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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

UNENVIABLE is the lot of the statesmen who are engaged in Paris in formulating the conditions on which a permanent and just peace may be established in the world. On the one hand, they have to take steps to make it impossible for Germany to wage a war of aggression on her neighbours and to disturb the world's tranquillity for the gratification of her ambition; and on the other, while inflicting such punishment upon the enemy nations as they have earned by their crimes, they have to see that their actions do no violence to the high principles which they have been long preaching. This is a task of very great difficulty, and a good deal of self-restraint, patience, tact and courage will be needed if it is to be successfully accomplished. For example, how is the principle of nationality going to be respected in the territorial arrangements that will be made? What will be the position of the different nations as regards the armaments to be maintained in times of peace? What indemnities will be exacted from the enemy nations and how will they be collected? These and other questions demand a solution and the decisions of the Peace Conference on these points will be watched with the greatest interest and anxiety throughout the world.

A DISCORDANT note has already been struck in America with respect to President Wilson's views about a League of Nations, and though he will have the bulk of the nation at his back, it only illustrates the difficulties which the Allied statesmen have to face. Mr. Churchill's speech in the House of Commons on the abolition of conscription throughout the world and the British Labour party's expression of dissatisfaction in that

behalf, are indications of the complexity and delicacy of the situation. With regard to the indemnities which are being insisted upon as essential for punishment and reparation, Sir Charles Addis has recently uttered a warning, which will be endorsed by economists, against penal indemnities as being "a bad business." "The argument for inflicting an indemnity such as would cripple Germany economically and prevent her preparing for another war," he observed, "appeared to be self-destructive." In the opinion of Sir Charles, it is a chimera to suppose that peace would be guaranteed by crippling a nation. We are here brought face to face with the problem of reconstructing the world on the foundation of an equitable and lasting peace and nationality and self-determination. While inflicting upon the enemy the punishment he has richly earned, the Allied nations have to see to it that it does not react upon them and militate against the principles for which they stand.

The following Press message has been received from Delhi :—The Rowlatt Bill No. 1 was passed by 35 votes against 20. Only the Hon. Nawab Chowdhari did not vote. Messrs. Banerjea, Malaviya and Sastri made great speeches. They appealed to the Viceroy to exercise his veto. Sir W. Vincent's final reply was unconvincing. He denied Mr. Sastri's allegation that the bill was intended against demobilised sepoys, Indian Mahomedans and popular agitation against unsatisfactory reforms. He said passive resistance had great potentiality for evil. Pandit Malaviya interposed and said, "Also for good." The Hon. Mr. B. N. Sarma resigned on the spot. Messrs. Jinnah, Khaparde and Haque are expected to resign.

New India in a series of articles examines, from the point of view of principle and feasibility, Mr. Gandhi's pledge to break "other laws" by way of resisting the Rowlatt legislation. It states its "fundamental objection" to the pledge inasmuch as it "commits the conscience of each resister to the resistance to any law a committee may select." "Suppose," the paper adds, "that a law is selected that the regards as a good law, he is placed in the position of either breaking his vow, or breaking a law of which he approves." But, over and above this objection on principle, *New India* proceeds to show the impracticability of Mr. Gandhi's plan. Suppose the law selected for viola

tion is bad. Say it is the Seditious Meetings Act or the Press Act. Both of them are thoroughly objectionable, but neither offers suitable opportunity for resistance. "Passive resistance, to be successful, must have an objective affecting hundreds or thousands; otherwise the executive sits tight and smiles. What bad law is there which affects so large a number of people that disobedience to it would cause a stir over the country?"

FURTHER: "Outside bad laws, what reasonable laws are there which might be broken? Refusal to pay taxes? Which? Income-tax? Too few people, and most of these would not be likely to refuse. . . . Land revenue? Doubtful if very many would refuse, seeing that it would mean sale of land and reduction of families to the landless labouring class for an objective which would not be felt by many as touching them; there is also the danger of riot, and of the injuring of the tax-collectors by excited villagers. The moment 'other laws' are examined, we are met either with the difficulty of too few being affected, so that opposition would be easily overridden or too many, so that the crowds would easily become unmanageable, and passive resistance would become active."

THE civil disobedience, which is to be used as a weapon to fight the coercive legislation, should therefore be confined, *New India* contends, to the Rowlatt laws alone. Then it considers an objection. "It is said that the Rowlatt Bills will not be sufficiently operative to be effectively opposed. We doubt this; but supposing it be true, it would mean, as said, that the very threat of Passive Resistance renders the Acts inoperative, and they would remain dead letters." The objection is not that the Acts would not be enforced at all, but that they would not be enforced against the great majority of passive resisters and would not thus afford them the opportunity they seek of demonstrating their indignation. This *New India* has not answered. Mrs. Besant's programme is thus bound to prove utterly ineffective. Perhaps consciousness, it is suggested in *New India* that "a certain amount of non-resistance might be kept up." Certainly, it might be. Besant falls back upon the usual forms of agitation.

It is highly significant that Mr. Pal in a recent lecture, delivered at Madura, uttered a word of warning instead of one of encouragement. If a campaign of passive resistance was to be entered upon, he said, it must not be in a spirit of bluffing, but in all seriousness and with all the circumspection which the situation demanded. Passive resisters must first of all have a clear idea of the thing to be resisted. The Bengal boycott failed, because it was a general movement and not directed against a specific grievance. The pledge of passive resistance must be a specific one and not

general. Let there be no breach of the other laws than the particular measure, and such others as were organically bound up with it. He also warned that the leaders must share the sufferings of their followers and must not escape scot free, while inflicting terrible hardships upon lesser people.

SIR VITHALDAS D. THACKERSEY has made munificent contribution of Rs. 46,000 to the Seva Sadan, Poona, and has promised to add another Rs. 20,000 to it within the next ten years, by a yearly instalment of Rs. 2000. The present building of the Sadan has long since been found inadequate in its accommodation for its ever-widening activities, and Mr. Devadhar had to purchase an adjoining house with a loan of Rs. 26,000 from Sir Vithaldas, but Sir Vithaldas has now agreed to convert the loan into an absolute gift and also to give Rs. 20,000 for putting repairs on the house. It will now serve as a lodging-house for the women-scholars, their reading room and their debating hall. The building will be called after Sir Vithaldas's mother. A branch of the Poona Seva Sadan will shortly be opened at Baramati, in aid of which Sir Vithaldas has promised to contribute Rs. 1000 a year for the next ten years, in the name of his wife Lady Lilawatibai, and a similar contribution is to be given to another branch, when it will be opened. The Seva Sadan is fast extending its sphere of work, and the very liberal donation made by Sir Vithaldas will certainly go a long way in putting its finances, naturally very insecure, on a stable basis. Sir Vithaldas must be warmly congratulated for his generous charity to an eminently deserving institution.

THE topic that occupied most of the time of the Madras Legislative Council, which sat from 11th to 15th March, was the City Municipal Bill, which has now become law. The bill, with all its defects, did the great service of bringing together on the same platform the non-Brahman leaders and the home rulers. No one has made a more scathing criticism of the Bill than Mr. Theogaraya Chetti, who severely attacked the Government for such a retrograde measure on the eve of constitutional reforms. The opposition in the Council, however, was by no means solid. Even the Hon'ble Mr. Rangachari's motion to postpone the bill for two years secured only 9 votes in its favour, while 29 votes were recorded against it. The Corporation too had protested against the bill, but the protest, coming after four long years of indifference and inaction, did not make any very great impression. —The information was elicited that the Madras Government did not propose to prolong the life of the present Council by a year as other local Governments and the Government of India have done in view of the coming reforms. Perhaps Lord Pentland's Government think this the best way to declare their opposition to the reforms!

IN introducing the League of Nations covenant at the Peace Conference on Feb. 14, President Wilson described the mandatory system adopted by the Conference as "one of the greatest and most satisfactory advances that have been made."

"We are done," he said, "with annexations of helpless people, meant in some instances by some Powers to be used merely for exploitation. We recognise in the most solemn manner that the helpless and undeveloped peoples of the world, being in that condition, put an obligation upon us to look after their interest primarily before we use them for our interest, and that in all cases of this sort hereafter it shall be the duty of the League to see that the nations who are assigned as the tutors and advisers and directors of those peoples shall look to their interests and development before looking to the interests and material desires of the mandatory nation itself. There has been no greater advance than this."

HERETOFORE the dominant countries had no conscience in the matter. Now the consciences of nations are to be applied to this thing. But is this principle to be made applicable indifferently to the colonies of all countries? It is certainly to be applied to enemy colonies. Why?

"It has been one of many distressing revelations of recent years that the Great Power, which has just been happily defeated, put intolerable burdens and injustices upon the helpless people of some of the colonies which it annexed to itself, that its interest was rather their extermination than their development, that their desire was to possess their land for European purposes, and not to enjoy their confidence in order that mankind might be lifted in those places to the next higher level."

This "compulsion of conscience" is, however, not to be applied to the Allied countries, because apparently it is not required in their case. For "in the administration of the affairs of more than one of the great States represented here—so far as I know of all the great States that are represented here—that humane impulse has already expressed itself in their dealings with their colonies whose people were yet at a low stage of civilization. We have had many instances of colonies lifted into the sphere of complete self-government." So the countries which own allegiance to England do not stand in need of any further protection!

THE defence for the exclusion of the colonies of the Allied countries from the operation of self-determination was made in more explicit terms by Earl Curzon in the House of Lords in the debate on the address in reply to the King's speech. He said:

"I ask your Lordships to note that in substance the adoption of this principle is merely a recognition by the world of the principles of colonial administration that have been consistently acted upon by this country for the best part of half a century and by the most advanced of the other great nations of the world. But the difference has been this—that whereas in the past there has been no body with authority to insist upon the proper observance of these conditions other than the self-interest or the self-respect or the conscience of the Great Power concerned, you will now have in the League of Nations a body set up whose duty it will be to supervise those arrangements

and to see that they are faithfully carried out. Thus, I truly believe that one of the results of the mandatory system will be a distinct raising of the standard of colonial administration through the world."

While this system will be readily allowed as constituting a great improvement, the claim that the Allied countries have already set this standard in their colonial administrations cannot be conceded.

THE Marquess of Crewe, speaking on the Address in reply to the King's speech, referred to Indian reform, and reminded the House that India was on the tip-toe of expectation for something to be done. He also said in respect of India's help in the war: "The spirit with which India entered into the war was most fully recognised and acknowledged both here and in the country; but I am not quite certain that the continuing effort of India and the scale on which it has been conducted has been altogether observed throughout the progress of these months and years in the way which we should wish it to be."

MR. S. H. SWINNY, the President of the Positivist Society, thus expressed himself in his annual address, regarding Indian reforms: "I am very far from thinking the reform scheme put forward by Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford perfect in all its parts, least of all in its treatment of the central Government; yet there are very strong reasons why India, while seeking to amend, should be careful not to reject. In the first place, it makes no professions of finality; on the contrary, it expressly gives opportunity for future expansion. . . . Thirdly, constitutional reform in India has many enemies; Parliament and the public will be much occupied with the reorganisation necessitated by the war; Mr. Montagu's successor is not likely to follow the same path, if this attempt fails. The present is an opportunity which, if it be rejected, may not return for years."

MRS. BESANT writes in *The Theosophist*: "An extraordinary amount of hostility has been engineered against me by the followers of Mr. Tilak in the political field, and I fear that his opponents were right when they told me that his party would only pretend friendship in order to use my influence to get into the Congress, and would then turn against me. It looks as though this were the motive underlying the violent attacks made upon me. However, I do not regret the part I took in reopening to them the Congress door, for I acted on Mr. Gokhale's direction, he wishing that the breach should be healed. Probably he was misled by his ever-generous nature, and that the colder-blooded critics were in the right. Anyhow, I would rather be betrayed than betray."

IN DEFIANCE OF PUBLIC OPINION.

"WE have made every endeavour that we can to meet reasonable opinion. We have explained the reason for this legislation; . . . and we must now proceed with it." Thus spoke the Home Member while opposing Mr. Banerjee's very modest request for referring the Emergency Powers Bill to High Courts, local Governments and public bodies. In the same defiant spirit did the Government of India force the bill through the council in opposition to the unanimous wishes of the accredited representatives of the people. The Government have had their way; they have an act of the Imperial Council designed expressly to meet the so-called emergency, instead of being reduced to put an executive ordinance into operation, but the country knows that an enactment which is passed over the heads of the non-official members with the aid of the official block does not differ substantially from an executive fiat. With what lively sensibility and withering scorn did Sir William Vincent repudiate the suggestion that the new law partook of the nature of an ordinance! Did not Government call popular leaders into council and hold a consultation with them? How then could it be a mere executive decree? But what was the result of the consultation? Did not Government persist with the measure and pass it, with but a few alterations, in the teeth of the unanimous protest of the non-official members? The enactment may bear on its face the *imprimatur* of the council, which has an unofficial element in it, but this make-believe will deceive no body. Sir George Lowndes spoke the blunt truth when he said that the executive on whom rested the responsibility for the preservation of the peace, must carry the measure in the face of the popular opposition. That is what the Government has done, and so the law remains a mere executive decree, bereft of the moral force derived from the consent of the people.

It is only a bureaucracy such as is to be found in India which can resist Mr. Banerjee's amendment for a little postponement. Sir William Vincent answered in effect, What is the good? We are bent upon the measure. Popular opposition will only stiffen in the meanwhile. What, indeed, is the good if the Government's attitude is to be determined without reference to what the enlightened among the people think? The amendment was proposed avowedly in the hope that time may make a change in the Government's angle of vision. But if all fresh light is to be shut out, where is the earthly use of sending for opinions? Another object in suggesting a postponement was that the reforms might be put beyond the zone of peril. Sir William indeed averred that the act could not prejudice the reforms. But we suspect it is the atmosphere created by the Rowlatt Bills that gave occasion to Lord Sinha to protest recently in England against the belief that the educated Indians are seditious. This belief will

gain ground, and our enemies, whose ranks are not thinning, will not fail to exploit the new legislation to the fullest possible extent. Indian deputations will have a very uphill task in removing the prejudice which these Acts will infallibly but unjustifiably create in England, and it is too much to hope that the reforms will be unaffected by this deep-seated prejudice. But this is only by the way. It should have been enough for any Government, professing the slightest regard for public opinion, to accept the amendment, that even if it did no good it would produce no conceivable harm. It is, however, perfectly intelligible that a Government whose will is predetermined should seek to give effect to it without any delay.

The non-official members had a number of amendments to every clause, but Government rejected all except just a few, which made no material change in the scheme of the bill. It is unnecessary to notice them in detail, but the refusal by the Government to delete sections 124(a) and 153(a) of the Indian Penal Code from the scheduled offences must be particularly noted. This amendment, if accepted, would have had the effect of excluding ordinary political agitation definitively from the scope of the measure, and it is difficult to understand why Government, if they also desire the same result, should have treated the amendment in such a cavalier fashion. The Select Committee has adopted a form of words which expressly limit the operation of this Act to anarchical and revolutionary crime, but it was in the last degree necessary to put it absolutely beyond doubt in the way suggested in Council. The Government was not well advised in paying such scant regard to the objection raised by the non-officials, and their rejection of the amendment will only tend to deepen the suspicion which has been so widely entertained. The refusal again to define the term "revolutionary" betrays the same imperfect understanding of the popular frame of mind. It would have conduced very much to allay the fear that an overzealous official might use the measure against a movement which had not the least resemblance to the revolutionary movement contemplated by the Bill. It is the business of legislators to define exactly the terms used in an enactment, and when there is a suspicion that the enactment may be misused, the necessity is only enhanced. The Government by placing such an essentially obnoxious law on the statute book have created a situation the results of which we dare say they only dimly perceive. It is the duty of all Indians to work for the repeal of this law, and we only hope that in doing so they will take the right means and keep their natural feelings under tight control. But we also hope—against hope—that the higher authorities will yet see the grave impolicy involved in the Government of India's attitude and advise His Majesty to refuse his assent to a measure to which the whole Indian nation has as a man offered firm resistance.

THE BOMBAY COUNCIL MEETING.

THE last meeting of the Legislative Council meeting did not give rise to much excitement. A formal bill was passed, and the Hon. Dr. Fernandes got leave to introduce his Juvenile Smoking Bill. The most important item was the Budget which was of a fairly satisfactory nature, considering the famine conditions. The land revenue for the last year was considerably in defect and the provincial half share did not even amount to the minimum guaranteed by the Government of India. Increased receipts from excise, forests and some other items, however, came to the rescue, and the closing balance for the current year is estimated to be four crores and sixty-one lakhs. For the ensuing year the income and expenditure nearly balance each other at ten crores and thirty-six lakhs approximately; this is of course on the assumption that the monsoon will be normal. The Government of India has to a slight extent relaxed its stringent orders for economy on account of the cessation of hostilities, but the balance remains at the same overgrown figure as before. The excise revenue is now the largest item in the provincial budget. On the expenditure side there are large increases on police and education especially. The scales of pay especially of the lower paid officials have to be considerably increased by war allowances on account of the prevailing high prices. The education budget in particular was of peculiar interest. Sir Ibrahim Rahimtullah introduced the commendable innovation of giving a résumé of educational policy for the next year and the presidency is to be congratulated on having an education member who is keen on all-sided progress and has also large ideas. Educational expenditure for the next year will increase by no less than twenty lakhs and is estimated to amount to a crore and thirty-two lakhs. Progress is contemplated in all directions, and many popular demands in educational matters have been conceded. We will revert to Sir Ibrahim's statement in detail on a later occasion. There is a large increase on police, but in view of the high prices there was not much tendency to cavil at it.

The budget resolutions occupied over a day and led to heated debates on two points. The proposed division of the present Thana district was challenged by several members and a complaint, in our opinion well-founded, was made that such important measures are taken by Government without proper publicity or reference to the opinion of the people concerned. Mr. Parekh's resolution on this subject was, however, lost by a large majority, several members being apparently carried away by the irrelevant fact of police protection in Salsette. The point about a certain item of excise revenue that was raised by Rao Saheb Harilal Desai was even more important, and Government escaped defeat by the casting vote of the President. It came out that the liquor shops in the city of Ahmedabad were taken at auction

by several men, who really formed a family syndicate, at apparently a high figure. Later, on the motion of these men themselves, three shops were closed and a corresponding rebate, amounting to no less than one lakh and ninety-one thousand rupees a year for three years, was given to them though it was shown by figures that there was no reduction in the consumption of liquor. It was legitimately urged that in this transaction, which Government practically admitted was indefensible, there was a dead loss to the public revenues of over five lakhs. Rao Saheb Desai urged that this sum should be recovered and was supported by practically all non-officials. The transaction has certainly left an unpleasant taste in the mouth and is not complimentary to the officers concerned.

There were about seventeen resolutions on matters of public interest. One or two of these raised the question of religious instruction in schools in one form or other, and we are glad to see that the attitude of the Council on this point was emphatically antagonistic. Practical difficulties in this matter are so enormous in India that they alone are sufficient to discourage any movement in that direction so far as public institutions are concerned, and it was hardly necessary to argue the wider question of religious vs. secular education. Two resolutions which led to interesting debates related to the relations between Government officials and non-official visitors. Rao Bahadur Naik proposed that public offices should have waiting rooms for visitors attached to them and many amusing instances of official discourtesy or want of tact came out. This resolution was accepted by Government in spite of one or two speeches in bad taste from one or two official members. The Hon. Mr. Bhurgri drew attention to the so-called chair system in Sind under which some people in Sind are put upon the list of chair-holders and are alone offered a seat when visiting officials, while others, however respectable, are required to stand. To people outside Sind that part of the Presidency appears rather antiquated, and the funny part of the whole matter was that the system was defended by the Commissioner in Sind as non-interference with venerable customs! How autocratic power demoralises the man exercising it and makes him forget the traditions of his own race! But this was too much for the Council to swallow and Government had to yield to the obvious temper of the Council and promised to make an inquiry in the matter, after which the proposer withdrew his resolution.

This was the first meeting of the Legislative Council presided over by the new Governor, Sir George Lloyd. He opened with a short speech expressing his determination to help on the reforms, whenever they should come into operation, in the most sympathetic spirit and also insisting on a comprehensive progress in social reform, like the proper housing of the working classes, education and sanitation. This speech made a good impression and was suitably acknowledged by Mr.

Parekh, the *doyen* of the Council. It was however remarked that on other occasions he leaned rather more on the official side than the Council was accustomed to under the regime of Lord Willingdon who had at once won the good opinion of all his Council by his ways and speech.

THE INDUSTRIES COMMISSION'S REPORT.

X.*

SINCE my last article was published, there has appeared a scathing criticism of the Report by one of our best and most respected scientists, Sir P. C. Ray, a man whose reputation has travelled far beyond the confines of his own country, and yet who was not admitted into the sacred precincts of the Imperial Educational Service. He fails to understand how three of his countrymen, who have done so much for the industrial development of the country could append their signatures to this part of the Report. If Sir P. C. Ray had been a business man, he would not perhaps have had this difficulty in finding out the *raison d'être* of this action of the Indian members of the Commission. In the first place, we business men do not want to lose the reputation of being classed as sober persons who look at questions from all points of view and who are prepared to accept compromises rather than be classed as political agitators and extremists. Secondly, the business men were not full-timers like the other members of the Commission, and consequently they could not afford the time to study and criticise the phraseology of the Report, and even if they did so, they were sure to be beaten by strong debaters like the president of the Commission. What usually happens at the time of the discussion of the draft reports of committees and commissions is that the officials try to please the opposition by making alterations in small matters of detail to show that they are willing to accept the suggestions of non-officials and then stand out on much larger matters, and when they cannot meet the arguments of the non-officials fall back upon their administrative experience and brush aside the alternative proposals as merely theoretical ones, which would break down in actual working. Parnell used to say that he avoided having personal interviews with Gladstone and other English statesmen to discuss Irish affairs, as he felt sure to be beaten by those men who by their work in Parliament had been trained to beat down opposition by arguments. When strong debaters like Parnell feel that they have no chance against Englishmen of practically the same intellectual calibre but of greater administrative experience, what chance can our business men have in argument against Englishmen not only of vaster administrative experience, but of superior intellectual calibre also?

As I have said in my former article, the methods of recruitment in the Report are quite

* Previous articles on this subject appeared in the issues of Nov. 21, Dec. 5, 12, & 19, Jan. 2 & 16, and Feb. 6, 13 & 27.

inconsistent with the statement that only senior men will be imported for the proposed services. If the services of *senior* scientists in the *real* research work at their back can be obtained even for a few years, the country will not grudge any salary that has to be paid to these experts. Not only will they be able to help indigenous industries and do useful research work, but they will be able to create a scientific atmosphere, the want of which is a great handicap to scientific workers in the country. Everyone realises the difficulties in the way of inducing such men to leave their work in England and to begin new work in distant climes. These difficulties will be greater during the period of post-war reconstruction, and hence we fear that second-rate or third-rate raw men of twenty-five will be imported to form the nucleus of the proposed services to boss over Indians of equal and sometimes of greater educational qualifications. Such instances have often happened in the past and are likely to continue, unless we keep a diligent watch on all new appointments and, if any one of them is not justified on grounds of merit and merit only, agitate for its reversal. With the greater control over administration promised under the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme we hope and trust that we will have some voice in laying down lines for the recruitment of the proposed services, and it is on the strength of these hopes that I support the creation of such services for each province according to its needs. As regards the methods of recruitment, I do not agree with the recommendation of the Commissioners and would suggest the following in lieu of their proposals:—

(1) All recruitment to be made by the provincial Government, and not by the Government of India or the Secretary of State.

(2) Applications for vacant posts should be invited by advertisement in the papers from persons having British or Indian University qualifications, and preference should be given to the sons of the country when the qualifications are equal.

(3) In case the selected men have not done any real research work either here or in the British Isles, they should be taken on probation and should, after two years' work at the local Scientific Institute, be sent out to England to work as assistants in recognised scientific institutions.

(4) They should be considered to be on duty while working as such assistants, and they should bind themselves to serve their own Governments for a specified time of years on salaries to be fixed before they are sent out.

(5) If proper qualified men cannot be obtained by the above method, the provincial Government should get the assistance of a committee of the Fellows of the Royal Society in making selections for their purpose. Such a selection committee can well be appointed through the good offices of the Secretary of State.

(6) The man so selected should be given the option of joining the regular pensioned services

of coming out for a few years, in which case a higher salary may be given to induce him to cut himself off temporarily from all his former work and associations.

If these or similar proposals are accepted, we shall have the services chiefly manned by capable Indians, and by a few non-Indians of exceptionally high qualifications who have done some research work themselves. Some of these officers may find time to carry on some educational work in their own special branch in the provincial Scientific Institutes. The Commissioners also favour this view. After mentioning some of the drawbacks of the present system of recruitment for the Imperial Educational Service, they say, "We suggest that certain of the obvious drawbacks of the present system would be eliminated by seconding from the scientific and technical services suitable officers to act as professors, for say five years, in the various high-grade colleges under Government or University control." They then give the advantages of such a system of co-ordination and conclude by saying, "We are of opinion that a system such as that indicated above, if worked judiciously, will result in mutual advantage to the Educational Department, to the Universities and to the special Scientific Services." The Commissioners' fear of the possibilities of the system being worked injudiciously is, it may be added, a reasonable one.

The Commissioners' recommendations regarding the "relations between research officers and industrialists" are on the whole fair to the latter. One of the most important points in this connection is about the publication of the results of the work done by these officers at the instance of private industrialists. The Commissioners are of opinion that while "results of all research work carried on in Government institutions should be regarded as the property of Government," there may occur instances "in which it may be found undesirable to publish broadcast the result of industrial research, without in any way precluding its confidential communication to persons who may be interested in it, or who may be in a position to make use of it advantageously." A great deal will depend upon the spirit in which these suggestions are carried out. Let us hope that no undue favour will be shown to any person, to whatever race he may belong or however high his social position may be. The Commissioners are quite right in laying down that "private work for extra remuneration should not be undertaken without permission, which should be granted sparingly and for exceptional reasons."

The last part of this chapter is devoted to "Research Abroad." The Commissioners do not consider as satisfactory the present practice of sending abroad materials for examination, at the Imperial Institute or elsewhere, and after stating the conditions necessary for the profitable use of an outside institution for research, they conclude by saying, "As the scientific staff of the Imperial Institute is necessarily without Indian experience

and is limited to work on samples doubtfully representative in character, it is obvious that there is no longer any justification for the expenditure of Indian revenues on the Scientific and Technical Departments of the Imperial Institute." In rare and special cases, it is suggested that when such problems cannot well be solved by scientists in this country, arrangements may be made to have these sent to recognized and authoritative specialists outside the country. These proposals seem to be quite sound.

L. S.

UNDER THE MICROSCOPE.

THE INDIAN BUDGET.

THE Indian Budget for 1919-20 is, like the prelate's egg, only good in parts and we cannot wholeheartedly congratulate Sir James Meston on his achievement. Bombay provides for a total revenue of £ 80,192,100 and an estimated expenditure of £ 85,357,300, the deficit to be made good from the proceeds of the Excess Profits Tax which has raised a storm of opposition among all classes of business men. Whereas the military expenditure works out at a colossal sum of £ 4,11,95,000, education receives a doll of £ 44,84,900. Seeing that 90 per cent. of the male population and 99 per cent of the female population of India are unable to read and write, the expenditure of four annas per head of the population is appallingly incommensurate with the educational needs of India, and makes the blood run chill in our veins when we remember that America spends 16 shillings, and even Baroda, nine annas per head on education. Again, the new Budget proposes to spend 35¼ crores on railways and dismisses irrigation with only sixty lakhs of rupees in spite of the warning of Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson in 1913 against admitting schemes of railway-extension of doubtful utility involving deterioration of the financial position of a most serious character. India being mainly an agricultural country such an elaborate waste of the public revenues at the sacrifice of more vital and better paying irrigation projects is a wrong of the most flagitious description to the children of the soil, who are further chagrined to find that only a trifle over seven annas per head are allocated to solve public health problems in a country where one-third of the child population dies every year before the age of five, and where such an ordinary malady as fever carried off fifty-two lakhs of lives in 1916. In view of the fact that the incidence of land revenue in India is estimated at six rupees per head of the population, the allocation of eleven annas for education and public health cannot be defended by the most exquisite financial window-dressing. Finally, no Indian publicist will be hypnotised by Sir James Meston's ravishing picture of the overtures of foreign manufacturers for securing the largest slice of raw materials from India. Have the labours of Sir Thomas Holland and his coadjutors come to naught so soon?

THE MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION

In its January number, *The Mysore University Magazine* has endeavoured to hold the scales even between the vernacularist and his numerous opponents, who have allowed themselves so far to be denationalized as to expel the mother tongue from the sanctuary of home. Have they mastered English language and literature? We cannot in all conscience answer this question in the affirmative, for the performances of such depolarized individuals will not bear a close scrutiny. They often prate about Japan as an example to be held up before every Indian who loves his country, and yet, with extraordinary obtuseness, they forget that it was by the sedulous study of the vernacular that the plucky "Jap" brought the scientific discoveries, etc., to the very doors of the rank and file of his nation. The writer above referred to admits the soundness of the argument in favour of adopting the vernacular as the medium of instruction (1) in so far as it applies to those whose mother-tongue is the same as the common vernacular, (2) in so far as it applies to primary and secondary stages, (3) in so far as it concerns those whose outlook in life does not extend beyond local subordinate state service, local lower industrial activities, local social circles, and (4) in so far as the work of the local journalists or local religious and political propagandists is concerned. The vernacularist has, according to the same sapient critic, not proved the soundness of his argument (a) so far as it applies to those who seek advanced knowledge which may be found in any language, (b) so far as it applies to those whose mother-tongue is not the common vernacular, (c) so far as it concerns those whose duties in life are affected by matters of international or inter-state character, and which necessitates a world, wide outlook, and (d) so far as it concerns those who are interested in politics, commerce and industry, which are now determining the fitness of nations to survive the great struggle. We can only call out three cheers for the erudite writer!

JOURNALISM IN ENGLAND.

In the January number of *The Hindustan Review*, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Walsh, K. C., offers some very interesting remarks on the position of journalism as a career in England and traces the successive stages in the evolutions of the first-class newspapers like *The Times*, *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Daily Mail*, etc. We would have liked the learned writer who is evidently "in the know" to have narrated his experiences about the backstairs influence which inspires leading articles, the mental agonies of an editor who has to dance to the tune of power and the inferno of flapdoodle, to which bright shining youths are condemned for life. In point of fact, the office of a leading daily is the most divinely stupid and the most utterly romantic place in the world, as those who hang on the editor's favour know it only too well. We look in vain in the article under notice for an indignant protest against the "one-man rule" we have

destroyed in Germany but connived at in the Printing House Square. Finally, the writer has missed a fine opportunity for blessing the youthful free-lances in India, in whose ears the thunder of law is ricochetting continually. We would commend Andrew Lang's "Letter to a Young Journalist" to the notice of the makers of the *chronique scandaleuse*, so that they might be convinced of the discomforts in the progress to the brazen, in the journey to the shameless. There are unhappily too many melancholy instances in journalism in India as well as in the England in which mere peccadilloes are treated as fair game for personal tattle and the sating of private spite until the conscience is seared with a red hot iron and the journalist finds himself actually practising *chantage*, and extorting hush-money.

AMENITIES OF CRITICISM.

The Times of India reviewer of "The Letters of Algernon Charles Swinburne" is justly indignant because a writer of Dr. Edmund Gosse's sound commonsense fell into the blunder of Froude who, as every tyro in English literature is well aware, blackened every blot about Carlyle's character by dragging his unguarded ejaculations into the glare of publicity. What on earth led Dr. Gosse to publish every letter of Swinburne's? Does he believe that the universe is agape for the sweepings of reputed men. No, they will not read nursery themes for which a school boy would be flogged. They will not read respectable commonplace, least of all the rinsing of genius. When Swinburne writes of "the Browning and other blatant creatures begotten in the slime of modern chaos" he betrays the same mental limitation which honey combed Carlyle's opinions of his contemporaries. Here they are: Herbert Spencer was according to Carlyle, "the most unending ass in Christendom." Cardinal Newman had "the brain of a medium-sized rabbit;" Ruskin was "a bottle of sodawater;" Disraeli was "a mountebank dancing upon John Bull's stomach;" Wordsworth, "a genuine but a small diluted man;" Coleridge, "a weak, diffusive, weltering, ineffectual man;" Rogers, "a most sorrowful, distressing, distracted old phenomenon." Macaulay is referred to as having "an essentially irremediable commonplace nature;" Keble as "some little are called Keble of the Christian year," while Gladstone appeared to the Sage of Chelsea as "one of the contemptiblest men I ever looked upon." Walter Savage Landor whose four lines on Dirce are regarded by Swinburne as "more golden than gold" with reprehensible partiality of a friend has a number of extravagant verdicts to his credit—or rather to his eternal discredit. Thus Landor finds in Wordsworth "a sad deficiency of vital heat." He called Scott "a great ale-house writer," etc. Many men would have retailed such silly opinions of their friends to amuse their aunts and grandmothers during their life-time, few except Froude, Gosse and Co. would have embalmed such dicta to disgrace the memories of their friends for all time.

THE RATIONALE OF STRIKES.

Verily, we are living in strange times. We are muttering Self-determination as if it were an incantation to exorcise the social and moral Frankenstein of our day. Indeed, President Wilson must be wringing his hands in despair at the interpretations to which the word, which he popularized is subjected by the land-grabbers of the world, who go back upon their plighted word when the danger which inspired it has passed away. The rights of labour find expression in Bolshevism in Russia which hopes to burst upon the world. We in India had a foretaste of emancipated labour and the way in which the situation was handled will always be a feather in the cap of Sir George Lloyd, while the moral suasion brought to bear upon the strikers who conducted themselves with exemplary self-control augurs well for the public life of Bombay. Finally, the behaviour of the police even under provocation, reflects no small credit on Mr. Vincent whom we personally know to be an officer richly endowed with imagination and tact so conspicuous by their absence in some of his comrades in service elsewhere in India. Strikes are phenomena to be deplored since the waste they involve is colossal. For instance, the time lost in strikes that occurred in the United Kingdom from 1899 to 1913 amounted to 304,500 years, the aggregate number of working days lost in 1913 alone running into 11,630,732! Employers of labour in India ought to study the methods of industrial harmony as illustrated by the Brooklands Agreement in the cotton trade (1892-93). India must evolve an influential organisation representing both masters and men, having for its object partly to advise the Government and partly to supplement the action of the Conciliation Board. It may be possible in the near future to organise agricultural and industrial interest into guilds, which would provide for guildsmen and guildswomen sanitary surroundings, fair wages, and ample opportunities for recreation, culture and amusement. In this connection the recommendations of the Whitley Report will repay perusal.

KESHAVAL L. OZA.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE BRITISH CONGRESS COMMITTEE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR,—Kindly permit me to draw the attention of the public to some of the misstatements and misrepresentations in the letter sent from here by Messrs. Baptista, Tilak, Iyengar, Karandikar and Ghose, with regard to the British Committee of the Indian National Congress. Three of the signatories, as far as my knowledge goes, obtained the information upon which they based their condemnation at second hand. It is a thousand pities that, relying mainly on such a one-sided account and without giving the Committee any the least opportunity to have its say on the matter, the Delhi Congress arrived at the decision to cut off supplies to the Committee. This is, to say the least, grossly unfair to the Committee.

It is alleged that the Committee is in a moribund state. This is not only not true, but is positively false. It has been doing all it possibly can under the circumstances to promote India's cause in this country; but in fairness to it, it must be admitted that it has been very badly handicapped in its work by disunion in India. And if it has not been able to do more than it actually has, the fault, in my opinion, is not that of the Committee, but of my own countrymen themselves. The Committee's organ *India* has been, it should be remembered, all along pressing the need for union in India and appealing to the different political parties in that country to make up their differences. From what I know of the mentality of the British public, it is very difficult, if not impossible, to convince the British democracy of the reasonableness of our demands so long as there are differences among the several political parties in Indian public life. I know there are people who say these differences do not matter, so far as the Committee's work in England is concerned. With due respect to them, I must say they are not familiar with the psychology of the British democracy, which, as every body knows, is conservative by nature and as such will not part with any of its powers, unless convinced of the absolute desirability of such devolution.

One can only admire the audacity of Mr. Tilak, when he comes forward, as he does in this letter, as a friend and champion of Hume and Wedderburn. If my memory serves me right, was it not this self-same gentleman and his paper that had made it a part of their public duty to run down the Committee and its organ and our trusted friends like Hume and Wedderburn, in 1907-08? Did they not try their level best in those stormy times to see that the British Committee was not supported from India? All these tactics only mean that since his arrival here in this country, Mr. Tilak has simply recommenced his work from the point at which he had to leave it at Surat.

An attempt has been made in the said letter to create an impression on the public mind that the *India* newspaper did not try to popularise the Lucknow resolution, which has, I am glad to say, no justification whatever. The paper did support and try to popularise the resolution till the publication of the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme of reforms, after which the Congress scheme began to be considered even in India as rather out of date. No Indian politician or public association worth the name has since then pressed for the Congress scheme, and it is sheer nonsense to blame the Committee's organ for not pressing the claims of a scheme, which, however good in itself, stood no chance of being accepted by Government.

Most of the members of the Committee (which, after all, is the British Committee) are, so far as I can ascertain, non-Indians, but this does not mean that their interest in Indian affairs is lukewarm. It is grossly unfair to sincere friends of India like Sir Herbert Roberts, Dr. Clark, Dr. Rutherford, Mr. Swinny and others to make that suggestion. I have very good grounds to believe that their interest is as warm as that of Hume and Wedderburn.

It is sought to be made out by Mr. Tilak and his friends that the British Committee, being a branch of the Congress, must tamely submit to and carry out such orders as it may receive from the Congress. This is incorrect. The British Committee, though a part of the Congress organisation, has never been expected to simply cross the t's and dot the i's of the Congress. If one may judge from its past history, it has been considered as an independent organisation. It is doubtful whether any self-respecting Englishman will care to serve on the Committee, if it has simply to act as the London agent of the Congress for the purpose of carrying out its orders.

There are some more inaccuracies in the letter, and I should have been glad to point them out, had I the necessary time.—Yours, etc.

London, Feb. 20, 1919.

AN INDIAN.

PASSIVE RESISTANCE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR,—May I venture to point out to you that you misstate Gandhi's case when you say, in your last issue, that "the justification which may attach to the disobedience of Rowlatt Acts cannot be held to extend to disobedience of *all* laws. The reasoning that supports the larger movement is that a Government that could pass Rowlatt Acts in defiance of public opinion forfeits all claim even to obedience to the ordinary laws. Which laws we choose for disobedience is to be determined by considerations of our convenience, strength and stamina, *not at all by what is due to Government, for nothing is due.*" (The italics are mine.)

Gandhi proposes to disobey *some* other laws, not because all laws have been invalidated by the unwarranted legislation, but because the Rowlatt Acts elude resistance and can only be attacked through their kin. The other laws are the hostages: the Rowlatt Acts the enemy. They are the proximate, these the ultimate, object of disobedience. The disobedience of other laws is conditional and will cease as soon as the objectionable legislation is withdrawn.

Again, what a "general" passive resistance movement will tend to undermine is not the people's *respect* for law, but only their *fear* of laws, which they do *not* respect. The consequence fails to horrify us.

The *Satyagrahi* seeks to eliminate fear as a motive in human life to make room for respect and goodwill. He does not fear Government, but neither would he like that Government should yield out of fear. He will not even suffer another to resort to violence with the benevolent desire to protect himself (the *Satyagrahi*). The spread of misdirected *Satyagraha* is then more a matter of pity than of alarm.

My picture is of the *Satyagrahi* as he ought to be. One can sympathise with the Hon. Mr. Paranjpye's suspicion that Gandhi may be mistaken "in the strength of the material that lies ready to hand, the forces at his disposal." "Hardly ten men in India," remarked Gandhi himself in July 1916, "have understood the meaning of the *Satyagraha* movement in South Africa." We have since grown wiser; still it is not inconceivable that many will do out of spite what Gandhi does out of love—that the outward similarity too will not be far-reaching. We put it to the *Satyagrahi* leaders, therefore, that quality, no less than number, should be aimed at in "educating the public in *Satyagraha*."

Shall we not on our part wish the *Satyagrahis* such strength of heart as will justify the title, rather than make cowards of them by distrustful comment? *Satyagraha*, like cycling, is a matter of faith! By believing them to be true *Satyagrahis*, we shall make them such.—Yours, etc.

S. P. PATWARDHAN.

[Some passive resisters, e. g., Mr. Horniman, advocate the violation of all laws in the practice of passive resistance, though Mr. Gandhi does not, and we had not Mr. Gandhi in mind when we wrote the paragraph referred to in the above correspondence. But whether *some* laws are broken or *all* makes little difference to our reasoning, which holds good in either case. We recognise that these laws are to be broken only as a means of offering passive resistance to the Rowlatt legislation, but if in choosing any particular law for infraction you only consult your own convenience or strength and not the inherent merits of the law itself, it is clear that in your opinion all laws may be broken with equal justification, and this justification can be urged only on the ground suggested by us in our last issue. Mrs. Besant has since stated her "fundamental objection" on grounds of principle to the breach of "other laws," and we only wanted to emphasise this objection, which goes to the root of the matter.

Our correspondent seems to deny that passive resistance tends to undermine one's respect for law. We will only mention that in the statement which Mr. Gandhi issued before he initiated the movement in Champaran, we believe, he admitted this tendency, and balancing the good against the evil, showed, in justification of the movement, that good preponderated. It is clearly wrong to think that even a "misdirected" passive resistance movement will have no evil effects. Nor do we share the correspondent's comfortable faith indicated in the last sentence of his letter. It is certainly not such a subjective matter as he would make out. We are conscious that warnings such as we are giving produce a chilling effect, but unfortunately warnings are necessary. The fact that Mr. B. C. Pal also warns where one should have expected him to rush on will perhaps convince some people that on this occasion warnings are not quite superfluous.—Ed.]

TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

ONE of the most gratifying features of the annual financial statement of the U. P. Government this year is a large increase of 32¾ lakhs in expenditure on primary education. In November last the district local boards were asked to draw up schemes for the expansion of primary education with the object of fulfilling effective local demand and doubling the number of scholars within a period of five years. The demands made in the schemes submitted by these bodies amount to a total contribution of 52 lakhs for recurring expenditure within three years, and a non-recurring grant of 21 lakhs for the provision of suitable buildings for primary schools. Of these, the U. P. Government has rightly undertaken to fulfil the latter requisition in its entirety, and as regards the former a good beginning has been made by a provision of 11 lakhs for additional expenditure on recurring contributions. A separate provision has also been made for the maintenance of Islamia schools and contributions to Makhtabs.

* * *


REGARDING the proposed expansion of the Legislative Council on a popular basis in the Travancore State, the retiring Dewan said in his closing speech to the Assembly: "His Highness's Government are in deep sympathy with you in your aspirations after a fuller share in the life, light and progress of the country, and, as I have already told you, some important measures are now engaging their serious attention, which must go a long way towards securing the fulfilment of those aspirations. Let me, in conclusion, remind you once again that nothing is dearer to the Government than the happiness and prosperity of the depressed classes in the State, and that I confidently count upon the active support and responsible co-operation of this Assembly to enable them to realise their intentions in this respect." We welcome this prominent reference to the well-being of the so-called untouchables and hope that the changes contemplated in the constitution of the council will be far-reaching and fully satisfactory.

* * *

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