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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

Circumstances
Alter Cases.

FOR once the Government has blundered into an un-Satanic Act. At least the Deccan extremist press says so and sings hallelujahs to an administration against which it has declared a bloodless war. Has the Government undone its policy of repression against the leaders of non-co-operation? Has it assured the non-co-operators that their activity will not be interfered with on the pretext that it will lead to a breach of the peace? On the contrary, the extremist pæans of praise are due to the very fact that the Government has given up its policy of culpable weakness in dealing with non-co-operators and has declared its intention "to put down with a strong hand all attempts to create dissensions between different communities," and to proceed mercilessly against people "if any disturbance was reported to the police." These quotations are taken from the *Mahratta*. Such is the ecstasy of its joy at this "change in the policy" which "every sane man will welcome" that probably for the strength shown on this occasion it will forgive the British Government a good many minor sins in the way of the Punjab, etc. Only we must hasten to tell our readers that the non-co-operators whose unrelenting suppression the *Mahratta* welcomes with such a warmth of feeling are not those gathered under Mr. Gandhi's flag, who often talk non-co-operation, but all along practise co-operation, but the others who have not made as much noise but have consistently given effect to non-co-operation in their every-day life—we mean, members of the Satyashodak Samaj of Satara, who, having despaired of justice at the hands of Brahmans, have now determined to have

no dealings with them. Their activities are so widespread that Brahmans are hard put to it to find anyone to cultivate their lands, to shave their clean head, to wash their dirty linen, etc., etc. These activities of the true non-co-operators the so-called "Non-Co-Operators" of the Deccan would have the Government utterly stamp out. The result of the orders issued by Government is that the Satyashodaks are still more determined to carry on non-co-operation in an intensified form—"intensified" not in the sense in which political non-co-operators of the school of Mr. Jayakar understand it, i. e. "nullified," but in a truly vigorous manner. Is not part of the reaction against non-co-operation, of which signs are abundant in the Deccan, due to the fact that politicians there have experienced as few others have done the effects of a campaign, not of a wordy, but of actual, non-co-operation directed against themselves?

* * *

MR. PURSHOTAMDAS THAKURDAS

The Basic Industry of India. has an arresting article in the *Times of India* of the 14th on what he rightly calls, "the basic industry of India—agriculture." The article is all the more valuable because it does not come from an agricultural scientist nor from a landowner, but from a "commercial layman," i. e. a business man, an outsider who has no special axe to grind, but who views the problem from a national standpoint. As an industrialist he naturally looks at agriculture first of all from the industrial angle and points out that Indian industries will ever be shockingly handicapped if they have to work up Indian raw material, which is greatly inferior to that produced elsewhere. But he does not stop there. He points to the barefaced exploitation of the cultivators' notoriously acute poverty by usurer and dealer and asks for financial aid, to make the cultivator financially independent. Although Mr. Purshotamdas does not recognize the fact in so many words, it is obvious that the financial slavery of the cultivator is really responsible for his other handicaps as well: for if, as is quite true, the soil does get increasingly impoverished for want of manure; if cattle go on deteriorating for want of adequate fodder; and if modern implements and machines could do much to cheapen and increase output: of what good are all these truisms, if the farmer is too poor to make the necessary purchases?

* * *

Agriculture and
Capitalism.

MR. PURSHOTAMDAS seems to regret that the capitalist is too busy elsewhere and the zemindar too lazy to bother about the improvement of Indian agriculture. We must say, we are almost thankful that this is so: thankful, that is, that the farmer is not being subjected to yet further and more refined methods of exploitation. For neither town capitalist nor county zemindar would sink more capital in agriculture *pour les beaux yeux* of the agriculturists. They would want to see large profits to themselves sticking out, before they risked their capital. The Government? Well, Agricultural Colleges, Experimental Stations and demonstrators are doing a good deal, although of course a good deal more in that respect could be done: but how are they to increase their activities, if every additional vote has to run the gauntlet of the "anti-wasters"? Mr. Purshotamdas puts his finger on the only possible fulcrum, when he calls for "a wider and more intelligent public interest in the matter." That public interest we have ourselves again and again bespoken and we therefore most warmly welcome Mr. Purshotamdas' able and influential advocacy. But public interest cannot be expected, if all that is intended is to make capitalistic investment in agriculture more attractive. We are far from saying that Mr. Purshotamdas has nothing else in view; only his article does lend itself to such interpretation and we think it very necessary that such narrowing of the problem should be explicitly ruled out.

Agriculture's
Claims and Public
Opinion.

WHAT is needed is education of public opinion (1) that Agriculture is the key industry of India and the one fundamental basis on which the whole economic structure of the country rests; (2) that this Indian Agriculture is to-day in a parlous condition; and (3) that betterment will only be possible, if a truly national endeavour is made to cope with the present alarming position. What Dr. Mann has proved in respect of the Deccan is true of probably the whole of India: viz., that, taken year in year out, the Indian cultivator on an average is only 70% fed. It is for the whole nation to guarantee the toilers in this basic industry a decent minimum living standard and to recoup itself by increasing its productivity to the very maximum obtainable by agricultural science. As regards the latter, public opinion must certainly be educated to press for the most promising of our young men and women to be sent, not to England only but to the United States of America—to the South for the agriculture of cotton, to the West for the agriculture of irrigation; to Japan, for rice culture; to Denmark for dairying and co-operative farming in general. Queensland and the Sudan are two other, subtropical, countries, where similar conditions prevail as in parts of India and where an intelligent comparative study of methods employed ought to yield a rich return. We are the last to belittle the good done by our English in-

structors, but we do hold that this continent of ours really cannot go on depending on them and on them alone. Let us get the good, nay, the best, where we may find it; let us get it quickly and let us apply it wholeheartedly. For, to return from where we started: the productivity of Indian agriculture is a matter of life and death to India as a whole; and this productivity can neither be left at the present impossibly low level nor to private enterprise, which would necessarily rate profits higher than tenants. Before everything, public opinion must be mobilized. Why not start an All-India Society of Agricultural Propaganda—charitably and plentifully endowed *ad hoc*, to carry on a nation-wide campaign of publicity on this primary national problem? Will Mr. Purshotamdas Thakurdas take the lead?

When Homer
Nods.

THE *Indian Social Reformer* of the 16th does not reply to our remarks—made "more in sorrow," and certainly not in anger—on its attitude to Mr. Sastri's tour; but instead comments on what it calls our (and the *Hitavada's*) "defence" of it. To begin with, it points out that the *Hitavada* and ourselves explain the tour differently—but it does not attempt to show that either explanation is incompatible with the other. We were concerned, as the context shows, with the general necessity of Indian enlisting international public opinion, whilst our Nagpur contemporary concerned itself more narrowly with the immediate object of the Australian visit: the *I. S. R.'s* "Each of them defends the tour on a different ground" therefore is misleading. As for the *I. S. R.* continuing its regrettable role of a somewhat carping critic, there is—no offence meant—an English saying of appealing from Philip drunk to Philip sober. The *I. S. R.* we think may fairly be described since Mr. Gandhi's arrest as just a trifle intoxicated with the heady wine of Congress politics—in any case we beg most earnestly to appeal from the *Indian Social Reformer* of April 16th to the *Indian Social Reformer* of March 5th:

March 5th.

The reputation of any Indian is that of every Indian and it is shortsightedness of a deplorable kind for one Indian to feel satisfaction in, much more to lend his support to, poisonous propaganda of this type. It is, therefore, that we quote below with pleasure the concluding paragraph of an appreciation by the Right Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, headed "Gandhi the Man," in the February number of the *Survey Graphic*, published in New York. Mr. Sastri has put in apt language the experience of many others in proximity to Mahatma Gandhi.

April 16th.

As a matter of fact, Mr. Sastri's eloquence abroad has been directed against his own countrymen who belong to a different school of politics, and there has been no answer so far to our complaint that, in this respect, Mr. Sastri, adopted a line which no other delegate at Washington thought fit to adopt. It is not at all, therefore, clear whether Mr. Sastri's propaganda should be described as a "pillorying" or "whitewashing" one.

SETTLEMENT OF INDUSTRIAL DISPUTES.

UNDER the able and sympathetic chairmanship of Sir Stanley Reed, the Industrial Disputes Committee, appointed by the Bombay Government in response to the representations of the energetic representative of Labour in the Bombay Council, Mr. Kanji Dwarkadas, has produced a very useful report. The question remitted to the Committee was of an extremely wide character, viz. the setting up of machinery for the prevention and settlement of industrial disputes, and this reference the Committee also interpreted in a liberal sense. The consequence is that the Committee's recommendations are comprehensive, and, short of doing away with the capitalistic system of industry, concern themselves, in the part dealing with the prevention of strikes, with all important matters touching the well-being of labour. This part of the report is surely of more enduring interest than that which deals with the settlement of disputes, since the former suggests a remedy for the fundamental causes of industrial difficulties, and, in industry as well as in other matters, it is far better to remove the causes of unrest than to deal with its results. But we propose in this article to dwell on the other and comparatively minor part of the report, *i. e.* the one relating to adjustment of differences between capital and labour.

As an effective method of settling industrial disputes when they break out, the Committee suggests the constitution of an Industrial Court, very much on the lines of the Industrial Courts Act, 1919, of Great Britain. The proposal of the Committee in regard to this is that, at the request of either party to a dispute, or on their own initiative "when peace, order and good government are seriously prejudiced," Government should form an *ad hoc* Court, in the first instance, for investigating the points at issue, and then, if the dispute is not smoothed out by that process, for arbitrating on the outstanding differences. Resort to conciliation is to be had on the application of both parties or if, again, law and order are prejudiced. But conciliation is to be purely voluntary. Of course compulsion is out of the question in the existing circumstances of the country. It should be remembered that when the Industrial Court was set up in England, organised labour was more strenuously opposed to the introduction of an element of compulsion than any other section of the people, and for the excellent reason that it would deprive labour of the right to strike which it prized more than all other concessions. Moreover it is difficult to enforce an award upon workmen, for no one can "imprison a trade union and the whole thing breaks down when an attempt is made to enforce a decision compulsorily against a mass." Nor is it possible to levy a fine, for trade union funds are not exclusively strike funds; but are also meant to include benefits of which it would be monstrous to deprive the workmen. The following extract from

the speech made by the then Labour Minister, Sir Robert Horne, when moving for the second reading of the Industrial Courts Bill, shows how arbitration which depends not upon the pressure of public opinion, but upon legal compulsion has worked in other countries:—

Compulsory arbitration has not been such a complete success in other countries as to justify us at the present moment at least, in forcing it, even supposing that we believed in it. In Australia where it has been in vogue now for a considerable time, I do not think it is a great exaggeration to say that it has proved a failure. Even in Canada, where a less stringent measure has been in force, it has had no conspicuous success. The House will remember that in 1907 an Act was passed in order to deal with disputes in public utility services in Canada. That Act provides that, before any strike should take place an investigation should be held, and it provided that during the period of investigation any strike should be illegal. Over eight years' operation of that Act—I have not the figures for the most recent years—I find that in these public utility services there were 222 strikes, of which 204 were illegal and were strikes against the Act. That certainly does not lead one at the moment to believe that compulsory arbitration necessarily affords a panacea for the difficulties that are involved in the adjustment of disputes. That in my view, is not because compulsory arbitration is a bad thing in itself. The reason why I think that kind of measure has failed in Australia and Canada is because the people were not ready for it. You cannot pass ultimately effective legislation which is in advance of the spirit of your people. What we really have to do now, in my opinion, is to foster the arbitration spirit, to encourage every means by which people will voluntarily agree to settle their disputes by reference to an Arbitration Court rather than by violence or by strikes.

Voluntary conciliation is not necessarily less successful than compulsory arbitration, and it may easily prove more successful. In England itself, before the Industrial Courts Act was passed, there was an Interim Court of Conciliation, whose awards, though not binding, were respected far more than the awards of compulsory Arbitration Courts in some other countries. In 1919, for instance, this Court dealt with 853 cases, in only three of which was there any strike against the award. It is too much to expect that in the initial stages conciliation will be so fruitful in India, but if it falls short of such complete success, we must not conclude therefrom that the comparative failure was due to lack of statutory power to enforce the award upon unwilling persons.

But the Committee holds that the primary function of an Industrial Court in this country would be one of inquiry. It believes that, when a searching inquiry is once made and its result made public, as a general rule, no further measures would be necessitated. The Committee is quite right in laying the stress it has laid on inquiry. The questions involved in industrial disputes are often of great complexity and generally the masses of people are thoroughly ignorant of their merits. The first necessity therefore is of a detailed inquiry, wherever possible, in the public hearing, so that public opinion can be mobilised on the side of peace and equity. If the inquiry is to be full and authoritative, the Court must have the power of

compelling people to attend with a view to putting their respective contentions before the tribunal and of producing the necessary documents for the purpose of elucidating and substantiating those contentions. The Committee thus provides in its Draft Bill that the Court "shall have the powers of a civil court of summoning and examining witnesses on oath or otherwise and of enforcing the production of documents." Labourers need not be at all afraid of being required to produce trade union records, for the transactions of labour bodies are always above board and the members themselves are always insistent that everything done by the executive should be communicated to the whole membership, which often numbers several thousands. But capital usually works in the secret and is not bound to communicate its proceedings to a large public. It is therefore likely that capital will resent this provision, but without it the industrial court's inquiry is bound to prove useless. Workmen always feel that the employers can afford to pay them higher wages or reduce hours of work, and unless it is proved to them on documentary evidence that the industry cannot bear further charges they will surely persist in forcing the dispute to a head. Mr. Clynes put this point very well in discussing the British Industrial Court's Bill:

Workmen rarely believe what employers of labour say with regard to profits and their inability to improve the standard of wages of the employes. Workmen see businesses expanding with every evidence of development of prosperity. They see records of great sums carried to reserve and in a considerable number of ways there is some proof of what might be termed, without offence, devices for dealing with sums of money which are part of profits so as to conceal the prosperity of the firm, with a view to not having to concede better conditions to the worker.

That the parties to a dispute should be compelled to represent their case in public and prove it by producing evidence itself produces a sobering effect on people and makes them adopt a different viewpoint from what they would do if no inquiry were to be made, and that is a very great advantage. The production of documents is of course hedged round with due safeguards against disclosure of any information obtained by the court in the course of their inquiry which is not available otherwise than through evidence given at the inquiry. This is the only element of compulsion involved in the measure which the Committee has recommended, and it contains, as the Labour Minister said, "the whole of that which has proved meritorious in the Canadian plan" [the Lemieux Act of 1907]. The constitution of the court proposed by the Committee is unobjectionable. The English plan of standing panels will not do in the present conditions of labour, but one is disposed to question the majority view that in private disputes the general public has no concern and that on the court there should not be representatives of any one excepting the two parties immediately involved. There is hardly any strike the impact of which is felt only by the employers and the em-

ployed, and big strikes at once become a matter of national concern. In the Railway strike, *e. g.*, which led to the passing of the Industrial Courts Act in England, it was universally recognised that "the public have a most tremendous interest far outweighing the immediate consequences" which may happen to those who are directly concerned in the strike. Indeed, as Sir Robert Horne said on the above occasion, "the public is the final arbiter in these industrial disputes;" and the Court of Inquiry is to be welcomed just because it will enlighten the public upon the issues at stake in regard to matters which, though affecting them vitally, only leave them completely mystified.

ALL-INDIA INDUSTRIAL WELFARE CONFERENCE.

INDUSTRIAL welfare work is a recent development in the industrial organisation of this country. The number of the industrial concerns which have started welfare work for their employees is small at present, but the work is growing and the number of such concerns is also increasing. The necessity and importance of industrial welfare work are being, however slowly, recognised both by capital and labour, as well as by the State and the community. In England, America and other industrially advanced countries, welfare work forms an essential feature of industrial organisation and has no longer got to be justified, while in India much of the work is of an experimental nature and the industrial backwardness of the country is reflected in its backwardness in industrial welfare work. It was therefore necessary to bring about an interchange of views and experiences among persons interested in this kind of work and thus to co-ordinate efforts that are at present being made in an isolated manner and to establish the movement on a sound and permanent basis. The All-India Industrial Welfare Conference that was held in the first week of this month in Bombay under the auspices of the Currimbhoy Ebrahim and the Tata Sons Workmen's Institutes of the Social Service League, marks an epoch in the history of this country's industrial progress. The conference provided a common platform for the representatives of capital, labour and the State and the social workers devoted to the welfare of labour to meet together, and the response received by the promoters of the conference was really encouraging, regard being had to the divergent views and interests of the various parties concerned and to the limited spread of the idea regarding industrial welfare work.

The welfare work movement aims at providing through the employer the best conditions of employment to the employee, and practically speaking, the welfare endeavours have for their object the improvement of the health, safety and general well-being and the industrial efficiency of the worker. The movement can be successful only with co-operation between capital and labour and also the State. It is a buffer state between capitalistic aggrandisement and labour aggression and

seeks, whenever and wherever so required, the aid of the general public through the State to preserve and increase the efficiency of labour—the living wealth of the nation which may be likened to the goose that laid golden eggs. In fact the welfare point of view is the national point of view, though it appeals to the self-interest of both capital and labour. Welfare work wherever conducted on right lines has been found to be a veritable boon to the worker and a sound business proposition to the employer. India cannot hope to compete successfully with other countries unless the present low level of efficiency of the Indian labour is considerably raised. It is not the cheapness of labour but its efficiency that counts. The neglect of the human factor in industry is a serious menace to the economic prosperity of the country and welfare work is mainly a science of humanics. We have in this country capitalistic organisations and to counteract their policy of exploitation, labour organisations are also coming into existence. The future alone will show how this struggle is to end. In the meantime, the nation cannot remain silent and allow its living wealth to be ruthlessly crushed under the wheels of modern industrialism. Welfare work does not concern itself with the methods of militant labourites nor with the ideals of the labour movement, but deals only with the aspects of industrial organisation so far as the employment of labour is concerned, that are immediately practicable and the least controversial. Welfare work also deserves to be viewed from a higher point of view, viz., the humanitarian one and both the General Secretary of the Social Service League, Mr. N. M. Joshi, who welcomed the delegates on behalf of the promoters of the conference, and its President, Mr. A. C. Chatterji, who defined the aims, objects and scope of welfare work in his inaugural address, did well to emphasise that point.

The conference has served the purpose of drawing the public attention to various questions regarding the welfare of labour. Papers on a variety of subjects were invited and the suggestions made in them were discussed in sub-committees appointed by the conference. There were two such sub-committees, one to consider questions regarding activities inside the factory and the other to consider those outside. The most important work of the conference was done in these subjects committees. These afforded an opportunity to the delegates to exchange views and experiences and compare notes. There were representatives of capital as well as those of labour, representatives also of the State departments and welfare workers from various industrial centres in the country. There were Indians and Europeans and men and women, all of whom took part in the discussions in such a spirit as became the objects set before itself by the conference. Resolutions regarding sanitation and hygiene, first aid to the injured, works committees, education of juvenile and adult workers, midwifery service and crèches,

housing accommodation, co-operative propaganda and restrictions on the sale of liquor were passed. With regard to the last it should be noted that an amendment advocating progressive realisation of the total prohibition of drink secured by immediately closing all liquor shops in industrial areas was carried by a very large majority. The conference having confined its deliberations to the subjects dealt with in the papers received, some subjects were left out. However, judged as the work of the first conference of its kind ever held in this country, it can be safely pronounced as successful. The conference took steps to have its work continued year after year, by appointing a provisional committee to frame constitution and rules of a permanent All-India Welfare organisation and let us hope this organisation will receive the necessary financial support from all patriotic and generous employers of labour, so that the welfare work movement so essential to an all-round progress of the country may gather volume and strength as time goes on. An international welfare conference is going to be held in July next in Normandy and thus the movement has acquired international importance. India will, we trust, take its rightful place in it, at least in the near future.

P. G. KANEKAR.

PREPARATIONS FOR GENOA.

(FROM OUR OWN CONTINENTAL CORRESPONDENT.)
BRESLAU, MARCH 15.

PRINCE BUELOW, a former Chancellor of the Empire and one of those European statesmen who have through the folly of their policy of force brought about the miseries with which the whole world is afflicted to-day, makes a boast in the course of his memoirs of having refused the "astute" offers of an alliance which England at one time made to Germany, since such an alliance would only have led to turn Germany into England's Continental Army and would have forced the former to fight out the latter's quarrels with Russia. It is possible of course that Germany would have had to pay in some form for an alliance with England, but surely never as much as her final isolation has cost her. Germans endowed with greater perspicacity, such as are mainly to be met with in mercantile circles, have on the other hand always been of the opinion that Germany was by nature dependent on England and that the best plan was for Germany, so to speak, to be taken into the British business as a junior partner—a plan which would effectively have stopped all existing trade rivalry; for a political rivalry never existed for serious people. To-day, when all the struggles of Germany are directed towards the maintenance her bare existence, i. e. to feed her people and to preserve such sovereignty as has been left her, all German eyes look upon England as Germany's natural helper and the great Poincaré-Lloyd George duel has been followed by all Germany, passionately taking the part of the

British protagonist. Not as if any sentiment had been expected from the clever Welshman, but every one gave him at all events credit for that plain commonsense which in present French governmental circles has become so rare. But once more, commonsense has been defeated; the economic standpoint of English politics has had to make way for the political standpoint of France; the question of Reparations and Disarmament is ruled out of the deliberations at Genoa. This obviously means a victory for Poincaré. No doubt France occupies to-day a position in Europe, such as she has not had since the days of the first Napoleon, and with the unfortunately still prevalent war psychology there, it is clear that Germany more than any country is made to feel this hegemony of hers. Let a clerk employed at a French Consulate in Germany get a black eye at a midnight brawl, and the French Government is sure to react by a diplomatic note worthy of the assassination of an ambassador. The way in which the Rhineland and the Saar territory are being maltreated is perhaps not surprising and has to be borne according to the German proverb—

"Let the weather have its will—
It's sure to pass; so keep thou still."

More important are the great changes which the strong French influence is bringing about in Central European politics.

During the Poincaré-Lloyd George negotiations there emerged at one point suddenly the name of an intermediary, who until then must have been quite unknown abroad, viz. that of M. Benesh of the Czecho-Slovakian Foreign Office. The appearance of this figure on the diplomatic stage of the world is remarkable as heralding an altogether new development. Of the Czechs the world knows little. True, the great Czech figure of John Huss, whom fanatical priests burnt at the stake during the Constance Council of 1415, makes a fine representative of his race at an early period of history—even though recent research has proved that most of Huss' writings were merely translations of those of John Wicliff's. But of all the modern development of the Czech consciousness, the world heard little, though many realized during the War, how much bitterness and hatred must have been accumulated there, if whole Czech regiments could even at an early stage of it desert from under the Austrian flag. The formal recognition of the Czech State by the Entente even during the war made it *urbi et orbi* clear that a new political entity of an independent individuality of its own had separated itself from a dying mother amidst much labour and pangs. From its very beginning the new Commonwealth exhibited a considerable amount of political ambition. Its President Masaryk occupies the grand old Royal Palace of the Hradschin at Prague and it is not merely these buildings but also their traditions which seem to have passed over to the new head of State: none is allowed to forget that there was a time when the whole world was being ruled

from Prague; and never indeed has seemed opportunity more favourable for catching hold of reins which have slipped from the hands of others. Of the former Austria it used to be said that, if it did not exist, one would have to invent it. Well, it has vanished now, and its former territory is occupied to-day by no less than four different systems of customs and currency. What progress! The Czecho-Slovakian statesmen anyhow consider the time ripe to evolve out of this chaos a cosmos the guidance of which would remain in their own hands. Of course, this ambition to be one of the Great Powers is in curious contrast with the facts of the case. One may without hesitation admit that of all Western Slavs the Czechs are the most industrious and the most gifted (though also the most fanatical jingoes!)—the fact remains that they number only a few millions all told and that, strictly speaking, they do not even form the majority in their own country. If the loyalty of the Slovaks is, to say the least, tepid, the 35 lakhs of Germans in the new State can certainly only be put down as open or veiled enemies, at least of the present régime, under which they are being cruelly maltreated. All these facts rob the world politicians of Prague of a good deal of effective force: but they do not prevent them to proceed with their grand schemes. In the "Little Entente," as the alliance between Rumania, Yugoslavia and Czecho-Slovakia is called, it is only natural that the latter, as the culturally most highly developed nation, take the lead. This "Little Entente," which originally was principally intended to keep Hungary in check, has been rather badly treated by the Great Powers: and, when it raised its voice threateningly at the last foolish *coup* of ex-Emperor Karl, it was told much like a naughty child to "shut up"—as questions of such calibre are only to be dealt with by the Big Entente! So far from being offended, the only permanent result on Prague of such behaviour has been a resolution to become so strong as to make such occurrences *eo ipso* impossible in future. M. Benesh has undertaken radically to change the international position of his country. To this end the bonds uniting Czecho-Slovakia and France have been tightened, and nobody of course has welcomed such an ally more than M. Poincaré whose one policy is to separate Germany from the East by a wall of enemy countries. The Paris and Prague press have simultaneously reported that M. Benesh had concluded a treaty of alliance at Paris, according to which the States of the Little Entente are to come to the aid of France in the case of a German attack, whilst France engages to protect the Little Entente similarly. Such a treaty would just mean that the Little Entente has been completely absorbed into the French sphere of interests—and this is borne out by the quite recent endeavour of the Little Entente to draw closer to Poland. The difficulty in this respect lies in the unmeasured pretensions of Poland, which in complete reliance on France seems to believe itself entitled

to treat all its neighbours as it jolly well pleases. Thus the immediate response of Poland to the advances made by Czecho-Slovakia was a demand, to cede the Jaworzina, a hill tract which would nicely round off the present Polish frontier: a request which has naturally rather annoyed Prague. Still, the common interests are so many as to force the two to tread the same path. The Belgrade Conference has now officially sealed this latter policy, though for the time being economic problems have been put in the fore-ground. Anyhow, there can be no doubt that in this newly formed bloc France has found a solid basis for her Central European policy—and incidentally, through her closer relationship with Yugoslavia, Italy's mortal enemy, a ready means of putting the screw on Italy.

Meanwhile, Poland has successfully advanced along the French line of policy by producing at a recent conference held at Warsaw the "Baltic Entente," whereby Finland, Esthonia, Latvia and Poland have agreed upon a definite common programme for Genoa. This new chain however lacks one necessary link, viz. Lithuania, which has too recently been robbed of Vilna by Poland, to think of participating with the latter in a friendly Round Table Conference: but Poland remains hopeful that circumstances will soon enough compel Lithuania to fall into line. In Central Europe nothing in all these recent developments has caused so much surprise, as Finland's going over to the Polish side. To-day of course this is becoming obvious: but hitherto Finnish sympathies have all along been in the direction of Germany and England. Germany of course is to-day impotent: but do the Baltic States take such a view of England too? It is true that the recent alliance appears to refer so far only to the common interest of self-preservation: for these young countries are still pretty nervous about the permanence of their separate existence; bolshevist Russia being notorious in not letting its sympathies for the self-determination of peoples go beyond the safe realm of theory. Hence the demand of the Baltic Entente that on no account must Genoa reopen the respective peace treaties concluded by these States with Russia, nor try to pass on part of the debts of the former Russian Empire to any of these succession States. This latter stipulation has been explicitly accepted by the Soviet Government as far as the Baltic States are concerned; Poland on the other hand undertook in June 1919 just as explicitly to bear its *pro rata* of these old debts: however, Poland of course does not take solemn pledges any too seriously at the best of times. One should add that the contracting parties in this Baltic Entente share another common interest, viz. the maintenance of their economic independence and freedom of action as against the Great Powers and regarding their own collaboration in the reconstruction of Russia, of which everyone is expecting so much.

So far so good. Unfortunately only too many treaties, which started their career as purely

defensive measures, have in course of time become a two-edged sword. Who goes to sea with these turbulent imperialistic Poles, can hardly hope for a peaceful passage. In any case, with this Baltic Entente there has been attained with surprising rapidity that French aim which consisted in erecting right across Europe from the Mediterranean to the Baltic a barrier of States whose political orientation is towards Paris. The importance of England in Central Europe has thus been very seriously and regrettably reduced. M. Benesh a few weeks ago, when in London, confessed in so many words his adherence to M. Poincaré's programme; and though the Four Power Conference at Belgrade (between Rumania, Yugoslavia Czecho-Slovakia and Poland) has expressed itself less uncompromisingly, it is yet beyond any question that France has actually enlisted all these States as allies for Genoa. And in the great game of chess which has just commenced there, even pawns have their distinct value.

LEVIN L. SCHÜCKING.

A LETTER FROM LONDON.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

LONDON, MARCH 30.

THE TASK BEFORE GENOA.

WE have recently had a most illuminating debate on the Consolidated Fund Bill in the House of Commons, and members, recollecting that Parliament is the grand inquisition of the nation, exercised their immemorial constitutional privilege of criticism of Government policy and argued its merits and demerits from every view-point. Perhaps the most interesting contribution, in many ways, was that contained in the opening part of Sir Martin Conway's speech. He said,

"I never listen to one of these general debates about the condition of Europe and the world without a feeling of sadness at their inefficiency. We always hear a number of suggestions and criticisms—suggestions as to how the miseries which the world suffers can be done away with and criticisms of everything that has even been tried for producing that effect. Everyone seems to forget that there has been a great war; that some £40,000,000,000 of capital has been annihilated; that, consequently, the world is suffering, and will continue to suffer, do what it may; and that the only cure is long and hard work, great and persistent saving carried on year after year, and self-abnegation by individuals and classes, until this destroyed capital is slowly piled together again. Therefore it is to me almost a pathetic thing to listen to these well-intended suggestions of how the disease of the world is to be removed, when it can only be removed by reversing the process by which it was brought on, i. e. by recreating the capital which the war destroyed."

Oh, if only ten more men would get up and talk in this strain! There might then be some hope of real reconstruction. As it is, we act as though we believe that there is some inherent virtue in the world itself that will cure all our evils without any effort on our part. I make a present of this quotation to your readers, for its truth is of more general application than merely to the affairs of distracted Europe, which perhaps Genoa may help to heal.

THE INDIAN DEBATE.

Among other matters discussed during the Debate was the eternal Indian question, which is becoming the King Charles's head of Parliamentary discussion, replacing, in course of time, the Irish question, which, it is to be presumed, will disappear when Irishmen have ceased to assassinate each other in cold blood, in the interests of a united or a disunited Ireland, according to the political proclivities of the assassins. For the moment, yet another truce has been called, between North and South. Perhaps it will be but a prelude to open civil war between the De Valeras and the Griffiths-Collins party. However, to return to Indian affairs. The debate was opened by Col. Wedgwood, who strongly condemned the "repressions" method of curing political unrest in India, a view that was later supported by that new recruit to interest in Indian matters, Lord Henry Cavendish. Bentinck. Col. Wedgwood urged a closer *rapprochement* between the Government and the imprisoned Indian leaders and the holding of fresh elections, a suggestion later characterised by Earl Winterton, in a maiden speech as Under-Secretary, as "buying off opposition". Lord Henry Bentinck, too, pressed for the appointment of a committee that would reassure India that it was the British Government's intention to consider a further advance in the reform scheme. Col. Wedgwood took the opportunity of raising the Kenya Indian question, having previously elicited from Earl Winterton that the changes at the India Office did not connote any change of India Office policy on the question. Col. Yate made a characteristic speech decrying everything said or to be said on behalf of Indians in India or overseas. He stands for wooden-headed reaction in its most complete nakedness. Fortunately, he represents few but himself, even in this House of Commons. He suggested the "boiling-oil" argument for convincing Mr. Gandhi of the wickedness of his ways. Col. Yate is decidedly a mediaeval survival. One day some one will suggest putting him into a museum as the last survivor of his species. He would be an interesting exhibit!

LANCASHIRE'S ALTRUISM.

Two Lancashire members sang independent solos on the altruism of Lancashire. Profits? Not for a moment did such sordid considerations influence them. Far be it for me to express scepticism. Your scribe will merely note that their solicitude was reserved, not for the greedy Lancashire mill-owner or his *confrère* in Bombay and Ahmedabad, but for the Lancashire cotton operative now so largely unemployed and his companion in misfortune, the poor illiterate unfortunate mass-Indian, who is bound to suffer if Lancashire suffers and the Indian cotton trade prospers. One almost saw the haloes sprouting from the benevolent heads of these two great-souled Lancashire members.

The only other salient feature of the debate was, of course, the reply of Earl Winterton. At the outset he gave the assurance that what he had said

in answer to Colonel Wedgwood on the subject of the attitude of the India Office towards the question of Indians in Kenya was more widely applicable to the policy embodied in the Government of India Act. He reminded the House of his own record in the matter, having supported the measure at every stage of its progress by speech or vote. It was an encouraging and reassuring opening of what, it may be hoped, will be a useful career to India. The central point of his speech was the deliberate manner in which he warned Lancashire of the peril of interfering in matters of Indian fiscal policy. It had been asked why Lancashire interests had not had special representation on the Indian Fiscal Commission. His reply was clear-cut. Lancashire had no more right to representation upon a Commission appointed in India's interests by the Government of India than India would have to representation upon a British Commission. If Lancashire wanted to put her special case forward, it could be done, as Mr. Montagu suggested some weeks ago, by presenting evidence before the Commission. Lord Winterton wound up an excellent speech by hurling great chunks of the report of the Joint Select Committee at the heads of his Lancashire interlocutors. It is to be feared, nevertheless, that Lancashire has not yet lost hope of being able to do something with the India Office (though I believe her effort will be futile), for I see that the Lancashire members of Parliament decided on Monday to seek an interview with the new Secretary of State for India in order to state their case against the Indian cotton import duties. Viscount Peel was formerly a Lancashire member himself and has, doubtless, few illusions on the subject of Lancastrian self-abnegation and altruism. The representations to be made to him it is said, will not be affected by the Indian Assembly's rejection of the proposed increase of duties, inasmuch as both the suggested duties and the existing duties are held to discriminate in favour of fabrics manufactured in India. The Lancashire members will represent that an increase of the excise duty to 10 per cent., without alteration of the import duty of 11 per cent., will, if last year's home production and imports are maintained, produce the increased revenue from cotton goods which the Indian Budget provided for. In addition, it will be submitted that the British Government has not abrogated its right to safeguard the interests of the Indian masses who have no political voice, but that the preamble of the Government of India Act distinctly preserves that right. The Lancashire members will suggest that protective duties on cotton goods may be advantageous to a class, but are prejudicial to the Indian people as a whole.

COMMENTS OF THE BRITISH PRESS.

The *Liverpool Post* deals with the controversy in commonsense fashion.

"Indian politicians," it remarks, "have a strong Protectionist bent. The Nationalist party, indeed, frankly places high tariffs to foster and stimulate home industries among its chief aims. We may presume, therefore, that

the British cotton duties were sacrificed not out of any sudden benevolence to Lancashire, but simply in order to embarrass the Government, which may be compelled to balance its accounts by the unfortunate expedient of further borrowing. The question arises whether the Government of India or the India Office should intervene in this matter before it is finally settled. It is obviously a delicate matter. If we are to let India be self-governing in a real sense, she must control her own fiscal policy, if not just yet, certainly in the near future. It is quite easy to be censorious of the Assembly's wholesale attack on the Budget. After all, however, the Assembly is following the British Parliamentary precedent and is learning the business by the constitutional method of trial and error."

The *Manchester Guardian*, too, examines the possible consequences of the Assembly's action in making mincemeat of the Budget.

"The exercise of the Government's arbitrary powers," it remarks, "would be a most unwise solution, especially at the present time, and should be promptly ruled out. If the Indian Legislature were exercising its new authority, there might be something, though not a vast deal, to be said for overruling it, but so far from that being the case, it appears to have acted in accordance with what it held to be the best interests of India. . . . The Assembly protected itself (against the proposed military expenditure), as such bodies usually do, by cutting down the taxation scheme. In so doing it has probably done no more than we ourselves should have done in a like case. The Government can get out of their difficulty for the time being by borrowing more than they had intended, and although that is far from being an ideal solution, it appears to be the only one that is possible now. But there should be retrenchment as well."

Writing in the *Observer*, to which he now contributes regularly, Sir Valentine Chirol, after discussing the causes of agrarian unrest in India, says:

"Gandhism has wrought discontent to a white heat, but could it have done so if discontent had not already been smouldering beneath the surface? We have prided ourselves hitherto on the submissive confidence of the silent agricultural masses as the best justification of our Indian trusteeship, and Mr. Montagu's critics have ceaselessly jeered at him for wishing to 'disturb their placid contentment.' But the rapidity with which that contentment has been disturbed, not by Mr. Montagu's reforms, but by Gandhi and his followers, who are as bitterly hostile to the Reforms as any sun-dried bureaucrat in India or any die-hard at Westminster, should be a warning to our self-complacency not to ignore any genuine cases of agrarian unrest. It is a warning which we shall neglect at our peril, if we put our faith only in repressive measures and mobile columns of cavalry and infantry, however necessary and effective for putting down incipient jacqueries. There is as much land-hunger amongst the peasantry of India as there was amongst the peasantry of Russia, or, to come nearer home, of Ireland. We might, indeed, do well to remember how much the land question has had to do in the past with all our troubles in Ireland, and that there is no chapter of our modern history that the enemies of British India have studied and still study more closely than our Irish troubles.

I cannot close this week's letter without a reference to the excellent work recorded in the second annual report of the Indian Students' Union and Hostel at the Shakespeare Hut. How London managed without the Hut, only two years ago, is hard to imagine or understand. The successive Wardens, Mr. M. N. Chatterjee and Mr. P. D. Runganadhan, have with their colleagues deserved well of their countrymen in India, and by its liberality and public spirit, the Indian National

Council of the Y. M. C. A.'s has rendered great national service. Lord Meston's address at the second annual meeting, with Lord Islington in the chair, was both clever and suggestive. He asked his Indian leaders to take up problems of a more permanent and vital meaning to India than ephemeral controversies of the day, and instanced the study of how to mobilise India's material resources, the development of vernacular literature and the improvement of Indian legislation on the model of Bentham's ideals of human progress and happiness.

In reply to a question by Mr. Ronald MacNeill, Mr. Chamberlain said that His Majesty's permission is required before an outgoing Minister can state the reasons of his resignation and the usual course is to ask the Prime Minister to obtain that permission. This course was followed by Mr. Montagu before the publication of his letter, in which rather by a statement in the House he preferred to give reasons for his resignation. Mr. Chamberlain was unaware that permission had ever been sought as to the place in which a statement should be made.

MISCELLANEA.

THE BETTER PATH.

MR. H. N. KUNZRU'S SPEECH.

In the course of a public lecture on "The work before us" delivered in Belgaum recently under the chairmanship of Mr. Belvi, Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru, M. L. C., Senior Member of the Allahabad Branch of the Servants of India Society, said that he would attempt to give as dispassionate and unbiassed a view of the present situation as he could, though he would not pretend that, with the strong convictions that he held, he could be absolutely unbiassed and strictly judicial in his estimate.

At the outset, he must remove a misconception that he had reason to believe was widely prevalent, namely, that the moderates and co-operators existed to defend at all costs the Government and all that it did. There was not the least ground for such a misconception; it was but prejudice. The moderates did criticise the Government whenever they thought fit, as for instance when they vigorously protested against the recent repressive action of the Government.

There were two programmes before the country for over a year—non-co-operation and constitutional agitation for the redress of grievances. It would be fruitful to compare the achievements of both. Taking non-co-operation first, two parts may be distinguished in it—the political and the constructive. The political part began with the renunciation of titles and ended in civil disobedience including the non-payment of taxes. It was understood that Mahatma Gandhi would make sure of the success of each item of the programme before he launched out on the next. But that was not the case. There could be little doubt that even the first few items of the programme failed to obtain sufficient response from the people. But Mr. Gandhi did not wait for their success. He skipped over two intermediate items, viz. withdrawal from the Civil and Military services, and plunged into civil disobedience, no doubt instigated thereto by the repressive action of Government in connection with the Prince of Wales' visit. And now finally, the whole programme had been suspended, thereby proving that it had failed.

The so-called constructive part of the programme such as temperance and Swadeshi could be better carried out with the co-operation of the Government. There was no reason why these items should form part of non-co-operation intended to

paralyse the Government. On not a few occasions the moderates had been invited to co-operate in carrying out the constructive programme of N.-C.-O. If the moderates accepted the invitation and if the constructive programme succeeded, the success would be put down to the credit of N.-C.-O. and to the discredit of constitutional agitation through the Councils. If the Moderates are invited to help on the constructive part of N.-C.-O. with that object, it is not unnatural if some moderates should feel somewhat indisposed to participate in any constructive work whose object was not the achievement of the success of the programme itself but the discrediting of the Councils and constitutional agitation and the glorification of N.-C.-O. That the constructive programme was meant to subserve such a political function was clear from the fact that Mr. Gandhi had refused to co-operate with the Moderates who wanted to obtain whatever help could be got from Government for the promotion of this constructive programme.

The constructive programme could not thus be viewed apart from the political motive that was behind it. And N.-C.-O. was, in one direction, a revolt against Western civilisation as a whole. It had created an anti-English, anti-European and anti-Western feeling. In the matter of this underlying motive, it did not differ from the nationalistic agitation in Bengal about 1908, led by Aurobinda Ghosh and Hardyal. The attitude of the Congress and the Moslem-League in the matter of the Malabar atrocities threw a vivid light on the motives behind N.-C.-O. In many respects, the Malabar atrocities, of which the Hindus were the chief victims far exceeded those of the Punjab, wicked as the latter were. But while the non-co-operators had constantly harped on and exploited to the full the regrettable Punjab affair, they had attempted to belittle the atrocities in Malabar, to discredit independent evidence and to hush-up the whole affair, and when the evidence became overwhelming, they gave it a tardy and halting recognition, entered a mild censure on the culprits and preached the lesson of forget and forgive. Mr. Devadhar was unable to get adequate support from the Muslims in India for his relief work in Malabar. He could not therefore help suspecting that it was more the anti-British feeling rather than a humanitarian horror of atrocities that was at the back of the disproportionate and differential treatment of the Malabar and Punjab tragedies.

Further, non-co-operation was a method suggested by despair of achieving any progress by constitutional means. It had been said that the Reforms gave but little power, that the Britisher was reluctant to work them sympathetically and that therefore the Councils could not achieve anything worth mentioning. A recital of the work done by the Councils ought to dispel that view. Taking first the Assembly, the repressive laws had been repealed, the budget grants had been reduced by nearly a crore of rupees, some of the fresh taxation proposals had been turned down, a Retrenchment Committee had been appointed, and even the non-votable military expenditure had been brought under the scrutiny of this Committee. Taking the U. P. Council, with the work of which the speaker was most familiar, *Bigar* had been abolished, retrenchment in expenditure had been effected, a new excise policy to reduce the drink evil had been adopted, a technological institute was being opened in Cawnpore for industrial training, and a conscience clause resolution had also been carried into effect. Considering that the Councils had but limited powers under the Reforms Act, that they had been in existence just a year and half, that they had been subjected to a vigorous boycott by the N.-C.-Os and that those who sought to enter the Councils had to suffer heavily for their opinion, the work done by the Reformed Councils could not be considered immaterial or insignificant. If the Councils had not done better and if the Government was still able to have its way on account of too many parties in the Councils, the non-co-operators could not escape responsibility for that state of affairs. If the reputation of the Councils had not been lowered and if all the best in the land had entered the Councils and attempted to extract the fullest advantage from the Act, the work would certainly have been much better.

The Viceroy's refusal to use his power of veto under the Act to reinstate certain grants refused by the Assembly and his willingness to submit the military budget to the scrutiny of the Retrenchment Committee, were sufficient to show that the authorities were not reluctant to work the Reforms in a spirit of broad-minded sympathy.

It was thus clear that while N.-C.-O. had failed to achieve anything tangible, the regularly constituted legislative councils had no reason to be ashamed of their work. Thus the constitutional method was the better, the speedier and the more successful method of achieving the goal of India, viz. Dominion Status within the British Empire.

"THE CHALLENGE OF A NEW LEADERSHIP."

MR. SASTRI'S WORK AT GENEVA.

Mr. H. Wilson Harris, the well-known diplomatic correspondent of the "Daily News" and President of the International Association of Journalists accredited to the League of Nations, contributed an article to "Outward Bound," describing the work done by three delegates at Geneva—Dr. Wellington Koo (the Chinese delegate), Mr. Sastri and M. Dante Bellegarde (delegate from Hayti). We print below extracts dealing with Mr. Sastri's work which will incidentally answer some of the objections urged in some quarters in India:—

Some time last year I sat at dinner next to a man who can claim with justice to know more of contemporary Indians than any but perhaps a dozen Englishmen.

"Whom," I asked him, "do you regard as the best and ablest spokesman of moderate opinion in India?"

The answer evidently called for no reflection. "Oh, Sastri," he replied immediately, "without a doubt."

He told me briefly something of what Mr. Sastri was doing as President (in succession to Gokhale) of the Servants of India Society. Since then I have heard more about it from Mr. Sastri himself. The Society is composed of high university graduates, who, on entering it, take vows for life. For five years they are trained by the Society and during that period may neither speak in public nor write for publication. Thereafter they work as the Society may direct for the social and political regeneration of India. On beginning they receive a salary equivalent to roughly £30 in English money. The highest figure they can rise to is worth about £80 a year. That is what Mr. Sastri gets himself. He travels by the cheapest conveyance, he carries his own modest luggage.

And is he satisfied? Perfectly, he will tell you. He has not riches, but he has everything else.

That, of course, is Mr. Sastri of the Servants of India Society. The Mr. Sastri of the Imperial Conference or the League of Nations Assembly has to leave the ascetic life behind for the moment. A representative of the Government of India must do much as other representatives of India do. If the British Government finds him rooms at the Carlton he will live at the Carlton. That will serve as well as any other hostelry. But there or anywhere else *he eats no meat and drinks no wine*. There, as at Geneva and as no doubt at Washington, the austere and unvarying simplicity of the white turban and the long, plain, collarless coat, sound a certain tacit challenge to the riot of meaningless fashion that marks West End London in the season. But it was not Mr. Sastri the ascetic, or Mr. Sastri the official delegate of Delhi, that the Geneva Assembly acclaimed.

It was Mr. Sastri Orator.

Till he mounted the tribune in the second week of the Assembly the white turban poised above the dark, calm, Eastern countenance alone marked him out for notice. From that day onward his name was on the lips of every delegate who ever discussed with another the eminently debatable question of who was the foremost orator of the Assembly. Was it Sastri? If he could seem so that was almost enough to establish the claim. For no man could come to judgment with less in his favour. After waiting in patience for his opportunity he was called on as the concluding speaker in a weary discussion that had already dragged on far too long.

The hour was late. The hall was slowly emptying. Between the beginning of Mr. Sastri's speech and the end it emptied no more. The slow sentences with their faultless phrasing compelled attention. Here was a new voice, the expression of the conclusions of a new mind playing on the League.

And the message was—what? A declaration, primarily, of the faith the League and its ideals inspired in an observer watching it for the first time with Oriental eyes in the midst of its work.

"Hard and cold indeed," affirmed the speaker, "must be the heart that fails to be touched, and touched to noble issues, by a spectacle such as this. The nations of the world foregather from the ends of our continents, representing many shades of colour, many varieties of political and social thought, many states and grades of culture and advance in all directions—peoples small and great, weak and strong, but all alike weary of the mistaken past, eager for a better day for mankind, and resolved with bruised and bleeding hearts to stand for higher ideals for human kind."

The League, observed Mr. Sastri, had its critics and its critics. Some of them must be heard with respect. But in the case of those who will not share in the work "we can only turn a deaf ear to their cold criticisms." "When a man," pursued the speaker, "has told me 'The League has not done this', I am inclined to ask: whether he is not to blame for it. When he has told me 'There are these tasks still unfinished,' I am inclined to ask him, 'Why do you not come and lend a helping hand?'"

So the voice of India within the family of nations. And what does the family of nations mean to India? Let Mr. Sastri answer in a single sentence—"We, I dare to say it, are the authentic voice by means of which the conscience of the world will speak." It would be hard for the League to find a higher watchword.

It would be hard to judge between the three speeches that by common consent made the deepest impression at Geneva, Mr. Sastri's, M. Bellegarde's, and the moving utterance in which the French deputy, M. Noblemaire, held out the hand of reconciliation to Germany. But with those who after full consideration would award the palm to the Haytian I could have no quarrel. He spoke without a vestige of hesitation, I believe without a line of notes, in fluent, faultless French—French as good as Mr. Sastri's English—and the contents of his speech was in all respects equal to its form.

TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

Rationing.

The bloated military budget of this year has, we see, made at least one convert. Of the members of the Legislative Assembly who last year resisted Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer's proposal that the Commander-in-Chief should cease to be a member of the Governor General's Executive Council and that the portfolio of defence should be entrusted to a civilian member, Dr. Gour has now seen the error of his ways. He realises now the ill effect of the General Staff absorbing to itself the function of War Secretary. How sharply marked the duties of civil and military authorities in regard to the Army are and how much the aggressions of the expert military advisers are held in check by the Government, came out very well in the discussion of the Army Estimates in England this year. The Secretary of State for War plainly stated that the War Office would have him make a larger provision in the budget, but he had cut it down in view of financial considerations,

telling the General Staff that the Government were prepared to take the risk against which the soldiers had given him a warning. He said:

The fact is that the Government have had to make a choice between the maximum of safety which it is the business of the General Staff to advise upon—and the equilibrium between financial and military risks which it is the duty of the Government to determine. After making every effort by peaceful, unadventurous and steady policies to eliminate them, we can only make ample provision against all military risks by maintaining the Army on a scale which would endanger the financial stability of the country. I do not pretend, therefore, that we have insured against every possible contingency. If we try to do so, we shall only provoke the still greater danger of overburdening the taxpayer and causing economic and financial disaster.

Lord Robert Cecil thus described the Government's overruling powers and functions in determining the military policy that they should first make up their minds, if necessary with the aid of some expert Committee, as to how much the country could afford for defence, and having made up their minds that if the country was to pay its way, it could not spend more than a certain amount on the Army, then they should leave it to the expert military advisers to say how the Army was to be brought down to that figure.

Pay of Military officers.

IN Great Britain the Geddes Committee proposed a very considerable reduction in the military estimates without reducing any of its fighting strength or without reducing the scale of pay. Why a similar reduction should not be possible in India no one can say. But in India there are far greater possibilities of retrenchment by way of reducing the forces and the rates of pay than in England. To take the latter, see how much more highly paid British officers in India are than corresponding officers in England, and still how much more highly paid than officers in France. The figures of monthly pay given below are in rupees:—

	India.	England.	France.
Second Lieutenant	425	292	} 207-237
" " after two years' service	475	360	
Lieutenant	475-550	360	283-306
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And in France the prevalent rate of pay for military officers is higher than in many continental countries.

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