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TOPICS OF THE WEEK

Karagatch.

THE handing over of Karagatch by Greece to Turkey is being made the subject of much irrelevant flippancy by the London *Times* special cable, announcing the news. As a matter of fact the incident marks probably one of the most important events in the recent history of the Balkans, since by it Bulgaria is now definitely and irretrievably shut out from the Ægæan, to which the railway Karagatch—Dede Agatch on the right bank of the Maritza is the natural outlet. If any idea of justice had prevailed at the Versailles peace making, Western Thrace would certainly have reverted to Bulgaria, which held it before the War, instead of to Greece, whose only title to this strip of the coast depends on Greece recovering the whole of that littoral, up to and including Constantinople. Once Mustapha Kemal Pasha had shattered that dream, Greece had really no further use for Dede Agatch and the corridor behind it, except that of keeping out Bulgaria: a result which of course is equally achieved, whether Turkey holds the key position of Karagatch, or Greece. Nothing indeed is more responsible for Stambulinski's recent murder than the surrender of Karagatch, which meant the collapse of his plans for a United States of all Yugoslavs—i. e. the supersession of the present Serbian centralism in Yugoslavia by a federalism, which would coordinate Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia and Dalmatia as equals and would include Bulgaria as one of these federal States. The latter, however, logically demanded also the emancipation of Macedonia as one of these autonomous States, which together were to form the great new Federation of

all Yugoslavs. For Macedonians are linguistically and ethnically the link between Serbs and Bulgarians and the primary age-long conflict between Serbs and Bulgarians has consisted just in this, that each claimed Macedonia as its own. At present Macedonia is parcelled out between Greece and Serbia: a permanently impossible arrangement. The significance of all this in the present Italian endeavour to turn the Adriatic into an Italian lake (by seizing both Fiume and Corfu) is obvious: for if Mr. Mussolini succeeds in his plans, Yugoslavia, shut out from the Adriatic, and Bulgaria, shut out from the Ægæan, will be bound to exert combined pressure to gain a joint outlet at Saloniki—the seaport of Macedonia: with consequences which may yet realize the dream of Stambulinski.

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Bombay's Protest.

BOMBAY held a big all-party demonstration on Kenya at the Town Hall on Tuesday of last week, anti-change Congressmen, Swarajists, Liberals and men without any party affiliation participating in it wholeheartedly. Sir Chimantal Setalvad, who presided, went over the whole ground at great length, beginning with the testimony of such early administrators as Sir John Kirk and of later travellers like Mr. Winston Churchill to the services rendered by Indian settlers and the real want filled by them. From the appreciative comments to be found in all daily papers, Sir Chimantal no doubt succeeded in preventing his oration from being a little too commonplace as one would fear a detailed reference to such well-worn documents was apt to make it, but anyhow, we are sure, the audience would not have appreciated his performance the less if he had given public support to the measures proposed to be taken in retaliation or made his own proposals, instead of occupying the whole time with a consideration of the merits of the Kenya decision. Indeed this defect ran through all the proceedings, for most of the prominent leaders elected to speak to the resolutions condemning the decision, and the more important resolution dealing with the measures to be taken being left to be spoken to by comparatively junior speakers. It may have conduced well enough to the convenience of the leaders to avoid the subject of future action, but this result in not giving the necessary lead to the country. At this meeting some opposition was apprehended from non-cooperators to the resolution regarding the boycott

of Empire goods, but the difficulty was got over by making an announcement that the passing of the resolution was not to be taken as involving any change in the position assumed by non-co-operators on this question.

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WHAT influenced non-co-operators to withhold their support from the boycott of British and imperial goods was the dictum of Mahatma Gandhi that such boycott implies hatred of England and the Empire. While we shall ourselves require strong proof to convince us of the expediency of this course, we are unable to accept the reasoning which sets down a commercial boycott to hatred, while ascribing several other boycotts organized by non-co-operators to an unexceptionable motive. In our view, this boycott, like every other retaliatory measure proposed, has its origin not in hatred, but in a desire to obtain satisfaction for the wrongs inflicted on us. The only feature of the boycott of British goods which lends itself to the construction Mahatma Gandhi puts on it is that it does not hit merely the offending party, viz. the British Government, but hits the British people as well, which is not just. This objection is a valid one, and if we could resort to any other measure which would exercise the necessary amount of pressure on the Government without involving the people in any loss, we should all be glad to give up this or any other boycott in its favour. But no measure of retaliation which has been proposed on the present occasion is free from this objection. If we stop the supply of aided Indian labour to the Crown Colonies, those who will suffer in the first instance are the planters who have done nothing to incur our displeasure. If we exclude the Colonials from employment in the public service those that will be hit are individuals who bear no direct responsibility for a policy of white domination. But to such measures the non-co-operators feel no objection, merely because Mahatma Gandhi does not happen to have put an interdict on them, but on the contrary it happens that he expressed approval of the reciprocity resolution, which has also for its basis the same principle: "For with what measure ye mete it shall be meted to you again." Those, however, to whom Mahatma Gandhi's opinion is not the last word in logic will find it hard to impugn boycott of British goods as a movement inspired by hatred, and at the same time exculpate other retaliatory measures, sanctioned by Mahatma Gandhi and accepted by non-co-operators, from the same charge.

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THE truth is that both the boycott of British goods and all other retaliatory measures proceed not from hatred, but from anger or desire to avenge ourselves and get repaired the wrong done to us. And there is a fundamental difference between hatred and anger. Both seek to inflict injury upon those

Not Hatred, but Anger.

who have done a wrong, but whereas hatred wishes them evil for evil's sake, anger wishes them evil as a means of just vengeance. Hatred is thus essentially evil, but not so anger, which has a good aspect. St. Thomas Aquinas, than whom a better authority is not available on such nice points, has the following on the distinction between these two emotions: "The object of anger is the same in substance as the object of hatred; since, just as the hater wishes evil to him whom he hates, so does the angry man wish evil to him with whom he is angry. But there is a difference of aspect: for the hater desires evil to his enemy as evil, whereas the angry man wishes evil to him with whom he is angry, not as evil, but in so far as it has an aspect of good, that is, in so far as he reckons it as just, since it is a means of vengeance. *Hatred implies application of evil to evil, whereas anger denotes application of good to evil.*" (Summa, Prima Secundæ, Q. 46, a. 6.) This distinction is ignored by those who maintain that boycott is motivated by hatred. If we can obtain reparation for the wrong done to us without seeking the harm of the offending party, then of course it is the best possible remedy but if we cannot it is well to remember that it is much less grievous to wish evil to a man as it is just, than to wish him evil as it is evil. Our ultimate objective is justice, and if in obtaining it we have to seek the hurt of our enemy, surely our action cannot justly be viewed as springing from hatred.

* * *

C. F. A. HOT on the heels of the persecution which has forced so high-souled a patriot as Mr. C. Rajagopalachar to resign all offices under the Congress, follows a campaign of calumny which makes Mr. C. F. Andrews "at once wish to retire into obscurity and find shelter with my God, who knows how false such things are." After having been thrashed by a Kenya White for being a traitor to the Whites, he is now calumniated by Kenya Indians for being a traitor to them. The charges made are so monstrously, palpably, absurdly false, as to be almost ridiculous to anyone that has the privilege of knowing him. But, after all, the surprise is not, that such an attack has been made, but that it has not been made before. For what man, coming into the limelight of public affairs, has ever escaped it—anywhere, let alone in India? The shock of disappointment probably came to Mr. Andrews with special force, as hitherto his enunciated views have always happened to be the popular ones. But, after all, applause and hisses are never very far from each other in mass psychology; and coming before the multitude, a man must be prepared for both. Understandable as Mr. Andrews' pain is at having been stabbed in the house of his friends, one can but hope that he will master his sensitiveness and not let this unsavoury incident make the difference to him, that he says in *Young India*, it will ("I cannot be the same as before, after such a

thing has happened"). Mrs. Besant, Mr. Polak have remained the same, though assailed by the foulest insinuations—not to speak of that cloud of Indian witnesses, whose daily portion it has been and is, to have every single act and word of theirs misinterpreted. Let C. F. A. take heart and continue, henceforth as hitherto, to be C. F. A.—Christ's Faithful Apostle.

* * *

Where do they Stand?

WE have our own doubts whether the political opinions that find expression weekly in the *Calcutta Guardian* represent the views of any large section of the Christian community. But as to the politics of the *Guardian* itself we should like to have a little more light. Our difficulty arises from the fact that while we have seen in it some negative criticism of the different political schools, we have hardly yet come across a definite enunciation of the views itself holds. In the last number of the *Guardian*, the Liberal party is accused of manifesting a too submissive spirit in its dealings with the Government and is adjured to show greater anxiety to voice popular demands. Those who have been reading the *Guardian* with interest for the last nine months will hardly be able to make out a catalogue of the occasions on which such submissiveness was shown. And the Liberal party will better appreciate a detailed criticism of its action each time than a sweeping condemnation like the above. Again what it would like even more is the active co-operation of the Christian community, for whom the paper purports to speak, in the Liberal party's campaigning. "Considerably greater pressure than the Liberals have yet exercised" would certainly be possible if some of the politically backward communities, in which we are afraid we must include the Christians, came into line with the others and seconded their efforts. We are particularly sore against the Christians, for they are capable of rendering much active assistance, while as a body they hardly go beyond giving moral support, most of them timorously holding aloof from all activities of a distinctly political character. We should like to know, for instance, what help will be forthcoming from them in the Kenya agitation: will they support the measures of retaliation proposed by the Liberals? If not, what "bolder" measures have they up their sleeve? We fear we shall have to wait long for an answer. But, those who are in a difficulty to answer such questions should surely beware how they find fault with other people.

* * *

Local Option Bill in the Punjab.

THE Bill for local option which Lala Harkishan Lal, as Minister of Excise, has drafted for being introduced in the October session of the Punjab Legislative Council, constitutes without a doubt the longest step towards prohibition contemplated in any province in British India. Under its provisions power will be given to municipal committees to reduce, by a majority vote, the

number of liquor shops in their respective area by two-thirds of the shops licensed by the Collector, and to district boards and other local bodies to reduce them by one-half. But the Bill contains a further provision whereby a greater restriction of the number of shops or even a total prohibition of the sale of liquor can be effected by local bodies on a referendum to that effect being submitted to their electorates and confirmed by a two-thirds majority of the total number of the latter. The Collector is bound to give effect to any such resolution passed by a local body, unless he is of the opinion that illicit distillation is being practised in the area, in which latter case the resolution is to be binding upon him only if the Commissioner orders that it shall be so binding. Local bodies are also to be empowered, under this Bill, to fix the hours during which liquor may be sold, the minimum age of the persons to whom the liquor may be sold, and the portions of the area in which liquor shops may be situated. It would be better, in our opinion, to confer an option upon local bodies to reduce the total quantity of liquor to be sold at the shops instead of, or in addition to, the number of shops licensed to sell liquor, especially because, in the case of total prohibition, the Collector is very likely to take and the Commissioner to uphold an objection to such a drastic measure on the ground of illicit distillation being carried on.

* * *

Foreign Liquor included by a Side-wind.

ALL these provisions apply only to country liquor, foreign liquor being put out of the purview of Local Governments. But no measure of liquor restriction can be successful unless power is given to the Provincial Governments to see that any attempts in the direction of temperance that they may make by rationing the number of shops or the quantity of liquor, &c., will not be neutralised by forcing up the sale of foreign liquor. To that extent the co-operation of the Government of India is necessary in any plans of temperance, and we are glad to see that such co-operation is forthcoming in the present instance. For the Punjab Bill also provides that if the Local Government is satisfied that the object it has in view is being frustrated by the sale of foreign liquor in any area, it "shall prohibit the Collector from granting a license for the sale of foreign liquor in the said local area except in accordance with the terms of such resolutions as such empowered local body may have passed or may pass in respect of country liquor." That is to say, if the Government finds that foreign liquor is taking the place of country liquor, it shall make all the restrictions contemplated under the present Bill applicable to foreign liquor as well. What arrangements the Punjab Government proposes to make to recoup the resulting loss of excise revenue we shall only know when the Bill is introduced, but since they are prepared to face a large deficit immediately and a total effacement of such revenue in the near future, they might curtail the excessive power vested in the Collector not to carry out a local body's resolution for the reason that illicit distillation is prevalent. Local bodies and their electors must be taught to appraise this objection at its proper worth, and they can be so taught only by throwing on them the responsibility for any decision that they may take.

END OF THE DRAMA.

WE are sincerely glad that the curtain has been finally rung down on the farce, of non-co-operation which has been enacted in this country for the last three years. We say 'finally' and 'farce' advisedly. The non-co-operators may fondly believe, as apparently Mr. Vallabhai Patel does, that the permission which has now been accorded to Congressmen to enter the Councils means only a temporary suspension of the non-co-operation movement. But to our mind there is not the slightest doubt that, whatever may be the phrasing of the Congress resolution, it means in practice a complete abandonment, once and for all, of the policy which Mahatma Gandhi inaugurated at the Special Congress in September 1920. The resolution adopted in Delhi indeed reaffirms, in a subsidiary clause, the principle of N.-C.-O., but in the principal clause that follows, it allows a supersession of the principle in the only sphere in which it now operates. The two other boycotts which the Congress organised have already become a matter of ancient history, and if the third boycott also goes their way—well, perhaps the principle may still survive, but it will survive in such a disembodied condition that it will be to all intents and purposes dead among Congressmen. And it cannot be resuscitated for the reason which led us at the beginning to call N.-C.-O. a farce. In spite of the perfervid asseveration by leading Congressmen that they have implicit faith in N. C. O., a great majority of them cherish a very strong disbelief in it, and the movement, notwithstanding the great show it made, was from start to finish, for a large number of adherents, a mere make-believe. The N. C. O. campaign can boast of a few leaders who are second to none in intellectual honesty and moral character, but their following consists for the most part of people who lack the moral stamina required to oppose an unpopular movement. This being the measure of enthusiasm among the bulk of our countrymen, we have no fear that the movement, being now dead, can be called back to life at any future time.

It is hardly a matter for surprise that the Congress arrived at this decision. The true non-co-operators were at Delhi verily like a flock without a shepherd. Mr. C. Rajagopalachar, who alone among Congressmen has acquired something of the moral hold which Mahatma Gandhi exercised upon the Congress, was prevented by illness from going to Delhi. And, in his absence, the leadership of the staunch non-co-operators fell to Mr. Mahomed Ali, who played in this Congress the same rôle which Mrs. Sarojini Naidu played at the All-India Congress Committee meeting of May last. From the point of view of no-changers, he literally sold the pass (as Mr. George Joseph truly remarked) to Messrs. Das and Nehru, and he made this surrender with such a demonstration of his devotion to N.-C.-O. that many of the Congress delegates must have felt considerably em-

barrassed by this display. Mr. Mahomed Ali did not even scruple to lay upon them in the name of Mahatma Gandhi a command to accept any changes in the programme that he might advocate. It is no wonder that, in these circumstances, not only was the Bombay compromise upheld by the Congress, but an advance was made upon it, favourable to the Swaraj party. The Bombay compromise had confirmed the interdiction put by the Gaya resolution on candidature for Councils and the exercise of votes, but the present Delhi resolution removed this prohibition, giving perfect freedom to those who had no conscientious objection on the matter to stand as candidates or cast votes. Our only regret is that, the pressure from the side of Gandhian non-co-operators now being completely removed, Mr. Das and others of the Swaraj party still feel it necessary to harp on N.-C.-O. from within, continuous and uniform obstruction, and so on. He reiterated all his former views and again committed himself to wrecking tactics, going even the length of giving a pledge, according to the *Times of India* correspondent, to vacate seats in the Councils in case the Swaraj party's representatives were in a minority therein. The Swaraj party professed themselves at one time to be ready to submit to the control of a Congress Committee, but again Mr. Mahomed Ali came to their assistance and pleaded for freedom of action for the party, only reminding them that the Congress is removing the ban on the distinct understanding that they would pursue N.-C.-O. in the Councils. For our own part we have no fear that the Swaraj party will vacate seats when in a minority or continually exercise obstructionist tactics if in a majority, but what is one to say of the mentality of those who, day in and day out, take pledges in the sight of all to oppose every single measure proposed by Government, irrespective of its merits, with the intention (in the case of many of its members) of breaking those pledge when time comes? Intensely as we disapprove of uniform obstruction, we often feel that it would be better, in the interest of public morals, that these men should redeem their pledges and reduce, if they can, the governmental machinery to a confusion than that our country should escape these consequences only through such a degeneration of our public life.

As was only to be expected, the removal of the Councils boycott made it almost incumbent upon the Congress to pass a resolution calling for civil disobedience, and Mr. Das, who has always professed to bring about favourable conditions for the starting of civil disobedience by working in the Councils, could not refuse to be included in a committee which is to organize it. The Akalis are pressing hard in the direction of civil disobedience, but we have a shrewd suspicion that the leaders of the Congress mean to resist this pressure and will find some excuse, when it comes to the point, not to plunge the country into anarchy. Thus, those of our countrymen who have from the first opposed the

N.-C.-O. movement have reason to be satisfied at the net result of the Congress proceedings: N.-C.-O. will cease beyond recall, and the stage will be cleared for those who believe in constitutionalism, and although for some time longer we shall continue to hear of "uniform, continuous and consistent obstruction," it will not be practised except in conditions in which Liberals also are willing to practise it on occasion—as a means of applying pressure for the redress of some crying wrong. We only wish this result had been brought about in a more straightforward manner.

PERSONAL UNION.—IV.

LAST week I tried to give a survey of the history of Austria and Hungary, which I hope made it clear, that these two countries, though territorially juxtaposed, lived in comparative isolation from each other for the best part of five centuries. From 1438, when a Hapsburg first wore the crown of S. Stephen, until the Peace of Karlovic in 1699, Hungary was torn in pieces: and it is only from the latter date onward that the modern close connection of the Hapsburgs with a territorially restored Hungary can be said to exist—a date which, by a curious coincidence, saw another "Union", viz. that of England and Scotland. But England at that time managed to "swallow up quick" Scotland, reducing it from the status of an equal sister-kingdom, sharing the same monarch, to that of a mere appendix ("North Britain") to a unitary Kingdom of "Great Britain", with one Parliament, no less than one monarch. Hungary proved a tougher morsel to Austria and, as we saw last week, managed to keep its own individuality, until the "Compromise" of 1867 gave to it a modern, unambiguous expression.

What then is this "Compromise"? The basis is the acknowledgment that "the Kingdoms and Countries represented in the *Reichsrath*" (*vulgo* Austria) and "the Lands of S. Stephen's Crown" (*vulgo* Hungary), though two independent, sovereign, equal States, yet form, as far as the rest of the world is concerned, *one* Power, which oneness is symbolized by the one monarch who reigns over both. The united front to be shown abroad necessitated common diplomatic and military services and common finances, as far as required to defray the cost of such services. The Parliaments of Austria and Hungary and the Cabinets responsible to them remained distinct, but to hammer out the common needs for the ensuing year, each Parliament sent a "delegation" of 60 members, who met alternately at Vienna and at Pesth, and there settled the common budget (which of course was distinct from the budgets of Austria and of Hungary) and scrutinized the administration of the common Ministers. Economically, the two halves of the Dual Monarchy have formed (until the 1918 collapse) a single territory for customs, currency and all other commercial purposes: but this result

was not of the essence of the "Compromise", but happens to have been agreed upon by the "Delegations" who every ten years defined afresh what the actual economic connection was to be. Apart from these things held in common, everything was radically different in the two States: German, the official language of Austria, Magyar that of Hungary; a black and yellow flag for the one, a green-white-red one for the other; Austria mainly industrial, Hungary mainly agricultural. And even though there was a common army, each State in addition had a national army of its own under a separate Defence Minister, just as it had its own Finance Ministry.

The question then arises, whether a similar "Compromise" is desirable, to define the future relationship between the British and the Indian Empires. That feelings between the two run high at times is, on the Austro-Hungarian analogy, no impediment to Personal Union. Already Great Britain has an army of her own; already there is a British and an Indian Army in India. And already there is but one Foreign Office and diplomatic service to represent both Empires abroad. The path therefore would seem clear, from a technical point of view. The real obstacle is one of principle and I venture to say to-day, what I said two years ago (in an Eirenicon addressed to the Bombay "Round Table" Conference of January 1922), that no peaceful solution is possible, until "Britain acknowledges the fact that India is inherently a free State of an individuality of its own." Until Austria acknowledged in 1867 just that same right of Hungary's to be an individual political entity of its own, no peace, no common action was possible for what yet afterwards became the Great Power known as the Dual Monarchy. Similarly I hold, that the first step upon which all people of good-will, British and Indian, should now concentrate is to secure an acknowledgment of the fact, staring one in the face, that the British and the Indian Empires have each an individuality and an ethos so distinct, as to make them mutually exclusive. In the "British Dominions beyond the Seas" the British are never tired of repeating this very fact as conclusive evidence for their policy to keep citizens of the Indian Empire segregated—politically, if not physically as well. The very same people reiterate that it is bonds of common sentiment which hold the various parts of the Empire together. Is anybody so brazen as to assert that there is any "common sentiment" between, say, Boer and Indian? Yet, there is common sentiment between Great Britain and India: then why not express in political terms the incompatibility between British Empire and Indian Empire on the one hand, and the mutual need of India and Great Britain on the other?

Once the two Empires are acknowledged as peers, entitled each to go its own way and develop on its own lines, I feel as sure to-day as two years ago that "India will exercise her freedom

to order her own individuality by wisely consenting to further extraneous help." What is utterly impossible any longer, is to dream of *one* Empire, where India appears as the peer of the Dominions only, and England as the mother of them all. The Kenya decision has finally exploded the fondly imagined fancy of parity for India as a "sister" Dominion. The Dominions have made it abundantly clear, that there shall never be such parity. We may lament the fact; we may condole with England for having had her best intentions so rudely frustrated: but what, I ask, is gained by pretending to ignore the fact? India has a clear conscience: she never walked out of the British Empire; it is Colonial sentiment that kicks her out of it, and has now banged, bolted and barred the door.

As sensible people, I repeat, what else is there for India, but to accept the fact? But whilst on the one hand there are people, like "Rakel" (whose letter appears on another page), who refuse to be sensible and accept this fact, there are others (and many more, I am afraid) who refuse to be sensible and accept the other fact, viz: that England herself has not been proved guilty of *mala fides* in this matter and that a continuation of a *nexus* between India and England is not only inevitable, but in the highest degree desirable. Timid souls, like "Rakel", would cure the mortal wound of the Empire by hushing it up; extremists, like Hasrat Mohani, shut their eyes to the patent fact that, isolated from England, the dream of an Indian democratic commonwealth would become unrealizable for generations. For a *via media* I still think the *Ausgleich* of 1867 between Austria and Hungary offers the best model; and is it not a *via media* alone, which can take us out of the impossible position in which we find ourselves to-day?

H. C. E. ZACHARIAS.

ON PUBLIC HEALTH.

IT would be impossible to exaggerate the vital importance of public health, particularly in India, with its abnormal mortality of adults, mothers and infants; the appalling magnitude of the suffering and havoc caused by epidemics and the ease with which whole masses of people succumb to them; and the rather out-of-date traditional knowledge the people have of the laws of public health, adapted only to the conditions of simpler village life. The splendid results achieved by voluntary and official organisations in some advanced countries like England and America, are remarkable proofs of what might and ought to be done in India as well. It is, therefore, very gratifying to learn from the Report of the Public Health Commissioner to the Government of India and from the Reports of municipal and voluntary organizations of the increasing interest that is being evinced in this matter in India in recent years. In this connection we may refer to the

small but most promising event that took place in Poona in August last, to wit, the opening of the Public Health School by the Seva Sadan Society, under the inspiration of its General Secretary, Mr. G. K. Devadhar. The school is intended primarily to train the girls of the Seva Sadan, who are now under training as nurses, midwives and sub-assistant surgeons, and to train them in Public Health Service as well. Further, prominent mention may be made of the Lady Chelmsford League of Maternity and Child Welfare, the Red Cross Society, the Lady Lloyd Infant Welfare Society, the Delhi Health School and last, though not least, the Seva Sadan Society of Poona. A good deal of propaganda has yet to be conducted before the subject can secure the attention of the public that it deserves.

Public Health reform is indeed an extremely difficult task: certainly much more difficult than healing the sick. When a person is actually down with illness, his own mental outlook and the atmosphere that surrounds him are all receptive to ideas and suggestions conducive to his restoration to health. Willingly, if not cheerfully, he accepts even the bitterest of medicines, and submits to restrictions on his diet and mode of living. Even a distant aunt rushes up to his service and everybody lavishes tenderness and affection, and with great assiduity helps to bring about favourable conditions that will approximate to the most exacting standards of the unrelenting physician. Further, there are the professional doctors, who would be very glad to give ready and expert assistance in return for the fees they receive—no disparagement to them, please. But where are the doctors that will see people in their homes and inculcate principles of public health and preventative medicine? And where are the citizens who will pay for such advice? On the other hand, how many are the persons that will rather take bitterquinine and pay huge fees to the doctors when ill with malaria than protect themselves with mosquito nets when whole? Where is the aunt who will rather regulate the daily meal than lavish her services on the sick? On the other hand, how many persons will rather pay, even out of their poverty, fabulous prices for patent medicines when they are struck than simply boil the water they drink when in normal health?

Public Health reform is made even more difficult because such notions as the people have about its requirements, are intervoven with religious and caste customs, and withal were only adapted to the village organisation of old. Because of all these handicaps, the task requires great tact, sympathy, faith and devotion—requirements that lift the work to the exalted level of "social service" and demands a different type of man and particularly woman, than is found generally in the rank and file of the professional doctors of the present day.

In India, where men and women, particularly in the middle and higher classes, have so little

social intercourse, no other piece of social service calls for the service of women workers more imperatively than public health service. Public health is a team work and little can be achieved without the hearty co-operation of many homes. And women are supreme in the homes and can only be reached by women. The recent political movements in India have drawn into public life many women of high character and idealism who would otherwise have remained cooped up in their homes. It is greatly to be hoped that many of these high-souled women will, when the present political excitement is over, devote their attention to public health reform, for which they are, with proper training, pre-eminently fitted.

One of the best methods of promoting health reform is to get at the children between the ages of 8 and 12, and not only instill the principles of health in them but also make them live according to the principles. It is true that hygiene is being taught even now in many schools. But that is not sufficient. The practical application of health principles in the daily life of the pupils finds few facilities or encouragement. In this connection attention may be drawn to a pamphlet called the "The Child Health School" published by the Bureau of Education, Department of the Interior, U. S. A. It is a very interesting report of the encouraging results obtained of an experiment conducted by L. J. Roberts of the University of Chicago with a view to enable the pupils to form habits of health. The programme included a health lesson, physical training lesson, drawing or handiwork, cooking and the noon lunch, followed by a period of rest, and was gone through for five mornings every week for ten weeks. Some of these items are perhaps being conducted in some schools in India to-day, but what has to be supplied and emphasised is a conscious and deliberate health viewpoint. It is hoped that some enterprising schools, particularly those that are under private management and, therefore, have greater liberty for initiative, will conduct similar experiments in India.

One of the principal items in the programme of the Child Health School referred to above is the midday lunch followed by regular rest. Now there is reason to believe that the comparatively poor physique and health of Indian children is perhaps mainly due to defective feeding, characterised by proteid starvation and super-abundance of starch. The matter, however, requires careful investigation. It is very necessary that the food habits of the people should be studied scientifically and adequate standards formulated. The best means of introducing and popularising these standards is to organise a system of midday lunches in schools, where the food supplied may attempt to correct the deficiencies of home feeding. No amount of preaching on right feeding will be as valuable as the regular consumption of such food for a period sufficiently long to grow into regular habit. The system of midday lunches at

school has other advantages. At present pupils rush to their home or to indifferent eating shops for their midday lunches and rush back again to their schools, not infrequently in the hot sun, during the one hour interval. They get none of the rest that is so necessary immediately after lunch. The school lunch, while giving healthy food, will at the same time provide immediate rest after lunch. Further, nothing creates a spirit of *cameraderie* among the people as the common lunch. It is just possible that the caste scruples of the pupils, or rather of their parents, may stand in the way of common school lunches. To start with, the attendance at the lunches may be made voluntary, but there can be little doubt that in a very short time, almost all the pupils, if not their parents, will fall into line. This common mess in schools is one of the best means of bringing about caste reform. We would, therefore, suggest that some enterprising schools should, with the co-operation of the local medical talent, undertake an investigation of the feeding habits in each dietetic province and introduce a system of midday lunches at school. It is very pleasing to learn that the Bhajana Choir of the National High School in Bangalore has been making collections of rice and money on Sunday mornings and utilised the same for providing midday lunch for the poor boys in the school, the cooking being done by volunteers by turns. It is certainly humanitarian, but why not be scientific also? Further, in the matter of dietetic reform, the hostels and boarding houses attached to schools and colleges should come in very handy. The policy of such institutions should be not to rest content with providing the boarders with dishes to which they are accustomed at home, but to provide food that will stand dietetic tests. As said above, the health viewpoint must be emphasised and steadily kept in view.

These are but a few of the constructive problems that demand the attention of the people and it is hoped that the new national consciousness that is surging in the country will divert some of its attention to a proper solution of them.

BHISHMA.

RAILWAY EXPENDITURE AND THE INCHCAPE COMMITTEE.

OUR railways, after causing a net loss to the country year after year for nearly half a century, began to shew profits from the year 1899-1900. From that time railway earnings have come to be looked upon as one of the main sources of revenue to the State. Ever since, however, the Railway Board came into the control of the railways and that control began to be operative, the ratios of working expenses to gross earnings has been steadily rising and has in consequence been a disquieting feature of our railway finance. In 1909, when the results of railway working shewed that the ratio had risen to as much as 62 per cent. and had brought in a loss, the Finance Member

of the time, Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson, said :

"It would be futile to conceal how serious an anxiety the recent activity in repairs and renewals has caused us in the face of a heavy decline in our revenue. It will clearly be necessary to relax the pace at which these improvements are being carried out. We cannot allow our railways to become again, even temporarily, a net burden on the general taxpayer." (Page 15 of the Gazette of India Extraordinary, dated the 22nd March 1909.)

He repeated this warning in his last Financial Statement in the following emphatic terms :

"This proves, I think, that I am not unsympathetic on the question of railways. I recognise fully their immense significance as an instrument of general progress, their necessity for the development of trade, their growing and indeed momentous importance to the finances of India; but in this, my last Financial Statement, I cannot refrain from a word of warning. In spite of the reckless utterances of obviously interested critics, I continue to deprecate any departure from a policy of the utmost caution in the matter of Railway Finance. It may be that in the future it will be possible to give more scope to private enterprise and increase through its agency the funds available for railway construction, but for the present I have to regard railways as a strictly business proposition. Our responsibility is all the greater now that they have attained a position of supreme importance in our financial system. It is said that the remunerative character of our railways is beyond question, that our railways are the milch-cow of the Government of India, and that I am ungrateful. But what is the position? We are paying in the London market very nearly 4 per cent. for what we borrow. I bear in mind that in the current year the railways have paid us 5.89 per cent. But last year the return was 4.99 per cent., in 1910-11 it was 4.66 per cent., in 1900-10 it was 4.48 per cent.; even in good years in the present state of the money market the margin is a narrow one. Let me remind you that so recently as in 1908-09 our railway system was worked at a net loss to the State. I said at that time that we must never allow our railways to become again, even temporarily, a net burden on the general taxpayer. I repeat that assertion. As matters stand we have in our railways a splendid asset. Let us safeguard that aspect. Any admission of doubtful schemes, or failure to count in each case the full cost, any disregard of financial considerations will surely lead to deterioration of a most serious character." (Page 11 of the Gazette of India Extraordinary, dated the 1st March 1913.)

The warning remained unheeded. From 1914 to 1918 the Railway Board was adorned by a member of "financial and administrative" experience. This appointment, however, failed to make any impression on the extravagant administration of the railway. As will be seen from pages 21 and 22 of the Railways Administration Report for 1920-21, the working expenses continued their upward march uncontrolled. Prior to the war the ratio of working expenses to earnings was already in the neighbourhood of as high a figure as 50. "In the later war years the proportion fell, owing to the fact that both repairs and renewals were suspended, because materials could not be obtained and this special cause served to mask (presumably also from the eyes of our financial and technical experts on the Railway Board) the fact that the cost of working was already on the increase. With the cessation of hostilities, the full effect of this was quickly apparent in a rise to nearly 57 in 1919-20, which was followed by 65½ in 1920-21

and the unprecedented figure of 76.22 in 1921-22, resulting in a deficit of no less than Rs. 9 crores. The working of 1922-23 also shews a deficit, in spite of the substantial enhancement in rates and fares made in that year. The railways in which the State is financially interested have thus collectively come to a stage of unremunerativeness involving the State in serious financial difficulties. It is obvious that for the economic rehabilitation of our railways we must rely on the combined process of reduction in working expenses and increase in traffic receipts.

In paragraph 7 of Part II of its report the Indian Retrenchment Committee says :—

"It is, in our opinion, not practicable to make any general increase in rates and fares without adversely affecting the trade of the country. It is, therefore, clear that we cannot look to a general increase in rates and fares for any very substantial help in this economic rehabilitation and that the necessary increase in traffic receipts must come through the normal expansion of traffic and not through any special efforts that Government or Railway Administrations can make. We are thus thrown back in the main on the single resource of so reducing the working expenses gradually as to ensure that not only will the railway as a whole be on a self-supporting basis, but that an adequate return should be obtained for the large capital expenditure which has been incurred by the State."

The Committee has examined this expenditure and set out its recommendations in paragraphs 10 to 30.

The Committee has devoted a large portion of its attention to revenue expenditure. A comparison of Chapter III—"working expenses"—of the Railway Administration Report for 1921-22 with that portion of Part II of the Committee's report which deals with the identical subject shows that the Committee has, in the main, followed the official method in analysing the expenses. The two reports belong to different categories and serve entirely different purposes. A Railway Administration Report is at once an official version and justification of the existing state of affairs. It makes out that certain of the shortcomings are due to causes beyond human control and only God can help; certain others depend for their successful elimination on the people's co-operation, and as regards the few that still remain everything possible is being done and for their complete disappearance time must help. The report of a Retrenchment Committee—particularly of a Committee composed of non-officials—reviews the expenditure with detachment and independence, probes matters to the bottom and locates the spots where the disease of waste and extravagance exists. The one defends, the other certifies or exposes. The one believes that everything is satisfactory or justified, the other is not so credulous: it is sceptic, it tests for itself and then accepts or rejects. A method admirably suited to and adequate for one purpose can hardly be considered as suitable or adequate for another purpose so diametrically opposed to the first. In view of this fundamental difference, one would have expected the Committee, especially with the help, ready to their hands, of the

railway accounts expert, Mr. Milne, who was brought out all the way from England, to adopt an independent method and to push the probe deeper than it has done. Even an analysis of the expenditure by wages and stores (wherever possible) under the different divisions and subdivisions given in the Railway Revenue Budget for 1921-22 would have yielded results richer in quality as well as in quantity. These details have been excluded from the later Railway Revenue Budgets and this circumstance itself is some indication of the value of the details from the public point of view.

Further, according to the Budget estimate for 1922-23, the gross revenue receipts of the Central Government amounted to Rs. 212 crores, of which the railways provided no less than Rs. 99¾ crores, equal to over two-fifths of the total revenue receipts; the gross revenue-expenditure of the Government was Rs. 221½ crores and of this the railway revenue expenditure was responsible for as much as Rs. 94¾ crores, also equal to over two-fifths of the entire revenue expenditure of the Central Government. Yet of the total railway revenue expenditure of Rs. 94¾ crores (Rs. 94,72,09,000) the Committee's report covers only Rs. 68 crores (Rs. 67,99,00,000), the whole of this expenditure being reviewed and disposed of in less than 13 pages in a report of 293 pages! Not a word is said about the balance of Rs. 26¾ crores (Rs. 26,73,09,000). Considering the relative importance of the railways as a source of revenue, the magnitude of the expenditure available for review and the comparatively wider possibilities of retrenchment, we cannot help observing that the subject of railway expenditure was entitled to a considerably fuller, more serious and closer attention than it has actually received at the hands of the Committee. We are aware that the Committee had to work against time, but even so, more time, should, and in our opinion could, have been made available for a fuller review of the railway expenditure without any violence to the requirements of proportion in the distribution of the time at the disposal of the Committee.

It is, however, satisfactory to note that, in spite of the defects pointed out above, the Committee has been able to make some very valuable suggestions as to the directions in which retrenchment might be made; but more valuable still are the sound general principles which it has, during the course of its examination of the revenue expenditure, enunciated and found necessary to emphasize for the incurrence of future expenditure.

ECONOMY.

REVIEW.

THE BAR SINISTER.

JOHNSON, GEORGIA D.: BRONZE: A Book of Verse. Boston. 1922. 5 x 5. pp. 101. (B. J. Brimmer Co. \$ 1-50.)

THE poignant pathos, to which this slender volume gives poetic expression, should in itself suffice to give a warm welcome to "Bronze", wherever human hearts have not yet unlearned human sympathy. Doubly welcomed should the book be by us in India, who have just, yet once more, been stung to the quick by an Imperial decision, stamping us as inferior because coloured. Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, in a foreword, recommends the book to all who would "know what it means to be a coloured woman in 1922": what it means "to walk unfree, though cradled in the hold of liberty," as Mrs. Johnson puts it. "The hold of liberty" forsooth! Ah, how they prate of the Land of Liberty, these blind whites of America, refusing to see the thralldom "of a race, whose dusky visage shows the heel of fortune, whose shackled spirit every gamut knows of Hate's cadenza" . . . What does the world without know of all that agony of soul and body; how can Indians even realize what it means to live in a country, not where a lakh and a half of whites are surrounded by 32 crores of non-whites, but where one crore of blacks is exposed to the full blast of "supremacy" on the part of 9½ crores of whites? True, we have got our own shame in our "Untouchables": but leastways their "colour" not only shuts them no longer out from opportunities for advancement, but rather assures them of preferential treatment, if only they will put their feet on the educational ladder. Compare with this the case of Miss A. Savage, who, having struggled up through the wretched coloured schools of Florida, went to New York to study art at a College where her gifts and conduct made her a favourite with her fellow-students: but who, though warmly recommended for further study abroad in the Fontainebleau (France) School of Fine Arts—a summer school for American architects, painters and sculptors—, was told by the 100% white American Committee of that school, that she could not be allowed to go to Fontainebleau, because "it would not be wise to have a coloured student" there! Or think of another quite recent case (see *Crisis* of August), that of Dr. Lillian A. Moore, who passes out of the Woman's Medical College at Philadelphia with top scores all round, but is refused appointment as a house surgeon at the College Hospital, though an exceptional student and physician, just for the one reason, that she is "coloured"!

It is only when one can paint in this unchanging background of prejudice and repression, that one can gauge the depth of feeling that must lie behind such stanzas of Mrs. Johnson's as the one beginning "Frag children of sorrow, dethroned by a hue," or "My son, you're branded in this country's pageantry"; or realize the appositeness of her comparison of her race, writhing in the coils of white ascendancy, with Laocoon and his children, entwined and choked by the deadly serpents of an enemy god: "This spirit-choking atmosphere with deadly

serpent-coil Entwines my soaring upwardness and chains me to the soil." What an accusation, for the arrogant white to be told :

For the brand of your hand casts a pall o'er the land,
that enshadows the gleam of the eye;

My sons, deftly sapped of the brawn-hood of man, self-rejected and impotent stand;

My daughters, unhaloed, unhonored, undone, feed the lust of a dominant land.

What wonder, that torture should engender anger and hatred? What surprise, that the Negro should dream of a time, when it is his turn to bask in the sunshine and the white's turn to be pushed under?

"I believe in the ultimate justice of Fate,
That the races of men front the sun in their turn"

sings Mrs. Johnson on one occasion. But the greater wonder is, that she—and the majority of her race—can and do transcend that mentality of mere retaliation and rather look forward to a time when there shall be

"All men as one beneath the sun
In brotherhood forever ;"

that she can pray :

Let me not hate, although the bruising world decries
my peace,

Gives me no quarter, hounds me while I sleep;
Would snuff the candles of my soul and sear my in-
most dreamings.

Let me not hate, though girt by vipers, green and
hissing through the dark ;

I fain must love. God help me keep the altar-gleams
that flicker, fitfully, anon,

On down the world's grim night!

and can rise to such heights, as contained in her
"Perspective" :

Some day
I shall be glad that it was mine to be:
A dark fore-runner of a race aburgeoning;
I then shall know
The secret of life's Calvary,
And bless the thorns
That wound me!

Perhaps the most poignant of all these pages, where one sees "twilight faces lifted through a mist of falling tears," are those devoted to the tragedy of those whom "a single drop, a sable strain debars"—

"One drop of midnight in the dawn of life's pulsating
stream

Marks her an alien from her kind, a shade amid its
gleam."

Yet is not fusion the only goal worth striving for?
See,

"How deftly does the gardener blend
This rose and that
To bud a new creation,
More gorgeous and more beautiful
Than any parent portion."

Is not then the "Cosmopolite" at once the hope
and the promise of the future?

Not wholly this nor that,
But wrought
Of alien bloods am I,
A product of the interplay
Of travelled hearts.
Estranged, yet not estranged, I stand
All comprehending;

From my estate
I view earth's frail dilemma ;
Scion of fused strength am I,
All understanding,
Nor this nor that
Contains me.

A great little book indeed.

Z.

CORRESPONDENCE.

INDIA AND THE EMPIRE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR,—In his two articles on "England and India : Personal Union" Dr. Zacharias strikes an unduly pessimistic note. The Kenya decision seems to have shaken his faith in the British Empire. He is prepared to accept once for all that the Empire has failed to achieve its noble dream of an equality of status for the white and the black within its fold. Personal Union between England and India seems to him the only way of keeping up the valuable British connection and of avoiding at the same time any further humiliation, which alone will be the outcome of a further association of India with the Colonies.

I should, in the following few lines, like to point out to him that the Colonies have a greater stake in the Empire than he believes and that the present position of world-politics demands on our part a greater forbearance with the headstrong Colonialists than he would care to show.

I am sure South Africa as a whole would think twice before setting up a Declaration of Independence as soon as the British definitely declared for an equal status for the Indians in the Empire. No doubt the German menace has been removed; but the menace of French and Italian imperialists will not remain an idle boast if Britain withdraws the support from the Colonies. We know why Australia is afraid of the Island Empire of the East and why New Zealand so readily contributes £1,000,000 towards the Singapore scheme. The Colonials are aware of their real position. Premier Hughes in his last election campaigns recognised that the world was in no mood to allow Australia to maintain only six millions of human beings, where a hundred millions would live in comfort. President Cosgrave and General Mulcahy were not madmen when they chose to fight their erstwhile brethren in arms for the sake of winning a dominion status within the Empire. Unless the League of Nations is strong enough to put a final stop to all wars of aggression, the Colonials will be very reluctant to leave the protection of the Empire. If South Africa secedes, she will be a greater sufferer than either England or India.

The Italo-Greek dispute has shown us the present weakness of the League. If Lord Robert Cecil had not thrown the whole weight of the British Empire in its favour, war was an immediate possibility. The Great War has taught weaker nations like India the value of peace. India, too, must remember that peace is not an easy affair if South Africa secedes. The Union is an important link in the chain of Britain's communications with India, especially if we remember that the Suez route is flanked by the not-too-friendly Turk. Personal union will not be enough to keep the Empire bond for India. The history of personal union, unless one is prepared to accept autocratic rule, makes painful reading; the weaker partner, like Scotland in 1698, always goes to the wall. The Colonials and Indians must both learn to fight shy of powder-play if they care for a peaceful development of their strength and resources.

An Empire status again is not the only blessing that India stands to gain from the British connection. To my mind it prevents us from relapsing into the chaos of the 18th century, from which the inscrutable dispensation of Providence has rescued us. Even if the Empire bond falls short of the ideal, our own backward classes still need it

against our own blind revivalists, who are bent upon turning their backs on all that smells of the West.

To talk of a personal union in these circumstances is to my mind to give the best possible incentive to these Extremists. The man in the street will scarcely understand the subtle distinction between a personal union and a freedom without the Empire with the thinnest possible veil of traditional loyalty. The agitator will not be slow to make much of this concession to his shibboleths on behalf of the Liberals. We must remember that there is a great danger at present of even a mild agitation taking an anarchical turn. The Liberals cannot forego their duty of holding the reins tight in these circumstances.

RAKEL.

["Rakel" strangely overestimates the value of the Dominions, by taking them at their own valuation. He also seems to me curiously misinformed as to the strength of nationalist feeling there, especially in South Africa. An independent South Africa would have mighty little to fear from either France or Italy: both it and other similarly situated countries are safest in the mutual jealousy of all great powers. Canada, for one thing, is as sure to end up in a union with the U. S. A., as Scotland was with England. Griffith and Collins chose to fight De Valera, not out of love for the British Empire, but because they considered it a lesser evil, to fight De Valera's bands, than Britain's armies. It is just because I realize the great value for India of the British connexion, that I wish to save it, and that seems to me only possible, by distinguishing it from the British Empire connexion, which—whether good or bad in itself—has in my opinion anyhow been made impossible.—Z.]

MISCELLANEA.

INDIA'S ANSWER TO THE KENYA DECISION.

THE following is the full text of the resolutions agreed to at the conference held in Bombay on the 26th August at the Servants of India Society's Home. They are being widely signed in all the provinces by men of all political parties and by men of no political party—no-changers and pro-changes among Congressmen, Liberals, National Home Rule Leaguers, non-Brahmans, Moslems, &c.

Whereas the decision of His Majesty's present Government in the matter of Kenya in effect assigns to the civilised coloured races in the British Empire a status inferior to that of the white races, denying to them equal citizenship therein, confirming the assertion that the Empire is a White Empire and supporting the claim of white domination within its borders; and whereas it has thus destroyed the hope of a Commonwealth of Free Nations, linked by a common allegiance to one Crown in equal citizenship; therefore, we, the people of India, and those who assist with us our right to full and equal partnership in that Commonwealth,

RESOLVE until that decision is reversed, the menace of white domination removed, and India has attained Swaraj:

(1) That the principle of reciprocity between India and the Dominions and Colonies be made a test question for all candidates for election to Legislatures and to Local Bodies, so that members be returned who will carry out that principle to the full, as, for instance, excluding Dominion and Colonial non-Indians from the Army, and the Civil, Police, Judicial, Educational, Medical and other Services, trade facilities and legal privileges in India;

(2) That India shall not participate in any Imperial Conference, since her representatives, whether nominated or elected, can only enter them as inferiors; and that no recommendations intended to benefit the White Empire, as such, shall be accepted by or acted upon in India.

RESOLVE further:

(3) That the Government of India be requested to instruct Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru to lodge a strong protest at the Imperial Conference against the breach of the spirit of its Reso-

lution of 1921 and to withdraw its representative from the Conference, if he be not allowed to do so. That if this request be disregarded, we ask Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru to take equivalent action, and if the opportunity be denied him, or the motion he may bring be negatived, then to withdraw from the Conference at once;

(4) That a Committee be appointed to investigate and report on the question of what British goods may be boycotted without serious injury to the industrial progress of the country, or the infliction of suffering on the poorer classes of the community, on the question of prohibiting, or restricting by heavy duties on, all imports from the Dominions, and on the general question of the purchase of goods from abroad;

(5) That the British Empire Exhibition be boycotted by the Indian Governments and by all agencies, official and private, as outraged India does not desire to be paraded before the world as a Nation impotent to obtain redress for the wrong which has just been inflicted on her, and, therefore, as a ground favourable for white exploitation, and as a place where cheap coloured labour can be obtained to enrich the Empire, which denies her equality of position therein.

And we further RESOLVE:

(6) That we declare our conviction that until India obtains Swaraj at home and Dominion Status abroad, so that her Executive Government shall be one with the Will of the Nation, and wholly identified with the interests of India, there is the danger of injustice being done to Indians in other parts of the Empire; only then can she protect her own Nationals; and until this is secured, her position in the Empire will continue to be intolerable.

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From Association Press, Calcutta.

POEMS BY INDIAN WOMEN: Edited by MARGARET MACNICOLL. (The Heritage of India Series.) 1923. 7 x 5. pp. 98. Paper Re. 1. Cloth Re. 1-3.

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