

A " FIVE YEAR PLAN " FOR INDIA

A Rousing Call...The Pioneer's Plan...How all Can Help Them

(Reprinted from " BREAD AND FREEDOM ")

Many people were astonished when, some years ago, the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, Vice-Chancellor, at the time, of the Calcutta University, launched his university on an immense propaganda, issuing book after book, and pamphlet after pamphlet, circulating them widely with printed circular letters, telling the Indian educated classes to help their country in the very best way in its struggle for freedom, and solve at the same time their employment problem, by establishing a new kind of enterprise that promised to do great things both for India and for themselves. This was to be a commercially financed and administered system of production for barter trading. It was to enable people to obtain the necessaries of life for payment in labour and various services. It was to be started in a small way, and in certain special applications, particularly, for the part-time employment of the young, to enable them to earn their education, and help substantially towards their support whilst being educated. It was to lead on to the development of a great co-operative organization working on that principle. It promised then to give the co-operative movement the most important impetus it has ever had, and to do more for rural reconstruction in India than anything that had ever been suggested. It promised also to give non-co-operators the very best employment, and to give India unexampled prosperity enabling her to go forward safely and irresistibly towards emancipation both political and economic.

But it will be remembered that this bold attempt to give a constructive direction to the National Movement was variously received.

It was written about in the Press, not only throughout India, but throughout the world, with great admiration. The London "Times" in its "Educational Supplement" had column after column about it. The great popular papers from the London "Daily Mail" to "The Herald" of St. Francisco, wrote about it, as did also the scientific as well as the economic journals.

It was spoken of as action "probably without a parallel in the annals of any learned body." Many said that other ones might well imitate the example and deal with the great problems of their countries. It was said also that if India gave a lead in the establishment of that new form of co-operation she might show how the problem of unemployment could be solved everywhere. On the other hand, however, the great Vice-Chancellor was criticised. Some looked upon it as an attempt to draw students away from the Congress' plan. Some took the comment "without a parallel" in the unfavourable sense. It was said that it might be good for a university to make a special study of economic or other sciences bearing on the questions of the time, but that it was unacademic to commit itself to the advocacy of a definite scheme and quite outside the province of any teaching organization. The university publications contained an answer to that criticism, but many failed at the time to notice it.

Sir Asutosh, however, ignored the criticisms. The University went on issuing books, booklets and pamphlets on the "new enterprise." Finally having satisfied himself that it was hopeful, the great Vice-Chancellor took the lead himself in connection with an organization that was registered in Bengal under the name of the Modern Co-operative Agricultural Association, Ltd., to do the pioneering.

But then disaster supervened. Death struck him down just as the Association was about to start work. It was not found possible to go on without him with a pioneer undertaking of five lacs capital. A group of very distinguished Calcutta gentlemen, including Sir P. C. Ray, Dean of the Faculty of Science of the Calcutta University, the Hon. Justice M. N. Mookerjee, of the Calcutta High Court, the Hon. Sir D. P. Sarbadhikary (former Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University), Raja Rishi Kesh Law, the late Maharajah of Kasimbazaar, the Maharajah of Mymensingh, formed themselves into a new Association, with the late Lord Sinha (one time Under-Secretary of State for India) as President, to carry on the work less ambitiously. But times were quite unpropitious, politics was at the moment the all-absorbing interest, the original Association was wound up ; spectacular failure seemed then to have justified Sir Asutosh's critics. Thus it is that this attempt, the like of which had never been made before, to hearten the Indian educated classes, and make them seek new ways of escape from an intolerable situation to do great patriotic work, is scarcely remembered now.

A Great Vindication and a Rousing Call to Indian Patriots

But now vindication has come. We see that Sir Asutosh's work was not done in vain. An appeal has just been issued, and is being circulated in Europe and America by the International Social Secretary of the Salvation Army, Commissioner David Lamb, calling upon Christians to render eminent service to India, and to the world, by giving Indian patriots a lead in the establishment of this " new enterprise " .

The Appeal has forewords by the secretaries of two international organizations. These support Sir Asutosh's advocacy even in detail. One of them, by Commissioner Lamb, quoting the very example upon which the Calcutta University publications lay stress, endorses the hope that the " new enterprise "

may lead to a development of co-operation that will utilize the immense productive power we now possess to put an end to unmerited poverty. The other, by the Secretary General of the International Save the Children Union—the organization that works with the League of Nations in Child Welfare matters—points to the hope of the “new enterprise” ushering in a new era for Child Welfare and Education, by enabling us to combine with education thoroughly suitable, and educationally very valuable, half-time work.

The Calcutta University publications show particularly how we might form in that manner a co-operative organization of the young that might help social progress generally, and specially help the solution of the unemployment problem, as perhaps nothing ever has yet.

This appeal to Christians is supported by the hopeful opinions on the plan of a phalanx of eminent economists and prominent men, and it quotes from letters from many of the most prominent people of the day. These include His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, several British Cabinet Ministers, and the Solicitor General of the United States. The letters were written in connection with Sir Asutosh's enquiry. The appeal calls particularly upon people of good will in every country to lead Indian patriots to take up the work in which death stayed Sir Asutosh's hand, urging that India might then show the rest of the world the way out of its present trouble and perplexity.

The Need of the Moment

Coming especially at this moment, this appeal will make every thoughtful Indian turn with eager interest to Sir Asutosh's so remarkable but utterly misunderstood and by his own countrymen almost forgotten effort.

The great questions of the moment are how the educated classes are to serve their country best in a struggle, which

they realize is only at its beginning; and how they are to solve its economic problem, for without a good solution for it, they may suffer very severely, and political progress will be fraught with all the dire perils to which it can then expose a country.

The publications issued by the Calcutta University alone give answers to both these vital questions together.

Never have we felt as we do now the need of trying new solutions for our great economic problems, and never has it been more obvious that progress has indeed opened up new possibilities. In presence of such, theories are no guide, argumentation is sheer folly, to try alone is sensible and sincere, as Sir Asutosh himself was trying when death struck him down, by taking the lead in connection with the Modern Co-operative Association. Try, do not argue vainly, was his battle-cry. When bold experimentation is as clearly demanded as it is now, to be a fatalist and inactive is to be a traitor to one's fellow-men. But the question is what we are to try at once in the time of great need.

A Beginning

A little group of people, who for the present shall remain unnamed, confident that anyone now taking up the work will make the effort bear good fruit, are making a beginning with an educational colony.

They feel sure they will not have to wait for help from abroad for which the Appeal pleads.

They have secured a site for the pioneering in the Bombay Presidency, about ten miles from Lonavala, to start work on the entirely practical lines on which Sir Asutosh was giving a lead in Bengal when he died. There is ample land with engine-power irrigation, good housing accommodation, also the good travelling and transport facilities and medical aid needed for the educational pioneering work which is contemplated.

They want others to join them.

Before the Details the Idea Must be Understood

But the first step they propose to take will not be intelligible in its true and wider objects, until the economic facts that made Sir Asutosh take his "action without a parallel"—by launching his university on a propaganda for a definite scheme to deal with the whole poverty problem—are understood.

It is the very definiteness, the concrete nature of the propaganda, that makes it interesting at this time of acute crisis.

Poverty now is everywhere really an anachronism.

The fundamental economic fact is that we have colossal potential productive power. People realize now, as they hardly did in Sir Asutosh's time, the incredibly strange fact that the world depression of to-day is due to what we might call a malignant reflex action of enormous potential wealth-creating power; of power that ought to have abolished poverty.

The immense productive power of labour in well-equipped modern production enables a proportion of the workers to produce all that there is "effective demand" for, so that many remain unemployed. The enormous and cheap production of certain commodities in countries in which conditions are favourable to their production, combined with modern means of cheap and rapid conveyance, enables those countries to flood the market with cheap products, in a manner that gives insecurity and depression—as a result of abundance turned into "dumping." The abundant production of the factory has ruined India's village industries, and so resulted in "overpressure on the land" which contributes so much to India's rural poverty. We see depression everywhere due to immense productive power, but mobilized for economic warfare.

Now Sir Asutosh, after enquiring into the matter with the thoroughness one would expect of an eminent judge, before

committing his university and himself to "action without a parallel," gave his support to those who maintained that we should be diligently seeking, and boldly experimenting with, immediately possible ways of harnessing some of this colossal power at once to prevent destitution, and that India might well give a lead in the matter, by establishing the "new enterprise". In the Indian rural districts this enterprise would be a revival in a new form, of the ancient economic system of the country, which made the village practically a co-operative unit. It would make groups of villages economically nearly self-contained. It would link the groups with other groups and, in that way, would give the cultivator a security against famine which he has never yet known. Then, not only might the peasants have sufficient food, but their whole standard of living might be improved, and there would be abundant employment for the educated classes, of whom really India has, not too many, but on the contrary too few. The stock-answers to the question why we should not begin this at once had been challenged; Sir Asutosh boldly gave his patronage, and that of his university, to the challengers.

The time-honoured answer to the obvious question is that "harnessing this power" is a matter first of capital. Where, it was asked, was the capital to come from to give India's millions well-being in that way? Secondly, it was said it was a matter of having the people capable of using capital, and workers trained to work in modern organizations, and India, for the moment, has neither of these essentials. Finally, it was said, with great plausibility, that the co-operative movement has, as its sole object, to use all the resources of progress in that very way, for the benefit of the masses. It had not, however, been able to use capital cleverly enough to "harness our great power" to prevent destitution; it might learn some day to do this, but had not succeeded yet.

The Challenge "Without a Parallel"

Sir Asutosh, however, convinced that those who repeat the old answers must no longer deter us, fearlessly placed before the Council of Post-Graduate Studies of his university a proposal for a new department which was to study "the ways of applying the enormous productive power which progress has given us to putting an end to unmerited poverty." The proposal in all the temerity of its challenge, was accepted (See Minutes of the Council of Post-Graduate Studies, No 29 of the 10th of March 1920). A new lectureship, the first in the world of its kind, was established to deal with the subject.

No one knew better than Sir Asutosh that to all who were under the influence of the accepted doctrines, it was sheer naiveness. Reformers also, socialists, communists and others, hold that it is all a matter of capital. They say that, in order to "abolish unmerited poverty," we must first wrest the capital from the hands of the privileged classes. This, however, was to be combated as an out-of-date idea which has become a mischievous fallacy. That was the challenge to modern social reformers. They are not abreast of the times.

Now this Appeal comes with the support of eminent people in all parts of the world to demand of every educated man in India that he shall make up his mind whether that indeed unparalleled challenge, standing on the records of his country's premier university, is a strange monument to a mental aberration, and lapse into naiveness on the part of an autocratic chief, able to drag his colleagues with him, or whether it is the work of a man whose mind was as great as his masterfulness. They have reasons now of the most practical kind to see that question settled, and justice done to their great fellow-countryman.

The first thing they will find is that Sir Asutosh proceeded in a manner that does as great credit to his scholarship as to his patriotism and philanthropy. He held an enquiry that

was world-wide in its scope, and obtained the views of some of the most eminent living economists before he committed the Calcutta University in such a manner.

After having studied the subject a long time, and having become convinced, largely by great economic lessons of the War, that new things were indeed possible now, he had a book printed in the university press showing, from object-lessons given during the War, and before it, that progress had simplified methods, and done so much even to help comparatively small-scale production, that it had rendered new and very hopeful solutions possible which had to be tried and not argued about.¹ These were to be tried with the spirit of Robert Bruce, for it was worth while. That was the argument that appealed to him.

He wrote a preface to the book—this was against his general practice, but an occasion had arisen to set every ordinary rule aside if necessary—he then had it widely circulated for opinions.

Having been satisfied with the result of this first extensive enquiry, he wrote prefatory notices to two pamphlets dealing with the different aspects of this "new enterprise" as a solution of different problems, and circulated the pamphlets still more widely. They were "A New Departure in Practical Co-operation," and "The Coming Great Change in Education". The latter, dealing with the educational aspect, had been published first by the Mysore Board of Industries and Commerce.² It was circulated by the university, and the Bengal Education Department, which also had it translated into Bengalee. These also went forth with printed letters from the university, and no less than six series of letters

1. "Man and Machine Power in War and Reconstruction." Calcutta University, Re. 1 As. 8.

2. Bulletin No. 1 of 1920.

were sent out from the Calcutta University Poverty Problem Study with various pamphlets. Several hundreds of each circular were printed, totalling 2,500. Thus, if the action was without a parallel, the same has perhaps to be said of the care exercised before taking it. It was after a first enquiry that had extended over the world, that the new lectureship was established in the Calcutta University. It was then that books, booklets and pamphlets poured forth from the University Press dealing with various aspects of the "new enterprise" and contradicting the accepted opinions on every point; to the astonishment of many, and the particular dismay of those who, at that moment, were calling out loudly for retrenchment to whom Sir Asutosh turned a deaf ear.

"Self-Government and the Bread Problem"¹ was issued telling educated young men that the "new enterprise" might give them constructive work to do that would enable them to be effective non-co-operators, and make the non-violent movement absolutely invincible. When the Non-Co-operation Movement was at its height, Sir Asutosh had a whole edition of that book distributed among the recognized schools of Bengal, and among educational establishments in India, and a second edition printed. This was soon followed by a shorter publication "Non-Co-operation and the Bread Problem." Finally, Sir Asutosh wrote a preface to a Bengalee legend that was translated as an appeal to help the propaganda.

It was in these books that the fact was specially urged that the "new enterprise" promised to give Indian patriots invincible strength in the non-violent effort, and that it was shown that it would make *Swaraj* safe, and sure by giving prosperity to all classes, and a solution for the vital problem of popular education.

1. Calcutta University, Re. As. 14.
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The Disaster

In supporting such wonderfully hopeful views Sir Asutosh was able to say: "I have had a series of lectures on the subject printed, and sent to professors of economics *in every university in the Empire and many foreign ones for criticism*, and the result was entirely satisfactory; there were, in fact, only favourable comments."—"Unemployment," Calcutta University, 1921 (now out of print).

But it is hardly in human nature to be able to visualize such possibilities. Most people could not but believe that somehow the objection "everybody" made and that the Calcutta University alone ventured to combat, must be fundamentally valid. It was thought too good, too "utopian," to be true.

Sir Asutosh, however, had never attempted to prophesy, but had recognised merely that a road was open now that was not open in the past, and that earnest patriots had to try and see how far they might advance along it, instead of vainly arguing about the matter.

He was in no way surprised at the incredulity shown. He knew that a demonstration was needed, and would alone carry conviction. He looked upon the immense propaganda he carried out as being, more than anything else, the means of bringing together a few earnest patriots to give a demonstration under his own guidance. But the calamity of his death at the critical moment made it easy to misunderstand and misrepresent him, and the whole effort he led.

But will not justice be done to him now?

The Appeal to Action

The little group mean to take things up just where he left them, and to work in his entirely practical spirit, carrying out his plan, which was to make each step useful in itself, and make it pay, to enable it to be widely imitated.

In asking others to join them, they lay particular emphasis on the fact that, whatever may have been the general incredulity, eminent people understood aright, and that conspicuous among those who understood Sir Asutosh were India's most eminent men of practical affairs.

Great captains of industry are proverbially slow to turn aside from their wonted lines of activity to try new things. They will express approval of new ideas very long before they will apply themselves actually to carrying them out.

It is noteworthy, however, that Sir Dorab Tata soon expressed the opinion that the plan seemed to be worth a fair trial, and contributed generously to the propaganda. Sir Dinshaw Wacha said, "I say without hesitation that there is nothing to prevent my countrymen from equipping themselves in the manner you suggest." "I was convinced that, in the system you expounded to me, there were the germs of future success." Sir Dinshaw also contributed towards the propaganda. The forecast of Sir Rajendranath Mookerjee was as remarkable. The late generous Maharajah Sir Manindra Chandra Nandy of Kasimbazaar, always to the fore in helping anything for the good of his country, had established the Kasimbazaar Institute in Calcutta, to give boys a training that would fit them to be pioneers of the "new enterprise." Sir Rajendranath Mookerjee, Bengal's great practical man of affairs, in a speech delivered at the laying of a foundation-stone in that institute, said, "We Bengalis must be proud of the effort that is being made in our midst...It is quite possible that Sir Asutosh Mookerjee will be chiefly remembered as pioneer of the Poverty Problem Study as a university subject, and the Maharajah of Kasimbazaar for what he has done to enable steps to be taken to carry out the plan". Sir Rajendranath also accompanied his eulogy with a princely gift. The constant help of Bengal's great financier Raja Rishi Kesh Law has also to be recognized,

as that of a large number of Calcutta business men. "Capital," the premier financial paper of the East, gave the propaganda splendid support. The criticism, on the other hand, tirely from obscure sources.

The "New Enterprise"

Now the European Appeal is showing us a beginning of the realization of these hopeful auguries.

Facts, after all, not theories, are what we want in the domain of sociology.

It was a great accomplished fact, furnishing a striking object-lesson to place before the Indian educated classes, that, more than anything, made Sir Asutosh launch his university on to "action without a parallel," that made him practically challenge the Congress plan, and call upon the Indian educated classes to cease to be like bad step-fathers to their sons, leaving their future to hazard, when there were new things to be tried to save them from their intolerable position. To an educated man, Sir Asutosh held, a life of begging paltry service, was a fate worse than death. There was a chance for his young fellow-countrymen, prospects of magnificent national service. He determined to leave no stone unturned in an endeavour to lead them to try that chance. The great accomplished fact was the economic success that had been obtained by the Swiss labour-colony of Witzwil.

In that colony, which has now been conducted successfully for over a quarter of a century, prisoners of any class or occupation, and many of no skill or training at all, are enabled by good organization and intelligent division of labour, to produce most of the ordinary necessities of life for themselves. They succeed not only in being to a great extent self-supplying, but in being entirely self-supporting. That is to say, in addition to providing for their own needs, they produce a saleable surplus, from the disposal of which money is obtained to pur-

chase what they cannot produce themselves, and to pay all the money disbursements of the establishment, including interest on capital; so that the organization pays in the full commercial sense of the term.

Payment for Necessaries in Labour, not Money

Now Sir Asutosh looked straight to the economic facts of this demonstration, past irrelevancies in which lesser minds are apt to become entangled when in presence of something they cannot account for.

The colony's industries are largely for self-supply. That is the important thing.

He concentrated on the fact that it gives us an example, not the wonders of modern large-scale production, not of what can be accomplished by "mass-production," but of what good organization can do now to utilise the most unskilled labour in the group of industries, some of which are on quite a small scale. Only a few special branches of the colony's multifarious activities are on the scale even of big agricultural enterprise.

Thus, on the scale of ordinary enterprise, the Swiss colony is able to supply the most unskilled people, many of them classed as "unemployables", with the necessaries of life, receiving their labour as its only payment.

The plain economic fact is that progress has been steadily simplifying the work connected with the production of necessaries in a good organization, and increasing the output obtained from organized labour. It has now simplified things so much—and helped even some comparatively small-scale production so much—that, in a relatively small but good organization, practically anyone may produce necessaries for himself, in the sense of doing his share of the work in one or other of its branches. Thus, good organization can let people have necessaries for labour-payment, even if quite unskilled. And

progress has made the productive power of organized labour so great that, even unskilled people, working in a moderate sized organization, may now produce a surplus sufficient to pay their share of all the "overhead costs."

That was the fact to look to, past the maize of details and special features of the colony which only confuse the issue.

Try, Do not Vainly Argue

The Swiss having taken advantage of this modern economic possibility to solve the problem of their unemployables, every effort was to be made to see whether a demonstration might be given in India to show how Indian patriots, anxious to do anything for their country, might establish Witzwils all over India, giving abundant employment to young non-co-operators.

Then, the pioneers might find that they had done one of the greatest pieces of constructive work ever done.

These Witzwils leading to the "new enterprise," might solve the problem of the semi-unemployed and often miserably poor peasantry. That is the way in which those, whom some looked upon as reactionary rich men, said non-co-operation was to be carried out, helping a propaganda for it by their subscriptions. In the light of events, can their natural caution be justly regarded in any way unpatriotic or anti-social?

Some of the young men who are at their wit's end to find suitable occupation can command some capital. Might not the demonstration show the possibility of their establishing labour-payment organizations in the rural districts as commercial undertakings?

It was to be tried, not argued about, so Sir Asutosh took the lead in connection with the Modern Co-operative Agricultural Association. Witzwils once proved possible, the poorest would be their best customers. The unemployed would buy everything from them. Those managing this enterprise would receive their pay and profits mainly in its current coin, labour,

transmuted into commodities of everyday use. That is to say that they would be paid mostly in kind. Shareholders could receive their interests in the same form. People can very well take dividends in kind from an organization producing the commodities of which everyone makes daily use. The shareholders might also easily make sufficient cash purchases to supply such an undertaking with the relatively small amount of money it would need for cash transactions.

So he said to Indian patriots, see whether you cannot start with the capital you have, leave theorists to talk about the theoretical difficulties of extending the industry. A reply to their theorising is given in the Calcutta University publications. It is that productive power is now so great that such enterprise, once well started, would be able to capitalize itself for rapid extension. But leave the future to prove that method of capitalization and begin with what you have.

Other industries come into competition with each other and are limited by the commercial demand for what they produce. These would have no such limitation. Not until they had employed all the unemployed or ill-employed labour in the country would they compete with each other. Until then they would have every reason to co-operate. The different units would specialize and exchange produce. They would then form a great trust, or co-operative organization, from which people would be able to obtain anything for labour-payment. Credit with such a trust would be as good as money to most people. The organization would thus enable the poor to have professional services also for labour payment. They would work for the organization and pay doctor's and other fees with transferred credit. They would be able to pay taxes in the same way. As soon as organizations of the kind were large and numerous the government would be able to pay its servants partly in this credit.

The immense enquiry Sir Asutosh carried out yielded the unanimous verdict, Try, adding that the Indian rural districts seemed to offer almost an ideal field for the pioneer attempts by true patriots.

Reasons for Beginning with the Educational Application

But who was going to try first?

Not even among the rich men who had recommended the plan were there any who seemed ready to venture alone on carrying it out. It was new; it had been seen working only in what might be called a complex form, in an application of a quite special kind, and in one country only. Everyone, including specially the founder and manager of the Swiss colony recommended its extension to other applications. It was not encouraging, however, that those who made those recommendations failed to act on them. How then could Sir Asutosh call upon poor men to give their little all in a patriotic endeavour to establish this experimental industry?

The Plan in its Education Reform Aspect

The educational application seemed suitable in every way for the first steps. In educational organizations of the kind young men might hope to earn a living partly by teaching. The first educational examples might be easy to give, and each step might make another easier. The pioneer undertakings were to concentrate on the educational possibilities. Had he lived they would, no doubt, have been well supported.

The Government committees that were investigating educational and employment problems at the time examined the plan from this point of view. All recommended it, and all published appendices to their Reports about it. The Calcutta University Commission examined it, although dealing with an essentially different question. It devoted an Appendix to it

(Appendix, Vol. VII, pp. 18 to 23). Its President, Sir Michael Sadler, and its most prominent members, including Sir Philip Hartog, have remained advocates of the scheme. Sir Michael writing again recently said, "I believe, in the end, something of the kind will be tried in new developments of Indian education." The European Appeal quotes from these letters. The Bihar and Orissa Vocational Education Committee, the Bengal Government Unemployment Enquiry Committee, the Assam Secondary Education Committee, and the Travancore Unemployment Enquiry Committee recommended it officially. A report on it was made to the British Board of Education by their officer Dr. Leicester, who came to Calcutta for the purpose, and to report on the school established by the late Maharajah of Kasimbazaar to be a step in the direction of carrying out the idea. This report was as strongly favourable as the others.

The Government of Bihar and Orissa, after its Vocational Education Committee had examined the plan, passed a Resolution (365 D of Feb. 10th. 1925 Sec. 25) offering help to those who would try to do some pioneering in the Province. Evidently the example of that government and of its enlightened Education Minister, Sir Sayed Muhammed Fakr-Ud-Din, is one we may hope to see followed in these days of dire need of new solutions both for educational and economic problems quite apart from the Indian nationalist point of view.

The Plan for Pioneer Colonies

Thus, earnest pioneers taking the matter up will indeed find that they are acting in response to a rousing call. Indeed, it may be said that there never was a plan that has been more thoroughly studied, and more authoritatively recommended than that in which they are being asked to take part, and never could an endeavour to act on these weighty recommendations be more timely than now from every point of view.

In connection with the first steps to be taken, we have to concentrate on immediate possibilities. These were naturally the main concern of the Government Committees that examined the plan. It was a cardinal principle maintained in the university publications, and in those of the Educational Colonies Association, that the educational stepping-stones towards the realization of the plan should be, in themselves, complete solutions for educational problems. It was a cardinal principle also that, from the first, educational colonies should be a solution of the bread-problem of some people of educational qualifications.

In order to give demonstrations' of educational colonies fulfilling those conditions, it is proposed, at first, to take boys whose guardians can pay to place them in a good school, under people of high educational qualifications, for preparation for the ordinary examinations, combined with the colony work as a healthy practical training. Special tuition will naturally be a feature of schools carrying out a new educational plan. The fees, therefore, will be according to the requirements of each case. Ordinarily they might be in the neighbourhood of Rs. 20 a month inclusive. This sum will be diminished by the boys' colony earnings, which ought to increase fairly quickly up to about Rs. 5 a month, at the end of a year. But the emphasis, at first, is on the incomparable educational value of practical work that is visibly useful.

This, of course, is insisted upon by all the greatest educationists. Progress has made this education possible now, whereas it was not possible in the past, and the object of the pioneers will be to demonstrate this.

School industries failed in the past because, generally speaking, the child can work usefully only as a helper to an experienced worker: industrial organizations of children thus could not succeed. They could, however, be successful now because modern methods and organization have simplified

processes so much that the senior pupils might, under adult supervision, be as good as adults in many branches of the work; and progress has, at the same time, increased the productiveness of labour so greatly that it would be possible now to extend the school age and retain the senior pupils, enabling them to earn such good remuneration in kind that it would be to their advantage in every way to remain.

That is, in a word, the principle on which we may hope to introduce into education the most beneficent revolution that has ever been rendered possible; enabling the young, made self-supporting, to have everything that is best for them during their years of development and formation.

But the first demonstrations will not be easy. There will not be the experienced senior pupils who should be the pivot of the system. The adults themselves will be experimenting and finding the way. Exceptional men and boys will, therefore, be needed as pioneers. Suitable men will have to combine, with high educational qualifications, real capacity for practical work and for directing boys' labour in it. Neither the boys nor the adults will be able to earn much at first. It will be necessary, therefore, to begin with boys whose friends can pay for them, so that the adults may earn as teachers.

Means of Earning: Homecrofting

A score or more of people with the necessary capacity and inclination, adults and children of an age to be useful, co-operating systematically can, under proper conditions, obtain their food in good variety, by working no more than is an excellent and healthy training for the children, and an interesting and very healthy hobby for the adults working with them and directing them. A couple of hours' daily work, on a general average, should suffice.

But everything must be organised in the right way. First, each child must be employed only as a helper to an exper-

enced worker. There should be effective co-operation. It can be organized when it is part of the working of an educational plan, though it presents difficulties otherwise. A colony of co-operative homecrofters would divide itself into groups, each group specializing in some branch of production, the groups combining for other kinds of work. They might arrange also co-operatively to hire good and competent labour for the work that needs skill, or the strength and experience of the peasant. They would produce co-operatively what their locality was suited to produce, and buy the rest also co-operatively.

By selling, at retail prices, certain special classes of produce, or better still, preparations from them, just to their friends, and to people interested in their undertaking, they should be able easily to obtain the small amount of money they would need for both the above purposes; and, in that manner, have their food for their labour. 'Homecrofting' is the word that has been coined to describe the systematised production of one's own food. The homecrofter is at an immense advantage as long as he is producing the small amount he can consume and dispose of to friends, at the retail prices. In that manner he can earn—or more properly save—a small amount very easily. Producing for the home becomes quite an important matter if the family is at all large.

It is a great advantage to homecrofters to be members of a co-operative group. Groups can arrange much better than most individuals can for the sale of something suitable to friends. In many cases, preserves and preparations from produce would be best, and a co-operative group can arrange to prepare a variety of things. It may, in that manner, lay the foundation of a future industry for the colony.

In co-operation, homecrofters can arrange much more easily to have their milk, and dairy produce also for their labour. They can have their co-operative dairy-farm. Those

who do not want to keep a cow, or buffalo, can then take their milk from the farm and pay in fodder grown on their plot. Those who wish may arrange to have always a cow in milk from the dairy-farm; thus needing to keep only one animal. People who have to absent themselves will then be able to send their cow to the dairy-farm during their absence. Those who have more milk than they can use will send the surplus to the dairy. Then keeping a cow will be made a source of profit as well as supply for the home.

Commercial cultivation is quite a different matter from homecrofting. Produce is worth the retail price to the home-crofter, but the middleman's price to the commercial cultivator. The difference between them is very great. The uncertainties of the market matter little to the homecrofter, but they may be fatal to the commercial cultivator.

Next to homecrofting, as regards profitableness, is the intensive cultivation of selected crops on a small irrigated plot, small enough for the owner to be able to do the work, helped by a hired worker, but working with him most of the time. Under those conditions hired labour can be profitably employed. A small amount can easily be earned in that way by people co-operating to sell their produce, and those co-operating to use it in some industry in the colony itself may earn still more.

By combining part-time teaching with homecrofting, and the cultivation of a small irrigated plot, the pioneers should be able to earn about fifty rupees a month, in surroundings that will enable them to live very inexpensively in every way.

Earnings will increase as members establish their educational reputation, and as they gain experience in the cultivation of special crops, or as suitable industries are established in the colonies.

The next step should normally be to employ local boys, giving them foodstuffs, or elementary education, or both for

their labour. It might be advantageous to employ some local boys from the start.

The site selected, about a mile from Kamshet station, is suitable for development from this "primitive cell" towards the realization of the full plan. There is another site belonging to another member of the group near the next station, Malawali. This site will be useful in the further developments.

Educational Possibilities

The educational possibilities of the plan are immense, apart from any other.

When it has been demonstrated that boys producing their own food, may have the invaluable training that visibly useful work gives, and may have their full time for the good games that are so essential for the development of the young, without making less progress with their studies—because they will be living an incomparably healthier life than that of the ordinary school—educational colonies will begin to multiply and to develop in a variety of ways. The Calcutta University publications show many plans of development that are possible.

Very little land is needed for homecrofting. A school of a hundred boys with eight acres of land would, in most cases, have enough. At first it might be impossible, in many localities, to have even that amount conveniently near the boys' homes. But once it has been proved that the boys' labour could have economic value, it will be possible to arrange for them to spend part of their time in educational colonies at a distance from their homes, going there on some system of rotation, to the immense benefit of the health of those who live in towns.

When good demonstrations have been given, homecrofting schools will develop in the suburbs. These will direct the children's labour, instruct and guide them, organize the production and arrange for exchanges of various produce. Then

the children, helped in many cases by the parents, will make important contributions in kind to their homes.

In India where simple and inexpensive housing accommodation may suffice, many families will be able to build a little house in a suburb and send their children there for colony training, in charge of a reliable person; the parents, to their own great benefit, paying frequent visits, and the children coming home occasionally.

This might lead to a very rapid and extremely beneficial migration of people of moderate means to suburbs, under conditions that would be of the very greatest benefit to their children and to themselves.

Soon the plan would benefit the urban working classes in the same manner; working class children might work in other industries besides homecrofting, producing other articles for themselves and their homes.

The Calcutta University publications devote most of their pages to showing how immense good might be done at once to the young of all classes, and how most effective relief might be given to all classes of people whose income is small or moderate, by various homecrofting organizations of which the young would supply the very best foundation.

A Great Hope

The Calcutta University publications show particularly how these apparently small things might change the face of our modern urbanized civilization.

The Swiss colony shows us that we have only to organize people in the right way to produce necessities for themselves and no one need now be poor. The question, however, is how we might begin at once to take advantage of this now demonstrated possibility, to relieve the poverty that is rife among us.

Those who have earnestly studied the question agree that we might do it now by making children and adolescents,

organized together, self-supporting, to the great benefit of their education, to the still greater benefit of their training for life, of their health, their happiness and, most important of all, the training of their character. In a wonderful manner, an educational organization, dealing with the children to make them co-operators, overcomes human difficulties that have often made co-operation fail where adults have had to be dealt with.

With the young self-supporting or partly so, it will be comparatively easy to deal with what poverty will remain; the more so because the adults will be able, to a very great extent, to work in the organizations of the young.

But few people are able to visualize such possibilities as the abolition of poverty. Therefore if this few would listen to Sir Asutosh's common-sense advice, and get to work and give such demonstrations as they can, advancing from one demonstration to another, they might render mankind a service of inestimable importance at the present time.

That is the basis of the plan and the message of the Appeal.

In these days of uncertainty as to the future, with the only too real danger of crises that will bring the greatest hardships on the classes that are not used to toil and privations, it seems nothing short of madness to delay about following this advice, for we know of no other plan than this one to solve the problem of the educated classes.

The little group, therefore, are confident that many people will help them to find the kind of men and boys they need to enable them to give a good demonstration.

India's "Untapped Resources"

Tapping these resources is a matter of giving the young the right kind of character training and up-bringing.

The Calcutta University publications lay stress on the fact that there is abundant work in the rural districts entirely suitable for young men with educational colony training.

Generally, the work would not by itself yield a living wage. But young men brought up in educational colonies to team-work, will know how to utilize those opportunities. They will settle together in suitable central places where they will establish educational colonies for local boys; these will help them in their co-operative homecrofting and help them also in suitable small co-operative cultivation and industries; the boys paying by their labour for their education, for a share of the produce, or for both.

Then the young men combining "colony" earnings with various local work, industries, private teaching, trading, seed-farming, dairying, will be able often to live comfortably, with the prospect of steady improvement. Evidently young doctors might then make a living in the rural districts. They might work in partnership with a more experienced doctor in a neighbouring town. He might come occasionally to the rural centre, and his young partner might help him occasionally in the town. There are industries that can be carried on to supply a local demand, without fear of the competition of the big factory if the element of labour payments can be introduced. A colony organization would be able to introduce it to some extent from the very first. Among suitable industries match manufacturing, tanning, machine-repairing, electric fitting, machine-knitting may be mentioned as examples. The rural educational colonies would soon develop the various features of the "new enterprise", helping the peasants in a great variety of ways.

The development of a country's resources depends on its having a class of people of the right character and capacity for the work. The education colony would give the young the right character training and industrial training.

The Plan of Reconstruction

Whilst the Calcutta University publications devote most of their pages to these immediate possibilities, they do not

ignore the fact that we must have a radical reform of our system as well as palliatives for the evils it has given rise to. A state of affairs cannot be tolerated which makes an age of powerful means of production, one of economic insecurity, because those powerful means are being used in an ill-adjusted system, in which demand lags behind power to supply, to intensify the most destructive and anti-social forms of competition.

The University publications, dealing with facts, as publications issued by an educational body should do, lay stress upon the fact that economic conditions are now such that sound palliative measures would place us on the direct road to radical reform, and on the very lines that thoughtful reformers have always considered to be the most hopeful. On the lines, namely, of establishing a co-ordinated system by the side of the individualistic to keep competition between bounds.

To create such an organization was, of course, the original aim of the co-operative movement. So complete, however, has been its failure to reach that goal that it has now practically lost sight of it. But the Swiss colony shows that we might begin at once to palliate the greatest evils that have arisen under our system by means of organizations that would work on the economic principle of co-operation, but be managed like ordinary enterprise, laying the foundations of them with the young and they would lead to the same goal.

There are great many people so situated that it would suit them very well to work for an organization that, on the same economic system as co-operation, would supply them with the various ordinary necessities of life for labour-payment, provided that the organization were large enough to give them as free choice as they would have if they were buying the things from the market for money; and provided also that it were ubiquitous, so that, wherever they lived, they would

be able easily to reach one of its branch establishments to buy their goods and make their labour-payments conveniently.

Both conditions would be fulfilled if we had a great educational organization on that plan, in which the adolescents would work helped by the school children.

Many of the adults working in it would be most usefully employed with the young, others might work in separate departments.

There would be no difficulty about giving such a large labour-payment organization as we should then have, the elasticity that would enable it to deal with emergencies.

When unemployment occurred, many people would need little inducement to work in the great labour-payment organization, leaving the available commercial employment to those who preferred it. Thus the economic principle illustrated by the Swiss colony would be applied generally to prevent unemployment. In other words we should have a large number of people carrying out the essential idea of the homecrofting colony, but extended to the organized production of a great many things besides foodstuffs, and equipped on such a scale, and in such a way—illustrated by the Swiss colony—that those who were only temporary workers in it would be able to find their billet, and be useful.

By when that stage had been reached the organization would have become a great co-ordinated system by the side of the individualistic, and we should be able to hope that it would prevent unemployment from arising by preventing the state of maladjustment of which unemployment is really only one of the symptoms.

The Root Evil

The root evil, of course, is that the competitive system compels each unit to curtail profits and wages, because all must reduce costs in order to be able to compete. But

as progress increases the productive power of labour, balance could be maintained only by "real" wages and profits (per unit of labour) increasing, and step by step with it.

In other words, when new machinery enables one man to do work that formerly employed two, the resulting saving ought to give some one at once more purchasing power, so that the workers displaced would have corresponding new opportunities of employment; or else there ought to be some corresponding decrease in the number of hours of labour given for a day's wage, the adjustment being restored in that way.

Competition, however, prevents any step by step advance of demand for services, or leisure, with increasing productive power, and thus the individualistic system—unsuited to an age of great and rapidly increasing productive power—brings disaster upon itself by compelling each separate unit to work against necessary adjustments.

But we should have every reason to hope that, an auxiliary co-ordinated system, first for the young, to enable us to solve, in a wonderfully efficient manner, the great problems of the welfare of the young, and of education, then for a number of other special classes—were it established in one country, would very soon be imitated in all commercially competing ones, in one or other of the numerous forms it might take, making well-remunerated employment abundant, and setting a high all-round wage-standard everywhere; making thus the adjustment that is necessary with industrial progress. Home trade and world-trade would then increase with increasing productive power.

The university publications devote much space to showing that under the conditions that would then exist, we should hope to have individualistic enterprise working normally by the side of the co-ordinated system, which would make our

social system humane and just, as well as economically efficient. They show that this simplest of all plans to go to the root of the modern problem, which the most thoughtful advocates of co-operation have always proposed, is more hopeful now than ever, and would be more radical than ever, alike in rendering impossible any exploitation of the workers and in keeping the individualistic system in the state of adjustment necessary for its proper functioning.

The university publications insist on the effects a co-ordinated system would have in remedying, and also radically, the specially social evils that have arisen with our present system: the over-centralization of population and of industries with the socially and economically fatal results it has, by severing agriculture from industry, and the workers from the land.

One of the very first things it would promise to do would be to bring about a great migration to garden suburbs and "satellite towns" which would, by itself, entirely change our modern civilization.

A Junior State

Thus the Calcutta University publications, basing themselves on facts, show that the present gloom and foreboding might be dispelled, and hopeful activity might take the place of perplexity, if only a few scientifically minded people could be brought to consider the fact that, owing to the simplification of methods of production, we might begin at once to build up a great co-operative organization of the young; a labour-army of well-trained adolescents, with a small proportion of adults directing them, and the children helping them. They go into the various details of this plan, on which their scheme of reconstruction centres.

Once more, the great emphasis is on the hopeful results that might follow on the very first steps being taken, and the

diversity of the important problems to which educational co-operative colonies, and colonies on the lines of the Swiss one, offer prompt solution. As the colonies should be paying concerns as the Swiss one is, we might hope for very rapid extension. In India, colony organisations, utilizing immense unused manpower, might make rural reconstruction one of the most profitable things ever undertaken, an undertaking for capitalists, as such, to give their attention to.

In all over-populated countries the great need is to co-ordinate agriculture in a manner that will result in every part of the country and every field being made to produce what it is best suited to produce, and that will bring it under the best cultivation. An educational colony system would, for every reason, be able to render such outstanding services to agriculture, by giving it seasonal labour, by lending it machinery with people knowing how to use it and by helping in marketing and exchanging produce, that it might bring about practically a national co-ordination of agriculture; giving what socialists and communists hope to obtain by nationalization. It is also to be foreseen that the great junior co-operative organizations in different countries, which would work in close co-operation with private enterprise in their respective countries, would make mutually advantageous exchanges of produce, helping the more densely populated countries to obtain the produce of extensive cultivation from the more thinly populated ones. The main emphasis, however, is on the fact that as far as it is possible to foresee, the immediate effect of the establishment of a co-ordinated system would be to stimulate trade so that trade would effect such exchanges very much more actively than it does now.

In all industrially advanced countries unemployment might be put an end to in a surprisingly simple way by keeping most of the young under the educational authorities till

adolescence, allowing them to go to commercial employment only by taking jobs in pairs, working on some suitable plan of rotation, so as to have their turns in educational colonies, from which they would be able to bring home remuneration in kind of as much value as a day's wage. This alone would have a very important effect on employment. But there is every reason to foresee that the educational colonies would be working in close co-operation with agriculture, and that many adults would want to work on a similar plan of rotation between colony work and "jobs". In that way the whole problem of unemployment might be solved, as the rotation system might then prove itself capable of very wide and extremely beneficial extension.

Various reforms are suggested in our social system, to bring our productive power into better use, to prevent injustices and to promote social welfare in different ways. These could, in many cases, be tried first in this junior state. Many things would be possible in it which would be Utopian in the great State. We might, thus, have the junior population on ahead on the road to progress, the pioneers of it.

A careful study of the facts shows that it is no hyperbole, but a sober statement of fact, to say that no hope could seem brighter than that which progress has opened up to us by simplifying means of production so that we might have a junior state : a co-operative organization of the young or, if we wish so to describe it, true socialism established with the young.

The Greatest Hope of All

But progress promises us a change still more radical and wonderfully hopeful. The period of "plasticity" of young human beings is considered to last till eighteen. If kept under natural and wholesome conditions up to about that age, they retain for life, deeply ingrained, wholesome and natural proclivities. Nature, and every natural habit acquired during those

years, produces an impression that is permanent. Happy activity in occupations that are natural to the young, and that are systematically rendered keenly interesting to them by means of a good and varied programme, gives strength of character by inducing habits of strong application. Work rendered interesting and instructive by being explained in class, and related to the class-work on the "project method", induces an alert mentality.

Joyful exertion forms also a strong body and vigorous health. Most important of all happy, and at the same time busily active conditions of life, in natural surroundings, induce a bright and good disposition. The self-respect given by consciousness of power to earn honestly creates a natural disgust for meanness and dishonesty.

If these favourable conditions are combined with proper feeding, the normal child will grow up strong, as well as energetic, capable and well disposed morally. The educational colony will render the combination possible. The opportunities it will give for the best games and sport, which are as important for character as the best kinds of work, will render possible a programme combining all that is required; whilst its economic power will be sufficient, under modern conditions, to enable it to feed its young workers well, leaving them time for education and sport.

The educational colony promises, therefore, to enable us, at last, to take advantage of the great fact of the plasticity of the young, to have the education and training system that will improve each generation. Then we shall be able to hope for a new era and real progress.

We Must not Fear Industrial Progress

We have thus a natural answer to the question whether, when we succeed in utilizing our immense productive power—instead of letting it run to waste in a system that fails to

maintain demand at the level that would activate it—people, emancipated from the discipline of work and frugal living, will not become demoralized.

The answer is first that we shall be able then to mould the young in the mould of nature; we shall be able to make them grow up overflowing with natural high spirits; secondly, that progress will then decentralize population and industries, and give us garden cities and suburbs. The educational colony training will give us people with natural tastes who will work in the factory a very short shift only, at least till they rise to administrative or directive work—to have most of their day free for natural occupations of their own, in their garden suburbs; and our enormous productive power will very easily enable them to earn enough by a “shift” in the factory, of four hours and soon less, when we begin to attack the present chaos of waste.

That must be our hope, since we cannot persuade people to give up using machinery.

Thus, the Calcutta University publications insist that the duty of all now, from every point of view, is to understand the situation, and begin at once with the natural training of the young, by giving them the priceless boon of educational colonies.

The Work of the Great Indian

The European Appeal brings strongly home to Indians the fact that the eminent Indian Judge and educationist was the first who, realizing that the co-operative organization of the young was the natural plan of progress, initiated a searching enquiry into the ways of making practical beginnings in the direction of carrying it out.

The idea of social salvation to come from a co-operative organization of the young had seemed to most to be one for poets to dream about, more than for practical people to give serious attention to, especially at the time of emergency.

Indeed, it was India's greatest poet, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, who first took steps for the propaganda of the idea in India. And the singular beauty of this natural plan of progress, the harmony between the ethical, the scientific and the practical aspects, the wonderful attractiveness of a plan that would be applied first to brighten the lives of the young as nothing else could brighten them, and that would go on to making them the hopeful pioneers of true progress, renders it a meeting point of economics and poetry.

But the eminent Indian educator did his great pioneering work because he possessed, with the imagination to visualize a hope which, in the range and variety of its promises, both immediate and future, seems more wonderful than any fantasy, the practical acumen to see that there was an immediately practical side to these wonderful possibilities. He appreciated the fact that things had been actually done which, intelligently understood, showed we had good reasons to hope that we might be able to take at once steps in the direction of the great ideal, that might yield immense results. He saw that, owing to this combination of circumstances, the plan was one that all intelligent people would support as soon as sufficient demonstrations of the possibility of the practical steps had been given, to draw serious attention to the matter. Having realized this, and its wonderful hopefulness, he determined that everything that was in his power should be done to enable the demonstrations to be given. In the strength of his conviction, based on the most searching enquiry, and with the courage of it, he disregarded criticism.

In Calcutta University his power was all but autocratic. In such a cause, and at such a time, it was to be used. Thus it was that the bold challenge to accepted opinions went forth from that university. But this "action without a parallel" was taken in circumstances without a parallel in every way.

Then it was India's foremost men of practical affairs who, knowing that any suggestion coming from the eminent judge was worth attention, considered the plan carefully in its financial aspects and, having done so, augured what we now see coming true; namely, the recognition of the practical wisdom of his then little understood action.

If the leaders of the Indian National Party held aloof—with the outstanding exception, however, of the eminent scientist among them, Sir P. C. Ray—the simple explanation is that it was at first a rival scheme to theirs—though this can no longer be said of it now.

The National Party at the beginning was striving to bring sudden paralysis upon the foreign government, and thus to bring about home-rule almost at once. The plan put forward in the Calcutta University publications would have undermined the present order, by providing ample good employment for all, independently of government service, and would have prepared the country for the new order, by providing elementary education, both for adults and for children, and enabling the young men to work in the villages for every kind of progress. Impatient patriots, however, wished, not to undermine the foreign power, but to smite it.

In the Light of Present-day Events

But now things are moving rapidly, though unfortunately world-depression has supervened.

In these circumstances the Appeal addresses itself to Indian patriots who have pondered the lessons of China, Russia and more latterly of Ireland, emphasising vividly the fact that rapid changes must lead to most distressful times, and be fraught with the very gravest of perils, if not accompanied by a sound and clear economic programme to give at least normal prosperity. In times of changes the masses must be contented, and the ambitious classes, and more turbulent elements,

from whom trouble may come, must have at least fair chance of satisfying their ambitions. In India where there are diverse communities to be welded together in a process of "nation-building," a reasonable degree of prosperity seems to be almost the only hope of avoiding a great danger of civil war following on great changes.

Thus one of the dominant notes of the Appeal is that India, as much as every other country nowadays, needs before all things a definite economic programme, as definite as Russia's Five Year Plan; and it pleads with all people of good will to give her patriots the best possible help by assisting them to carry forward a most carefully studied plan which, simple as it is, promises great things in a country in which, owing to favourable climatic conditions, people's requirements are also simple.

Every earnest person must recognize now that India's great need is for a reasonable programme of industrial development, suitable to her. This simple one, which would be on the lines of village, and even cottage, industries, has been recognised as sound by her foremost captains of industry, and by the most eminent economists, and is capable of yielding fabulous wealth, by spreading its modest activities among the rural millions, making millions of people produce appreciably more than they do now. At the same time its simplicity makes it one which her enthusiastic young volunteers might be employed in carrying forward—until financiers see it would pay—doing at once their propaganda and work of uplift under the very best conditions.

Unemployment Among the Educated Classes

But we must be under no illusions.

The co-operative organization of the young, the labour-army plan, is one of those potentially epoch-making possibilities that arise rarely in the course of history, and are

never believed in at first. The "new enterprise," the industries that would practically not produce for the "market," that would, therefore, not compete with one another, and could consequently be multiplied indefinitely, provoke the same scepticism—although the plan would be only a modern revival of the economic system of the ancient Indian village.

Most people chose rather to believe that kindness of heart, or else fear of the Congress influence, had driven the great judge for once into an alliance with visionaries which was quite unworthy of his great intellect; and that the same sentimentality, or the same fears, had made India's leading intellectuals and prominent men support him. This was to be expected, and was at all events not more absurd than the attitude of people of George Stephenson's time, who strove to the very last to represent that railways would never be able to come into general use, similarly because the idea was new.

Sir Asutosh was quite mindful of the facts. He had not been carried away by the beauty of a fascinating idea, and led to imagine that the world would be ready to receive it. He, therefore, made his appeal to the Indian educated classes, to seek to solve their employment problem by educational colonies; and, when the Non-co-operation Movement arose, he appealed to people to see that, if the young men were to sacrifice their careers to fight in their country's battle for freedom, it should be to do what he firmly believed was the best thing they could do, alike for their country and for themselves sending them as self-supporting missionaries of progress among the rural masses. It is on these entirely practical aspects that we must place the emphasis now.

No pioneering work can be easy, but now that progress has rendered possible new types of co-operative colonies, it is evident that they must be tried for the solution of many problems. Most people remain sceptical because in the past

colonies of other types than those now proposed, established under other conditions, gave on the whole very poor results, and instinctive incredulity does not make distinctions between various types and different conditions.

Thus, again, the present situation gives a magnificent opportunity of service to those in whom reason is stronger than prejudice; those who will listen to people like Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, Sir Dorab Tata, Sir Dinshaw Wacha, Sir R. N. Mookerjee, Sir P. C. Ray, Dr. Annie Besant, Raja R. K. Law, also Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, and many of India's foremost intellectuals, and examine the modern facts, instead of heeding popular catch-phrases and allowing them to blind them to new possibilities of doing the most patriotic work in the very best ways.

Since Sir Asutosh's time the success of the American colony of Llano has ripened, and has made it clearer than ever that the modern colony is the solution for the problem of the educated classes, and one that is fraught with hopeful promise for them both of prosperity and of usefulness.

In India the Anglo-Indian community has already realized this, and is embarking on an undertaking which, if properly conducted, is sure to succeed with the advantages modern methods give.

Pioneering Modern Colonies will not Involve Risk to the Right Class of Pioneer

It is important to realize that there are many classes of people who might do pioneering work that would be most useful now, and who would have everything to gain, and have nothing to risk, by undertaking it.

Pensioners and people of small private means with a taste for a rural but social life, would have every reason to join an educational colony established in a well selected place, quite apart from any consideration as to what the

economic results would be. Such people with children to educate would often have a strong additional reason to join. Then, there are people of means who wish to help a deserving relative, or other person less fortunate than themselves, who would gladly help that person join a well started modern colony and do useful social work in it with the prospects of becoming self-supporting and independent.

There are many now who would send their children to an educational colony in which there were people of good educational qualifications, and in which an educational programme would be systematically carried out. Some would send them in the charge of a relation, or other trusted person, they would establish there as a member of the co-operating group. Many, perhaps, on the plan already referred to¹, would establish their children in a home in a colony, and make it their own holiday home, paying it frequent visits, in some cases one at least of the parents remaining there for a considerable part of the time. A moment's reflection will show that there are a great variety of reasons for which many people would be glad to do this. Then, in a developing colony, some would establish a little industry with the idea either of its growing, and becoming later their children's means of livelihood, or else of devoting themselves to it later, if it grew sufficiently to render that possible.

When the educational advantages and other possibilities of the modern colony are understood, numbers of pioneer colonies will be established in different parts of the country, consisting of people for whom success will not depend on the colony being successful at once in enabling them to earn a livelihood.

The possibility of economic success has been brilliantly demonstrated by the Swiss colony. The need now is to demon-

1. See p. 24 para 2.

strate everywhere, as the Llano colony has demonstrated in America, that people with different objects in view can associate themselves voluntarily to establish colonies that will be successful from their points of view.

The Pioneer's Appeal

But whilst the multiplication of colonies for special classes of people will be of the greatest value yet, for the sake of India's masses, and of the solution of her great national problems, it is of the greatest urgency to give, as soon as possible, examples of economic success. When illustrations of really successful co-operative homecrofting have been given, many young men may see their way to establishing educational colonies in the rural districts, which may be of the very greatest value in connection with rural reconstruction, and village propaganda and may lead very rapidly to the development of the "new enterprise" to the point at which businessmen will take it up.

Success with the homecrofting depends on having, at the start, the right kind of men and boys. The pioneers, therefore, plead very earnestly with all who take the present situation seriously, to help them to find the most capable and the most earnest of those who are in a position to join them, so that as good a demonstration as possible may be given.

Being an educational group, with a medical man as a weekly visitor, they wish to have as co-operators first people of educational qualifications to carry out to plan already outlined; secondly, people of the various classes mentioned above; thirdly, those who, having experience of cultivation, would know how to make an irrigated plot yield them what they needed to earn, and who would take their part in connection with the employment of the boys in productive work.

The place selected is suitable for all the above classes of pioneers. It has a splendid climate, and is accessible from Bombay and Poona. For people who would establish in it a

home for their children that they would make their own holiday home, it has all the necessary features, its attractions including hills for excursions, a river for boating and swimming, and places of interest in the neighbourhood.

First and foremost the pioneers ask people to help them circulate the Appeal, which they are having reprinted, with only the specially Christian references left out, for wide distribution in India. They are confident that if only the facts are made known, they will not lack the help they need.

To sum the facts up briefly in conclusion, presenting them from a general point of view, the Swiss colony has demonstrated that progress has simplified the processes of production, and increased the productive power of labour, to the point at which the various classes of people who are in need of help require only to be organized; because now all of them, except those who are completely incapacitated by illness, will be able to take their part in the work of producing necessities for themselves and each other. Potentially, therefore, there is no limit now to what we might do for the relief of poverty. Potentially a new and more humane era in our civilization has now come within our reach. A very small but extremely remarkable commencement in the materialization of these possibilities has been witnessed in Switzerland. The duty of all humane people, therefore, is clearly to try, by well planned endeavours, to multiply such examples. It seems particularly easy to do so in India, and a great Indian patriot seeing this, and appreciating all that it meant in every way for his country, was the first to make this great possibility of our time a subject of university study, but sudden death frustrated the full materialization of his plans.

Thus that the pioneers plead first for help in circulating the Appeal. All the facts must be made known and properly appreciated by his fellow-countrymen.

A beginning for child welfare and education commends itself from every point of view and, once more, the world-wide enquiry first, and then Government Committees and reports, have endorsed that view. From the Indian point of view alone, from that of training young men for the very best of village work, it should arouse the greatest enthusiasm of true patriots.

Incredulity concerning a possibility that seems too wonderful to be true is the remaining difficulty; thus, once again, a few people who would meet this situation in an intelligent scientific spirit, instead of the popular obstinate refusal to believe, might now do mankind good, the limits of which it is difficult to foresee. The pioneers are pleading only for the kind of help that is particularly satisfactory for a generous helper to give, namely, assistance to deserving individuals who might become useful colonists. The pioneers are sure that Indians who read the Appeal will not leave it to foreign missionaries to take up the work that Sir Asutosh initiated so magnificently, warmly as they will welcome the co-operation of all in so great a cause.

The Appeal summarises the Calcutta University publications on the subject. Those, therefore, who do not already know all that there is to be known about it, will want to read it, and find out for themselves all the truth about their great fellow-countrymen's philanthropic and patriotic "action without a parallel". It is a booklet of sixty pages Crown 8vo. It is priced ten annas. They are not able to make an unlimited free distribution of such a booklet, but copies will be sold at a nominal price. Five hundred will be forwarded post free for three annas a copy, and three hundred, in addition, in lots of four, for twelve annas, for those who wish to send copies to people they consider likely to be interested. These will be forwarded direct to their destinations, if addresses are sent. The copies are obtainable in India from the office of "Bread

and Freedom" that was started under the patronage of the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee for the propaganda of the "new enterprise." The address is Keshub Bhaban, Shambazaar Bridge Road, Calcutta. This publication is now in its seventh year, and gives the monthly news of the development of the new colony movement in all countries. The American colony has already passed the initial stage, and is establishing branches and organizing the "new enterprise" in America. The little monthly, "Bread and Freedom", gives news of its development. The subscription is only Re. 1 a year post free. In England copies of the Appeal can be had of the Young Pioneer's Association, 22 Surrey St., Strand, London W. C. 2; in Geneva from the Union Internationale de Secours aux Enfants, Quai du Mont-Blanc 31.

APPENDIX

Ways of Beginning the "New Enterprise"

India needs a "Five Year Plan," the effects of which will be felt as soon as possible. Her problem is comparatively simple, because her people are mostly peasants, who can generally have their food if they are relieved of burdens. From the moment a Plan had been agreed to, it would be possible to relieve them by moratorium, whilst the developments were taking place.

The first step towards the establishment of the "new enterprise" might be the multiplication of "Witzwils" (See pp. 15 and 16, also the Appeal pp. 35 and 40 last paras).

The important principle in this connection is that the first colonies would be able to have ordinary commercial industries. If there were difficulties about their producing things, from the beginning, to pay their workers in kind, they might have any suitable industries, with a system of homecrofting for the workers to produce their own food. The industries would be specially supported by the Government or the public or both.

As soon as was practically possible, they would begin to produce suitable things to pay their wages in kind.

The next best plan might often be that described in the Appeal p. 32 para 5; the plan of using "outfields" to grow at first crops of any kind that would sell well. See also the Appeal p. 34 para 1.

There would also be special advantages in the "colonies" producing things for use in the various Government and other public departments, but fancy articles would often be very suitable too for their commercial side, with public support. Co-operation with private undertakings might also be sought early, in the manner described on p. 33 para 2 of the Appeal. It might even be found possible to carry out, to some extent, the plan described on p. 27 of the Appeal. If so, immense

possibilities would soon be opened up, and very important improvement works might be carried out. Sir Daniel Hamilton has made a somewhat similar suggestion.

With special support, presumably, from the Government, the public or both, the "colonies" would endeavour to help the greatest number of people, paying those they employed the minimum amount—with the advantages they would enjoy of growing their own food under the best conditions that could be scientifically contrived. Then, with profits, the colonies would employ as many people as possible on various works, on the general principle explained in the Appeal p. 27 para 2 from the foot.

Co-ordinated production would come into existence as the various "colonies" multiplied, and then they would depend less and less on their commercial side. See the Appeal p. 36 middle.

For unemployment among the educated classes, homecrofting combined with education might bring rapid relief. It might lead to the multiplication of homecrofting suburbs (p. 23 foot).

The plan of two people taking one job (see p. 32) might also develop rapidly to an important extent. It has in some cases advantages from the employer's point of view. The railways might give special concessions to people working on this plan, as they would give them a new traffic. In some cases a man working on the rotation system and cultivating a homecroft, might also bring or send a little produce regularly to the town. Then he might keep an unemployed brother usefully engaged in helping him on a large homecroft. Thus the plan might, not duplicate, but triplicate the employment given, pending other developments.

Immediate relief might be given to unemployment among the urban working classes in the same ways. Once more, the

Calcutta University Publications insist specially on the immediate effects the plan might have by promoting homecrofting in which the children would play an important part.

The "new enterprise" would cause stocks of necessaries, which are privately owned, to reach the unemployed who need them, because, in a word, the effect of co-ordination would be to enable the possessors of wealth in that form, to barter it with the unemployed for useful labour, as also to barter it among themselves (p. 27 of the Appeal).

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