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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

Mr. Sastri's Return. MR. SASTRI, who on November 24th returned to India from his six months' Dominion tour, chose, after having reported himself back to the Viceroy and after a brief visit to his home in Madras, Poona City, the headquarters of his own Society, as the venue for rendering to the public of India the first account of his mission. Under the auspices of the Deccan Sabha Mr. Sastri was able to address last Tuesday a very large meeting and to convey to them a succinct idea of the purposes, the incidents and the results of a mission, undertaken by him indeed at the behest of the Government of India, though, as far as his own purpose went, undertaken rather on behalf of the people of India. Apparently none that heard him but felt gratified that the representation of Indian culture and aspirations to the people of the New World should have been entrusted to a personality such as Mr. Sastri's.

Dominion Status. THE return of Mr. Sastri happens to coincide with the appointment of a Minister at Washington by Canada: a powerful comment indeed on the import of the term "Dominion Status". Whatever English official pronouncements on the subject may be, it is obvious, that English statesmen cannot relish this growth of an independence, which more and more tends to leave England with all the kicks and the Dominions with all the ha'pence. Yet England forces itself to smile upon any new manifestation of this spirit of independence—because the English are too commonsense to prefer getting into a temper over the inevitable, to grinning and bearing it. With the attainment of separate diplomatic representation abroad, there is indeed nothing now

left by way of sovereignty to aspire after, except words. And England, having once started the Dominions on their course towards independence, realizes full well, that that course, once entered upon, cannot be stopped, and tries to comfort herself with the remaining words of "Loyalty to a common Throne"; "British Commonwealth of Nations" &c. India, having entered upon the same course as the other Dominions, is bound to proceed along it in the same manner—thereby enlisting the full sympathy and help of all the other dominions: and to have initiated a closer tightening up of this perfectly natural *entente* between India and her fellow-Dominions, seems to us to be not the least important result of Mr. Sastri's visit. Of course there may be in India, as there are in Ireland, people who rate words higher than realities. One only hopes that the spectacle of Mr. de Valera transforming the whole of Ireland into an open-air lunatic asylum, may have a little sobering effect even on them.

* * *

THE supersession of the title
Commissary of "Sheikh al Islam" by that of a
Religious Affairs. "Commissary of Religious Affairs"

is a further indication of the enlightened policy which Kemal Pasha and his Government are pursuing, and marks another step in the separation of the temporal from the spiritual powers. For the new Commissary is clearly appointed, not in order to deal *ex cathedra* with spiritual and theological questions, but rather to grapple with the thorny subject of Moslem temporalities. It is notorious, how in Turkey (and in other parts of the Near East) all land is rapidly tending to become "wakf", i. e. to pass out of secular ownership into that of religious institutions. This is natural, since of course Moslem piety in every generation is likely to add to the *wakf*, without their being any possibility of *wakf* at any time reverting to secular ownership. What makes the question so acute is the fact that *wakf* is exempt from all taxation. Now it is evident, that a financially strong and independent Turkey is unthinkable without increased taxation, and increased taxation is impossible without taxing *wakf* lands. *Hinc illæ lacrymæ.* There will of course be a tremendous outcry on the part of vested interests that "Islam is in danger". Religion always is said to be in danger, when it is the religious endowments that are in danger! Whilst, as moderns living in a modern world, all Indians should

heartily welcome this splendid and statesmanlike reform in a sister nation, it is melancholy indeed to think, that Indian Moslems, who in the past always ranked amongst the most enlightened and progressive of the Prophet's followers, are to-day only too much inclined to lend the full force of their moral support to all that is most reactionary in Islam.

* * *

Foundation of Swaraj. "END or mend the Councils" is Mr. C. R. Das's slogan. It was somewhat ambiguous, raising the

hope in some breasts, and the fear in others, that he would favour the normal use of the constitutional machinery, supporting good measures and resisting bad ones. It has now been made clear, however, that he holds that to non-co-operators nothing else is open than destructive work in relation to the Councils, the destruction to be compassed either from within or without. That is, the subversion of the constitution may be brought about either by the members returned to the legislatures abstaining from participation in the proceedings or opposing indiscriminate obstruction to all measures of Government. But no professed non-co-operator can, according to him, support any measure, however beneficent. All that he intended by allowing the alternative of "mending" the Councils was that before obstructive tactics were inaugurated a chance might be given to Government to concede the nation's demands as embodied in an ultimatum to be delivered from the Councils. The demand, as Mr. Das put it, was to be for constitutional reforms which should lay the "foundation of Swaraj." Now, the immediate grant of full and unqualified Swaraj was the demand put forward by Mahatma Gandhi on behalf of the non-co-operators at the Bombay Conference held in January last, and it naturally looked like lowering the Congress flag now to ask for a mere "foundation of Swaraj" as a preliminary to launching out on obstruction. Nor is it an incautious use of the word for full fledged Swaraj. Mr. Das has since repeated it in an interview, thus signifying that the non-co-operators would accept limitations on India's autonomy. We thought it was the besetting weakness of those temporising politicians who go by the name of Liberals to make allowance for practical difficulties, but why these tremors and hesitations in the most urgent and impetuous of all Nationalists?

* * *

Dwellings for Labourers in Bombay. LAST week saw the completion of a part of the Housing Scheme at Worli which is intended to provide 13,000 rooms. We are sincerely gratified that the Bombay Government, which has put in hand a scheme of industrial housing on a gigantic scale, has vigorously pushed on with it. The slum conditions that obtain in Bombay cannot be described better than in the words of Sir George Lloyd: "two-thirds of the people of this city live in insanitary and airless one-room tenements, and more than

50 per cent. of the children born in this city die before they reach the age of eighteen months," and the work of removing these conditions can never progress too fast. The cost of constructing these tenements has been substantially lowered and is expected to be still further reduced; and yet the rent charged for them is beyond the ability of the industrial population to pay. The demand for a reduction of the rent is met by the reply that to charge less than the economic rent is practically to subsidise the employers, whose business it is to pay their workmen a wage sufficient to keep them in reasonable comfort. The reasoning is sound, but it only means that the State ought to enforce on the mill-owners of Bombay the duty, which in its moral aspect is universally recognised but to which legal effect has not yet been given everywhere, of either providing decent houses for their workpeople or else paying them such a wage as will enable labour to rent such dwellings outside.

* * *

The Judicial and the Executive. IT would appear that, even before the U. P. Committee on the severance of the judicial from the executive functions had presented their, on the whole satisfactory, report in February of this year, the Bengal Committee had presented theirs; and that the two Committees have independently arrived at almost the same conclusions shows how idle the fears are, on which Mr. Lawrence enlarged in the Bombay Council some time ago, that the cost would be prohibitive and that the separation of magisterial and administrative work, which was required only by a hide-bound adherence to an ill-understood theory, could but result in increased crime. The Bengal Committee not only favour the separation, but they insist that it should be as complete as possible, and they compute that the recurring expenditure of carrying out this reform would be 4½ lakhs a year. The main thing to guard against is that no undue power is retained to the executive officers under the preventive sections of the Criminal Procedure Code. The Bengal Committee's recommendation in regard to provisions of chapter 8, for instance, is, that in ordinary cases proceedings should be sent for trial before the judicial officers, but in cases of emergency executive officers should be entitled to pass orders, and in the latter case the persons proceeded against should have a right to appeal to the Judge. With regard to these extra powers, which the executive officers do not enjoy in Great Britain, it should be recalled that the U. P. Committee recommended that in the larger towns "executive officers should issue the notices and institute the prosecutions under the preventive sections, but the decision of the cases should be with the Magistrates." Only in villages, where the Magistrates could not be on the spot, did the Committee think it necessary to invest the district officers with special powers, subject to an appeal. The arrangements to be made under the new scheme to provide for cases such as under sections 108 and 144 require careful scrutiny.

THE appointment of the Hon'ble Mian Sir Muhammad Shafi and of Mr. Purshottamdas Thakurdas strengthens still further the Advisory Central Publicity Committee of which they have now become members. The organisation built up by Prof. L. F. Rushbrook Williams undoubtedly serves to bring the Central Government in touch with the public, and anybody out for facts can be sure to get them or at least information where to get them, if he will ask this Department. As an *officier de liaison* between the Government and the Press, Mr. Rushbrook Williams has certainly proved his *raison d'être*, and we particularly commend to the attention of Provincial Governments the fact that the prime function of a Publicity Department, as thus demonstrated, is not to issue official *communiqués* or to supply verbatim reports of the most inane speeches made by Governors when on a visit to Ruling Princes. If a Publicity Department is merely to be a megaphone, it will not be much esteemed and we venture to think that its abolition would be a small loss. If on the other hand such a Department recognizes, as does the one at Delhi, its prime functions to be that of an Inquiry Office, as far as the public is concerned, and as an Information Bureau, as far as the Government is concerned, it would seem to us to fill a very real need and we therefore trust sincerely that there will be no rash experiments on Prof. Williams' sapling with the Inchcape axe.

More Protection of Autocracy.

THAT the "Protection of Princes" is not a singular phenomenon standing by itself, but appears to be rather an Empire-wide movement of the bureaucracy seeking shelter against the progress of democracy behind the autocracy of Native Princes: is borne out by a recent pronouncement of the Governor of the Straits Settlements when opening the Federal Council of the Federated Malay States, of which he is also High Commissioner. These Federated Malay States comprise four "Native States" (of Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan and Pahang) with a total population of thirteen lakhs, i. e. somewhat smaller than Baroda and somewhat larger than Indore. These four states were "federated" more than twenty years ago, with the result that Government became centralized in a Resident General and his Federal Council, of which the four rulers became mere members, ranking *qua* Councillors *pari passu* with the European planters and Chinese miners who happened to sit also on this Council. As a further consequence the four separate State Councils, in which each Ruler presided over a handful of official and unofficial advisers, tended to become purely ornamental. All of this had always been praised—and quite rightly—as making for efficiency: but now suddenly one reads in the *Malay Weekly Mail* that

"The subject of decentralization of power from the Federal Government to the State Governments has received my most careful attention since the last meeting of this Council." The High Commissioner further hoped that, "before long, the General Orders relating to the powers, duties and functions of the British Residents and of the Federal Heads of Departments will have been revised, and that the revision will effect considerable improvement upon the present system. It will, I hope, also be possible to increase the powers and functions of the State Councils in some important respects."

To talk of the necessity of decentralization in an administrative area of something like an average Indian collectorate! The arguments adduced by these would-be Protectors of Petty Potentates certainly do not seem much happier or stronger outside of India than within our borders.

THE SHAME OF ASSAM.—II.

IN our previous article we have tried to show that tea garden labour in Assam not only is not free, but never can be free, until written agreements are made illegal.

It is just because the labour is not free, that the Committee (we refer again to the last one of 1921-2) have had to devote the whole of a chapter of their report to "Strikes and Disturbances on Tea Gardens." Apparently most of the Committee's interest lay in discovering what, if any, connection there was between these disturbances and the propaganda of the non-co-operation movement. But we would rather ask whether any human being can be subjected to the conditions of life, that are traditional on Assam tea gardens, without the probability, nay, inevitability of such strikes and riots.

RECRUITING.

To begin with, we must bear in mind that the recruitment of labour for Assam is overwhelmingly in the hands of professionals and that the people who elect to emigrate to Assam, with their eyes open, do so, simply because it is their last resource; and that the others, "and these form by far the largest proportion of the emigrants, are taken away by specious and often false inducements". The last words are a quotation from a statement made in March 1906 by a Deputy Magistrate in one of the recruiting districts (p. 81 of Proceedings of the 1906 Committee): but though this evidence is 15 years old, and though the 1921-2 Committee quote (p. 104) the Chairman of the Assam Labour Board as stating, "that conditions with regard to recruitment have much improved", we yet find the Committee themselves concluding that "recruiting is as difficult and as expensive as ever except when scarcity or famine conditions prevail in the recruiting districts"; they consider it "not surprising that the class of coolie recruited is often far from satisfactory" (p. 88); and they advocate close supervision to "check recruitment of bazaar waifs and strays." We therefore conclude that things are much as they were and that the majority of newly recruited labourers still find themselves one fine day after a long journey into an unknown land corralled on a tea garden, forced to a life, which they abominate, to which they have never agreed and to which they only submit, if they do submit, because they can see no way of escape.

PRIVATE ARREST.

And that there should be no way of escape, is made doubly sure by the Chowkidari system of the estates. Until January 1908 private arrests were legal (!); but though a good many years have passed since, the 1921 Committee found that the practice of private arrest still prevails and they "regret that this practice which was commented upon in the report of the 1906 Committee has not yet disappeared" (p. 86). The gloss of the Governor of Assam's Resolution on this text is that "conditions have materially altered in recent years but it is plain

that private arrest, which is illegal, is still not unknown. It is probable that the taking back to the garden of a coolie who has accepted an advance and broken his contract to labour is not regarded by him as an injustice; and indeed that persuasion is often sufficient. But breaches of the law do occur and these must cease." The only comment on this we care to make is, that as far as the Governor in Council is concerned, it is indeed probable that the private arrest of a coolie is not regarded by him as an injustice, but merely as an illegality!

DISCHARGE TICKETS.

It is necessary here to draw attention to the fact that the "persuasion" of the chowkidari system does not stand alone in rivetting a labourer to his estate. Hand in hand with it goes a "discharge ticket" system, which makes it impossible for a labourer to find employment on any tea garden but the one which recruited him. A good deal of labour which is now going to the Surma Valley is nominally free, but "whether under contract or not," as long as a "coolie has been imported, by another concern" and not only he or she, but "his or her wife, husband, child or children", they may not "within the period of three years after importation", be "directly or indirectly employed or harboured or detained" by any other tea concern in the Province! (p. 141.) The report reprints as an appendix this "Memorandum of Agreement in connection with enticement of labour", as it is euphemistically called, which is actually in force now and from which we have quoted. Twenty years ago "a tea garden labourer, whether under contract or not, found it almost impossible, unless he was in possession of a chit from his late employer, to cross a ferry or to obtain a ticket for a journey by rail or steamer", so the Governor in Council tells us, implying that this state of affairs is gone and past: but from the Memorandum quoted it is evident, that, if he may now-a-days cross a ferry without a discharge ticket, he certainly cannot get a living without one. We have no hesitation in saying, that unless this whole discharge ticket system is broken up, labour will be as unfree in Assam in future as it has been in the past, whether private arrest is dispensed with or not. Broken up it must be and one only wonders how an agreement of this sort, although clearly one in restraint of trade and against public policy, has been tolerated for so long by a *soi-disant* civilized Government.

GARDEN DISCIPLINE.

The old Assam tradition is, that to recruit a fresh coolie it is hopeless to try to attract him, and that having got him, it is not attractive that will keep him on his garden, but force. Such a labourer would then be "broken in"—the term used by the 1906 Committee (p. 77.)—i. e. his spirit would be broken, his will cowed, until "he has become accustomed to interference in many respects with the details of his daily life, caste restrictions have become relaxed, and discipline is

no longer resented" (*ibid.*) "Discipline"—that is the second word we come across in all these reports; discipline demands, discipline would be impaired, discipline this, discipline that. And "discipline" means just brute force. Under normal and healthy labour conditions, "discipline" in an industry means the dismissal of the unsatisfactory; in Assam, dismissal is non-existent. At one time, Assam gardens were notorious for gross cruelty and flogging (p. 136 of the 1906 report): of the latter we find no trace in the present (1921-2) report, but we can hardly say that it acquits the tea industry of gross cruelty. There are alternatives to flogging as grossly cruel. What if a labourer be fined—and if the recovery of the fine means the lowering of already insufficient earnings? Or if permission is withheld to cultivate the labourer's rice plot, absolutely essential for his maintenance, by refusing to give him leave from estate work? The 1921 Committee quote an instance (p. 15), in which "it was alleged that pay was withheld on the charge or suspicion that absconders had been assisted to leave the garden". Some discipline that! Who can be surprised to learn, reading on, that next day, on the 10th of October, a serious riot occurred?

There still remains the manager who imposes excessive tasks and who "overdrives the coolies" (p. 16); who gives them no "leisure to attend to their own cultivation, to do their weekly marketing and to look after their family affairs generally" (*ibid.*); who works a system of rice and cloth advances, under which "coolies, after deductions made for these advances, not only receive no wages whatever in cash at the end of the month, but were weighted with further debt to the garden", resulting in "practically a condition of servitude" (p. 17); or the junior "with an insufficient knowledge of the vernacular, prone to refer the complaints of the coolies to the garden clerks instead of making personal enquiries" (p. 15), thus opening the door wide to every kind of petty oppression and extortion on the part of these subordinates, such as the case of a doctor babu who "had been exacting bribes from coolies for granting sick leave" (p. 9), or that where "coolies" earnings had been regularly subjected to illegal deductions by the garden clerks, they did not allow coolies with grievances to approach the Manager" (p. 17). We say, then, that discipline in the absence of freedom necessarily must result in riots: for with an unfree labourer, there can be no check on the Manager's exercise of discipline; and with no possibility of redress, what else is left to the labourer, when goaded to despair, but to pit force against force?

WAGES.

Unfortunately, even with that, we have not exhausted all the causes leading directly and inevitably to riots. For quite apart from all questions of "discipline" and the innumerable restrictions on the individual's liberty, to which the lethargic or the stoic may be expected to submit: there yet remains the question of remuneration. Dees

"pay," at least, for a person to sell his freedom to an Assam tea garden?

It seems almost cruel irony, to ask such a question, when it is notorious, that the wages on these gardens are literally a mere pittance. On looking up the old reports, one finds that since 1860 the monthly wage of a male labourer has been fixed at Rs. 5 a month (with rice at Rs. 1 per maund), and on comparing this with the 1921 Report, it again appears that no change has taken place since and that the idea of a monthly wage still is Rs. 5, but with rice at Rs. 3 per maund (p. 7)! But a mere wage scale tells little, especially when, as in Assam, work is no longer paid for purely on a time basis, and when the nominal monthly wage has become overlaid by regular "overtime", piece work, bonus and what not. It seems therefore more useful to take the average monthly earnings of a male labourer, i. e. the sum total of cash wages, overtime, hospital diet, rations, subsistence allowance and bonus earned during the month, dividing that total by the total labour force on the books. There are fourteen planting districts in Assam and the Report under review gives this average of earnings of each district for each year from 1905 to 1922 (pp. 43-65); but shows no table lumping all the districts together. There is a little danger of the wood getting lost sight of when there are so many trees about, and we have therefore struck the average for the whole of these 14 districts, both for the year 1905 and for that of 1922. As a result we have ascertained that the average total earnings of a male labourer in Assam amounted to Rs. 4-5-8 in 1905 and to Rs. 6-13-9 in 1922; whilst if we take the average monthly earnings of a working family (computed at 1 working male, working female and 0.3 working child—vide p. 67), we get the figure Rs. 14-15-8 for 1914 and Rs. 17-10-8 for 1922. On this basis it appears that wages have risen from 1905 to 1914 by 11% and from 1914 to 1922 by 18%. As for the cost of living, the Committee have constructed budgets (p. 69) for an adult male labourer from which they compute that the rise in the cost of living from 1914 to 1922 amounted to 40% and the Governor in Council "inclines to the opinion that this, if anything, probably understates the rise in the cost of living of recent years."

These figures indeed speak for themselves: a rise in nominal wages of 18%, a rise in cost of living of 40%—nett result of the past 8 years: a reduction in real wages of 12%! And what is the wage, which has been reduced by 12%? Rs. 5-12-3 were the total earnings of an adult male in 1914, out of which sum (according to the budget on p. 69) Rs. 5-3-6 went for the bare necessities of existence, leaving a balance of eight and three quarter annas per month for milk, *pan*, ceremonies, recreation and savings! We contend that labourers who are kept just on the hunger-line, as these people have been, and who are deprived of their freedom to leave the place they find themselves in: we say, there is no people in the world who in such

circumstances will not resort to violence. But if this abomination of an Assam system positively invited labourers to riot in 1914: what can be said of this year of grace 1922, when the same necessities of life cost Rs. 7-5-2 per month, whilst his total earnings average not more than Rs. 6-13-9?

What other conclusion could the Committee come to, but that "the causes of the outbreak were entirely economic", the coolies in October 1920 being "worse off than they would have been twenty years ago" (p. 7); that "in some gardens many coolies were not earning a living wage" (p. 12); that "the cause of the trouble was undoubtedly economic" (p. 17); and that, what political agitation there was, merely "gave the final impetus to discontent engendered by conditions prevailing on the plantations" (p. 15)? In the face of this, the hypothesis of a Deputy Commissioner that "the present (1920) attitude (of a labour force of Mundari Christians) is partly the outcome of the teachings of their former German pastor" (p. 9), strikes one as indeed too ludicrous for words.

But the melancholy tale is not yet all told. For not only was not enough earned, but often it happened that, as rice went up in price, that rice which was supplied to the labourer in part payment of his wages, went down in quality. "The complaint about bad rice was found to be substantiated," says p. 6 of the Report. Again we read (*ibid.*) that "There can be no doubt that the rice supplied by the Marwaris was of inferior quality." Or else, the rations of rice were cut down in quantity ("It was clear that the entire coolie population could not live on the rations supplied" see p. 8.) and there is even one case on record where "the boxes used for measuring the rations contained less than the supposed quantity." (*ibid.*) This last case is paralleled, by the way, by the "system," whereby a woman who brings in 24 pounds of tea leaf, would only get credit for 12 lbs." (p. 34)—why? Because her basket weighs 12 lbs. too? Not at all, but because it is the "system" to assume that a basket always weighs 50 p. c. of the leaf gathered!! "Managers have been asked" the Report continues quaintly, "to explain the origin of the system, but we have failed to elicit any intelligible answer." For ourselves we should have preferred the word *credible* for *intelligible*, especially when we are told in this connection that "the Manager estimates how much his leaf will cost to pluck"—which would almost imply that the weight of the basket tends to increase as the cost of plucking tends to exceed the estimate!

A BHIL SEVA MANDAL.

BHIL Boarding Schools, conducted by the education department of Government have existed (1) in Panch Mahals (two miles off Dohad) and at (2) Godsamba in Mandvi Taluka of Surat District for about a decade past, and are doing very good pioneer work of education among the Bhils of these districts. Another Boarding School for Bhils with

a new building was opened at Nirakhedi, 8 miles north of Dohad, by the Gujerat Antyaja Karyalaya about a year ago. Bhils, though not 'untouchables', are considered by this organization not less deserving of a helping hand than the depressed classes and hence, along with its activities for the untouchables, it has undertaken this work for the Bhils also. It was during a visit last March to this Mirakhedi Bhil Ashram where some boys were being taught by a Brahmin married couple that the idea of the Bhil Seva Mandal originated and was planned.

THE BHIL.

Salvationist and other Christian Missionaries have worked for several years past for the amelioration of the Bhil, both in Gujerat and Khandesh, but no indigenous body seems to have done so. One Guru Govind worked and accomplished a lot for the service of the Bhil, but as he mixed himself up with politics in his temperance work he had to be removed by Government from the field of his beneficent activities. The famine of 1919 and the scarcity of 1922 have brought the writer in pretty close contact with the Bhils. The Bhil is to be found in every stage of civilization: from the wild hunter to the orderly and hardworking peasant, and the Bhil of the Panch Mahals very nearly approximates to the latter description. According to the official Gazetteer, the Bhil is "truthful and honest but thriftless, excitable and given to drink".

He is in great terror of the 'Mehta' (officials of the all powerful sarkar, and of the thousand and one regulations of a complex Government. As he tends to a wild life, his village is not a cluster of houses or huts as ordinary Gujerati villages; every Bhil has his own separate hut on or close to his farm, preferably on high ground. His wants are but few. A mere *langoti* serves for his dhoti, but while working bare-bodied in his field with the *langoti* alone, he does not put off his head dress, which is an apology for a turban. All clothes with him are mere 'rags', such is his philosophic disregard of what is considered a prime necessity of life by most of our countrymen. As a matter of fact he or his wife are to be seen mostly in tattered rags, and the children, including girls up to, say, 12, and sometimes more, are often without any clothing save a *langoti*. To the police every Bhil is a potential thief, and truly so, because he is so often starving. As the Sanskrit proverb runs, "Which sin is not capable of being committed by a starving man?" Maize is his principal crop and favourite food, and wheat, rice and gram he resorts to only as a last resort. He keeps a number of cattle, which he uses for milk as well as for food in case of necessity. On the whole he is an honest, simple, manly fellow and capable of hard work, but he needs to be lifted up above the primitive state, in which he now is.

Following is a sketch of a proposal to start settlement work amongst the Bhils (and Batelias, an allied but distinct caste) of Dohad and Jhalod Talukas of Panch Mahals District who number

about 1,00,000 souls. The area of the two Talukas is 609 sq. miles. The B. B. and C. I. Ry. runs east and west across Dohad Taluka for a length of 25 miles to the north of Dohad, and is connected therewith by a fairly good unbridged road. There is a still larger Bhil population in the surrounding Native States: (1) Ali Rajpur on the south, (2) Jambua and (3) Khushalgadh on the east, (4) South Rampur (5) Vanswada and (6) Deogarapur on the north and (7) Devgad Baria on the west. The influence of welfare work that may be done for Bhils in the British area will naturally make itself felt amongst those residing in the neighbouring States, and occasional tours in these areas by the Head of the organization may pave the way for future similar work there. It is proposed that the mission is to be in charge of a member of the Servants of India Society for a period of at least three years and the other workers numbering about twelve will be selected by him and stationed in 8 or 10 centres of work as detailed below. The workers will be fairly well educated men selected for their spirit of service to the backward community and for practical experience of service in this sort of social work. The worker will stay in the selected central Bhil village preferably with his wife if he is married and will move and work among the surrounding villages on the lines laid out. He will be given his bare expenses, say, about Rs. 30 to 50 per mensem for himself and his dependents that reside in the village assigned. The worker will be morally bound to serve the Mandal for a period of not less than 3 years plus one month's probation.

THE WORK.

The main plank of the work will be social and economic elevation and politics will not be touched. The following will be the main lines of work:

(1) By preaching and close contact to inculcate ideas of personal cleanliness and abstinence from drink and animal food. To teach the children the art of reading and writing in schools where existing or in schools to be started and to talk to adults about better methods of cultivation about habits of industry and avoidance of laziness.

To attempt to give the Bhil protection from the greed of the Sahukar and the petty tyrannies of Police, Forest and Land Revenue subordinates; to expose cases of unpaid compulsory labour, etc.

(3) To try to form co-operative societies of the people of each hamlet (phalia) or a village for supply of seeds and cash.

(4) To provide them with facilities for subsidiary cottage industries, such as cotton spinning and weaving, hemp spinning and weaving (hemp is largely grown in this District and woven by chamars) and other suitable trades.

(5) To hold every evening informal meetings of villagers and to read stories from the Ramayan, Mahabharat and other books and explain their moral. To read out newspapers or news of the week and explain the events of the week in various provinces of this country and other countries of

the world. To impart common knowledge by talks and show of maps.

(6) To study at first hand social customs of marriage, birth, death and feasts; attend fairs and caste meetings wherever held in the neighbourhood; and to preach tactfully against evil and degrading customs.

(7) To conduct a small dispensary using common medicines, and to distribute medicines in surrounding villages in case of an epidemic.

(8) To befriend the Dhed, Chamar, Bhang, Dabger and other depressed castes, to help their children in schooling, to prepare their census in surrounding villages and to assist them generally along with the Bhil.

THE COST.

The cost per annum is estimated as follows:

	Ra.	Ra.
1 Head of the mission	75	
	per month	75
12 Workers	40	do. 480
6 Peons and servants	10	do. 60
2 Extra to inspecting workers ...	10	do. 20
Travelling expenses	50	do. 50
Office expenses	30	do. 30
12 Contingent expenses of workers	10	do. 120
		835
Unforeseen		65
	Total...	900
(1) Establishment ... 3 x 12 x 900		Rs. 32,400
(2) Initial expenses ...		2,000
(3) Capital for Cottage Industries, Co-operative Societies, and expenses of other benevolent activities. 3 x 2,000		6,000
(4) Two pukka buildings for Boarding Schools. 2 x 2,000		4,000
(5) Boarding expenses of boys in Boarding schools at Rs. 5/- per month per boys. 5 x 36 x 40		7,200
	Total for three years	Rs. 51,600
	Add unforeseen	400
	Grand total Rs....	52,000

The following villages are proposed as places where one worker will constantly reside and do his social work:

1. *Dohad*:—will be the head quarters and centre of the organization. There will also be one worker attached to the office, who will be in charge of accounts.

2. *Garbada*:—12 miles south of Dohad on the Ali-Rajpur road.

3. *Jesawada*:—10 miles to the south-west of Dohad on a kucha road.

4. *Katwara or Chandwans or Kathia*:—about 3 miles to the S. E. of Dohad.

5. *Jhalod*:—21 miles north of Dohad and connected by a good road. It has a dally post.

6. *Garadu*:—7 miles to the N. W. of Jhalod on the way to South Rampur.

7. *Limdi*:—A large village between Dohad and Jhalad, 14 miles from the former.

8. *Doongri*:—A village on the road from Limbdi to Limkheda.

9. *Mirakhedi*:—8 miles to the north of Dohad on the road to the Jhalod.

10. *Gultora*:—Seven miles to to the N. E. of Mirakhedi.

10 wrokers at 10 stations,

1 Worker in office

1 Reliever or reservist.

Total 12 or

13 workers, including the president.

Rs. 52,000 distributed over three years is not a very large demand to make from Gujerat or Gujeratis. Of one thing I am confident, and that is, that if the organiser can secure 12 self-sacrificing workers from the youths of Gujerat, who will take a vow to serve our Bhil brethren for not less than three years, the necessary funds will be forthcoming. Funds will not be wanting even in this poor country, if work can be shown.

A. V. THAKKAR.

AN INDIAN BAR.

THE report of Lord Lytton's Committee has brought to the forefront the question about the creation of an Indian bar. The late Secretary of State had appointed a Committee to report and make recommendations in regard to the adequacy of existing arrangements for facilitating the access of Indian students to the United Kingdom. There were 1301 students studying in various branches of knowledge in the United Kingdom in October 1921. Of these nearly 280 were prosecuting the study of law. The greatest percentage of students going to the United Kingdom is of those who are concerned with the legal profession. The principal reason is that the qualification of a barrister confers higher privileges than those of a pleader or an Indian LL. B. Sir Theodore Morison, formerly of the Aligarh College and now Principal of Armstrong College, Newcastle-on-Tyne, has very succinctly described the reasons which induce young men in India to rush to the United Kingdom for their equipment:

"The object for which all should work is the improvement of the Indian Universities to such a point that there should be no need to come to England for undergraduate study. At the same time the illegitimate advantage which an Indian may gain by studying in England should be neutralised. Of these the facile call to the English bar is the greatest. A young Indian who has passed the Matriculation Examination of an Indian University has very solid reasons for preferring a call to the English bar to the Indian qualification for pleading in the High Court. In the first case he will need only expenditure of three years' time and a moderate intellectual effort to become a barrister qualified to plead in any Indian court and enjoying by virtue of his foreign qualification precedence over those who have studied in their own country's colleges. In the other case, he will see before him at least six years of hard work; he will have to pass three examinations—and these are not merely nominal examinations after the prescribed terms have been kept,

but severe tests at which on an average about fifty per cent. of the candidates fail. The call to the English bar is the soft option which inevitably tempts many an Indian family. It is grossly unfair and penalises the poor in favour of the rich."

Dr. Morison therefore proposes to minimise the evil effects of this system by making it obligatory upon all barristers to acquire the qualification of a B. A. degree as the evidence of general culture. The late Sir William Meyer has stated that the position of a barrister is regarded as higher in certain respects than that of an Indian pleader though the British course is much easier and attracts very many Indian students. It is thus quite clear that the course of studies in England is much easier than that prescribed in India. It takes a fairly short time, generally a period of only three years, for any one to acquire the necessary qualification and this position secures better rights than those acquired in India after a longer study extending over nearly six years and entailing a heavier burden on the intellect of a student and furnishing him with less remunerative prospects. Every organisation which was consulted has distinctly given its opinion that unless the position of a barrister and a vakil is put on a footing of equality, there is no chance of retarding this rush to the United Kingdom of wealthy Indian youths. The Cambridge Indian Mejlis have given their opinion to the same effect. They have further stated that in the Madras High Court there is no distinction between a barrister and a vakil on the original side of that High Court, as it is in the chartered High Courts of Bombay and Calcutta and consequently the number of students proceeding to England from the Presidency of Madras is far smaller than that going from the Presidencies of Bombay and Calcutta. The Edinburgh India Association advocated that invidious distinction between vakils and advocates should be at once abolished. The same is the opinion held by the Indian Majalis at Oxford. This system of giving preferential treatment to barristers qualified in England has been strongly disapproved by Mr. Lionel Curtis in the following words :

" Any reasonable man would recommend the abolition of the system by which certain of the superior courts in India were closed to legal practitioners unless they had got degrees of another court. "

The average number of students who go to England for this purpose is nearly 150 every year. The average cost entailed is nearly Rs. 400 per head, and if we add to this the cost of the fees of the Inns of Court and also the cost of travelling to and fro, the approximate cost of attaining the qualification of a barrister comes to something like 16 to 18 thousand Rupees per student. What a heavy drain it must be on the resources of the parents and how hard it must be for them to meet it, we leave to the judgment of our readers.

But the principal question in this connection is whether it is worth while to send students to England to acquire this legal training, whether

this system really tends to increase the efficiency of this profession, whether the danger and the risks to which the students are exposed in an early period of their lifetime are necessary to be faced for the advancement of national interests. Does this system bring about a higher standard of rectitude and honour than that inculcated by the system adopted in India? All these points have been satisfactorily answered by no less an authority than Vicount Haldane, who was pleased to give evidence before Lord Lytton's Committee. The method of obtaining legal education in England he condemned in unmistakable terms. " It is as bad a system as it is possible to conceive. " Legal training is divided into two parts. First the training in jurisprudence which means the real foundations on which all legal training is based. This can be acquired by reading the treatises on this subject written by such eminent writers as Dicey, Pollock and Maitland. The training of jurisprudence can very well be imported by Indian Universities in their law colleges. The second kind of training is that relating to law and practice and the spirit of the courts. As regards both of them Lord Haldane observed :

" The first is no doubt very much the same as what we should have in England; it is not quite the same because anybody who has been trained for the Indian law even in its foundations in the jurisprudence which has to precede its detailed study, ought to have his mind enlarged by getting rid of a great many notions which an English lawyer and a great many others which a Hindu lawyer for instance has. The differences of principle which emerge in Indian law ought to be something of second nature to him as certain principles of western systems are of second nature to us. But when you have done that, what is the next training? They come to the Inns of Courts where they are not sufficiently instructed in these fundamental things. This training is by no means perfect and some of us want very much to see it improved. It is a totally wrong training in my view for an Indian student. " Lord Haldane expressed his surprise as to why India has tolerated this system so long. " India ought to call to its own bar. It ought to call men to the position of barrister. It ought to create its own King's Counsel. If anybody says that that is an innovation my answer is that that is what the whole of the dominions do with the exception of that country called India. I do not see why an Indian student should have to come over here to get what seems to me to be a much worse education for his future calling in life than he would get if he pursued it out in India. "

As regards the training in an English barrister's chambers Lord Haldane characterised it as imperfect, firstly because there is much less chance of getting training there in these days than it was before and secondly because that training is getting more and more conventional to the English law courts.

" The Indian student studying in our courts here seems to me merely to get his mind poisoned against what he might imbibe profitably if he went to India; he would do much better to read in chambers in India and to be called in India. "

Lord Haldane proposes that it would be well to get rid even of the degree of vakil if possible and have one profession with seniority in it and make our own King's Counsels; then only, he says, will you be delivered from this very bad system. As regards

reading in chambers, Lord Haldane thinks that the value of this training is very much exaggerated, that there are very few chances of adequately getting this training and there are chances that the students would wander about the courts without having anything to do. When asked if it was necessary to have an element of the English bar in India in order to raise the standard of honour and industry, Lord Haldane said that he had sat for a long time on the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council and had argued in a great many Indian appeals when he was at the bar. The more he had seen of it the more he was impressed with the character of the Indian judges. The standard of legal knowledge shown in their judgments was very high. He thought that the prestige and honour of the bar in India might with perfect safety be left in charge of the High Court in India. As regards the creation of an Indian bar Lord Haldane emphatically observed:

"Call your barristers and make your barristers. The High court is not an administrative body; set up your Council for call to the bar and a committee to superintend legal education. Say to the student. "You must come with a degree from the University, the bar being treated as something post-graduate to that. You must then show that you have studied practically with the vakil or with somebody at the bar just as here and you must also show that you are qualified in the various systems of law which you know."

Lord Haldane went to the length of stating that the clause which required one-third of the judges of the High Court in India to be barristers was only right if the barrister was a person created in India but wrong if he had to go to England to become one. He further urged that this provision might be deleted from the Government of India Act. Asked as to whether vakils were not permitted to appear before the Privy Council, Lord Haldane replied that if anybody said to them that he was duly qualified to appear in a court of law in India, the Privy Council would say that he was duly qualified to appear before them. They did not listen to technicalities and he was not aware of any restriction having been established by precedent by which only a member of the English bar could appear before the Privy Council and he did not think that they would establish such a precedent now. If the Privy Council does not impose any restrictions upon the vakils to appear before them we fail to see the propriety of the Indian High Courts at Bombay and Calcutta making such invidious distinction so far as appearance and pleading are concerned. Lord Haldane has in an outspoken manner advocated the establishment of an Indian bar and the utter inefficiency of the system of recruiting barristers trained in the Inns in England for practice in Indian courts.

G. R. ABHYANKAR.

RAILWAYS AND THE BUDGET—VII. FURTHER ROBBERY OF REVENUE BY CAPITAL.

IN article IV of this series we showed how unfair it is to the taxpayer that the terminable annuities payable in respect of purchased railways should be defrayed out of current revenues, in spite of the

Hon'ble the Finance Member likening these payments to a sinking fund. The term "Sinking Fund" has never been used in Government accounts in connection with annuity payments, and the Hon'ble Sir Malcolm Hailey adopted it in his speech in that connection only in the course of justifying these payments being made out of revenues. There, however, are sinking funds specially created by the Government and actually described as such in Government accounts, which are used for the identical purpose of wiping out the original cost of a commercial asset from the capital account. Out of the purchase price amounting to £50,151,041 on account of the East Indian, the Eastern Bengal, and the Scinde-Punjab and Delhi Railways £12,735,652 (page 284 of the Government of India Finance and Revenue accounts for 1919-20) has been paid by the creation of India Debt of the value of £13,026,143 (p. 315, *ibid.*) while India Stock of the value of £148,478 (p. 284 *ibid.*) has been issued in exchange for the 4% and 4½% Debenture Stocks in the Eastern Bengal and the East Indian Railways of the value of £126,922 (p. 315 *ibid.*). The India Stock amounting to £13,174,621 (£13,26,123 plus £148,478) is being redeemed by sinking funds from revenue at the rate of £395,898 per year (p. 284 *ibid.*). The money earmarked for credit to these funds is straightaway used in the purchase or cancellation of the India Stock (note (b) at foot of p. 27 *ibid.*) and the funds always show a debit balance equal to the liability remaining unredeemed. The budget for 1922-23 contains a provision for the contribution of Rs. 45.82 lakhs from revenue. The objections which we have urged against annuity payments being made out of revenue apply with, if anything, greater force in the case of this and similar future contributions. The question in this case is not complicated by any portion of these contributions representing interest charges. The whole of the amount involved is in redemption of liability purely capital. The debt which is being redeemed out of revenue is not, so far as we can make out, a terminable loan, so that there can ordinarily be no obligation or necessity to repay it by any given date. It is all India Stock, and represents a productive debt which in virtue of its being covered and more than covered by valuable tangible assets, cannot be regarded as indebtedness to be avoided or relieved at all cost. There might have been some justification for the course if it were the case that the unproductive debt of the country which, after all, is the only real debt, was so wholly incommensurate with its revenue resources as to affect its credit adversely, but we have it on the authority of the Government themselves that the total national debt (not only unproductive but both unproductive and productive) constitutes a national indebtedness which in comparison with the resources of the country is very much smaller than that of most other countries (p. 1 of the Guide Book for Investors in the Government of India Securities). The unsoundness of the practice becomes all the more pronounced when it is remembered that the repayment has to be made during 1922-23 not out of an income accruing by a process of normal expansion of revenues, but out of an income forced up by new taxation all round. In all these circumstances, fairness and justice to the taxpayer and also to the commercial character of the railway concern require that the representatives of the country should not only resist the present and future contributions from revenues to wipe out the capital charge, but also to obtain relief to future revenue as and when needed.

ECONOMY.

CONTINENTAL LETTER.

BRESLAU, November 21st.

POOR mad Europe! For four years she has worshipped the spirit of Militarism and still it goes on manifesting itself in ever new political forms. Never has the principle that "Might goes before Right" had so many adherents, as nowadays—its latest manifestation being the triumph of Fascism in Italy; and what ultimate reactions this triumph will evoke in the rest of Europe is at present impossible to say.

Various causes have facilitated Signor Mussolini's victory over the forces of democracy, foremost amongst them being the sinister influence of Moscow, which had converted a fair number of Italian Socialists to the Bolshevik tactics of force. Factories were occupied by force; by force was the normal functioning the State made impossible; and a series of frivolous strikes helped to embitter still further the general public. Secondly there is the universal despair, born of economic depression and of a chronic deficit in the budget. Finally national pride—already overstimulated by the war—has felt deeply a series of diplomatic slights and defeats at the hands of England and France. Fascism, with its picturesque army of "Black Shirts", its emphasis of identity with the Rome of classical times,* its answering of terror by terror—soon had lakhs under its banners, occupied the Government offices in all the important cities and finally took Rome itself, forcing the constitutional government of the country to resign in favour of this self-constituted body of men, led by one whose power of organization is only equalled by that of his speech. Mussolini, once a Socialist Radical, to-day is the ardent champion of the idea of Force: but Europe still waits in vain for the new revolutionary ideas, for whose benefit the old principle of democracy had to be sacrificed. As regards European Reconstruction, Mussolini uses all the phrases of reaction; his advocacy of the *Entente* is based, à la Poincaré, on an alleged growing intimacy between Germany and Russia; and educationally and socially, his policy is frankly retrograde. The only outstanding characteristics of Signor Mussolini's movement are—not new ideas, but—utter contempt of parliamentarism, a boundless jingoism and the employment of all the paraphernalia of melodrama. Its life therefore seems somewhat precarious—but when this Government in its turn should fail and abdicate, it is only too probable that in its fall it will drag down with it the Monarchy, which instead of functioning as the guardian of the idea of Right, bowed its knee to the great brigand chief, Mussolini, more concerned about its own safety than that of the realm.

Nothing, by the way, shows more clearly how little the idea of moral authority has come to be

* Thus the emblem of the "fasces" taken from the office of the *lictors* of ancient Rome; representing the sanction of force behind the law; the salute borrowed from that of the legions of Imperial Rome &c. &c.

esteemed in modern Europe, than the flattering terms in which both the French and the British Premiers replied to Mussolini's telegrams announcing his accession to power: France and Great Britain's Premiers, if you please, who cannot "recognize" the "un-democratic" Soviet government of Russia, but who "recognize" with wonderful alacrity the just as un-democratic Fascist government of Italy! As regards another country, Yugoslavia, Mussolini's expression of friendship—though his first official act—has not been reciprocated with equal enthusiasm. On the contrary, the succession of an ultra-jingo to the post of Italian Premier, is not calculated to soothe the nerves of the patriots of Yugoslavia, who were left in a high state of tension, not only by the Treaty of Versailles, which incorporated five lakhs of Yugoslavs in Italy, but also by the subsequent filibustering of Fiume. This city had been given autonomy, but in March of this year, Fascist bands (in the pay of the Italian government!) invaded the city, deposed the autonomous city government and expelled the parliamentary majority. Fiume, once a very important international port and most flourishing city, to-day is completely ruined. No steamer calls there any more; no railway or postal service connects it any more with the outside world; utter misery is the lot of all who still live there. But it would seem, as if for the last word in modern, nationalist fanaticism it was utterly irrelevant, whether it can plant its flag over the living or over the dead—provided only that its flag is so planted!

Nowhere has the victory of Italian Fascism found so joyous an echo, as in the breasts of all German reactionaries, who have welcomed the rout of Socialism in Italy as an earnest of their own deliverance from a Socialist, Pacifist and Republican government. How great their joy is, can be gauged by the fact, that it makes them, arch-nationalist and super-patriotic sponsors of everything German that is, forget even the shameful treatment which the German population of the, now Italian, Tyrol is subjected to at the hands of Fascism. Nothing does so appeal to the *junker* instincts of the Prussian agrarian, or to the clerical and monarchical fanaticism of the peasants of Upper Bavaria, as the insulting manner in which Mussolini dismisses all parliamentarism—and the German government will have to be wide awake, if the envious admiration of the great Italian anti-parliamentary organization is not to ensue in attempts at imitating it in Germany, and particularly in Bavaria.

Similarly in Hungary does it seem that Fascism will soon be paid the sincerest form of flattery—imitation. Meanwhile the Hungarian brand would appear to be specializing in Antisemitism. As for Poland, jingoism has already reached there a pitch which seems quite incapable of further intensity. The only advantage it could derive from Mussolini's triumph is, an expectation that Italy in future will no longer look so askance at

the Polish violation of East Galicia—which France, as the High Protector of all militarism, of course has all along condoned, whilst England is known never to have been very happy about this Ukrainian drama of oppression. [East Galicia is inhabited not by Poles, but by Ukrainians, and kept under by a Polish army of occupation, without any international sanction. It contains however a very valuable oilfield, now in course of exploitation by French capitalists under the aegis of Poland! Ed. S. O. I.] The results of the recent Polish elections, however, have been very unexpected and may well lead to a new orientation. For, notwithstanding every kind of official pressure, the minorities in Poland (White Russians, Germans, Jews and Ukrainians) have returned so many deputies to the "Sejm", as to form a *bloc*, without which neither the Right (under Korfanty) nor the left (under Pilsudski) will be able to govern. It would indeed be the height of irony, if the arrogant Polish *junker* should have to take his orders from his former pariah Jew!

For Austria the advent of Fascism in Italy does not mean much for the time being. The process of the absorption of Austria by Italy which had already gone pretty far, has for the present come to a standstill owing to the jealousy of the other Powers, who have spiked the Italian guns by the League of Nation's scheme of help to Austria. This scheme, which meant a naked dictatorship over Austria by the High Commissioner of the lender nations, naturally evoked most strenuous opposition in Austria itself and it is gratifying to find that this has led to some modifications in the treaty, so that the Austrian Parliament is after all to be left with some powers. In any case it is only a question of two years: for nobody who understands the true problem can believe that whether now or in two years' time Austria is capable of separate economic existence. Like a man, whose legs and arms have been amputated, poor Austria can only live by—begging.

LEVIN L. SCHÜCKING.

CORRESPONDENCE.

SIKH SHRINES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR,—There is not the least doubt that the Sikh Shrines Act recently passed in the Punjab Legislative Council, if properly worked, can prove very helpful in securing the reform of the Gurdwaras. It is much to be regretted that the Sharomani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee continues to asseverate its hostility to the Act, and even to carry on a vigorous propaganda for the purpose of poisoning the minds of the Sikh public against that Act. But at the same time it would seem that the Sharomani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee is making use of this very Act, to which it affects to have such strong objections, as a means of bringing pressure to bear upon the incumbents of the Shrines. The matter is put to the Mahants in this way: "Under the Gurdwaras Act 'disputed shrines' will be placed under a Sikh Board which is empowered to oust you and take possession at once. How is it possible then for you to resist our claims? Is it not better for you to come to an agreement with us and surrender your

rights in return for such allowances as we may be ready to give you, rather than wait for the application of the Act and possibly lose everything?"

Recent occurrences in the Punjab show that the Sharomani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee is well aware of the immense advantages which the Gurdwaras Act has secured to the partisans of the Reform movement and that it is not above making indirect use of these advantages while it continues to murmur loudly against the instrument which it is astute enough to employ for its own purpose. In my opinion it would be better openly to acknowledge the useful character of the Act and to work it honestly. It is still to be hoped that the great mass of reasonable Sikhs will see the true significance of this contradiction between professions and deeds and will decline to be led into hostility to a measure which gives them so much. Under the old law their efforts for reform were frustrated by the delays and expense of the ordinary Courts of law and by the lack of that special knowledge of Sikh ideas and Sikh theology which only a Sikh can have. The Gurdwaras Act which has now become law provides for a purely Sikh Board which will be empowered to take possession and administer disputed shrines. Henceforth there should be neither delay nor expense in getting rid of a bad Mahant and in providing for the proper application of the funds of the Gurdwaras. The Act I repeat places at the disposal of my community advantages and facilities by utilising which to the fullest possible extent thorough and radical reformation of the Gurdwaras can be secured. Our best interests require that the policy of unreasoned hostility should be abandoned; that the Act should be worked honestly and in good faith; that efforts should be made to secure the removal of any defects that might be brought to light in the course of working; and that endeavours should be made to secure the co-operation of all sects and classes among the Sikhs in successfully working the Act. In conclusion I may add that it is absolutely necessary that the present excitement should subside and a calm and dispassionate atmosphere for the successful working of the Act should be secured and this will be possible only if the strife and contumacy which have so far hindered the progress of reform are replaced by peace, good-will and honest faith.—Yours, etc.

ARBEL SING.

Lahore, December 4.

UNDERSERVED ATTACK.

(From *The Janmabhumi*.)

THE preamble of the Calcutta resolution relating to Connai-entry, was assailed by both sides of the House with relentless fury. On the one hand the Moderates such as Pandit Malavya, Mr. Stokes and Mr. Jayakar asked for its deletion because for one thing it advised contesting the elections "in strict accordance with the principle of non-violent non-co-operation." On the other hand we attacked the preamble because of its inherent injustice alike to the Councils, the Co-operators and the Non-co-operators. When the Congress complains that the Councils were an impediment to the redress of the Khilaphat and Punjab wrongs, it implies that it expected the Councils to work for the redress of these wrongs. That is most uncomplimentary to the Congress and the Non-co-operators, apart from its being not true. But worse implications and charges are embodied in the preamble because it is idle, nay, wicked, to say that the Councils have stood in the way of the redress of the two great wrongs or in the way of the attainment of Swarajya. Did not the provincial Governors and the Viceroy and the Central Legislature, in one voice, plead for the solution of the Khilaphat? Did not the Moderates plead for the amelioration of the lot of non-co-operators in jails? Did not provincial Council after provincial Council ask for the liberation of these prisoners and the cancelling of the rule applying the C. Law Amendment Act to Bengal, U. P. and the Punjab? The fact was that this untragic and undignified attack was adopted for the sake of effect, but was easily shown up.

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