

Indian Opinion

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NOTES AND NEWS

COMMENTING on the speech made by Mr. Duncan, the Minister of the Interior, in the Union House of Assembly recently at the time of the debate on Mr. Mackeurtan's segregation resolution, the *Maharatta* says:—

The speech of Mr. Duncan, Minister of the Interior, is remarkable as it records the policy followed hitherto and chalks out the future policy also. He said that "whereas in 1911 the Asiatics in Natal outnumbered the Europeans by nearly fifty per cent., the Europeans in recent years had increased more rapidly and the numbers were now nearly equal. The Union Government was pursuing the policy of voluntary repatriation of Indians more vigorously than ever, but was encountering opposition from various Indian organisations. He contended that the proposed segregation was utterly impracticable but the Government would assist the municipalities in their endeavours to set apart adequate and suitable areas for Asiatics. The Government, however, was not prepared to adopt an aggressive policy entailing far-reaching international consequences." This speech sums up the whole position. Since 1911, that is during the last eleven years, the Union Government succeeded in driving away a large number of Indians under the sweet name of voluntary repatriation. If the Indian population in Natal is equal to the white population in 1922 what right have these whites only to these colonies? Much less the whites had right in 1911 when Indians exceeded by fifty per cent. the white population! However might has proved to be the right in this case and the Indians as weakest, go to the wall. The policy in future as outlined by the Minister is also dangerous. He is afraid to take a bold stand and adopt the aggressive policy advocated by some, but he is bent upon effectively bringing about the same thing by recourse to segregation of Indians by the municipalities and further by repatriation also. It means that during the coming decade, Indians would have to leave Natal, leaving it a white colony. The Government of Canada has also passed a resolution of 'effectively restricting' the Asiatics. It seems that the Government of India or even for the matter of that Imperial Government are helpless in the matter! Those who are slaves in their own country, cannot expect better treatment outside! Slaves at home are slaves abroad!!

A Reuter's Calicut message states:—Three Moplahs have been sentenced to death, and three to transportation for the murder of Khan Chekkutz, ex-inspector of police, during last year's rebellion.

The Fiscal Commission appointed last September (says Reuter from Simla), has concluded its labours, and it is understood the report recommends (a) discriminate protection; (b) abolition of countervailing Excise duties; (c) Imperial preference where no economic loss is caused to India; (d) a free flow of foreign capital; (e) appointment of a Tariff Board; (f) application of the general industrial policy to the country. It is believed unanimity was reached on the majority of points, but a note of dissent was signed by five Indians

A Reuter's message from Ahmedabad brings the good news of the release of Maulana Hazrat Mohani on whom sentence of two years rigorous imprisonment was passed under extraordinary circumstances in that the jury had given a unanimous verdict of not guilty. The message runs as follows:—Hazrat Mohani who headed the movement for the separation of India from the Empire at the Moslem Congress, was sentenced in May to two years' rigorous imprisonment by a Judge who refused to accept the native jury's verdict of not guilty. The case was taken to the High Court which returned a verdict of acquittal.

NATIONAL DAY

THE first of August will for ever remain in the history of India a memorable day. It was on this day that the great nationalist leader of India Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak breathed his last on this Earth and it was on this very day that the birth of the present great movement in India known as the Non-violent Non-co-operation movement took place. The late Lokmanya Tilak was the heart and soul of the Swaraj movement in India and it was he who once more revealed to India the fact that Swaraj was India's birthright. He was, as it were, born to reveal this fact and he died in the attempt to regain that right for India. He is no more visible to us but in spirit he is still amongst us. Non-co-operation movement has sprung from the ashes of the dead body of the late Lokmanya Tilak and it is his invisible spirit that is at present working in India to accomplish the work to which he had dedicated his life. On the 1st of August the movement will be two years old and no one can deny that it has not been without its success. That 3815 of the best minds of India including the most highly esteemed leaders have been imprisoned for crimes which no sane Government or people could possibly consider as crimes, and yet the programme laid down by the leaders is being carried out with remarkable quietude and unflinching faith in the Divine Power is no small progress India has made, and it is a sure sign of the ultimate triumph in reaching the goal that has been aimed at. No nobler example could be set to the nations of the world that are striving to free themselves from the bondage of slavery. True peace and freedom can be achieved only by mental and physical suffering of one's self and not by inflicting it on others.

It is for this reason that the 1st of August is a sacred day for the Indian people. This day will be observed in India as a National Day. What will Indians outside India do? It should not be necessary to remind them of their relation to their Motherland. No Indian is so demoralized as not to understand it. Moreover

those of us who are striving to get justice and freedom in this country and are asking India for assistance, realise full well that India cannot assist us so long as she herself is suffering under the bondage of slavery. "If we are slaves in our own country we cannot expect better treatment outside" rightly says the *Maharatta*. "It is the duty of every Indian in whatever part of the world he may be to assist India in becoming free. The argument that Indians who ask for rights in this country have no right to assist India in her National movement is a mere bogey which should not deter any Indian from performing his National duty. It is for our leading bodies and members in the different parts of the Union to consider how best we could observe the National Day in this country. The practical way would certainly be to make a public collection in aid of Tilak Swaraj Fund and forward it to India. Will our wealthy brethren respond to the call?"

ST. AIDAN'S INDIAN HOSPITAL

IN another column we reproduce from one of the Durban daily papers an appeal made by Miss O. M. Cole, Sister-in-charge of the St. Aidan's Hospital for assistance to that institution. With the exception of the Depot Hospital and a secluded ward at the General Hospital there is in Durban only one other hospital and that is the St. Aidan's Indian Hospital. Indians have had sufficient experience of the treatment meted out to them at the Depot Hospital and their experience has, we are afraid, not been very encouraging. We have known people to have shuddered at the very name of that hospital and they have expressed their willingness to die rather than be removed there. There is therefore either the General Hospital or the St. Aidan's Hospital that Indians can look to and they would by far prefer the latter one where they would be sure of being treated without any race-prejudice which is prevalent in almost every Govt. department. But here Indians can only have satisfaction of sending their women and children. This is of course a matter that concerns particularly the poor class of our brethren. Those who are well-to-do do not dream of going or sending any members of their families to the hospital. They would wish to have the satisfaction of seeing their sick nursed under their own eyes, and, being blessed with fortune, they can well afford to do so. But those unfortunate brethren of ours who are not blessed with fortune and find it difficult to live can only wish but cannot fulfil their wish like their wealthy brethren, and are forced to have recourse to the hospital. For a nation that wishes to be independent it is the primary duty of the rich to look after the needs of the poor. If they cannot utilize even a meagre portion of their riches for the benefit of their poor and have no care for them, that nation cannot call herself a nation and does not deserve freedom. It would be a worthy act on the part of the wealthy members of our community who are able to donate good sums to charitable institutions if they were to come forward with a decent sum that would make possible the establishment of a decent Indian hospital. If that is not possible it is their duty to give their full support to a hospital that is already in existence for the benefit of Indians.

There appears amongst a section of our community some prejudice against the St. Aidan's Indian Hospital, that it is a sectional institution. And, this being so, they feel reluctant to render assistance liberally. In so far as the institution is under the direct control of the St. Aidan's Mission, it, no doubt, is a sectional institution. But this fact should be born in mind: to render any assistance to the poor or sick, whatever class, colour or creed they may be, is the duty of every human-being. It is therefore the duty of our brethren to contribute to any such charitable institution; and it is their duty, for this reason, if for no other, to contribute to the institution in question. But this institution is for the sole benefit of Indians, and our community is therefore all the more bound to support it. But they owe a still greater duty to it. Owing to lack of ability, or having got the ability but for reason of neglectfulness or indifference having not established their own institution, they should be grateful to those who are responsible for the establishment of such an institution for their benefit. Miss Cole has been in charge of the hospital which she has been running at a considerable personal sacrifice, and a lack of appreciation of her services on our part would indeed be deeply regrettable. We feel grieved to find that an appeal for assistance on the part of Miss Cole has at all become necessary. We earnestly hope that our brethren will realise their responsibility, and that they will without the slightest hesitation generously respond to the appeal. The requirements asked for in the appeal are but trifling and it should not in the least be difficult to supply them. In fact, we should hope that they will have been supplied already but if they are not it is high time that they were.

ST. AIDAN'S INDIAN HOSPITAL.

AN APPEAL TO THE INDIAN COMMUNITY

Miss O. M. Cole, Sister-in-charge, writes: I am venturing to put in an appeal for the above institution, which has been in our midst for the past six years. I think there is hardly any need to explain the work we are doing here, but I do wish to point out how dependent we are to the generosity of the public. Our fees are merely nominal, and they go barely three-quarters of the way towards paying our expenses. I do not wish to raise the fees because the majority of our patients come from the poorer classes, who find it difficult enough to make both ends meet.

So once more I make an appeal to the Indian community to assist us. They have assisted us loyally in the past, and I feel confident that I shall not ask in vain.

Our funds are very low at present, so we can only afford bare necessities.

Our greatest needs at the present time are rubber hot water bottles, bed quilts (coloured), blankets, sheets, pillow cases, 24 yards worth of crease Indian cloth (54 in. wide), cups and saucers.

May I once more appeal to your generosity to help us to carry on the work amongst the Indian women and children of this country.

In conclusion I should like to add that this hospital is under the direct control of the St. Aidan's Mission, and that doctors are free to send patients in and attend to them. The patients can decide upon which doctor they wish to attend to them.

FAITH UNSHAKEN

The following leading article appears in *Young India* of the 15th June:—

The All India Congress Committee met at Lucknow on the evening of the 7th inst. in the beautiful and spacious hall of the Rishabh-ram. The extreme heat of the day, the great distance from many of the provinces, the policy of severe repression which has created an anxious situation in many places demanding the continuous presence of provincial leaders in their own provinces made it impossible for a large number of members to gather at Lucknow. Yet the attendance was very satisfactory. Over 140 representatives were present. The dominant note was determination to advance, but with circumspection. The demand from Bengal was most insistent for a decisive forward move. Its representatives put up a strong fight for an immediate offensive by way of some form of mass civil disobedience. There was no doubt felt that the challenge of the Government should be duly answered by the nation. In February last, when the probability of violence stared us in the face, firmly believing in Non-violence as the essential condition of liberation and progress, in spite of every temptation that urged us to advance and fully realising all the losses and risks which a sudden halt involved, we deliberately chose to stop our aggressive activities. If we had been moved by hatred of race or a wish for chaos there was no better occasion than in March this year. We could have made a bold bid for victory and plunged into mass civil disobedience when the Government laid hands on Mahatma Gandhi. But we took all the risks which our creed of peace involved and despite warnings as to demoralisation and atrophy stopped all aggressive activities. The Government if it had a heart that responded to the loving and the noble in human nature would have in a sportsman like way stopped its repression. But true to the character that Mahatmaji has often attributed to it, since his great disappointment regarding the Punjab Wrong, it has taken advantage of our halt and is trying to crush the spirit of the people by a policy of unabated repression. This challenge to the spirited nation, we may and must answer unhesitatingly by presenting an undaunted spirit and an increased readiness to suffer, which in a struggle of non-violence turns a seeming disadvantage into a positive advantage. This readiness to take up the gauntlet was unmistakably shown at the Lucknow Meeting. But the spirit of circumspection was also unmistakable. The resolution adopted and the action taken thereon show the strength as well as the restraint of the national determination. The outstanding fact is the unshaken faith of the nation in Mahatmaji's message of Peace and Truth, and its resolve to achieve a peaceful revolution by non-violent non-co-operation. There was no hesitation or doubt when the audience unanimously stood with reverent determination to adopt the first resolution:—

"The All India Congress Committee, in this its first meeting after the imprisonment of Mahatma Gandhi, places on record his services to the cause of humanity, by his message of Peace and Truth, and reiterates its faith in the principle of non-violent non-co-operation inaugurated by him for the enforcement of the rights of the people of India."

"YOUNG INDIA" PROSECUTIONS

Our late Editor Mr. Shuaib Qureshi, and Mr. V. G. Desai, registered publisher of *Young India*, have got each one year's rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 500 for the article entitled "Weighed and Found Wanting" that appeared on 23rd March last. It was the first article written by Mr. Shuaib after he took charge as editor, and was a comment on the trial and conviction

of Mahatmaji. Mr. Shuaib passed adverse judgment on the Government that obtained a felon's punishment for the purest and best of men. Just the same judgment as Mr. Shuaib passed has been pronounced by many others, notably Rev. Mr. Popley, which much upset the Governor of Madras. Mr. Popley is a Christian missionary working among the Tamils in Madras and an official of the Y. M. C. A. Mr. Shuaib along with Mr. Desai got another year's hard labour and a fine of Rs. 500 for an article entitled "Exciting Disaffection", which was a comment on the trial and punishment of Maulana Hasrat Mohani. Therein Mr. Shuaib repeated Mahatmaji's oft-repeated formula that "it is the duty of non-co-operators to spread disaffection so long as the Government retained its irresponsible character and persisted in remaining unrepentant. The imprisonment in the two cases run concurrently. Mr. Bhansali and Swami Anandaband, who were registered as printer and keeper of the press respectively, were awarded also each year's rigorous imprisonment and Rs. 500 fine on the latter count. Though the Public Prosecutor asked only for simple imprisonment, the Magistrate awarded rigorous terms because they did not take lesson from Mahatmaji's punishment." Mr. Shuaib, Swami Anand, Mr. Bhansali and Mr. Desai are all hardened non-co-operators of the type to whom the severer the sentence, the greater is the satisfaction; so the punishments do not matter. But the reason given is somewhat amusing. It would be frank to say that printers, publishers, and keepers of presses must be punished without reason and for the sake of policy. But, to attempt to put their case on a moral footing and to talk of their not taking warning from the previous punishment of Mahatmaji is a thing that cannot stand any examination. What are they expected to have done if they took lesson as the Magistrate wanted? Are they to scrutinize the articles sent down to the press by the editor and send them back after study as objectionable? Magistrates evidently live in an unreal world.

Mahatmaji's son Mr. Ransdas Gandhi has promptly stepped in and taken up the responsibility as keeper of the press, publisher and printer of all the weeklies edited by his father.—*Young India*.

SIGNIFICANCE OF GANDHI MOVEMENT IN INDIA

AN AMERICAN VIEW

The Freeman (New York) writes:—

Accustomed as we are to regard national independence as the goal of political ambition, we are in danger of overlooking the real significance of the Gandhi movement in India. It is natural to be sure that a victory for the method of passive resistance would have a profound influence upon a world which is wedded to violence; but the bearing of this struggle upon the controversy between the individual and the State is not so clearly perceived. It is therefore worth noting that the Gandhi movement has revived the flagging spirits of those who lean to the side of individual liberty and who have grown accustomed to seeing their hopes driven from place to place, as one

after another attempt at self-expression expired beneath the steam roller of centralized authority.

The mind craves a tangible home for Utopias, an actual Spain for its castles; and the will-to-believe is so strong that, in spite of the ability of old institutions to survive revolution, each country that is shaken by a popular convulsion is hailed as the veritable cradle of liberty. America, France and Russia have served in turn as the chosen field for the enjoyment of personal responsibility; and although expectations have not yet been realised, it is possible that each struggle has contributed something to a more or less obscure evolutionary process. But in each instance, resort to violence has created in overpowering centralization of government, and the hope of freedom has dwindled as the inevitable bureaucracy developed.

IRELAND'S BARREN VICTORY

The new hope in the case of India lies chiefly in the avoidance of violence and its inevitable consequences. Because of its alliance with this treacherous force, Ireland is threatened with a barren victory in which the bounds of tolerance find no enlargement. National independence, considered by itself, is not calculated to inspire outsiders; for even when nationalism succeeds in overcoming local antagonisms and in extending rights within the State, the principle of liberation is halted at the boundary, and nationalism becomes the agent of division and discord. The results of self-determination are likely to be disappointing until the universality of human rights is recognised.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MOVEMENT

It is precisely the respect for individual judgment that distinguishes the struggle for liberation in India from the familiar type of revolution, and encourages the hope of consequences weighted with disenchantments. Mr. Gandhi, according to a compatriot, Ram Prasad Dube, who discusses the movements in Clarte, has performed a great service in developing the philosophy of individual responsibility. Although he has not yet discovered the fundamental economic basis of reconstruction for Hindu society, he has succeeded in making an appeal that is comprehensible to the masses, because it is based on social and economic interests and self-respect. Its sincerity may be judged by its insistence upon the abolition of caste prejudices and religious exclusiveness. Instead of creating a sectarian movement after the conventional pattern, commanding obedience to church or party, Mr. Gandhi regards the individual as a social unit subject only to self-discipline.

The magnitude of the revolution already accomplished is shown by the way in which the members of different castes are acting together as equals, eating together and intermarrying. Not only have caste barriers given way, but the carefully nurtured division between Mahomedans and Hindus has been successfully overcome. It is as though the Whites and Negroes of the South were to join forces on a basis of social and political equality, and enter into a fraternity which no longer knew the meaning of any ancient feud or any separatist doctrine. Gandhi's good offices on behalf of the Mahomedans have led them in return to discourage the slaughtering of cows, out of respect for the religious feelings of the Hindus.

THE SPINNING WHEEL

From an economic point of view, the revival of the spinning wheel has been effective, not because it is itself a step in the direction of greater ease and comfort, but because in the circumstances it helps to free the masses from independence upon British goods, and at the same time spares them the misery of western industrialism. Resort to such an expedient is made by the emotions aroused in a struggle which persuades its adherents, irrespective of caste and private fortune, to wear the coarse, Homespun *Khadder*, to abandon ~~many and to suffer imprisonment. As a result of the supplementary occupation provided by some industry,~~

agricultural labourers are no longer forced to industrial centres, as they used to be, and as they would be again were the exceptional demand for homespun to come to an end. Permanent economic emancipation is not to be found in the abandonment of scientific methods, but in the determination to keep open the limitless natural opportunities for self-employment as an alternative to the factory or the mine.

The participation of women in the Gandhi movement, both in respect of industrial work and of political agitation, is another significant factor in a revolution which has become more and more a popular movement. But there is a division of opinion among the native leaders; some of the younger men who have studied in England, wishing to organise the Indian labourers along trade-unionist lines; while others refer an anarchist-communist development as more in keeping with Hindu tradition, although for the highly centralised form of communism attempted in Russia, decentralised and independent units would be substituted. Hindu thought is more concerned with social ideas than with political ideas, as may be inferred from the freedom outside authority that prevails even in religious matters.

There is some danger, according to Ramprasad Dube, that Mr. Gandhi's adherents may end in becoming a new cult; say, a communist party of ten million persons united in a caste and submerged "in the vast obscure sea of the Indian population." There is also danger, says this authority, that Mr. Gandhi will become entangled in political intricacies and make unwise concessions. "On the other hand," he adds, "one can regard as an event in the history of social evolution in India, the agitation for the adoption of Hindu philosophy. It is that alone which has given a new life to the masses, and awakened the latent energy and the constructive idealism of the oppressed Indian people." The success of the movement will depend upon its adherence to the idea of individual responsibility as a means of accomplishing a measure of freedom that has not proved possible under the political constitutions of the Western World.

GANDHI'S DIPLOMATIC VICTORY

The following paragraphs are quoted from *Unity* of Chicago:—

The cabinet crisis in London, forced by the resignation of Mr. Montagu, Secretary of State for India, following his publication of Earl Reading's note asking for the Treaty of Sevres, marks the greatest diplomatic victory in Gandhi's extraordinary career.

Last January, Gandhi, the leader of the Non-co-operation movement in India, served a notice to those who wanted to co-operate with the Government to the effect that he would be willing to have a Round Table Conference with the Government provided the Government be agreed to settle three demands he had to make on behalf of the Indian Nationalists. The first demand was that justice be done to Turkey by revising the Treaty of Sevres on the following principles:

"Full restoration to the Turks of Constantinople, Adrianople, Anatolia, including Smyrna and Thrace. Complete withdrawal of non-Moslem influence from Arabia, Mesopotamia, Palestine, Syria, and therefore withdrawal of British troops, whether English or Indian from these territories."—*Young India*, January 19, 1922.

Earl Reading and others thought that the demand was very unreasonable because it would mean revision of even the Treaty of Versailles and it would be impossible to recommend it to the British Government. But Gandhi issued his ultimatum that he would not give up the Non-co-operation programme.

The strength of the revolutionary movement in India and the failure of repressive measures adopted by the

Government of India to check its progress has forced the Government to recommend the following measures to gain the confidence of the Mohammedans of India, and if possible, to separate them from the Hindus:

"The Government of India particularly emphasises the necessity of guaranteeing the neutrality of the Dardanelles and security of the non-Moslem population. It also urged evacuation of Constantinople, sovereignty of the Sultan over holy places, restoration of the Turks in Thrace, also in Adrianople and Smyrna. The government urges that these points are of supreme importance to India."

This shows that although Gandhi's demands were spurned three months ago by Earl Reading, yet the Government of India has to come down and accept Gandhi's demands as a basis for the solution of the Turkish question. This is the greatest diplomatic victory of Gandhi, the advocate of Non-violent Revolution in India.

DANGER IN INDIA

WARNING TO BRITAIN BY THE AGA KHAN

The *Daily Express* Paris correspondent, wiring on May 1st states:—

'Unless Britain revises her Mohammedan policy the great revolution in India is inevitable.'

The grave declaration was made to me yesterday by the Aga Khan, who is perhaps the greatest power of the Moslem world. He returned this week end from India, where he has been since November.

'What is your British policy in India?' continued his Highness. "The policy should be like this race"—our conversation was taking place at Longchamp Racecourse—At every furlong post some horse will be in front, but the object is to be in front at the last post. Is that your object in India?

The fact that Britain, a little island in the North Sea, with a population of 33,000,000, has ruled for so long the great Empire of India, with its population of 320,000,000, seven thousand miles away, proves that you must have friends in the very soil of India.

'Your principal friends were the Mahomedans of whom there are sixty millions. True, they are in a minority, but they were one of the roots of British rule in India, and now—now they have turned away on account of the British policy.'

'You can only remain in India as long as India wills it, but you cannot govern India by giving the Garter to one man and putting another in prison.'

'Lord Reading's terms which were put forward by Mr. Montagu were India's minimum terms, and they would have been accepted. The British Empire has had few such servants as Lord Reading and Mr. Montagu, and if Mr. Montagu, ever goes to India he will have such a reception that it will prove how deep that country's affection for him is.'

We then discussed other factors in the political situation in India.

The Aga Khan said that 40 per cent. of the gross revenue of India was devoted to the upkeep of the army. Taxes were too high, and people felt they were paying for the army whose only objective is to hold India for Britain.

'In England,' he said, 'if you don't like a Government you can turn it out. In India the only manner of disposing of an unpopular Government is by revolution.'

'India may be quiet for two weeks' three months or a year but there will be more troubles unless British policy is revised.'

The Aga Khan believes that the Turco-Creek situation can only be settled by giving Adrianople to the Turks. He characterised giving it to the Greeks as a crime.'

In reply to a question concerning the reported offer of the Sultan of Turkey to make reasonable terms, he said that the Sultan was the puppet of the army of occupation in Constantinople, and that he had no control over the Mahomedans.

When I asked how peace might be restored in India, the Aga Khan replied that it could be done by unburdening India of taxation for the upkeep of the army and adopting the Reading-Montagu proposals.

WHAT IS WRONG WITH THE WORLD?

According to Dr. Frank Crane, the chief disease which the world suffers from is due to national stagnation and national exclusiveness. He expounds his opinion in *Current Opinion* for May.

Humanity is a unit. Whether we refuse to believe it or not, we are all members of one body.

Whenever you attempt to isolate any group of the human race, to wall it up or to "protect" it, you are creating a condition that is bound sooner or later to make some sort of a carbuncle.

Almost all the public ills of men come from our artificial exclusions. These exclusions are often good enough in intent and are not particularly harmful up to a certain point, but carried to an extreme they invariably produce disease.

One of the most common examples of this grouping business, this attempt to wall off a portion of the human race and treat it as different from all the rest is the nation myth.

When we become crazy about nationality and forget humanity, then the body politic breaks out in that kind of smallpox which we call War.

War is merely patriotism unregulated by humanity.

You can see all this illustrated very concretely if you attempt to travel across Europe at the present time.

In America you can travel on through-trains for days without any passports, customs barriers, exchange of currency or police inquisition. That is why America is healthy. Our circulation is good.

In Europe when you attempt to go from one country to another you have infinite bother with passports and visas, you must get your money changed into a new kind of currency, at which transaction you always lose, your baggage is searched when you cross the border and you are in luck if they do not go through your pockets, and in addition to all this the agents of police want to know what is your business, where you are from, where you were born, and why.

All this is caused by the contentious little nationalities and by the pestiferous little peacock vanities of each nation.

All this annoyance does no good whatever. In fact it is the cause of appreciable harm.

What every country needs is a free circulation of its population, plenty of visitors coming in and plenty of travellers going out. All this brings business and is good generally for the national health just as stagnation is bad for business and national health.

Every country is doing its utmost to produce a condition of stagnation. It is doing this because they are all crazy as bedbugs on the subject of patriotism.

Instead of their love of country making them helpful to the human race it is making of each nation an enemy to the human race, a source of disquiet and of possible war.

Viewed from the standpoint of the philosophical historian, with any sort of appreciation of the tendency of evolution and with any degree of detachment of mind from local and petty prejudices and passions, all such mottoes as *Sion Fein*, *Deutschland über Alles*, *America First*, and the like, are merely reactionary attempts to thwart the course of destiny.

It is well enough to have a proper pride in one's

birthplace, in one's family and in one's nation. But when these things lead to separation and stagnation instead of leading to co-operation and progress they are distinctly harmful.

Thus we see what is the matter with the world. It is a case of stagnation. It is a case of the vigorous growth of the life of humanity being hampered by the hold-over of Nationalism. It is a cause of conspiracy against life by the old forces of reaction.

Everywhere this reactionary tendency is accompanied by intense passion and often by entire conscientiousness.

The doom of humanity is growth. We must grow, or we must become sick and die. We must get over our petty nationalisms. We must envisage co-operating world. Humanity cannot stop. It cannot cease that continuous change which life implies.

And if we succeed in accomplishing a temporary stagnation the result is the pus of provincialism which sooner or later breaks out in the horrible boil or war.

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