

# THE Servant of India

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## TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

**THE attempt to take out of the non-co-operation programme every single item of non-co-operation, in the name of intensifying the movement, cannot deceive Mr. Gandhi. The attacks levelled by the Nationalists on the programme are inspired, he truly says, by a spirit of unbelief in non-co-operation, and he recognises that they "frankly suggest a return" to the old constitutional methods when they propose modifications in the present programme. It is sheer bunkum to represent the use of and the abstinence from councils, law courts and schools as but two different forms of non-co-operation, and Mr. Gandhi thoroughly exposes it when he says that "there is a fundamental distinction between the two processes. However, appreciating the true character of these "modifications," he wishes all men who have now come to think better of the situation openly to avow their convictions and to follow them, whatever be the decision of the majority in the Congress. After the Calcutta Congress Mr. Gandhi had publicly declared against the mandate theory and has now reiterated his objection to it. To those who think that their reverence for the leader of the movement makes it incumbent upon them to express at least outward support, he suggests that the progress of the movement would be much quicker if he had not the seeming support of a vast majority which only embarrasses him, but the loyal support of a few convinced non-co-operators. He says: "I would feel hampered if I have not the hearty co-operation of those who vote for the programme. I would gladly find myself in a minority and confidently expect to march to victory."**

Negation is not Modification.

Need for "Truthful Parties."

SURELY, if Mr. Gandhi is to succeed he will succeed without the backing of those who swallow their own settled convictions and run to his help. Mr. Gandhi therefore pleads for what he calls "a truthful programme and truthful parties." Never was the need for such a programme and such parties more keenly felt than at this hour. "Let people only work programmes in which they believe implicitly." We hope this advice would sink in the hearts of the Nationalists and now at least, after a year's participation on their part in a movement in which they have no faith—which participation has certainly been to the detriment of the country—they will follow a course approved by their judgment. Mr. Gandhi himself wishes nothing else. He says: "The vote of the Congress this year must not be a leap in the dark. . . . It should be an emphatic endorsement or rejection of the existing programme." We are happy to note that the leaders of Maharashtra now seem inclined to view Congress resolutions in the proper light—as recommendatory and not as mandatory. To regard any other resolution than the one embodying the creed of the Congress as binding upon every Congressman is sheer tyranny, says one of their papers. Here the *volte face* is complete, but none the less gratifying.

Come Home to Roost.

THE Nationalist leaders of Maharashtra seem to be all of one accord—that non-co-operation must be abandoned—allegedly "modified"—in favour of constitutional agitation, but it is yet uncertain how much following they carry behind them. For the moment their opponents are making a good deal of stir. On Saturday last the Gandhi party, who for the most part consist of people who have yet to make a name for themselves, held a big public meeting in Poona to protest against the "machinations" as they call them of those who assembled at Akola. The leaders were then asked: if non-co-operation in respect of schools, councils, etc. is so harmful, why did they themselves inflict injury upon the country by stampeding people into a boycott of these institutions, as they did after the Calcutta Congress? Those for whom this question was intended had chosen to non-co-operate with the meeting, staying away from it in a huff, but even if they were present they would not have been able to make any satisfactory answer. For the so-called "co-operators" who refused to

submit to these taboos as being injurious to the country's best interests were declared by these very men to be traitors, to whom self-interest was everything and national interests nothing. Curiously enough, these very leaders were at this meeting given the same opprobrious name of "traitors" by the Gandhi party for daring to oppose Mr. Gandhi's policy.

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Room for Retrenchment. NEARLY four months have passed since a Retrenchment Committee for this province was constituted. The work before the Committee is really very arduous, but it is to be hoped that it will fulfil the expectations of the public by reducing extravagant expenditure and unnecessary posts in several departments of Government. It will be remembered that a few weeks ago a suggestion was made in these columns as to the possibility of abolishing the Land Records Office. We venture now to make another suggestion of a similar nature for the information of the Committee. It is a matter of common knowledge that Government have thought it desirable to place the famous historic Shanwar Wada of the Peshwas in Poona under the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act. We understand that the civil courts, at present located there, are intended to be removed somewhere else in the city. It is further understood that there is a proposal to house these courts in another equally famous palace of the Peshwas, namely, the Vishram Baug Palace, wherein the Government High School is now located. Indeed, the Wada is big enough to hold all the courts and has got ample accommodation for the purpose. If the educational authorities stand firm, as they may well be expected to, in not parting with this building, Government will have to hire a private building at considerable cost; and unless our information is incorrect, negotiations to this end seem to have already started. In this connection it is necessary to mention that the scheme of locating all judicial courts in Poona in one building, which the Government is understood to have under contemplation, is believed to necessitate an expenditure of nearly a quarter of a crore! There can be no doubt that this is beyond our present means.

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Abolition of Poona High School. WE therefore invite the attention of Government to the desirability of examining the question of the necessity of retaining any Government High School in the city of Poona. There are three well-managed aided institutions which prepare students for the Matriculation and School Leaving examinations, not to mention other second rate private middle schools and high schools. The examination results of these schools even at the Matriculation are in no way discouraging. The attendance in the Government High School on the other hand is comparatively small. Besides these three institutions there is another Government High School in the Poona Cantonment. With these facts staring us in the

face, would it be too much to ask Government to close the Government High School, which will result in a large annual saving? Even supposing that the Government have retained it so that it should serve as a model to other sister institutions, we doubt if it serves even this purpose. Indeed it would be no exaggeration to say that in some respects the private schools are superior to the institution maintained at so much public expense. Moreover, it seems to us that the existence of High Schools at Government cost in places where well-managed private institutions are working in the field of secondary education quite as efficiently as they is a mere superfluity. Economy thus secured will, in our opinion, be in the right direction and will not have the demerit of being effected at the cost of efficiency. In the case of the local High School, there will be a double saving inasmuch as Government will not be required to spend several lacs in the construction of new court houses and will secure a considerable saving in its recurring expenditure.

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Malabar Refugees. DR. C. B. RAMA RAO of Madras, who has very generously placed his invaluable services at the disposal of the Calicut Relief Committee, addressed the Committee on the 8th instant, outlining his scheme for medical relief for refugees, who now number 5,801 in Calicut. He found that dysentery, measles, sore eyes, were rife among the refugees and that professional medical treatment was urgently needed for them. He therefore called upon the local doctors to give their services gratuitously to the suffering people and upon the younger generation to offer themselves as social workers to attend on them. Mr. Rama Rao suggests that the pucca buildings should be used only for sleeping, while temporary sheds should be erected in their vicinity for the refugees to spend the whole day in. It is also necessary, according to him, that sick people must be segregated from the rest and that there must be a lady doctor and a midwife to supplement the efforts of Mrs. Bhat and Miss Natarajan, who have been of the greatest help to the Committee. It is hoped that the Committee will find it possible to carry out these suggestions.

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Co-operation Not Tabooed. MR. GANDHI, when he found that he was unable to check the progress of riots in Bombay, exclaimed: "What was I to do? I could not, I would not, ask the aggrieved parties to seek Government aid. . . . I could not and would not organise a trained physical-force party." These words would convey the impression that non-co-operation with Government was as much a tenet of Mr. Gandhi's creed as non-violence, and that he could as little seek Government help as commit violence. But, replying to comments made in this paper on the strength of the above quotation, Mr. Gandhi says that he regards himself at liberty to accept Government assistance in restoring peace in Malabar. We live and learn.

## THE IRISH PEACE.

THE *Te Deum* which filled Mr. Lloyd George's heart in the small hours of December 6th, when the Anglo-Irish agreement was signed, has been echoed and re-echoed in the hearts of all men of goodwill throughout both hemispheres. At a long last, the century-old feud has been ended; at a long last, the erstwhile foes will join no longer in deadly combat but to work together in a common citizenship for a Commonwealth.

The event is, in the strictest sense of the word, epoch-making; for, whether we are aware of it or not, all of us, not Ireland alone, are living in a new epoch to-day. That which Ireland won has changed every one of us—and not superficially either. Superficially, indeed, things may seem what they were a week ago: but in deep fact, they are not. Last week, we had a British Empire; to-day the "British Commonwealth of Nations" is no longer a metaphor, but the technical term of a legal document. Last week, we were subjects of a King-Emperor; to-day a "common citizenship" is ours. Last week, we were expected to yield allegiance; to-day we are asked to declare the faith that is within us.

And these are not mere words. For, these words signify and are meant to signify ideas; ideas which are intended to supersede those which expressed the mentality of that epoch, which to-day, happily, is past. During the last six months of parley, there have never been lacking in England those who have jeered at Sinn Fein standing out for a "word;" who have charged them with grasping after a shadow, as if childishly unconcerned about the substance of political realities. The mockers are now seen to have been fools, and the "doctrinaires" wise men. Lord Birkenhead himself in his historic message acknowledged the fundamental mistake hitherto committed by all the "practical" Englishmen and their friends, who with an astonishing persistence and blindness hitherto had concentrated on material things and condemned all spiritual values. Now, they have recognised at last that, after all, the things of the spirit come first, that the relationship between two peoples is not a matter for barter, but for psychology; and with this recognition, there has been achieved a victory of spirit over matter, which may easily lead to a new orientation in world politics generally.

One wonders, whether this long overdue conversion would have come even to-day, if Englishmen had not entrusted their destinies to a Welshman's keeping. Our readers are aware that we have never figured amongst the hero-worshipping Georgians: all the more ready, then, can we be to-day to render our tribute to Mr. Lloyd George for his achievement, which is the true sequel and fruition of the policy which he helped to shape in the days when he was a "Pro-Boer," a period of his life which the recent War seemed to have blotted out as if it had never been. Whatever

may happen to him (and to us) yet: the man who has made the Irish peace, *such* an Irish peace cannot but be counted, for all times, great.

There is of course something in the English mentality which readily responds to generosity after the working off of resentment in however bitter a fight. That is the difference between the Latin and the English—the former draws his dagger, the latter uses his fists; the one wants to eliminate his enemy, the other proposes to go on living with him, after he has given him a lesson—and received one. That is why, for instance, the French still try to strangle that hated German, who is so unaccountably slow to die; whilst the English, for all their war-time frenzy, are to-day already quite ripe for a close alliance with him. England and America are fast friends to-day; so are England and South Africa; so, thank God, are England and Ireland. The bitter fighting of the past does not only no longer divide, but actually draws the two former antagonists into a closer relationship than would have been possible, had there never been any fighting at all.

Until only the other day, Great Britain had Colonies. She may have got some colonial possessions still; but as a matter of fact the Boston Tea Party made an end of the mentality which conceived of "Colonies" in the old sense, and what remained of North America, soon became a "Dominion." If this word stressed the fact of overlordship, it no less implied full autonomy, as long as the latter did not make nugatory the overlordship of the British Crown. "Loyal" New Zealand was ready to copy Canada; but Australia insisted on greater emphasis being laid on the broad democratic character of its polity: and so it became (Shades of Cromwell!) a "Commonwealth." When South Africa's turn came, the term chosen in the delicate circumstances was strictly uncontroversial; four States united and the result was a "Union." But—and here Tory England gasped—one of the constituent States claimed the right to revert from its enforced new name of "Orange River Colony" to its old one of the "Orange Free State."

To-day, no longer in a roundabout and subsidiary fashion, an uncompromisingly "Free State" has come into partnership with a kingdom, a couple of Dominions, a Commonwealth, a Union and an Indian Empire. A Free State, not by grant, but by inherent right! Ireland has joined, not as an off-shoot, but as a Parent Nation. There have been foreign elements in Canada and South Africa but they were minorities: broadly speaking, all these new world nations were and are daughter-nations. It is for this that Ireland has fought, aye, and won; not to be a daughter, but a parent; not to owe, but to be owed. It is therefore, that she had to insist that she was essentially free, mistress of her own State, liege to no King. It is therefore, that the often pressed suggestion of

reviving an Irish Kingdom with a King of England as Irish Monarch offered no solution of the problem. It is therefore, that the fact had to be stated so clearly as to be beyond all possibility of equivocation that Ireland is free, that she is a Free State. Having had this freedom recognised, being free to give or to withhold, Ireland has made the venture of faith and asked for "membership of the group of nations forming" thereby and thenceforth "the British Commonwealth of Nations." Making that venture, Ireland declares not her allegiance, but to be faithful to King George and his heirs.

For allegiance is a duty corresponding to an objectively existing relationship, just as filial piety is the duty of sonship; whilst faith is purely subjective, the attitude of a free will making a deliberate choice. Thus it will be seen, how carefully chosen is every word of that oath which it has now been agreed is to be taken by all Members of Parliament of the Irish Free State and which may well be taken as the quintessence of the whole treaty:—

"I solemnly swear true faith and allegiance to the Constitution of the Irish Free State as by law established and that I will be faithful to His Majesty King George V, his heirs and successors by law in virtue of the common citizenship of Ireland with Great Britain and her adherence to, and membership of, the group of nations forming the British Commonwealth of Nations."

There, with one stroke, goes "subject" and "Empire." Hitherto, on one side of a purely artificial borderline, was an American citizen; on the other, a British subject. To-day, the last vestige of Absolutism has vanished from all the English-speaking peoples of the world. And with "subject" vanishes "Empire," the rule of force, making way for "adherence" by free choice. The transformation is indeed wonderful in its frank acknowledgment of facts; still more wonderful in its promises of a better future. And not least so, because, for the first time, one sees a way open for a permanent association of India with that England, to which she owes so much of all that is best. The analogy of the Dominions always seemed unsatisfying, because untrue, for, after all, India is in no sense a daughter nation of England. But now that an elder nation, of a different culture and mentality, now that Ireland has been welcomed as equally a parent nation on joining the British Commonwealth of Nations, now a way is clear for India, in full *swaraj*, to make a similar venture of faith and to claim, on the basis of a common citizenship, membership in this same British Commonwealth of Nations.

Mr. Wells only quite recently horrified some Anglo-Indian papers when he expressed his hope that a century hence there would be no British Empire, of which, in his illuminating articles on the Washington Conference, he speaks as "a temporary patched-up thing." Mr. Wells' prophesy and hope have been fulfilled more swiftly and more beautifully than he or any one dared to expect: already, the Empire has "given place to a much

larger re-union of free states."

For that is the most wonderful result of all the wonders of this Irish Peace,—that it opens a way to a true partnership of all the nations of the world: not in a "League", which must be directed against somebody else; not in an Association of Victors; but in a Commonwealth of Free States—of Nations, remaining free to live their own life, to manage their own affairs, to evolve their own culture; and yet no longer solitary units remaining in cramped isolation; but sharing henceforth wider opportunities, free to contribute their own individuality to a larger entity of which there is but one logical term—Humanity itself. For the next step, which one can foresee already, is for the British Commonwealth of Nations to cease being merely British and to go on growing by the adherence one after another of all the World's Free States, as soon as they are ready, whilst preserving their own freedom, to drop their own particularism and to extend their own rights of citizenship to all citizens of that world-wide Commonwealth of Nations. As in a blinding flash one seems to see how thus, and thus only, it will be possible to crowd out the very idea of "foreigner" and with it, the idea of war. . .

Peace in Ireland, Peace on earth. Both are possible. One has already come to pass and the other will follow, as soon people will meet with the same goodwill.

For only "amongst men of goodwill can there be "Peace on Earth." And thus, most seasonably, would we end as we began: "Glory to God in the Highest." \*

### THE POLITICAL SITUATION.

THE policy of stern repression upon which Government seem to have deliberately launched and the determination of the non-co-operators to persist in organising *hartals* even in the face of the unfortunate results to which they have led in the past, have produced, between them, a situation which is puzzling in the extreme. The recent riots in Bombay which took such a heavy toll of innocent life would not be altogether unredeemed if non-co-operators and Government learnt the lessons which they had to teach both parties, but unfortunately neither has learnt them to the fullest degree. Non-co-operators ought to have realised that, however much Mr. Gandhi and others may desire to observe strict non-violence, violence is apt to be committed when the common people are asked by an appeal to their emotions, to show their resentment against Government by stopping all intercourse. And if the movement of non-co-operation depends for its very life upon non-violence it was clearly the duty of the leaders of that movement to suspend all demonstrations for a time till the public feeling is restored to normal conditions. But this plain warning of the disturbances in Bombay was unheeded, and everywhere people were urged to bring about *hartals* by the usual methods. Really, so much work had already been done by non-co-

operators by way of educating the people with regard to their duties in connection with the Prince's visit, that nothing would have been lost if such general strikes had not been organised, and it would have afforded a test, if one was wanted, of the strength of the public support for the movement. It was quite open to the non-co-operators themselves to keep indoors when the Prince arrived rather than prevail upon the hackney-drivers etc., to go on strike for the purpose of preventing those who desired to attend and participate in the rejoicing from doing so. But even after the bitter experiences of Bombay, even after the open and frank confession of Mahatma Gandhi that, in the name of non-violence, much violence was used and far more intimidation was practised, non-co-operators persevered in *hartals*. We think it was a serious tactical blunder; it should have been foreseen that the *hartals* would at least provide Government with an excuse to crush the movement on the pretence of an outbreak of violence. But what faced Government, in Calcutta at any rate, was not merely a possibility of violence, but the actuality of coercion practised on people on November 17. We cannot dismiss the testimony of such eminent publicists as Mr. Pal and Sir Ashutosh Chaudhury as of no value, and therefore we cannot confidently assert that no action was necessary on the part of Government to prevent a recrudescence of violence on the occasion of the Prince of Wales' visit. Conscious of the vital importance of preserving order in the country, even to permit of such movements as that of non-co-operation, we feel bound to support all such measures as may be reasonably needed to prevent violence. But that is the limit within which any restrictive measure that may be taken will have to be rigidly kept. Has Government observed this condition? The answer to this question must be in the negative. In this connection it must be remarked that though the non-co-operators did not drop *hartals* after the Bombay riots, they manifested anxiety in other ways to avoid risks of a possible breach of order. Mahatma Gandhi had written to Lala Lajpat Rai asking him to save himself from arrest if possible; and probably a similar message was conveyed to Mr. C. R. Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru. It shows that the leaders of non-co-operation were becoming alive to the danger of conducting the more aggressive parts of the movement in the existing conditions. Corroboration is lent to this view by the general instructions which are being urged by Mr. Gandhi in regard to suspension of picketing, etc. Just while the non-co-operators were thus recoiling from the effects of the Bombay riots, Government are contemplating a blow at the movement. In Lahore the Provincial Congress Committee was meeting for the purpose of considering the situation caused by the application of the Seditious Meetings Act to the Punjab, and the Government proclaimed the meeting and chose to arrest those who would not comply with the order. It is to be remarked that Lala Lajpat Rai challenged this order not on the

broad ground that he would organise a general movement of civil disobedience, but on the very narrow ground that the Congress Committee's meeting was not a public meeting and that the Seditious Meetings Act could not apply to it. If the projected meeting had been left uninterfered with, ten to one the meeting would have decided against the initiation of civil disobedience. Again, quite an appreciable section of the public has become aware of the futility of non-co-operation and is slowly but surely receding from it, and preparing to avail itself of all the avenues of public service such as the legislative councils. Just when this is happening, the local Governments are using the discretion allowed to them by the Government of India in making what must be regarded as indiscriminate arrests—and strengthening the very movement which they wish to see perish. We have said before that all right-thinking citizens will be at one with the Government in their desire to preserve peace, and will cordially support all measures proved to be necessary for the purpose, but for measures not immediately required for the purpose it is futile to expect popular support. Government seems to be conscious of its inability to elicit such support, for in the United Provinces where action was taken against Pandit Motilal Nehru and others while the Council was in session, but without consulting the Council, the Governor disallowed Pandit Kunzru's motion for adjournment, although it had received the necessary non-official support to permit of its discussion in the Council. It was certainly incumbent upon the Governor to let the legislature express its views upon such a momentous issue—and further to adjust its own policy according to these views. Is it too late yet to hope that the Government, undoing the wrong it has done, will revert to the policy which it was pursuing till the other day?

#### REVISION OF THE FAMINE CODE.

IT is a matter of common knowledge that famine has almost become an annual feature of British India. There is hardly any account of moral and material progress of India in which mention has not been made of some part or other of British India wherein owing to failure or untimely rainfall unfavourable seasonal conditions prevail. In certain parts of the country such as the Deccan, famines occur in such short intervals that the people are faced with the grim prospect of suffering before they have hardly recovered from the disastrous effects of the past bad season. In these tracts irrigation sources are few, monsoons are precarious, and so failure of crops is very frequent. Since the time the State has come to recognise its duty of saving life, the system of relief afforded in this country in time of distress has undergone reformation, and Commissions have often sat to remove its worst defects. Be it said to the credit of the Government of this country, that with all the existing defects, attempts are made to perfect the or-

ganisation of famine relief and so far it has greatly achieved the object of mitigating the intensity of suffering in seasons of extreme drought. But it cannot be denied that the preventive side of famine relief has not been seriously undertaken. If the proposals contained in the various reports of the Famine Commissions had been given effect to, the Government would have certainly placed the people in a better condition for enduring bad seasons. But this aspect of the matter is beyond the scope of this article. As the Famine Codes of different provinces are based on almost the same principles, any change effected in a Provincial Code must certainly have an indirect effect on the methods followed in other provinces. In this hope, we shall mention a few of the important particulars in which the Madras Famine Code may be revised in view of the overwhelming evidence recorded by the committee appointed for the purpose of suggesting modifications in the Famine Code.

It has been suggested that the true object of famine relief should be to maintain healthy persons in health. To protect people from starvation, as distinctly stated in the introduction to the Code, is not, to our mind, the same as keeping persons in normal health. While attempting to keep healthy persons in health, this object will surely be attained. But failure to lay emphasis on the object suggested above is likely to cause some unnecessary suffering, to prevent which the present elaborate system of relief has been provided for.

Much stress is laid on the fact that unless all the premonitory signs of distress mentioned in the Code are satisfied, organisation of relief should not be commenced. We emphatically demur to this proposition as some of the 'warnings' required only appear at a very late stage of famine. Agriculture being the main occupation, it is an undoubted fact that in seasons of scarcity a large section of the population dependent on the wages of field labour are thrown out of employment. It is obligatory that the State should come forward to provide employment to the unemployed. To wait till all the conditions laid down are satisfied is to deny timely help to those in absolute need of it. Any action intended to put heart into the people who, for no fault of their own, have been rendered helpless must be taken sufficiently early before a feeling of desperation overtakes them.

To achieve the object stated, it has been suggested that as soon as the seasonal prospects appear gloomy, a circumstance that can be easily recognised with the help of the system of intelligence prescribed, the Collector should immediately constitute a non-official advisory committee. There is no denying that, for some reason or other, the public have come to believe that the revenue officials are loath to recognise the existence of distress. This fact was sufficiently proved in the Orissa famine of last year. The presence of well-informed representatives of the people on the Committee will also be a source of help to the authorities.

The next point urged for consideration is the need for a period of observation and test. It is not understood why this period should be enforced at all. When the intelligence is received by the Collector reporting the failure of crop and the absence of any other occupation to the unemployed, it is perfectly clear that the time has arrived for the intervention of the State. It is also known to one and all that the conditions of work on relief works are sufficiently hard and humiliating, and no person would take advantage of the relief afforded on such conditions unless he has come to the end of his resources. A distinct fall in the numbers on works as soon as the prospects of the season appeared to be better, and the fact how difficult it is to get labour for works other than agricultural operations during normal seasons, show that the Indian labourer or ryot would not care to accept State help unless he is forced by circumstances beyond his control. To insist on a test stage in spite of these considerations is unjust and unnecessary. It appears as though the State believes that people are too ready to resort to their works even in the absence of distress and subject themselves to innumerable hardships.

The stringency of test work conditions can be stated thus :

- ( i ) no allowance to dependents,
- ( ii ) no rest-day allowances to workers,
- ( iii ) the task enforced is high,
- ( iv ) the interval between the test stage and the declaration of famine is long.

It will be noticed that generally by the time the test works are opened the physical condition of the workers is low. Moreover most of the workers are not accustomed "to continuous hard physical labour or earth work." Naturally the workers are forced to attend the works early and work even during the mid-day recess. Otherwise they have to be content with reduced wages owing to poor outturn. So to enforce a higher task and refuse to give allowances to dependents during the test stage are real hardships which must be done away with if the State should put into practice its humanitarian principles. In the absence of provision for dependents the workers are forced to starve themselves with a view to discharge their "traditional and family obligations of the social system of the country" and support those whom they are bound to protect "by the custom of the country." The same considerations may be urged in regard to rest-day allowances. To expect the workers to lay by something for the rest-day, is simply ridiculous. Nor can we deny a rest-day for them for the same reasons that operate in the case of a relief work. It has been our common experience that for various reasons in which the system euphemistically called 'red-tapism' plays no unimportant part, the period of test is unnecessarily prolonged. What this means in effect to the distressed, it is needless to dilate upon. Suffice it to say that for reasons already urged these restrictions imposed with a view to test the existence of distress and the necessity

for State relief are absolutely unnecessary and the sooner they are dispensed with the better for the Government and the people. In passing it may be noticed that the difference in the allowances given to dependents and workers is another anomaly that requires immediate rectification.

It has been urged before the committee that as great difficulty will be experienced in starting a large number of works at least during the initial stages of famine, a distance allowance may be granted till the works grow in number as not to be farther than 3 miles from the villages from which the workers attend the works. Everyone is agreed that to mitigate hardship caused by people having to come long distances as many works as possible should be started. In doing so village works should be preferred to large works where concentration of labour, with all its attendant evils, should be avoided. In this connection we would invite the attention of our readers to a valuable note by Sir B. K. Bose submitted to the Famine Commission of 1898. To quote his words :

The indirect advantage of this system of relief will not be inconsiderable. Many useful village works will be done. Disruption of families, dislocation of agricultural organisation and disintegration of the village community will be prevented. The cultivators will always be on the spot to take advantage of every favourable turn in the weather, and thus the prospect of the next harvest will be improved. Such opportunities are fleeting and come at uncertain intervals, but if seized at once, they are of inestimable value to the agriculturists. By refusing relief when offered by means of works which are uncongential to them, they will not be reduced in condition. Their spirit and strength will, on the contrary, be kept intact, and they will be in a position to resume their usual occupation and attend to its duties in the usual way on the reappearance of the ordinary condition of things on the subsidence of distress.

If a sufficiently large number of village works cannot be started in any area owing to its peculiar conditions, to ensure punctual attendance and due performance of work, distance allowance is a necessary concession. Insistence on residence on works will hardly be popular. Nor is it practicable at a reasonable cost. By providing residences on works and compelling the workers to live in them, we would only be introducing overcrowding, etc, evils generally associated with western factory system.

That the nature and conditions of work are hard, has been already mentioned. More so will this be the case during the hot season. Carrying stones and breaking them is really trying under the scorching sun. The task during summer should not be as high as that prescribed during the other parts of the year. It may also be stated that the principle on which classification of workers is done at present is arbitrary and unsound. Even though a woman turns out the same task, sometimes more, she is not entitled to the wages of a male worker. The age of children who are put under class III should be raised to 12. This will then be quite in keeping with the proposed amendment of the Factory Act. Among dependents the distinction maintained between Male and Female should be

abolished, and a new class of dependents consisting of children of under 3 years, but not in arms should also be created.

The cry everywhere is that the allowances prescribed by the code are hardly sufficient. They have been sometimes increased or reduced in the past, and the present day figures cause great hardship. We have the opinions of great doctors like Dr. King, we have also pitted against this the opinion of recent doctors who have carried out some investigations. But it will do well to bear in mind that Dr King also arrived at his conclusions after performing very careful experiments. He opines that for an adult Deccan labourer in prosperous times one seer per day (2 lbs.) of dry grain is required, and he considers that in the case of grain the tendency is towards greater and not a smaller quantity. At present no provision is made for the wastage that occurs in making the grain fit for consumption. As the bureaucracy often seeks inspiration from the Jail Code in matters like this, we give below the items and the weight of each permitted under the respective Codes.

Famine Code for class I workers.	Toil Code for male convicts sentenced to hard labour.
Grain 55 tolas	Grain (rice) 50 tolas
Pulse 10 "	Dhal 12-5 "
Salt 1-15 "	Salt 1-88 "
Ghee or oil 2-5	Oil 1-25 "
Condiments & Vegetables 2-5	Vegetables 15 "
	Tamarind 1-25 "
	Curry powder 0-625
	Onions 1-25 "

It will be apparent on reading these figures that a convict is treated better than a hard-working honest cooly. It is said that the researches of Major McCay into jail dietaries have shown that a diet which includes more than 20 ounces of rice is in excess of physiological requirements. We are not sure if in coming to this conclusion Major McCay has not taken into consideration the nutritive value of other items also. We give below the nutritive value of diets adopted in different institutions.

	Nitrogen grains	Carbon grains.
Famine rations for a man and woman	253	7,864
Toil diet (old scale)	459	9,426
" (new scale)	322	8,733
Hospital full diet	500	9,720

We leave it to the reader to form his own judgment with the data placed at his disposal. It may also be noted that no provision is made for fuel in famine allowances, which, according to Dr. King, is at least 6-65 lbs. We also strongly feel that wages should be calculated on the money value of each item of the ration. Otherwise, unless the prices of other items vary *pari passu* with the price of grain, the system of adopting a single grain as the basis of calculation is not fair. Wages also should be calculated on the price of grain available in the nearest village and that the grain chosen should be mature grain of medium quality.

The treatment accorded to expectant and nursing mothers is of very great importance. While serious efforts are being made to tackle the question of maternity and child welfare, it is but right that the State should in a tangible manner recognise it in the treatment of its employers. Six weeks before and six weeks after child birth women should not be employed at all on the works. They should be brought on the gratuitous relief list but paid workers' allowance. As regards nursing mothers, it is seriously contended that if their presence on the works is more a hindrance than any help to the other members of the gang, they may be permitted till the child attains the age of one year to stay at home. There is much force in this contention and requires careful consideration.

There are many other minor details, but important nevertheless from the worker's viewpoint that need revision. Provisions such as granting half day's wage for half day's work in case of absence on leave owing to illness, etc., the payment of previous day's wages to absentees, the system of cooked food, cash doles in the matter of gratuitous relief, the closing of works only after the principal harvest comes in early and timely, granting of leaves for subsistence also, throwing open of reserves for free grazing as soon as the scarcity for fodder is felt, the need for clothing in cases of extreme want, early suspension of revenue and ultimate remission if the existence of distress is prolonged,—these and such others should be carefully considered and decided in favour of the distressed if the relief afforded by Government is to be real at all.

R. SURYANARAYANA RAO.

#### LORD SINHA.

EVERY ONE, who believes in the Reforms, and, who has tried to know what great work Lord Sinha had put into them to turn them into an Act of Parliament, will be pained by the sad news of His Lordship's resignation of his high office as the Governor of Behar and Orissa.

By his intellectual training and his gift of imagination and sympathy, by his thorough insight into the needs of India and his practical knowledge of all questions that mattered, by his political sagacity and his no less profound grasp of constitutional precept and practice, Lord Sinha had held out promise that he would prove the most successful Indian Governor of the new province to which he was appointed. Had it been given to him to finish his term of office, we have no doubt that he would have come out of the trial with successful results as he showed in the high offices he had already filled with added lustre to his name and honour to his own country. But fates had decreed otherwise. And he had to lay down the reins of office within a year's time that he had started on his new career.

The very taxing work he has had to do as the first Indian member of the Imperial Conference, his onerous and exacting duties on the eve of the Reforms as the Under-Secretary of State for India, in Parliament, as an administrator and on Committee work, the strenuous fight he had to put up in England, out-side Parliament, in defence of the Reforms, and his personal bereavements and sorrows—all these had done their work in undermining Lord Sinha's health, even before he had started for India to take the charge of his new office. The fact was that he has had no rest during the three or four years that he had saddled himself with work as the spokesman of India in the councils of the Empire. Many, who saw him

exactly a year ago at the banquet given in his honour at the Taj Mahal Hotel, felt anxious for his health, and their fears have, unfortunately, come too true.

Lord Sinha has acted as the Governor of Behar and Orissa, his native province, for little less than a year. And, therefore, his work may be said to have hardly commenced. Much of the time had, perforce, to be spent in preparing the mould for the great work the Reform Act of 1919 has imposed upon the people. And the noise and unrest created by non-co-operators in his province must have added not a little to the already great burden a pioneer has to shoulder to make the new path before him, smooth, straight and easy to go along. What that task may have been, Lord Sinha has himself described for us in one of his speeches :

I want to remind you in this connection what you must have read in the report of the Joint Committee as regards the onerous nature of the responsibilities entrusted to the Governor. It will be his duty to act as an informal arbitrator between the two sections of the Government, that is between the Executive Council on the one hand and the Ministers on the other. It will be his duty to advise his Ministers so that no action that they may take may be contrary to the wishes of the Legislative Council whose representatives they will be in the Government. It will be the duty of the Governor if he considers that any action of his Ministers is contrary to the wishes of the Legislative Council to ask him to resign his position if necessary. If on the other hand he thinks that the Legislative Council and the Ministers are advocating a view which is opposed to the wishes of the country, it will again be his duty to dissolve that Council and to obtain from the country at large its expression of opinion on the question. These are elementary propositions of constitutional law in those countries which are fortunate enough to possess a constitution. It will be the duty of the Governor under these circumstances in this country also ; and, I mention these facts to you, firstly because I want to show you how arduous the responsibilities are going to be so far as I am concerned, and, secondly, because I want to remove a misapprehension that the scheme of the Act gives no real power to the Ministers and places all the power in the hands of the Governor. It does nothing of the kind. I hope that by our success, by my success and by the success of my ministers and my Council, we shall be able to claim in the near future that this division should no longer exist and that the will of the people must prevail not merely in what are going to be transferred subjects for the present, but also in the reserved subjects, according as we show that we are able to represent the views by practical legislation."

In view of the ideal held before himself by Lord Sinha as a Governor, the country would have found in him at the end of his five years' career, a man who had ably discharged his duties. But as that is not to be, it is not possible to refer to his work as a Governor in estimating the services he has rendered to England and India. Lord Sinha's great public career began practically with the inauguration of the Minto-Morley Reforms. Till that time he was known to the outside world as a great lawyer and jurist and a man of eminent parts and independent views. He was discovered to the world really by Lord Morley's reference to him in a speech on the reforms. And subsequently his name was conspicuous in the announcement which came, as an astounding fact, in the first instance that an Indian was appointed as a law member in the Viceroy's Executive Council. For the first time, the European monopoly of power was broken in the secret councils of the country. The next great event in Lord Sinha's career was his election to the Congress. Presidentship in 1915. His presidential utterance will ever be recalled as a document of remarkable prescience, insight and statesmanlike vision. There were persons then in quarters that now pass as seats of sobriety, wisdom and right direction, who had belittled that utterance. They had chosen to damn it with faint praise. But the rolling years have vindicated the depth and wisdom



of that noble, frank, yet restrained address. Those who then posed as prophets have proved to be lamentably shortsighted, impatient and unpractical. It was Lord Sinha who adumbrated the idea of a definite declaration on the part of England of its ultimate policy in India. It was he who showed very clearly what were the conditions on which alone full responsible Government could be achieved in India. He warned the people of the need of practical educative work among the masses—the electorate—before self-government could be a reality. He told his audience that they must strive for industrial regeneration, for education, for social improvement, for every kind of spade work that would give India the thow and sinew of a nation. And he maintained that without military training and an ample provision for it in India itself, one of the very essentials of the fitness for self-Government will be found to be absent. Perhaps no one has made out such a reasoned and unanswerable case for India's military training as did Lord Sinha in that presidential address.

Looking to the times through which we are passing some words in that memorable address at once arrest our attention and need to be better known. Lord Sinha says, discussing steps for the attainment of self-government: "It is a commonplace of politics that nations like individuals must grow into freedom and nothing is so baneful in political institutions as their prematurity. Nor must we forget that India free can never be ancient India restored. Such a vision could only be realized if India free from the English could have stood in tranquil solitude or in a sphere of absolute isolation; but, unfortunately, the hard facts of the modern world have to be faced, and India free from England, but, without any real power of resistance, would be immediately in the thick of another struggle of nations." The only way in which we could obtain 'the priceless treasure of self-government' is by means of "such progressive improvement in our mental, moral and material conditions as will, on the one hand, render us worthy of it, and, on the other, impossible for our rulers to withhold it." We could not wrest it by a conflict with British power. He adds that acts of lawlessness only prove our incompetence for self-government. We cannot retain it, apart from our connection with England. And, therefore, the only and the wisest alternative is to work for it under the aegis of the British Empire. "We shall continue our labours till really free institutions are established for the whole of the country—not by any sudden and revolutionary change but by gradual evolution and cautious progress." But caution and evolution did not mean for Lord Sinha such an indefinitely long time as to render the good "a mere vision of the imagination." These were Lord Sinha's words in 1915. And in less than six years the tide came and we have found ourselves in full sight of the goal. The whole address delivered by Lord Sinha in 1915 reads now as a prophecy that has remarkably fulfilled itself.

But what ought to arrest our attention at the present moment is another prophecy which he made exactly a year ago, almost to the date, in his reply to the addresses presented to him in Bombay by the W. I. L. Association and the Deccan Sabha of Poona. He had foretold a fate for the programme of non-co-operation and exposed the mischief lurking beneath it with unerring insight. Referring to non-co-operation he, then, said: "It is not because of the success of this campaign that I feel anxious. My anxiety is due to deeper and other causes. It is no use disguising the fact that the masses, though generally law-abiding,—perhaps the most law-abiding amongst the civilized races of the world—are liable to be run off their feet, so to speak, by religious animosities and racial frenzy. Those who conduct this campaign will, I hope, and I appeal to each one and all of them to bear in mind from the experiences of the past that *once you set these religious animosities and racial hatred in motion you will be soon powerless to stem the tide. It will be beyond your power to stop the evil which has been done.*"

In the same speech Lord Sinha emphatically maintained that "the new system about to be inaugurated depends for its success on mutual trust, good-will, understanding and sympathy between the agents of Government, the agents of his

Majesty and the representatives of the people." "With these the road to complete self-Government is open: without them the road is full of obstacles." Non-co-operation, he added, is calculated to create an "atmosphere of distrust, misunderstanding, ill-will, hatred, which will not help in the amelioration of the lot of the people, or in the achievement of the object which we have all at heart."

From the day that he took office, for the first time, as Law Member in Lord Minto's administration, down to the time when ill-health has forced upon him the necessity of an early retirement, Lord Sinha has regarded these high and responsible positions in various spheres as opportunities for serving the highest interests of his country. As he has himself put it, "I have tried to do my best according to my lights and to the best of my judgment. Never, for a moment, have I thought of any interests other than those of my country."

It was in the best interests of the country that he spoke in such an unmistakable manner on the non-co-operation movement. And that, too, at a time, when he could have kept silence, had he so chosen. But the sum and spirit of his endeavours in public life precluded him from shirking his duty. "I feel that I should be wanting in duty," said he in December 1920, "to the country, if I did not say what I feel with regard to this policy of non-co-operation, simply because it might make things more difficult for me. *That is not my manner of working. That has not been my method. And if I displease any section of my countrymen all I can say is, to repeat what I said once before in the immoral words of Burke, I would rather displease my countrymen than injure them.*"

And, we may ask, in conclusion, if it is not the duty of every one in the country who values the gift of liberty and true citizenship to work up, to organize and educate public opinion in the spirit of the truth contained in these words. Shall we not be doing infinite harm, are we not doing infinite harm to the great cause by our organised silence, so to speak, in the face of the danger that threatens the country? And is not such silence, such apathy, such disorganised and fissiparous state of Liberal opinion in the country really criminal, amounting, as it does almost, to moral and political suicide?

V. N. NAIK.

## A LETTER FROM LONDON.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

LONDON, NOVEMBER 24.

### INTERNATIONAL LABOUR CONFERENCE.

THE third annual session of the International Labour Conference has come to an end after a month's sittings, and with negligible opposition, has succeeded in reaching no fewer than fifteen separate agreements for the improvement of the conditions of work. These agreements take the form either of Conventions or Recommendations, all the participating Governments, in either case, being under certain obligations, chief among which is that of submitting the agreements to "the authority or authorities within whose competence the matter lies, for the enactment of legislation or other action." In due course, therefore, the decisions of the Conference will be brought before the Indian Government, Legislature, and people. They may be summarised as follows:—

(1) Prohibits the employment of young persons under 18 as trimmers or stokers in sea-going vessels other than fishing-boats. Special provision is made for training ships, ships engaged in the coastwise trade of Japan or India (minimum age 16), and cases where only persons under 18 are available.

(2) Provides that persons under 18 shall not be employed in any capacity in ships unless medically certified to

be fit for such work, the medical examination to be renewed at least once a year.

(3) Requires Governments to secure to all workers engaged in agriculture the same rights of association and combination as are possessed by other industrial workers, and to repeal any laws restricting such rights in the case of agricultural workers.

(4) Provides for the extension to agricultural workers of all workmen's compensation laws.

(5) Prohibits the employment of children under 14 in agriculture during the hours fixed for school attendance, and at all other times if the work would prejudice their attendance at school. Special provision is made for juvenile employment in light-work, particularly at harvest time, for purposes of practical instruction in agriculture.

(6) Establishes a rest period of at least 24 consecutive hours in every week for all workers in industry, subject to exceptions to be made by Governments after consultation with employers' and workers' organizations and to be reported with reasons to the International Labour Office. Where the rest period is suspended or reduced, compensatory rest is to be given as far as possible.

(7) Prohibits after November 19, 1927, the use of white lead in the internal painting of buildings, except (under conditions) railway stations and industrial establishments. Where white lead is not prohibited, its use is to be subject to definite precautionary hygienic regulations. Cases of lead poisoning are to be compulsorily notifiable. Seven out of the eight recommendations deal with agricultural subjects, containing proposals for a general raising of the standard of living conditions for farm workers. It is recommended, for instance, that systems of insurance against sickness, invalidity, old age, and similar risks, at present applicable to other classes of workers, should be extended to farm workers; that night work should be so regulated that women, children, and young persons may have reasonable hours of rest; that the maternity protection provisions of the Washington Convention of 1919 should be extended to women farm workers; and that the Governments should regulate the living-in conditions of agricultural workers in the interests of health and decency, and in particular to forbid the use of stables, cowhouses, and open sheds for sleeping quarters. In the eighth recommendation it is proposed that steps should be taken to establish a weekly rest-day for all workers in commercial houses.

These are the seven Conventions I do not know what Mr. N. M. Joshi's plans are. He may either return direct to India or may spend a few days in London first. [ He returns here direct and is expected to land in Bombay on 7th or 8th January.—Ed. ]

#### THE RIOTS IN BOMBAY.

It was at first feared that the Bombay riots would arouse a storm of indignation against the authorities that had advised the Prince's visit, for the impression was created by the early messages that the disturbances were directed especially against the Prince. Later messages, however, helped to convey a better knowledge of their causes and consequences, and Mr. Gandhi's refutation of the violence of the rioters, described by several of the correspondents as representing the hooligan elements in the city's population, and his confession of responsibility for having created the occasion for such an outbreak has had the twofold effect of relieving the public fears for the Prince and of arousing much indignation that a public man of Mr. Gandhi's character and reputation, should have been so short-sighted as not to have fore-

seen what everyone told him would be the inevitable consequence of such an appeal as he had made to popular passions. It seems clear, from the telegraphic reports, that the boycott of the Prince was almost a total failure; but advantage seems to have been taken by the hooligans of the spirit of hostility to the authorities to work their will upon the peaceful elements in the population. People here are asking how long Mr. Gandhi is to be allowed to play with fire and whether, of his own accord, he will retire from the political movement, after having been compelled to cry "Peccavi" on two notorious occasions.

#### EGYPTIAN SITUATION.

Lord Curzon has shown how little the course of events has taught him by setting at naught the advice tendered to the Government by the Milner Commission on the Egyptian settlement. The Egyptians sent a deputation here headed by Adly Yeghen Pasha, one of the most level-headed statesmen that Egypt has produced, for the sole purpose of negotiating a treaty of independence and alliance. If the Foreign Office had not intended to consent to such a treaty, it would have been the most honest course to have said so in the first place, instead of now, when hopes have run so high. As it is, a colossal blunder has been made by Lord Curzon, at a time when the Prime Minister's entire attention has been engaged in the Irish question, and the Egyptian delegates have been sent back empty-handed. The consequences upon Egyptian public opinion are, as its spokesman here, Sir Valentine Chirol, remarks, beyond doubt. It will come consolidated against the British Government and people, though the latter, at least, are innocent of a desire for mischief, and, unless the mischance is speedily rectified, British interests will suffer far more than they would have done by the acceptance of the Egyptian policy outlined in the main by the Milner Commission. It is unbelievable that Lord Milner should have recommended something too revolutionary for Lord Curzon to accept.

#### BRITISH LABOUR AND IMPORT DUTIES.

The following is an illustration of the extent to which British Labour is disinterested when there is a conflict between British and Indian Labour interests. Upon the initiative of the United Textile Factory Workers' Association, a conference has just been held in Manchester, of representatives of the chief cotton spinners' and manufacturers' organizations and of the Association, which includes all the big trade unions in the cotton industry, on the subject of the increased Indian import duties, and initiated the cotton trader's new campaign against the duties by adopting the following resolutions:—

(1) That the meeting of representatives of employers and operatives in the Lancashire cotton spinning and manufacturing industries protests against the continued imposition of the Indian import duties on cotton goods without countervailing Excise duties, and calls for the speedy abolition, or a substantial reduction, of such duties. The meeting urges members of Parliament representing

textile districts in Lancashire and adjoining counties to adopt all constitutional means in the House of Commons for securing such repeal or reduction, and further pledges itself to continue the agitation against the duties until justice for the industry has been secured.

(2) That a propaganda committee be formed from the representatives at this meeting, and that such committee be empowered to arrange for public meetings, the carrying out of a Press campaign, or any other means that in their opinion will further the cause of Lancashire on the subject of Indian import duties, and pledges itself to give the utmost support to the committee.

#### LORD RIPON'S BIOGRAPHY.

Messrs. John Murray & Co. have just published a life of Lord Ripon, by Mr. Lucien Wolf, the well-known Jewish publicist and authority on foreign affairs, and the *Times* presents a review of the book by no less a personage than the Marquess of Crewe. In the course of his remarks, the distinguished reviewer, dealing specially with Lord Ripon's Indian career, says:—

'His appointment as Viceroy of India (in 1880). . . gave him the opportunity, too, of a more lasting fame than he could have won as a Minister here, and offered a field where his special gifts showed to the best advantage. To-day, when Indian reforms are discussed and Indian hopes are uttered, the name of Ripon is more often heard than that of any other Governor-General. He himself was not unmindful of what he owed to his predecessors, notably to Lord Mayo, but his unique experience as Under-Secretary and Secretary of State (for India) enabled him to take a line of his own from the first and to dispense with much of the probation required for a year or two by most Viceroys. He was sound and never extreme in his Afghan policy, which was mainly determined by the Cabinet, Russian relations being at stake; his personal predilections found full play in his land policy, dealing with the difficult definition of the occupancy rights of tenants, not only in Bengal, but in the Central Provinces and Oudh. He is still spoken of in India as the father of local self-government from his institution of elective boards in districts and municipalities on which the position of British officers should be supervisory rather than directing. But no doubt, the Criminal Procedure Bill, still better known as the "Ilbert Bill," is the best remembered Act of his reign. This measure is a valuable warning to legislatures on how quickly a harmless green mound may become an active volcano. For years European delinquents on a small scale had preferred to go before a native magistrate and be fined a rupee or two, rather than claim the distinction of appearing before a white tribunal at the probable cost of a stiffer sentence. But when the jurisdiction of native magistrates was to be formally extended racial pride and prejudice sprang to life in their most exaggerated shapes. Lord Ripon himself was not deeply committed to the change, though he realised the advantage of racial equality where possible, and he was quite prepared for the compromise which was finally adopted. In some respects, indeed, Ripon was not what would be called an advanced Indian politician. He objected to an income-tax because he disliked alienating the landowning classes, and he categorically defended the opium traffic. "Referring to a later period in his career, Lord Crewe says of the ex-Viceroy, then a member of the British Cabinet, and Leader in the House of Lords, that, as the 'Life' shows, he was now and then not in complete agreement with his colleagues (in the Campbell-Bannerman Administration), on the Education Bill of 1906 and on Lord Morley's Indian Reform Scheme; but there was no weakening of his political faith."

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### "WORLD CITIZENSHIP."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

1. SIR—A reviewer noticing Colonel Wedgwood's book, *The Future of The Indo-British Commonwealth* in your November 24th number astonishingly misreads the author's ideas about peoples other than the Anglo-Saxons, and goes especially astray in attempting to comprehend the author's views of *dagoes*. Colonel Wedgwood is throughout using that term in derision of people who think all foreigners are inferior.

2. Aside from this, I should like to point out how unfair it is to quote the Philippines and Cuba and Mexico as examples of American grab. I will not enter into the historical facts regarding other parts of the world where the United States has asserted partial or full supremacy—not because the case is black against the United States, but because there is a tangled skein to unwind.

3. But look at the facts about Cuba. Even in the more recent times of civil strife in that island the United States have never set aside the Cuban Government, which is absolute. In the Philippines headhunters are being made into electors with such speed that complete autonomy is certain within a few years—and the United States entered those islands only in 1898-99. As to Mexico, if your reviewer would read the letters of Walter Hines Page now appearing in the *World's Work* he would see what is the inside history of American relations with Mexico. If ever there was a fine pretext for the United States or any other country to intervene for her own gain, it has been there; but under immense provocation, including every kind of chicanery and actual violence, President Wilson and his predecessors, to their eternal honour, were content to get along somehow without destroying the remnants of stable government left in Mexico nearly wrecked by a series of Presidential murders and all sorts of banditry.

4. It is easy to sneer at western world politics, and I admit that the European variety is a disgrace to the Aryan race; but a little more knowledge would enable your reviewer to do more justice to the United States and therefore also to Colonel Wedgwood's very vivid and useful book.—Yours, etc.

F. KUNZ.

Adyar, Madras,  
November 25.

[1. The "astonishing misreading" I am afraid is Mr. Kunz's: Cf. Colonel Wedgwood's approving quotation of people disparaging the League of Nations as "Lord Robert Cecil and some *dagoes*." 2. After fruitless negotiations between Columbia and the U. S. a revolution in Panama (a Columbian province) conveniently broke out and *within a fortnight* this revolutionary Government was recognized by the U. S. and a treaty made with it, leasing the Canal Zone in perpetuity to the U.S.A. How many years is it that President Obregon's anti-capitalistic Government of Mexico has failed to get official recognition from the U. S. A.? 3. "The complete autonomy" still being promised to the Filipinos much reminds me of Alice's jam in Wonderland: "Jam yesterday and jam tomorrow; but never jam to-day." 4. It would be easy to retort that "a little more knowledge" of world politics on the part of Mr. Kunz himself would disillusion him as to the superiority of the American variety. With Heine's satire I can only say that all varieties are equally smelly. If Mr. Kunz is happy with the "normalcy" of the *World's Work*: *habet sibi*. A wicked "Radical" like myself, alas, prefers the *New Republic*.—Your REVIEWER.]

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