to investigate the conditions of the submerged classes of India and to reveal to the world the weight of religious, social and political disabilities which generations of our countrymen have imposed upon us and consequently the necessity of providing us with adequate safeguards against the danger of being relegated to the position from which the enlightened rule of British Government has slowly raised us."

In a sympathetic reply Sir Frank Sly pointed out that, so far as supposed political disabilities were concerned, the political rights of the Mahars under the Reforms scheme were exactly the same as the political rights of any other community and that the facts regarding the community were well known and admitted by all parties, so that no Royal Commission was necessary. He advised them not to ask for special favours or special exemptions as such concessions would really be a set-back to the progress of the community. "The real road to progress lies not in antagonism to other castes but in education and in raising your special standards of living." This is the advice that any real well-wisher of theirs would give.

* * *

We heartily welcome the *All India Trade Union Bulletin*, published from the Servants of India Society's Home, Sandhurst Road, Girgaum, Bombay, under the Editorship of Messrs. N. M. Joshi, M. L. A. and R. R. Bakhale. Having Mr. Joshi as its editor, the journal needs no further recommendation from us to the public. It has started very modestly, being a monthly of only four pages, devoted to a bare mention of facts, and its annual subscription is only one rupee. We hope support from trade unions and the general public will soon enable it increase its pages and expand its scope, as both workmen and to general public are badly in need of correct information and responsible guidance in labour matters. The journal proposes to serve as a kind of Labour Directory, publishing from time to time a list of trade unions in India and their office-bearers. It will also act as an information bureau in respect of labour movement in India. "Its Editors will gladly supply to trade unions and to those interested in labour, such information on labour questions as they may desire to have and as may be available in the *Bulletin's* office." We hope it will soon grow from a "Bulletin" into a

"Labour Monthly" and have a long and useful career.

* * *

MR. THOMAS often speaks of developing Kenya on the West African model; but he must have now realised that it is an empty form of words. So long as the white highlands remain the dominating factor of Kenya politics, the West African model of the native developing into an independent producer, having an exclusive legal title to the whole of the land, is an impossibility. And we dare not hope even the East African Committee to alter the white highlands policy. Not to speak of expropriating the European settlers from the land of which they have despoiled the native, it is a matter for serious doubt whether in native reserves the natives will be left free to live their own lives. Why, at this moment there is a great rejoicing among white settlers of Tanganyika because Sir Horace Byatt, the Governor, has been transferred to another Colony. The principal reason for the ex-Governor's unpopularity is that he encouraged the natives to grow coffee, and declined to constitute a Legislative Council which, in the circumstances, will be dominated by the whites. Sir Horace naturally felt that such a pro-white and anti-native policy as the whites required of him could not be allowed to have sway in a country administered under the League of Nations, which is pledged to maintain equality between all sections of the population. In Kenya, on the contrary, natives are discouraged—to speak euphemistically—to grow coffee. When a question was asked in Parliament about this, Mr. Thomas answered that the local Government thought it was not to the economic advantage of natives to grow this crop. From the opposition of the whites in Tanganyika, however, where natives have taken successfully to this crop, it would seem that their objection is not after all so altruistic, but it may be the very utilitarian one, that it would create for them serious competitors. It can well be imagined from this whether Mr. Thomas's dream of natives owning all the land in Kenya and cultivating it on their own account instead of hiring themselves out for wages is at all likely to be realised, even with the help of his East African Committee.

* * *

Chaudhari Lal Chand. Regarding Chaudhari Lal Chand, the Punjab Minister who was unseated a few days ago as the result of an election enquiry, the *Tribune* understands, "on what appears to be very good authority, that the Commissioners have found as the result of their enquiry that Chaudhari Lal Chand personally abetted three cases of false personation in securing his election and that his agents were responsible for a larger number of cases." Being thus guilty of corrupt practices, he is under disqualification for seeking re-election, but as the Governor can condone any disqualification, the *Tribune* further understands "that serious efforts are being made in interested quarters to have the disqualification condoned and that several prominent officials are interesting themselves in the matter." If the facts be as reported by the *Tribune*—and we do not see any reason for doubt—they reveal a scandalous state of affairs, though we have every confidence in Sir Malcolm Hailey's clear-sightedness. It is a matter which is keenly exercising the public mind in the Punjab, and we join our contemporary in hoping that His Excellency will set its fears at rest by making an immediate announcement of his decision in the matter.

ANNEXATION OF TANGANYIKA HIGHLANDS.

THE movement for incorporating Tanganyika highlands into Kenya Colony is gaining in volume and intensity. More settler meetings are being held in Tanganyika, and the Kenya Europeans have themselves taken up the question in right earnest. The Convention of Associations which is rightly regarded as a "White Man's Parliament" of Kenya Colony, has passed a resolution asking for the absorption of four districts of ex-German East Africa into Kenya. To Indians it would be hard to understand how it would at all be possible for any serious-minded persons to demand an alteration in the boundaries of a mandated area. If a country which receives a mandate for the administration of territory formerly belonging to Germany holds it in trust for the League of Nations, it would appear as sheer madness to ask that part of this territory should be added on to the extent of that country. And, anyhow, one would think that if some people can be so mad as to demand it, such a request would be rejected out of hand by the League of Nations, and indeed that there must be some provision in the mandate, if not in the Covenant of the League itself, forbidding such a possible extension of the limits of the mandatory Power. The fact, however, is that, not only is there no such prohibition, but on the contrary there is a provision making it possible to detach part of the mandated area and amalgamate it with the dominions of the mandatory Power. In regard to Tanganyika, e. g., Article 10 of the British mandate for that country given to England says: "The Mandatory shall be authorised to constitute the territory into a customs, fiscal and administrative union or federation with the adjacent territory under his own sovereignty or control; provided always that the measures adopted to that end do not infringe the provisions of the Mandate."

Thus the Mandate expressly provides for the federation of the mandated country with that of the mandatory Power for administrative convenience, but it must not be supposed that any change was meant to be effected either in the trust character of the former when joined on to the latter or in its sovereignty. But what the Tanganyika whites or the Kenya whites desire is not merely a union for some well-defined purposes, but the merging of one into the other, the annexation of the mandated country by the mandatory Power. Now, of course, the whole idea of the mandate is just to prevent such annexation. And if any semblance of the trusteeship principle is to be retained, there should be no formal proposal of annexation. It is of course possible for a mandatory Power to administer a mandated area as if the latter was swept into its dominions, but the character of trusteeship will have maintained in form at least if not in fact. But the one great merit of the Kenya settlers is their engaging frankness. They do not try to conceal their real sentiments under a cloak

of pious phrases; on the contrary, they ask in so many terms for the annexation of Tanganyika highlands to Kenya Colony. Lord Delamere moved this annexation resolution in the Convention of Associations, asking that the highland districts "should be brought under the administration of Kenya as part of the Colony" and in justifying the motion, he said the demand for the addition of four districts in Tanganyika highlands to Kenya was being made, because it was feared that "Tanganyika might be restored to Germany." He observed that capital was shy and consequently the development of the country could not proceed from this fear. Thus what the settlers desire to achieve by such a change in the boundaries is to ensure that the highland portion of Tanganyika at any rate would remain for all time under British administration, and under British suzerainty. But there were some quibblers at this meeting, and they feared that there might arise some technical difficulties if Great Britain laid claim formally to a sovereignty over Tanganyika Territory. In order to respect the sensibilities of such sticklers for law, Lord Delamere then suggested that they might "make two bites" of annexation. Kenya Colony might ask, first, for the transfer of the mandate for Tanganyika to itself, as, e. g. the Union of South Africa holds a mandate for the administration of the territory of South West Africa. This last-mentioned mandate is of the C class allowing for the administration of the mandated country as an integral portion of the territory of the Mandatory Power. This of course differs only in form from annexation, and Lord Delamere is astute enough to understand that if only the mandate for Tanganyika which is of the B class were converted into one of the C class his object would be virtually attained. He therefore suggested that the B mandate for these areas in Tanganyika should be transferred to Kenya, that "it be gradually improved into a C class mandate and finally full incorporation would come about automatically." Thus annexation was to be reached in two steps instead of one: first the "improvement" of B into C mandate, and then full absorption.

It would not be without interest to see if, when the white settlers made this proposal, they thought of the natives. When the cession of Jubaland to Italy was being considered, the whites made great play with the native interests. They asked, "How can we transfer a tract of country from one Power to another, without ascertaining the wishes of the African natives, whose interests must be regarded as paramount?" When they asked such a question, they of course assumed that the one heart's desire of the natives was to remain under British rule and that they cordially hated going over to any other country. But have the natives of Tanganyika any reason to prefer the Kenya Colony administration to that which obtains in Tanganyika at present? And have they any reason to prefer a C mandate to a B mandate, particularly when the former leads automatically to the final annexation

of the country to Kenya? A European settler actually advanced the argument that such was the case. The natives were anxious to be included in Kenya area, he said, in order to be under a stable government. Their trouble was that they had no security of tenure at present. But would it be a particular comfort to the natives to be assured that, instead of being temporarily under the administration of the League of Nations, they would be permanently under the Kenya Colony's government, which is known to exploit the natives in a most cruel manner? Apart from the fact that the treatment meted out to the natives in Kenya colony is harsh and barbarous, it should be remembered that a mandate of the C class avowedly admits of an inferior standard of treatment in regard to the natives than does the B class. For instance, Lord Olivier says: "The danger of a tendency to introduce forced labour has, in the mandate for Tanganyika Territory, been satisfactorily guarded. It is not clear, however, that such precise safeguards exist in regard to other African territories which have been assigned to France, Belgium, Portugal, or Great Britain under mandates of class C." We know however (as we showed by quoting a statement of a white settler himself) that this proposal for annexation is brought forward just because it would permit it to institute a system of labour which to all intents and purposes is a system of forced labour. For the present one is glad to know that the British Government is not thinking of asking for the addition of the highland districts of Tanganyika to Kenya, for to a question asked by Sir Robert Hamilton on July 1, Mr. Thomas, Colonial Secretary, answered that the Government did not intend to alter the boundaries of Tanganyika. But what seems rather improbable now may become probable some time hence, and therefore we had better be on our guard against this matter. But anyhow the discussion of this question reveals the mentality of the European settlers and it shows what interpretation they put upon the principle of native trusteeship which was invoked by His Majesty's Government to defeat India's just claims.

NORTH WEST FRONTIER.—VI.* WRONG AND RIGHT POLICIES.

ANOTHER form that "the keeping of tribesmen in good temper" assumes is the grant of allowances and pensions to tribal chiefs and headmen. These allowances are ostensibly granted in lieu of such services, as loyalty, good conduct, abstention from offences, protection of roads, assistance in raising Khassadars (a kind of local militia), maintenance of order in the Agency areas, restoration of stolen property by their respective tribes, refusal of passage or shelter to offenders in British Territory, etc., etc. Nothing more could be desired in this direc-

* Previous articles in this series appeared in the issues of May 29, June 26, July 3, 17, and 24.

tion. But the question that I would put, and would like the public to put, to the Foreign Department is, are these services expected from the tribesmen ever performed? Are the tribal chiefs and headmen in receipt of allowances really loyal to Government, or do they treat these allowances as merely a hush money. Do these chiefs bear good conduct, and do they really abstain from committing offences? I find that in the Frontier areas the cost of maintaining roads is abnormally high. Is it not due to the fact that there is wanton destruction of roads by tribesmen? Is this the sort of protection of roads the tribal chiefs offer to us? The tribal chiefs may have been assisting us in raising local militias; but can we rely upon these forces? In these militia forces the tribesmen get military training in modern warfare at our expense and at the time of foreign danger, what help do they render us? They desert us at the critical moment. They turn against the British. They loot British arsenals. They attack British cantonments. Let the Government of India consult its records in the Military department and the Foreign department on the occasion of the last Afghan war of 1919. And do these tribes refuse passage and shelter to offenders in British districts? I find many such offenders are always wanted by the magistrates of the Frontier districts, and it is known that these offenders are under the shelter of tribesmen. The Criminal Justice Administration Reports and the Border Administration Reports of the Frontier province amply show that the payment of these allowances is worse than useless. It is absolutely futile to maintain peace and order on the border by these methods. These allowances have not helped in raising the standard of life among the Pathans. Abundance of money among them has not made them spend it on luxuries. Easy acquisition of wealth has not made them contented and peaceful. It has not made them give up their predatory habits. Every rupee of the allowances received by these tribesmen is at present spent in the purchase of arms and ammunition. The more the Government pays in these allowances, the more the tribesmen become armed to the teeth. The more these people become armed, the more they stand in the way of the maintenance of peace and order in the settled districts of India. The methods of personal influence, persuasion, threats and bribes have, I believe, failed. The method of controlling trans-border men by putting on them pressure in our Jirgas and British Courts of law has also failed. In our Courts of Justice we have denied justice to the permanent residents of our own settled districts under the false and imaginary hope of conciliating the wild, ferocious and brutal residents of the trans-border. These questionable means, these morally indefensible methods, should have never been employed by the civilised rulers of India. If in pursuance of its Forward Policy the Government of India want to gain control over the wild tribesmen living in between the Durand Line and the borders of the

settled districts, by political methods rather than military occupation, let their political and diplomatic weapons not injure the permanent residents of the settled districts. Let these political weapons be confined only to the tribal areas.

Instead of using personal influence, persuasion, etc., and by bringing pressure on trans-border men in British Courts of Law, I believe, we should try to control the tribesmen by building roads in their areas. Instead of spoiling the health of our troops in the extremely hot and sultry climate of cantonments on the banks of the Indus, or in the lowlands of the settled districts we should improve their health by cantoning them in the colder climate of the heights of the Suleman, along which runs the Durand Line. From a military and political point of view also it is better that our troops should be quite near that line. If that had been the case in the past, it would have not been possible for any General Nadir Khan to approach and occupy, without any hitch, our Indian railhead in the lowlands at Thal, in Kohat district. At present our big cantonments are at Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu, and Dera Ismail Khan. The climate of all these places is very hot. Would it not be better to establish big cantonments in the colder places of Chitral, Landi Kotal, Parachinar, Miran Shah and Wana? At present these places are garrisoned only by the locally raised militias. Only small garrisons need be retained in the older cantonments of Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan. By establishing permanently large garrisons at the stations of Chitral, Landi Kotal, Parachinar, Miran Shah and Wana, we shall be able to defend our frontiers along the Durand Line much better, we shall be keeping our troops much healthier, we shall be controlling the tribesmen in the Agency areas more effectively, and we will do away with the present necessity of the Political officers interfering, for political considerations, with the course of ordinary justice in the British Courts of the settled districts.

In order to make feasible the scheme of having large garrisons of British troops established at Chitral, Landi Kotal, Parachinar, Miran Shah and Wana, we shall have to build good roads through the tribal areas. The existence of roads in the tribal areas will open up this wild tract to civilisation, and that in itself will help a good deal in pacifying the country, and in settling down the tribesmen in peaceful occupations of workmen, tradesmen, and transporters of goods. When easy communications have been established in these tribal areas, small industries may spring up in the roadside villages, where teachers and doctors may also establish themselves, to hold up the torch of civilisation. I am glad the Government have already taken steps in the direction of building roads and constructing railways in these tracts. The Khaiber Railway will be completed in about fifteen months more. It is also desirable that, in North Eastern Baluchistan, the metre gauge line from Khana, near Bostan, to Hindu-

bagh be extended to Fort Sandeman on the Zhob river. In the Dera Ismail Khan district there is already a metre gauge line to Tank, coming from Kalabagh. This line is being extended from Tank to Kaur and Khirgi. Possibilities of a railway connection between Tank Kaur and Fort Sandeman may also be enquired into. If such a connection is possible, we can then have a direct railway connection between Baluchistan and North West Frontier Province. This would provide us with a direct railway line between Quetta and Bannu, and enable Government not only to defend the Frontier effectively but also to control the tribesmen all along the border. Another railway, the possibilities of which must be enquired into at a very early date, is between Bannu and Kohat and between Kohat and Peshawar. If a railway between Bannu and Kohat proves too expensive, we may have an alternative connection between Bannu and Thal. The Government have also, I am glad to find, embarked on the policy of constructing metalled roads in the tribal areas. In South Waziristan we will shortly have a road communication of about 110 miles. In North Waziristan we have a road communication of about 130 miles. In the Kurrum Agency the total road length is 61 miles, and in Swat about 27 miles. All these roads are metalled. In Bir and Chitral we have only unmetalled roads. From the railway head at Dargai, Chitral appears to be about 330 miles, out of which less than 30 miles are metalled. An early opportunity should be taken to metal the entire length of this road. Arrangements could be easily made with the Mehtar of Chitral, and the chiefs of Swat. There are at present, no roads in Buner, Bajaur and Tirah, not even unmetalled roads. The policy of constructing roads in the tribal areas should therefore be pushed forward with greater force, for on this depends the pacification of the entire tract. If all this is done, then in that case I am sure the Foreign department of the Government of India will not need to have control over the civil administration of the settled districts in the North West Frontier.

The policy of controlling the trans-border tribes by personal influence, persuasion, threats, or bribes has failed, and should now no longer be continued. This policy should give place to a policy of Peaceful Penetration of Agency Areas, under which Government should undertake the task of constructing roads and railways in the Agency Areas, of encouraging, wherever possible, fruit industry in the tracts and of investigating, wherever possible, the possibilities of establishing mining industries in the tribal lands. It is said Chitral is very rich in mineral resources, and so must be the other tribal tracts as well. We are told 5,000 Pathan labourers are at present engaged on the construction works of the Khaiber Railway alone. If road construction, railway construction, fruit industry, mining industry, and some other industries, connected, say, with the Military department,

are undertaken by the State, and pushed forward with sufficient force, I am sure sufficient work will be provided for the tribal Pathans in their own Agency Areas. This will also do away with the necessity of these people visiting the settled districts in such large numbers in the winter season.

GULSHAN RAI.

INDIAN LABOUR ORGANIZATION.—III.

TRADE UNIONS are based on the principle of common action and the strength of organised numbers tells in overcoming moral as well as physical difficulties. In the course of this paper we had occasion to mention in several places the various drawbacks of Indian workmen such as ignorance, inefficiency and improvidence. We also suggested the ways in which these evils could to a certain extent be remedied by the action of the state and the employers. But the best that these can do will be too little if the workers do not make an independent effort to secure their own all-sided uplift. The need for an all round improvement of labour is so great that any multiplication of organisations for securing the removal of each of the evils will only reduce the chances of ultimate success. The Trade Union is no doubt an organisation of economic nature, but the chief drawbacks above indicated also bear very closely on the economics of labour. Hence, we suggest that the labour unions should take independent action in as many fields of beneficent action as possible. Where the employers or the state have already shouldered the main burden of an ameliorative process, it should be the concern of Trade Unions to help them. Thus the various statutes constituting labour legislation have created so many rights for the Indian workers. Ignorant as they are, they may sometimes allow their illegal harrassment at the hands of certain unscrupulous masters. Very possibly there might be others who are so heedless of their own ultimate interest that they consent to their own illegal exploitation. In both these cases it should be the duty of the union to inform all the workers of their legitimate rights and to help them—sometimes to compel them—to benefit by these. Then we have suggested various ways in which the employers can further the welfare of their workers. They might open night schools and elementary schools, but the work of persuading workmen to attend them will chiefly lie with the unions. In the interest of their own development the unions will do well to help on and supplement the action of employers in this respect. As more and more members become literate they will be induced and enabled to take a more and more intelligent interest in the affairs of the union. By practice and experience their own faculties will develop and the outside man will no longer be a necessity.

Then in regard to sickness allowances, we have already suggested that an insurance scheme should be adopted by the state on the lines of the Workmen's Compensation Act, and that the

employers should make free arrangements for attending to the medical needs of their employees, including the female and child sections. But the action of both these must be supplemented by Trade Union action if the relief is to be at all adequate. The membership of the Indian unions is small and likely to continue such for a long time, while the proportion of real and only half-real sickness is very heavy as compared with western labour. In fact there is very strong reason for the apprehension that a substantial sickness allowance will place a premium upon assumed illness in this country where the worker is already denounced as lethargic. This apprehension is perhaps a far-fetched one, but it is better that the unions, which have a greater opportunity to know the exact position, should be prepared not only to help the discrimination between deserving and false cases but to add a stipendiary allowance of their own. Similar allowances, the amounts of which can of course be fixed by the resources at the disposal of the union, must also be started for funerals and maternity cases. But the greatest service that unions, and unions alone, can give is in the direction of overcoming the improvidence of the workers. For putting down evil habits such as drinking and gambling there is no agency more powerful than the censure of the social group in which the daily life of the worker is to pass. Indeed the social and caste boycott of old days was the most effective restraint on the unbridled action of the individuals. In a cosmopolitan and unwieldy state, such as the Government in this country is fast tending to be, it is too much to hope that these evils will be effectively put down by law. In the interest of their own members the Trade Unions must enforce the social action of old days, by invoking the whole combined strength of the union. The mere abolition of drink evil will do much to overcome the improvidence of workers. But in addition the Trade Unions might as well form themselves into co-operative societies for various purposes. Each union might on a small scale be a credit and stores society, both branches being worked on separate lines. For the purpose of such action as cannot be profitably or conveniently taken by the small union societies, the unions themselves might form a special union for a definite purpose. This interlocking between the usual operations of the Trade Unions and the peculiar services of credit and distributive co-operation is not specially to be dreaded in as much as self-help and common action are the essentials of both. But the general course of the co-operative movement in this country has taken a peculiar form under the guidance of the state and for that reason similar activities on the part of the Trade Unions may very well be kept apart. Only the Registration Act that is to come should allow the Unions to undertake credit and distributive business for its members as a legitimate field of its labour. By making labour less ignorant and more prudent and efficient the Trade Union movement

will derive greater and greater strength for itself, and further the interest of all concerned in the industrial development of the nation.

The labour movements in all countries have been the inevitable consequence of modern industrial organisation. Beginning with the purely economic end of bettering their material condition and being thwarted in this legitimate attempt by the capitalist states, they gradually imbibed a deep bias against the governments of the day. In England, and more recently in Italy, this dissatisfaction led Labour to struggle for political supremacy as a means of securing their economic emancipation. In this they have proved triumphantly successful. In other countries, especially in France, the hatred of the state took the form of a revolutionary movement, whose objective is to end the state. The chances of ultimate success for this school are indeed remote, but what incalculable mischief they may inflict upon the peaceful progress of the community is well illustrated by the recent history of Russia. In India fortunately the state and the employers, by taking early remedial action represented by the mass of labour legislation and the welfare activities of our industrialists, have taken away the main grounds of bitterness. The improvements suggested, e. g., the raising of age limits of children, the creation of a class of young persons, prohibition of female underground labour, eventual reduction of daily working hours to eight, extension of the insurance proposals to domestic servants and to cases of sickness, will, if adopted, prepare the atmosphere for an independent and genuine labour movement to develop in this country. The attitude of the state and the employers towards that movement has been on the whole sympathetic, and under proper precautions a measure of compulsory registration, conferring essential privileges, will not evoke much opposition from the latter. The best among them are already doing a great deal towards improving the moral and material position of their workers, and thanks to the collective efforts such as the All-India Industrial Welfare Conference, organised by the Servants of India Society in 1922, the large body of employers is fast following in their footsteps. In the meanwhile the workers leave much to be desired in their own independent action. Genuine labour organisations aiming at the all-round improvement of labour have been suggested which will keep the peculiarly Indian conditions ever before their eyes. Such all-sided progress will not fail to secure for labour its legitimate share of the all too few good things of the world that are produced in this country. Fortunately for us, the large mass of agricultural proprietors and timely action by the state and employers will combine to limit the activities of Trade Unions within their legitimate and proper field, namely, the economic advancement of Indian labour.

D. G. KABRE.

OPIUM POLICY.—VI.

EXPORT.

EVEN more than internal consumption, the export of Indian opium has come under the vehement condemnation of the anti-opium reformers. There was just cause for it long ago when Indian opium was actually forced on China. But since 1907 there has been a radical change in the opium export policy of the British Indian Government. Writing with full knowledge of the present policy, Mr. Andrews observes in the April issue of the *Indian Review*: "To-day it is a standing scandal in the Far East that the British Government in India still grows poppy for this traffic and still supplies monopoly opium for the smoking dens of Singapore and Hongkong." According to him, India "insists" on exporting opium which "has been able easily to pass through their (Articles of the Hague Convention) meshes and to escape scot free. The literal text of the Articles has been kept while their spirit has been broken." Mr. F. E. James in the December issue of the *Young Men of India* affirms definitely "that this export of quantities of opium to the Eastern ports is wrong" and earnestly pleads, "Let material considerations, for once take second place." The Rev. William Paton in the February issue of the *National Christian Review* asks, "Will the world believe that in maintaining an opium monopoly in Singapore no regard is being had to the financial profit of India?" and answers the question himself: "We do not know whether this is or is not, we merely assert that no one outside Britain will believe that it is so." He further remarks, "Legally and on accepted canons of governmental action we do not think the action of the Government can be challenged," but reminds it "that there are other considerations than finance or what other nations have done or are doing." Mr. Badrul Hussain, who evidently has not shaken off the obsession of the extinct Indo-China trade and its ethics, gravely observes: "For considerations of revenue, it (the Government of India) has found this loophole (sale of opium to the British Colonies) to go back upon its solemn agreement with the Chinese Government." Miss La Motte has blazoned out in extra thick type the following words: "Importance of safeguarding this important source of revenue" used by the Inchaup Committee in concluding its recommendations on the opium department. Thus the anti-opium reformers, while admitting that the Government of India's conduct is technically correct, accuse it of promoting opium export and of defeating restrictions thereon, for the sake of the revenue it brings. As against all these accusations, the Government protests that it had honestly and cheerfully carried out all international obligations and what is more, even anticipated and improved on these obligations. The Government did not allow financial considerations to dictate its policy. Let us examine these contentions in the light of relevant facts.

The central fact that governs the discussion is that exported Indian opium is mostly used for smoking, principally by the Chinese in the Far Eastern countries. For all practical purposes it is not used in the manufacture of alkaloids which have a medical use. There is, therefore, no disguising the fact that Indian export opium is used for smoking and smoking alone. Now the Hague Convention called for the "effective suppression" of opium smoking. Therefore opium-smoking, and as a corollary, the manufacture and export of raw opium admittedly for smoking, is "illegitimate" according to the Convention. The Convention, however, diluted this unequivocal condemnation of opium-smoking by allowing a "gradual" suppression with "due regard to the varying circumstances of each country concerned." It left it to each country when to declare opium-smoking illegitimate by law and suppress it. So far no other country, than China and India, has done so. We have thus a curious situation inasmuch as opium-smoking is *rationaly* illegitimate but not *legally* illegitimate in certain countries, according to the Convention itself. Last year the American delegation attempted to get the Advisory Committee on Opium to do away with the contradiction and declare that opium-smoking was immediately illegitimate, but failed. The following countries, France, Germany, Great Britain, Japan, the Netherlands, Portugal and Siam, made a reservation that "the use of prepared opium and the production, export, and import of raw opium for that purpose are legitimate so long as that use is subject to and in accordance with the provisions of Chapter II of the Convention." India was not a party to this reservation. India put no obstacle in the way of the suppression of opium-smoking, rather welcomed it.

Under the existing circumstances, two views are possible on the export question. Since opium-smoking is still legally legitimate in certain countries, it is also legitimate to export opium for that purpose provided the provisions of part II of the Convention are strictly observed; and since opium-smoking is *rationaly* illegitimate according to the Convention, the export of opium admittedly for smoking purposes is illegitimate. The Government of India takes the first view and the opium reformers the latter.

Let us examine the Government's policy from both points view and see how far the charge that it insists on exporting opium for the sake of money is substantiated. The Hague Convention of 1912, which was shelved during the War and only brought into operation in 1920, called for, among other things, the control of the export of raw opium so as to respect the prohibition or restriction policies of other countries. The precise method of such control was suggested by the League of Nations and is known as the Import Certificate system, by which no opium is to be sold by a producing country to a merchant of a consuming country unless he produces a certificate from his Government cert-

tying that the opium is required for legitimate purposes. Now all these obligations are being carried out by the Government of India. The export is solely carried on by the Government of India. The Indian States have no part in it. No opium is sent to any country which prohibits its import; none is sent in excess of any country's stated requirements; and none is sold to private merchants unless they produce Import Certificates from their Governments. No "prepared opium" for smoking, whose export is also prohibited by the Hague Convention, is exported.

These policies are perfectly useless unless they are efficiently carried out. The Government of India claims to do so. Mr. John Campbell, India's representative on the Opium Advisory Committee, repeatedly asserted at its fifth session in June last year, that the efficiency of the administrative arrangements of the Indian Government had never been challenged, and he gave "an absolute guarantee that no quantity in excess of the amount demanded and covered by a Government Certificate would leave the shores of India." This may seem to be an extravagant claim. But we have seen already how highly flattering to the efficiency of the Government of India was the testimony of Miss La Motte. And it is further corroborated by the fact that no cases of seizure of illicit traffic in Indian opium have so far been reported to or by the League of Nations which is now regularly publishing all such seizures. We can therefore, be fairly certain that no international illicit traffic in Indian opium worth mentioning exists. We may, however, mention in passing that India is in danger of foreign drugs and opium being smuggled in. German drugs were seized in Calcutta in Sept. 1923 and quite recently a huge haul of contraband Chinese opium was reported from Rangoon.

That the conduct of the Government of India is both correct and efficient is not disputed by the anti-opium reformers. They, however, doubt its *bona fides* when it protests sincerity and honesty and freedom from financial dictation of its policy. What are the facts? In 1911, only four years after the Indian Government had agreed to stop opium export to China in ten years, the Government of India introduced a system of special certificates for opium earmarked for China and limited the export to non-China markets to 14,000 chests, and reduced it to 13,200 chests in 1912, so as to leave no surplus for re-export or smuggling into China. Thus in May 1911, before the Hague Convention called for only control of export, the Indian Government anticipated the principles of rationing, special certificates, and limitation of export of opium. In 1915, amidst the preoccupations of the Great War, the Indian Government initiated and has since steadily fostered the system of selling direct to Governments of consuming countries in preference to private individuals. The following figures taken from "Statistics of British India" and Budget notes, show in chests of 140½ lbs. the extent of the export trade and the relative proportion of sales to Governments.

Year.	To Govts.	To private merchants.	Total.
1911-12	530	26,330	26,860
1912-13	nil	17,890	17,890
1913-14	70	9,000	9,070
1914-15	950	10,648	11,598
1915-16	2,640	10,020	12,660
1916-17	4,715	9,129	13,844
1917-18	8,274	4,264	12,538
1918-19	8,666	5,102	13,768
1919-20	7,797	3,600	11,397
1920-21	7,877	1,550	9,427
1921-22	6,720	835	7,555
1922-23	5,946	2,890	8,836
1923-24	5,324	2,950	8,274

The advantage of this system was that the Governments of the purchasing countries were publicly held responsible to limit their imports for legitimate purposes and see that there was no re-export. This is certainly not only an anticipation of, but an improvement on, the Import Certificate system of the League of Nations. It is interesting to learn that Sir Malcolm Delevingne of the British Home office, and representative of the British Empire on the Opium Advisory Committee was the author of the Import Certificate system. Nobody, neither private merchants nor Governments, is under any obligation, diplomatic or otherwise, to purchase Indian opium. Mr. Campbell however stated that if any Government wanted Indian Opium it must buy the bulk of its requirements from the Government of India. Though his defence that this was not commercial is unsatisfactory, there is nothing wrong about it. Importing Governments, even British Colonies, are free, as soon as the present contracts fall in, to purchase their opium elsewhere, say Persia and Turkey. As a matter of fact, the Straits Settlements actually obtains part of its requirements from Persia. Formosa decreased its import of Indian opium from 1150 chests in 1919 to 50 in 1922 and imported 88,760 Kgs. of it from the United States in 1920. Mr. Campbell reiterated at the fifth session of the Advisory Committee last year that the Government of India would accept whatever reductions, even amounting to prohibition, the consuming countries might think proper to impose. He said, "The Indian Government always reduced its exports in accordance with the reduced demands of any country. It wished for nothing better than that the consuming countries should set their houses in order and demand less opium."

The Government of India goes further still. In the words of Mr. Campbell, "a colony was expected to justify an increase and in practice a reasoned statement was usually submitted to the Indian Government. On the receipt of this statement, the Indian Government checked it by means of any information which it might have in its possession and the normal practice was for the India Office to discuss the matter with the Colonial Office. As a result of the discussion, a figure was agreed upon and the details were settled between the Colony concerned and the Indian Government." Mr. Campbell stated also that in the new agreement that was then being negotiated with Portugal regarding the export of Indian opium to Macao, he understood the Government of India had stated that it would not supply any opium to Macao except for internal consumption there, while the Portuguese delegate stated that the Portuguese Government had submitted counter proposals asking to be allowed to re-export! Thus the Indian Government acts more as a check on the consuming Governments than otherwise. We fail to see in

these arrangements any obligation or desire on the part of the consuming countries, British or other, to buy Indian opium for the sake of adding to the Indian revenues. If these Governments were so obliging, the Government of India would have saved itself from the odium of doubling the salt tax in 1923 by the simple process of selling more opium—a procedure which would hardly have been objected to by the Indian Legislative Assembly as it was then constituted.

Far from the League of Nations denouncing the export policy of India, its own policy would increase the demand for Indian export. With a view to induce recalcitrant countries which had failed to ratify the Hague Convention and adopt the Import Certificate system, the Assembly recommended in 1921 that countries which had ratified the Convention should not permit the import of opium from countries which had not so ratified; and asked the Advisory Committee to consider the suggestion further. The indirect result of this recommendation, if acted upon, would be that all countries who have ratified the Convention would be obliged to buy all their opium from India alone. The Netherlands representative in the fifth session of the Opium Advisory Committee apprehended that the Government of India might take undue advantage of the virtual monopoly thus created by the action of the League itself in favour of India, and desired that either the Government of India should supply all the opium requirements of all the concerned countries, British or other, at a uniform price of Rs. 4000 per chest, or that these Governments should be free to purchase their opium from other countries. Mr. Campbell whereupon observed that "his country in no sense proposed the adoption of the proposal but if unanimity on it were attained by the consuming Governments, then he would be prepared to suggest to his Government that it should agree to sell opium to those Governments at a price not exceeding that now charged—namely, Rs. 4000 rupees a chest." The Committee finally decided to discuss the question at its next meeting.

Mr. Campbell explained the Government of India's attitude frankly and fully at the fifth session of the Opium Advisory Committee, at which were present Sir John Jordan and Mrs. Hamilton Wright as Assessors. Not even the most rabid anti-opium reformer will ever dream of doubting the sincerity and the competency of these two great personages in the cause of opium reform. Neither of these challenged any of the statements of Mr. Campbell. Neither of these was biased in favour of India. Sir John repeatedly attacked India in the earlier meetings and even at the fifth meeting, as partly responsible for the failure of opium reform in the Far East; a charge that Mr. Campbell on behalf of India indignantly repudiated. When, however, he felt convinced from the repeated protestations of Mr. Campbell that the "Indian Government was prepared to say that it did not want them (the consuming countries) to have any opium at all," he changed his mind and said that, "in his opinion, the attitude of the Government of India was perfectly justified." Mrs. Hamilton Wright was more enthusiastic and said, "The attitude of the Indian Government was admirable." Indian public opinion need not have any the least hesitation in accepting Mrs. Wright's opinion and making it its own.

Let us view the question from the other point of view, viz. that export of opium for smoking which is rationally illegitimate according to the Convention, is also illegitimate and the Govern-

ment of India should not be guilty of such conduct. In other words, the Indian Government should refuse to supply opium unless it is satisfied that it is not used for smoking. India has accepted the Convention's view that opium smoking was illegitimate and has illegalised it in India. (We shall consider later how far it is effective in India.) As regards other countries, they must of their own accord follow suit. India cannot illegalise opium smoking in other countries, much less make its prohibition effective there.

There is but one way in which India can help reform in these countries. And that is by exerting pressure through the League of Nations and through the diplomatic channels. India has already declared in the League that it would welcome prohibition. Indian public opinion should support and strengthen this view.

The only other action that the Indian Government can take is to refuse to sell Indian opium. That will not however create any impression on the consuming countries. They will simply step across to other producing countries and obtain their supplies. India can have the satisfaction not of having helped to put down opium-smoking but of having sacrificed its revenue for no purpose.

Now is it worth while? The following figures give the revenue the Government of India obtains from export.

1911-12	...	Rs.	7,48,64,728
1912-13	...	"	4,98,05,735
1913-14	...	"	1,91,92,177
1914-15	...	"	1,87,71,783
1915-16	...	"	2,25,03,225
1916-17	...	"	3,68,31,640
1917-18	...	"	3,20,57,150
1918-19	...	"	3,61,14,814
1919-20	...	"	3,64,94,575
1920-21	...	"	2,92,97,500
1921-22	...	"	2,36,83,908
1922-23	...	"	2,93,03,450
1923-24	...	"	3,23,06,000

Let it be noted that this revenue is no tribute exacted by the Government of India from its helpless prey. However much it might desire to obtain more and more revenue from opium, it is not in a position to secure it. This was recognised by it, when Sir Malcolm Hailey, observed in his Budget speech in 1922. "Clearly our customers in the Far East anticipate decreased consumption as a result of international action." Almost every year the Government budgets for very much less than what it actually realises. Revenue from opium export is clearly a windfall, over which the Government of India has no control. It seems to us absolutely unnecessary and uncalled for that India should sacrifice this amount, particularly in the present financial conditions. And for what is she asked to sacrifice it? Not to ensure opium reform but for the sanctimonious sublimation of the subjective conscience of the Government and people of India! With due deference to the opium reformers, we will unhesitatingly go by Mrs. Wright's view that the conduct of the Government of India in the matter of export is "admirable." We will besides exert all possible pressure through the League of Nations to bring about speedy suppression of opium smoking in the Far East, while fully controlling as efficiently as ever the export to such countries as ask for it themselves.

P. KODANDA RAO.

CORRESPONDENCE

EDUCATION IN THE PUNJAB

TO THE EDITOR, THE SERVANT OF INDIA,

SIR,—In your issue of the 26th June Mr. Sri Ram Sharma has commented on the Punjab Administration Report of 1922-23, and in the course of his comments he says that the chapter on Education is one of the most interesting. He observes as follows:—

"The figures for education are indeed such as the Muhammadan Minister for Education can be well proud of. By the artificial stimulus he has provided by restricting admissions to public schools in favour of the Muhammadans the number of Muhammadan scholars has increased from 2,42,000 in 1921-22 to 3,34,000 in the year under report. This shows an increase of 38 per cent., while the general increase in the same period has been about 24 per cent. The number of Muhammadan scholars has almost doubled in the six years between 1916-17 and 1922-23; while during the period the same increase in the number of Hindu scholars amounts only to 50 per cent."

After stating these facts Mr. Sri Ram Sharma expresses a wish to be able to congratulate the Minister on this achievement, but he refuses to do so on the ground that "this increase shows a decrease in the facilities for education for scholars belonging to other religions."

I regret, Sir, that I cannot congratulate Mr. Sri Ram Sharma or the SERVANT OF INDIA on the above comment for the following reasons.

Firstly, the Minister came into office on the 1st January 1921. Therefore the progress made during the period 1916-17 to 1922-23 can hardly be attributed to his efforts. Secondly, the increase during the year 1922-23 by 92,000 Muslim pupils was in the Primary Department, and Mr. Sri Ram Sharma is entirely wrong in saying that this increase is due to decrease in the facilities for education for scholars belonging to other religions. One is at a loss to understand the logic of the assertion that a larger number of Muhammadan pupils can be admitted into existing institutions by reducing facilities for education for pupils belonging to other religions. As a matter of fact in the Punjab no restriction whatsoever of any kind is placed on admissions to Primary schools and for the matter of that to Middle or High Schools. The only restriction imposed by the Minister for Education relates to the Government College, Lahore, where admission to the first year class is not to be refused to those Muslim students who have matriculated in the first or second division, and their number does not exceed 40 per cent. of the total admissions, and the only result of this restriction is that in the Government College the number of Muslim pupils has increased by 50 or so more than it would have been otherwise. Does that constitute an artificial stimulus provided "by restricting admissions to public schools in favour of the Muhammadans"? Thirdly, in case Mr. Sri Ram Sharma still contends that there are public schools—Primary, Middle or Secondary—wherein an artificial stimulus is given by restricting admissions to public schools in favour of the Muhammadans, will he be good enough to give the names of schools and the places where they are situated?

Mr. Sri Ram Sharma has suggested that the Department of Education does not view with favour the prospect of a general extinction of illiteracy as "steps are being taken to prevent the dissemination of a smattering of education amongst a number of scholars." Surely a step taken to raise the single-teacher schools to the status of two-teacher schools and the closing down of such schools as were economically unsound, cannot be described as retrograde action on the part of a department which has had the distinction of raising the number of pupils in one year by 75,000 and in the second year by 1,40,000.

AHMAD YAKHAN DAULTANA.

Lahore July 24

MISCELLANEA.

MR. SASTRI AT LEEDS.

THE guest of the Leeds Luncheon Club yesterday, 8 July, was Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, President of the Servants of India Society, a member of the Privy Council and of the Indian Council of State, and representative of India at the Washington Conference. In the course of an able and interesting address on "India's Case for Home Rule," he remarked that the Government of India Act set forth that the goal of British policy in that country was responsible self-government, and the first steps in that direction were taken in the Act. Many of them thought they were considerable steps, but in the judgment of the majority of the people in India, the steps taken were inadequate and unsatisfactory. Further steps in self-government were declared in the latter part of the preamble to depend exclusively on the will of Parliament, which was to decide when and to what extent the measure of self-government then indicated was to be advanced. The young men of India took the view that they were going to be put to school in political education, and to be tested from year to year as to how far they were prepared for the higher curriculum of British politics.

Alluding to the propaganda of passive-resistance and non-co-operation under the leadership of Gandhi, he remarked that the new Constitution started under very discouraging circumstances. But they had carried on for two years, during which time many of the provincial Legislatures enacted Education Acts that gave free education in some provinces and free and compulsory in others. They enacted a Workmen's Compensation Act, gave the franchise to women, and framed a measure calculated to minimise the unfortunate differences that the criminal law made between European accused and Indian accused. That law was almost the high-water mark of compromise and mutual co-operation.

Mr. Sastri pointed out that the demand which had been made for, as nearly as possible, Dominion status had received the support of those who were friendly to the British connection as well as of those who were not so friendly. Having accepted the original Constitution, they felt it better to advance quickly rather than by slow and gradual steps, as laid down in the preamble. He suggested that the British should not look at the matter from the view-point of pedagogues and school masters laying down certain rules of conduct for their children, and taking advantage of the smallest infraction in order to come down with all the weight of their authority and re-establish discipline. Very often it was wise policy to remain a little blind and a little deaf; to be overgenerous rather than exacting. "It is wise," he observed, "to meet a situation before it gets out of hand rather than, in exasperation and in a hurry, to sit down and hammer out solutions which never answer. We think the time has come when British policy must be guided by the highest statesmanship." What was called fragmentary Home Rule, partial self-government, had broken down in the provinces, and ministers cried out that it was impossible to carry on.

Mr. Clifford S. Best presided.

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