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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

The Colonies' Committee. SIR Narasimha Sharma made a notable statement in the Council of State this week regarding Kenya on a motion made by Mr. Sastri. The public will be satisfied that on most points of importance Sir Narasimha agreed with the non-official view and emphatically announced his agreement. If the Colonies' Committee have to speak from a brief prepared on these lines, we may be completely reassured. In one detail, however, the Government's spokesman differed from Mr. Sastri: the latter after arguing that no immigration restrictions were necessary to protect the interests of the African native, observed that any provisions, such as those made in the white paper, would almost certainly incur the imputation of partiality of one kind or another and added that the only restrictive device which could escape that accusation was the American principle of a numerical quota on the existing population. Sir Narasimha disapproved of the American principle without giving any reasons. Without reopening the argument, it might be useful to point out that, in the last resort a principle that acts automatically and cannot be resented by any community as involving its degradation, can encounter no practical objection. We need only add by way of explanation that, roughly speaking, each community would be entitled under the principle to add annually by way of fresh immigration a certain per cent age of the population pertaining to it already domiciled in country or Colony. This percentage would be the same for all communities and the calculations will admit of adjustment over a series of years so

that a deficiency of one year may be made up by the excess in another.

Its Status? ANOTHER part of Sir Narasimha's statement was not so satisfactory. The status of the Colonies' Committee as explained by him is by no means clear. All he would say was that the Committee would deal directly with the Colonial Office and communicate directly with the Government of India. As to the precise constitutional point, Sir Narasimha carefully abstained from mentioning Sir Tej Bahadur's claim that India's status would be advanced thereby. He neither confirmed nor repudiated the claim. However, he cast a doubt on it by adding that the relation of the Committee to the Secretary of State would naturally be determined by the constitutional position of that official in relation to the Government of India. The implication is that Sir Tej Bahadur's claim is not allowed by constitutional lawyers. It would have been ungracious of Sir Narasimha to have given away in explicit language one who was an accredited agent of the Government of India at the time he made this claim and who had recently been Law Member in the Government.

The Strike Situation. AFTER the Bonus Enquiry Committee has given its verdict, there is no justification left for the millhands of Bombay to continue the strike. During these two months, in the face of much hardship and privation, they have on the whole behaved splendidly; and now it behoves them to accept defeat in a sportsmanly spirit and join work without delay. The strike is no doubt a formidable weapon in their hands, but its effectiveness depends entirely upon the discretion with which it is used, and in the present case the friends of the workmen pointed out at the very beginning the unwisdom of their going on strike. Some of their leaders will no doubt feel too proud to acknowledge defeat and would perhaps counsel their friends to go back to their villages. But it would be the greatest folly to do so, as the employees of the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills in Madras discovered to their cost some time ago. Repatriation—with or without railway tickets—is admirable from the point of view of public health and public peace in Bombay, but it does not help to boil the pot in the millhand's kitchen. The best solution of the present situation, as suggested by Mr. G. I. Patel, representative of

of the Ahmedabad millowners, in the Bombay Legislative Council during the adjournment debate on the 12th inst., is for the employees to join work immediately and the millowners should give them something—it may not be called bonus—in view of their suffering during the last two months. Just now news is received that work has been resumed unconditionally. Unfortunately, the strike is ended, but not settled. The men will nurse their grievance and bide their time. Force, not questions of justice, has ended the conflict. The matter cannot be left there and one is glad to note in this connection the statement made by Sir Maurice Hayward in the Bombay Legislative Council, that a Bill empowering Government to call for industrial statistics has been referred for sanction to the Governor-General and that a second Bill to provide for the appointment of Courts of Enquiry into industrial disputes has been drafted and is under the consideration of Government.

* * *

Rights and Duties. THE latest number of *New Standards* to hand, contains welcome news that the Guild idea is still being practised. Some Building Guilds are still alive: and surely with Mr. Wheatley's big scheme for tackling the housing scandal in England at last in right earnest, these guilds and many more should find plenty to do for years to come. The London Furnishing Guild, the Tailoring Guilds at Glasgow, Leeds and London, and the Guild of Engineers in London are all reported as doing well. In the same number, Dr. M. Wagner has a very stimulating article on "International Guild Work", which closes as follows:

"The paths of self-liberation which were trodden by the pioneers of the building guilds, may as yet be little trodden by the path-finders wandering in the primitive forest of Socialist theories. But there can be no doubt that those pathfinders in other branches of industry will be followed, and that the narrow path of the guilds will one day become a broad highway for the onward march of the Socialist masses. The co-operative organisations, on the Rochdale system, are now waiting for the organization of production."

All this is true: at the same time it is not a foregone conclusion, unfortunately. Unfortunately, the bulk of trade unionists are not very keen about shouldering new responsibilities, about making themselves technically capable of helping usefully—let alone running on their own—the management of the factories in which they are at present but "wage slaves". Unfortunately, Trade unionism stands for more pay and wages: which is excellent in itself, if only it was a means, and not an end. The trouble is that most workers wait for the decay (if they are reformists) or for the collapse (if they are revolutionists) of capitalism: expecting that then, by some unexplained magic, "workers' control" will spring into perfect being. Precisely, alas, as with some of us in India, where "Swaraj" is expected to cure by its magic all our ills of communal jealousies, to provide us with a Swadeshi

army, to lessen all taxes, to increase incomes, to make us all happy, healthy and wise—without any further effort on our part now, than a little talking and shouting.

* * *

We hope it was nothing more than mere dynastic pride, so common a weakness of princes all over the world, that led the Nizam to celebrate the second centenary of the declaration of the independence of the Deccan by Nizamulmulk, the first Nizam, who was viceroy of the Deccan under the Moghul Emperors. There is nothing specially inspiring in the old event itself. When the Moghul Empire began to crumble, several governors and military adventurers carved out kingdoms for themselves and the motive that guided them was none higher than personal ambition. One cannot seek satisfaction, for instance, in the thought that when the first Nizam declared his independence of Delhi, he did so as a representative of the people of the Deccan throwing off a foreign yoke. Thus while beyond dynastic pride there is nothing specially deserving of commemoration in the event, the importance suddenly attached by the present Nizam to what happened two hundred years ago, and the whole tenor of his speech in which occur statements like "No alliance can rest on a one-sided pact and stability can only be secured by the earnest recognition of mutual obligations and responsibilities", "outsiders may scoff, traduce and malign, but that matters not etc.", would suggest an underlying bitterness which is probably the result of very gloomy a prospect regarding the retrocession of Berar. If the latter has anything to do with the present demonstration we should think it ill advised, for the Nizam can get back Berar not by a show of temper but only by appealing to the good sense of the Beraris by inaugurating constitutional reforms in Hyderabad and bringing its administration to the level of British provinces and advanced Indian States. Beating the dynastic drum in a democratic age is likely to have the very opposite effect to what was intended. Much more helpful is his appointment of a committee, though it is a small step, to suggest the best way of enlarging his legislature.

* * *

A Correction. OUR London correspondent has drawn our attention to a few omissions and inaccuracies that crept into the detailed list of the present Government in England, which we published, on the strength of cables, on 31st January last, when all appointments had not yet been made. In the Cabinet should be included Lord Thomson as Secretary of State for Air, Mr. V. Hartshorn as Postmaster General, Col. J. C. Wedgwood as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and Mr. T. W. Jowett as First Commissioner of Works. Sir Patrick Hastings, Attorney General, is not a member of the Cabinet. Sir Louis Kershaw whom we included in the list of Ministers not in the Cabinet, as Assistant Under Secretary, Ministry of Labour, is not a member of Government but remains at the India Office where, however, he holds the rank of Assistant Under Secretary of State.

SWARAJIST POLICY IN THE C. P.

Swarajist patriotism has run its mad course in the Central Provinces, justifying the worst fears entertained about it. It has also run a similar course in the Assembly, though for a time the good sense of the Independents appeared to have asserted itself after Mr. Patel let the oat of the destruction of Councils and non-payment of taxes out of the Swarajist bag. Being in an absolute majority in the C. P. Council, the Swarajists there threw out the bills which the Government introduced in the interests of the masses, threw out the entire budget, forced the Ministers to resign and thus brought the reformed Council, though not Government, to a standstill. They have redeemed indeed their promise of putting an end to dyarchy, and are entitled to take for it what credit they choose—though their way of curing the disease was by killing the patient, a method that does not require too profound a knowledge or skill at the hands of the physician. They flung a wanton insult at the Ministers by reducing their salaries to Rs. 2 a year, though they could have contented themselves with merely refusing the demand as they did in the case of other demands. In doing this they have but revealed their own mentality and have not in the least affected the prestige of the Ministers in the opinion of any thinking people. Their action in this matter is similar to their action in the elections of 1920, when because they were boycotting the elections, they paraded dogs and donkeys with the appeal round their necks "Vote for me", forgetting that at a later election they would themselves be the candidates. Just as their action in 1920 attached no contempt to the councils, their reduction of the Ministers' salaries is not going to affect the prestige of the office of Ministers. With characteristic inconsistency they have done all this in the name of constitutionalism—because the Ministers did not resign in accordance with the resolution of the Council—though even if they had done so, the budget would have been thrown out all the same. What the Swarajists have achieved in the C. P.—temporarily, we earnestly hope—is to have put an end not only to the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, but to representative government itself, and to have taken the administration to the form that prevailed before the Legislative Council came into existence. If in doing this they believe that they have promoted the cause of self-government for India they are altogether mistaken. For their action has not made Government impossible. Government could be made impossible only if the payment of taxes be refused or if a sufficient number of people be not forthcoming to carry on the administration—neither of which is a practical position at present. Non-payment of taxes is not now even on the programme of the Swarajists and almost every non-co-operator from Mr. Gandhi downwards is emphatic that the country is not ripe for it; while the latter contingency is

even more remote. The Government therefore are not going to be embarrassed to such an extent as to feel compelled to yield the Swarajist demands. As for the bulk of the people, they are not likely to feel the effect of Swarajist action so long as the amenities of life created by a stable and enlightened Government continue to be made available to them. The only result of Swarajist action in the C. P. will therefore be to deprive the people of the influence they were in a position to exert on the administration through their accredited representatives. Promising to bring swaraj, they have brought only absolute autocracy. In the words of an expressive vernacular proverb, "They sought to make a Brahmin, but a monkey was the result." Not very different from this is the result in the Assembly.

As we have more than once pointed out in these columns, the great mistake made by the Swarajists in the C. P. is that instead of putting the bureaucracy in the wrong, they have put themselves in the wrong in the opinion of all thinking people by refusing the responsibility of office which was theirs by virtue of their voting strength. If, listening to the appeals of constitutionalists, they had accepted office, they could not only have administered the nation-building departments as they liked but could have exerted an immense influence on the reserved departments by a judicious use of their voting power as well as by the methods of obstruction and deadlocks. Then they would have put the bureaucracy in the wrong and obtained the sympathy of all progressives in India and England. Another great mistake made by the Swarajists is their failure to recognise that whatever justification there might have been for their election cry of destruction of councils from within when a Tory Government was in power in England, all such justification ceased to exist when a Labour Government came into office, with such a friend of India as Mr. Ramsay MacDonald at its head. Mr. Gandhi and other leaders of the non-co-operation movement never tired of demanding a change of heart in Government. There could be no greater change of heart than from Tory to Labour or from Peel to Olivier. This refusal of the Swarajists to distinguish between British friends and un-friends and their persistence in the policy of wrecking have made it impossible for constitutionalists to cooperate with them, how much soever they may wish to do so, for achieving complete self-government in the shortest possible time. In a few weeks the C. P. Council is bound to be dissolved and in a few months fresh elections will be held. At that time it is the duty of all constitutionalists to appraise the electors of the C. P. not only of the futility but the harmfulness of the Swarajist policy. We hope the Liberals of the C. P. and Berars, as well as of other provinces, will embark on a vigorous and effective campaign. It would be the duty of the leaders of the All India Liberal Federation to make Nagpur, despite its trying weather in the coming months, their head quarters and direct the campaign. Nothing less could be expected of the po-

litical party that came into existence in order to give much needed support to the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms and of the leaders who cut themselves off from the Congress to which they had given their best service for over a generation and who went through obloquy and persecution in order to make the reforms a success—leaders who are alive to the imperfections of these reforms even more keenly than are the Swarajists, but who do not seek the removal of these imperfections by reverting to absolute autocracy, but by progressing in the direction of real self-government.

THE FRANC.

THE latest adventures of France in the financial domain deserve, we believe, a closer attention, than a mere cursory perusal of such cables as we are being vouchsafed. Only a little over a week ago the *franc* touched the level of 120 to the £: to-day it is quoted at 90. What has happened in the meantime? A Paris cable of the 9th reported that "the President of the Republic, the Premier, the Finance Minister and several prominent financial experts conferred at the Elysée this morning regarding the measures necessary to improve the financial situation and restore the *franc*." On the 10th *Reuter* added that the said Conference "was a council of war, unprecedented in French history and marking the grave concern with which government contemplates the collapse of the *franc*. As secrecy is essential to the success of the counter-offensive, no official details have transpired." On the 11th followed a brief intimation that "the Cabinet has approved of the measures decided on at the Elysée." On the 10th the Paris correspondent of the *Times* confirmed that the nature of the measures had not yet been disclosed, but immediately proceeded to tell his readers what "it is understood" these measures consisted of, to wit, that in the struggle the Bank of France "will actively engage by denying the benefits of the bank reserves to those who hoped to benefit from the depreciation" and by using these reserves instead "in a manner not yet disclosed." On the 12th *Reuter* reported an arrangement whereby London Banks and Financial Houses had "accepted a credit of five million sterling," "covered by a deposit of National Defence Bonds and backed by the Bank of France," and that a similar credit had been established in New York, with Morgans and others, for \$100 millions (about £ 23 millions). Now what exactly, one wonders, does the average newspaper reader make of all this circumlocution? One ventures to believe exactly as much, as he was intended to make of it, which is—nil.

We go into this matter at some length, because it would seem to us an excellent example of the manipulation of news: a feature of our days which happens to be of the utmost importance to democracy. What then happened in this instance? The reader, being given some scrappy news of anything but obvious meaning, gathered, as he was intended

to gather that the *franc* by some obscure financial operations had completely recovered and that therefore obviously there was no danger of the *franc* following the *mark*. The man-in-the street, once in that mood, would glance at the further *Reuter* cable of the 13th and pass on. Yet how did that cable run? "The French loan is fully secured by gold in the vaults of the Bank of France, which is acting for the French Government, and will be used to stabilize the French exchange and for other purposes." The meaning is really quite clear if only the average reader will not allow himself to be put off by mere skilful verbiage. For what must have been obvious from the beginning to anybody, in the least familiar with public finance, was that the Bank of France had given its agents in London and New York orders to buy *francs*—about £ 30 millions' worth spread over a period of a year—and that these purchases of paper *francs* were being paid for in gold, out of the "vaults of the Bank of France." Obviously, a paper *franc* is like a pound of sugar: if many people want to sell it and few to buy it, the price of it slumps; if on the other hand, many people want to buy it and few to sell it, the price soars. The point about the paper *franc* is further, that the higher its value, the less people want to sell it: hence the hope that determined buying at the rate of two or three million pounds' worth per month will stop all desire of people to want to sell it. Excellent.

Only one question: what exactly is that gold "in the vaults of the Bank of France" which is now so freely being bartered for paper *francs*? Is it not the gold reserve, which is supposed to give the backing of reality to the bank notes of the Bank of France? And now the Bank reduces its gold reserves, to increase the value of the bank note! No wonder "complete secrecy" is supposed to be necessary for the success of such an operation! It is interesting to note, by the way, that the late Chairman of the Bank of Germany, Haverstein, tried the same trick, just before the last plunge of the *mark*. Of course he was successful, for the time being, as M. Poincaré will be successful, as long as the illusion—and the gold—lasts. After that? The answer is too obvious to need labouring. The long and the short of both the German and the French stories is that no State, anymore than an individual, can go on in perpetuity spending more than they receive. At first, their credit will help them to go on for a bit: the deficit will be made up by the money lent by other people. But when so much has been borrowed that no credit is left, there remains nothing but declaration of bankruptcy. This has happened in the case of Austria; it is happening now—under the aegis of the two Commissions of international experts—in the case of Germany. Selling off its gold reserve by the Bank of France, is the intimation that it is about to happen in the case of France too. And just about time.

INDIAN EMIGRATION.

By C. F. ANDREWS.

III.

WE have seen in the two previous articles that the prejudice against Indian Emigration, which is embodied in the 'Kala pani' doctrine, dates from comparatively modern times. In an earlier historic age, when that doctrine was not in existence, Indians emigrated very freely, and by their travels and exploits and settlements abroad, were able to civilise a large portion of the human race and also to spread the highest culture amongst mankind.

What then are the main principles, which a truly scientific view of Indian Emigration would present for acceptance in modern times? How should we avoid the recognised evils of cheap labour exploitation in the past? Is there any single commanding idea, which should fashion our thoughts and give us a basis, from which to work forward in the future, avoiding bad emigration and encouraging in every way possible emigration that is wholesome and good?

I think that there is exactly the idea we need when we look at the experience of Great Britain and the white Dominions during the past hundred years. In writing this, I am not here at all referring to the exclusive emigration policy, called the 'White Australia' policy, which I detest, but rather to the method by which the white emigrants were selected for these white Dominions by the Dominions themselves.

In earlier times, there had been practised what may be called (in a short phrase) the 'Botany Bay' policy of emigration from England. Any one, whom England did not desire,—even the criminals,—was shipped off to Australia. At first this practice was consistently pursued, and it would be difficult to describe the havoc that was wrought. To the helpless aborigines of Australia, this emigration was nothing less than deadly. For the ex-convicts from Great Britain used to shoot them down, even for sport. It was all a hideous mockery of man made in God's image. Sexual immoralities equally hateful were practised. The colonies got a bad name. They were shunned by respectable people.

Only with very great difficulty and a late repentance for the earlier folly, this 'Botany Bay' practice was at last abandoned. Since that time, an entirely new policy has been adopted. It has been seen that, for true colonisation, the best settlers are always needed, not the worst. The difficulties of beginning life in a new country, without the support of old customs and associations, are so great, that it is quite impossible for a weakling to survive them. When we try to transplant trees, we have to choose a sturdy plant and take some of the soil with it and water it thoroughly night and day, before it takes root in the new soil and grows into a fine tree. Otherwise the plant withers and dies.

Transplantation of human life is no less difficult than that of gardening. In India the same mistake was made as in Great Britain. The vast colossal blunder of Indian Emigration during last century had been that it had always begun at the wrong end. It had been mere exploitation of the weak. Any one whom the *arkatis* or recruiters, could catch, was shipped off to Mauritius, Fiji, Natal, British Guiana and elsewhere. Criminals and prostitutes were often sent mixed up with multitudes of decent people. There was no study, on the part of the Government of India, of the experience of British Emigration to Canada and Australia. If there had been, it would have been long ago discovered, that the very method which had been discarded in England was being introduced into India. But the simple truth was, that the Government of India cared about nothing except making the colonies prosperous. They did not consider India at all.

If this is regarded as too hard an estimate, I would simply refer to the fact, that up to the very end, the Government of India allowed a system of recruiting to go on, all over the United Provinces, the Punjab and Madras, in which recruiters, who held the Government of India license, were paid so much per head for every recruit, and more for a woman than a man. The Government of India Regulation was that at first 33 women, and later on 40 women, should go out with every hundred men, in the same emigrant ships and to the same plantations. Could any intelligent human being give such a matter even half a thought and not see what this would lead to? I remember well one day, at Simla, telling this simple fact at a public meeting of Englishmen and English ladies, and the Head of the Cambridge University Mission, Canon Allnutt, who was then aged with a life-long service in India, got up and challenged me. He said: "I am afraid, you must have made some terrible mistake. The Government of India could never have agreed to such a thing." I showed him the Regulations, and he was horrified and convinced, and became a life-long opponent of the system.

There is another piece of documentary evidence, that is even more damaging still to recall. The Fiji Immigration Agent at Calcutta, realising the immorality which was being openly fostered by this indenture system, wrote to Fiji asking the Fiji Government to suggest to the Government of India, that the regulation should be altered, and more Indian women sent out with the men; but the response was a refusal. A woman's indentured labour, owing to child-bearing, was not so profitable as a man's. Also, I imagine, it was surmised that the larger number of women might not be so easily recruited and ships might be detained. Whatever the reasons were, the request was disallowed by Fiji and the old bad regulation remained. I have seen the official correspondence that passed with my own eyes.

Therefore the evidence is quite overwhelming, that originally, in India, as in Great Britain, an utterly wrong system of emigration was tried. It was the old 'Botany Bay' policy in another form.

But in England and Scotland, long ago, that old bad system has been given up. I have visited quite recently the emigration offices in London of the great Dominions of Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and Canada. Immense care is taken about the selection of candidates, and everything is done to sift out all who are weaklings and dependent, and to choose only men and women of independent mind and character, who have already shown some capacity of self-help and self-culture. Such men and women are assisted. They do not obtain free passages, but merely assisted passages. They go out, because they are strong, not because they are weak. This new policy, which has been worked out in every detail, is now carried out to the full; and it has proved everywhere successful. Added to this, there are a large number of voluntary agencies throughout the country, both in England and in the Dominions, whose duty it is to give friendly aid and help to all emigrants, who are really capable of doing good to the new country where they are bound. There are also training schools, like Dr. Barnardo's which educate boys and girls from very early years for an active colonial life. The Salvation Army Social Side also does a remarkable work in this direction.

If an emigration programme, worthy of India, is to be one of the programme of the future, it needs working out on these scientific lines, and not on the old bad careless and inhuman lines, which were adopted in the past. It may be, that from among the depressed classes a whole village with its village elders (and, if Christian, its village padre) might go out to settle; just as whole settlements have gone out from the country districts of England and Scotland to find a new home in New Zealand. Dunedin was founded by a village group from the north of Scotland; Christchurch was settled from Kent, just in this very manner.

Again, it would be quite possible to find picked Indian men and women of independent means and independent character, who would be ready to pay something towards their own passages in order to go out and make a new start in some foreign land and build up a new India abroad. If there were a regular steamer service this would be more practicable. It might be, that, in time, as the vital importance of the matter were more realised, societies would be established in Bombay and other centres, where expert help and advice to intending emigrants would be given. At the present time, I receive a very large number of letters each year from worthy persons asking my advice about emigration; but it is impossible for me to deal adequately with all this correspondence.

Finally, my own thoughts lead me to extend our ordinary view of Indian Emigration still further. With such treatment in British Colonies, as the Kenya White Paper implies, it is time that

Indians looked to more hospitable shores in the Latin countries, where the race prejudice is far less and equal treatment is not so churlishly refused.

INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRATISATION.

RIGHTLY does Zimmern observe in his essay on "Progress and Industry" (Progress and History edited by F. S. Marvin, Oxford 1921): "Industry is still an autocracy as politics was in the days before the supremacy of Parliament. Power still descends from above instead of springing from below...It has been recently announced in the press that Lord Rhondda is virtually the director of the economic destiny of a quarter of million miners...In days gone by, political power was as irresponsible as the economic power wielded to-day by Lord Rhondda...No nation as Abraham Lincoln said can remain half slave and half free..." Taking the above passage to apply to the biggest sun-spot in modern industrial organisation, we must at the same time realise that the course of events in all countries of Europe and America tends towards industrial Self-Government, in spite of Walker's dictum, "Whatever may be true of Politics, the industry of the world is not tending towards democracy, but in the opposite direction." If in certain quarters it is entertained that modern democracy has been a failure, we are disposed to think that it must be so, as long as industrial democratisation has not become a settled fact.

Modern economic life and activity in the West operate under three conditions—the state, private property and competition. In the unrestricted competition regime, under the spell of the now discredited *Laissez faire* theory, labour has been treated as an article of commerce. The labourer has been denied a living wage. The wage system treats human beings purely as instruments or as passive servants and atrophies their self-determination and their sense of individual and corporate responsibility. Mechanical devices having replaced manual skill, to the modern workman the product of his labour is something unknown and uncertain, because it is far removed from him. The capitalist regards him only as an auxiliary to his machine and that not an indispensable one. Distributive justice is so conspicuous by its absence that we find, that greatest want and greatest abundance go together. The inevitable corollary is the conflict between the classes, and this forms the background of Western economic thought. The primitive instincts of appropriation and exploitation have been developed to an incredible degree at the expense of the creative and renunciative impulses highly characteristic of Eastern civilization. Owing to this class conflict the strong becomes stronger by making the weak weaker. Reaction set in towards the latter half of the 19th century. It has taken two forms, according as the impetus came from the state or private agencies.

The state interference has been undertaken in manifest violation of the doctrine of *Laissez faire*. The inequalities in the class conflict have been sought to be reduced. Regulations regarding child and female labour, legislation to protect workers against accidents and to insure them against unemployment, the removal of the hindrances to free combinations of labourers, the recognition of the principle of fair wage accompanied by efforts to give effect to it and the adoption of systems of taxation with a view to ease the poor man's burden—all these things must be put down to the credit side of the state. Besides the state, private agencies have been at work to mitigate the evils of the present industrial organisation. The trade unions in England and in other countries of the West have been useful in prompting the personal freedom of their wage-earning populations and in raising their standards of comfort. As contrasted with the associations of the liberal professions, the trade unions are characterised by a unity of aim and strength of purpose.

The organisation of Artels and self-governing workshops has been made with a view to democratise industry. Consumers' Associations and Co-operative Credit Societies are springing into existence all over, calculated to eliminate the autocracy of the capitalist or the oligarchy of the middleman, while Co-Partnership and Profit-Sharing have a tendency to lessen the friction between labour and capital. The same ends are being subserved by Wages Boards, Industrial Councils and District Councils with equal representation of the employers and the employees. An improved experiment based on this principle is being made in Italy and the results are full of promise.

The undesirable features of the prevalent industrial organisation having been pointed out, the evil consequences are not far to seek. The class conflict leads to discontent among the labourers and to its manifestation, the strike. Now the strike is no doubt a formidable weapon in the armoury of the labourer, but in turn, it brings about a loss of productive power and the destruction of natural resources affecting the welfare of the capitalist and the labourer alike. Labour claims that the astounding industrial progress has been due to it wholly. The truth is that while labour has contributed to it, it has not contributed everything. The capitalist and the organiser have performed greater services. Adoption of improved methods of production on a large scale and the harnessing of steam and electricity, not to speak of the improvements in the mechanism of credit and exchange, have been rendered possible by the devoted labours of the capitalist and the organiser. On the other hand, there is no gainsaying the fact that there prevails a sort of dictatorship of the capitalist in the existing economic order. The reaction has set in and has manifested itself in efforts to bring about industrial self-government in all countries in America and Europe.

Apart from the state interference sketched already and the private agencies of which mention has already been made—which want only to mend the existing organisation—economic thinkers are not wanting who are bent upon ending it altogether. In countries like England, France and the United States, the attempts are peaceful and the ideas evolutionary in character, but in Germany, Hungary and in Russia, revolutionary methods have been adopted and markedly so in Russia. In this connection it may be observed that the movements have been as much influenced by theorists (not doctrinaires) as the latter have been by the former. Since the movements have not yet become a matter of history, let us concern ourselves with their aims and objects as formulated by the economic and political theorists. In their methods of approach to industrial democracy some emphasise the economic aspect by advocating direct management of industry from within, while others lay stress on the political side by favouring coercion and direction of industry through political action. To a comparatively older order belong the Socialists and the Anarchist Communists while the Guild Socialists and the Bolsheviks represent the more recent school of thought. A place between the two is occupied by the Syndicalists.

Owen in England as well as Saint Simon and Fourier in France were among the pioneers of socialism, while Karl Marx has been fittingly described as the father of modern communism. Marxism is both political and economic in character. According to Karl Marx, "political constitutions, laws, religions etc., are but expressions of the economic regime in the society that gives birth to them." Karl Marx advocates class war (Proletariat against Capitalists), abolition of private property and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Anarchist Communism, on the other hand, as its name implies is more political than economic in aims and methods. It wants to abolish the State altogether and to replace it by no Government by all, whatever it may mean, discarding Government by the majority, advocated by the Socialists. The Syndicalist, while agreeing with the Socialist to destroy the existing organisation, rejects the socialist conception of state ownership and control of property and industry, favours control of industry by the unions of labourers, and advocates industrial action, a general strike, as a means to transform society, while the Socialist relies on political action achieving his end. Guild Socialism may be described as an eclecticism of Socialism and Syndicalism. The Guild Socialist believes in retaining the state organisation and assigning to it certain functions; and there he is at one with the Socialist. He is also in agreement with the Syndicalist as he maintains that labourers should be their own masters. Mr. Hobson says: "The active principle of Guild Socialism is industrial democracy. Hence it differs from state socialism or collectivism. In

the one case, control comes from without and is essentially bureaucratic, in the other the Guild manages its own affairs and appoints its own officers. It rejects state bureaucracy; but on the other hand it rejects syndicalism, because it accepts co-management with the state always, however subject to the principle of industrial democracy". The state according to Guild Socialism is the first association among equals. The Guild Congress is supreme in economic matters having co-ordinate power with political parliament and agreeing to confer with the latter on matters partly political and partly economic.

An interesting scheme is that of Mr. Sydney Webb (now a member of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald's cabinet, holding the office of the President of Board of Trade) and Mrs. Webb. According to them public business consists of two complexes. The first or Political Complex comprehends the relations of the community as a whole with the other communities and the maintenance of order and individual freedom in the communities and the maintenance of order and individual freedom in the community. The other complex comprises the administration of business, economic in character, such as industries, service, public health, education, development of literature, arts and sciences. The business of the two complexes are to be in the hands of two independent and co-ordinate bodies, a political and a social parliament. The social parliament according to them, must devise an industrial organisation consisting of three forms comprising (1) great industries and services, (2) enterprises advantageously conducted by municipalities and other local bodies, (3) industries coinciding with the sphere of co-operative movements. Now, this scheme is essentially moderate. Like many other Socialists, Mr. and Mrs. Webb are not whole-hoggers. They advocate a socialisation of the instruments of production, private property being retained; they are not in favour of a sudden transfer of the administration of all branches of industry from private hands to those of the public. Their proposal amounts to the creation of a dyarchy.

We come now to recent theories and experiments, like Bolshevism which forms a contrast to the evolutionary aspect of socialism as represented by the Fabian Society and the British Labour Party. All these schools of thought are agreed on ending the present economic order. The question is, however, whether to build on existing foundations or to pull down the old structure and build up a new one.

To sum up, it would seem to me that above all, we have to bear in mind the words of an eminent social philosopher: "Socialism as a panacea seems to be mistaken in this way, since it is too ready to suppose that better economic conditions will of themselves make men happy. It is not only more material goods that men need, but more freedom, more self-direction, more outlook for creativeness, more opportunity for the joy

of life, more voluntary co-operation and less voluntary subservience to purposes not their own."

A. S. VENKATARAMAN.

THE DELHI SESSION.

(BY OUR PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT.)

DELHI, 15th MARCH 1924.

Politics once again overshadowed finance during the debates on the demands for grants this week in the Assembly. At a meeting of the Nationalist party the previous Sunday, the solid Swarajist majority decided to throw out the Budget and held the incoherent Independent minority to their pledge as inexorably as fate. It was a triumph, though momentary, of party discipline over individual freedom, under the most trying conditions. Even so, there was great uncertainty as to the Nationalists being able to challenge with success a division on refusal of supplies over the first demand. The Nationalists and the supporters of Government were so nearly equal in strength that a couple of uncertain votes were believed to make all the difference which way the balance swung. The Swarajists apprehended that even the least excuse for escape from the pledge would tempt away some of their unwilling bondsmen, the Independents, and Dr. Gour alarmed them when he called attention to Reuter's announcement of the appointment of a Cabinet Committee on Indian affairs and suggested the adjournment of the debate on budget demands for three days to enable the Home Member to obtain fuller information about the purpose and scope of the Committee, which Sir Malcolm agreed might have a direct influence on the course of the debates on the budget. He was, however, not sure of obtaining full information within three days and desired the debate to proceed. Thereupon Pandit Motilal moved that the demand for "Customs" be omitted altogether. If the combination of the Swarajists and Independents was highly unnatural and artificial, the position of the Pandit was even more so. A Swarajist by personal conviction and party leadership, pledged to mass movement and direct action expounded with great candour by his restive lieutenant Mr. Patel, the Pandit had to speak only and solely as a Nationalist advocating purely constitutional action confined to the Chamber, without at the same time disavowing expressly his Swarajist convictions and programmes. His was a dual personality—a Patel by conviction; a Jinnah for the purposes of the Assembly. Both the Pandit and Sir Malcolm Hailey addressed themselves to the Independents, both in and out of the Nationalist Party—the one reminded them of their duty according to their pledge, the other of their higher duty. The fateful division was called; the Independent-Nationalists in mournful silence allowed themselves to be dragged at the chariot wheels of the Swarajists and voted them victory, much to their own disgust, and to the exultant satisfaction of the Swarajists, and the resentment of the Government benches. The three other

demands of the day, viz., Income tax, Salt, and Opium, were similarly rejected, one after another. The actual experience of this unprecedented and daring adventure strained to the breaking point the Independent's loyalty to their pledge and they mutinied. Pandit Motilal therefore was compelled to abandon his tactics and permit the Independents and the Government benches to discuss the rest of the demands on their merits, and content himself with the offer of his help to the Independents whenever the latter requisitioned it to defeat the Government. An occasion for this soon arose, when Mr. Venkatapathi Raju pressed to a vote his out of two crores in the railway budget. An S. O. S. from him brought the Swarajists promptly to his rescue and they voted solidly for him, in opposition to the Government. But the Independents were fighting among themselves in the Chamber and many of them failed to vote, with the result that the Swarajists suffered a defeat at the hands of the Government!

However much the change of tactics on the second day may have discounted the significance of the first day's rejection of demands, it cannot be lost on the Government here and in England and in the world's public opinion. That it has come to pass that a legislature duly elected by an electorate created by the Government itself has taken such an extreme step as refusing supplies as a protest against grievances unredressed, cannot but discredit the Government of India in England and in the civilised world. The step has created both regret and resentment in the Government of India and it has caused them humiliation too. And the Government is much too civilised to be insensitive to this humiliation. There seem to be evidences of a change for the better in the Government. A Cabinet Committee has been appointed and is to report in three weeks—on what? Wait and see. When asked whether Reuter's message was correct, that Prof. Richards stated in the Commons that the Government did not contemplate a revision of the Government of India Act before 1929, Sir Malcolm Hailey thought that it was an incomplete message and refused to admit that he was satisfied with it as reported.

To return to the demands for grants. On the vote on Excise administration the Government of India was asked to give a lead to the Provinces by adopting Prohibition as their objective. Government had adopted at considerable sacrifice an enlightened opium policy towards a foreign country China; then why not an equally enlightened drink policy towards our own country? The Government of India were asked to permit Provincial Governments freedom to exercise the same control over foreign liquors as over country liquor in shaping their excise policy.

Despite Sir Narasimha Sarma's promise to accelerate Indianisation in the Forest Service on receipt of the Lee Commission report, the Assembly censured him by carrying, with the help of the Swarajists, a cut of Rs. 100. The Railway demand

was reduced by a sum of 25 lacs, not as a vote of censure, but as a measure of economy that could and should be secured by further Indianisation of the personnel of Railway services and of the stores purchased for railways, while a motion for a 2 crores' cut was defeated in spite of the Swarajists. Government members dwelt on the re-organisation of the Railway Board, the Rates Tribunal and the scheme of Indianisation of the railway services. They averred that District Councils analagous to Whitley councils were the best means of solving labour disputes and were not antagonistic to the normal growth of trade unionism. On the demand for Post and Telegraphs, Government saw no prospect of reducing rates, but would extend steadily postal facilities in rural areas. Government policy was to look upon the department as a public utility concern, as contrasted with a commercial concern, but Mr. Joshi demanded that it should be run on humane lines. On the demand under 'interest on loans' the Government was once again pressed to charge railway annuities to capital instead of to revenue, a plea which the Government once again resisted as unsound.

The sweep of discussion under the head General Administration was far and wide. The Home Member replied that the Assembly would be given an opportunity to discuss the Lee Commission report, before the Secretary of State passed orders; the number of Executive Councillorships in the provincial Governments could not be reduced owing to the convention proposed by the Joint Parliamentary Committee; that the question of the release of Moplah prisoners in the Andamans was under consideration; that jail rules have been modified by the creation of a special class for political prisoners; that as long as the Government was a composite one, it mattered little whether an Indian or European held the Home portfolio or any other; that it would be unwise to stop recruitment of Europeans for the services altogether, for even Indians wished such recruitment; and wound up by protesting that the Government had not gone back on their pledges to advance India towards responsible Government and appealed to the Assembly to "blame no man for his caution as long as his intentions are good." It is noteworthy that no nominal reduction in the demand was pressed to a division, even in Sir Malcolm Hailey's department. The Swarajists abstained from attending the house, in a huff over their defeat by the Government, caused by the defection of the Independents, and the latter were too few by themselves to press a motion against the Government. The rest of the grants had therefore smooth sailing. The net result is that the demands under Custom, Income tax, Salt and Opium, which were rejected will be restored by certification, without rousing any feeling in the country.

The Council of State was in a very active mood this week. Mr. Sastri moved a resolution concerning the Crown Colonies' Committee and received a very reassuring response from Sir Narasimha Sarma. Mr. Sethna moved that an

Indian should head the Indian delegation to the League of Nations and received an encouraging reply from Sir Muhammad Shafi. Sirdar Jogendra Singh's resolution for the encouragement of the sugar industry by Government was accepted in an amended form.

Both the Chambers were concerned over the fate that might overtake the second Sahidi Jatha of the Akalis at Jaito on the 14th instant. The concern took the form of interpellations in the Council and an unsuccessful attempt to adjourn the Assembly, the President confirming his former decision that the question was either the concern of the Punjab Council or of Nabha State. It is satisfactory to learn that this time there was no occasion for firing and the Jatha submitted themselves to peaceful arrest. So far so good. But that cannot be the end of it.

MISCELLANEA.

THE BERAR LIBERALS.

(FROM A CORRESPONDENT)

WHEN the Liberals in India met in Federation at Poona last Christmas, the question that engaged their minds most was the question of party organization. Everybody felt that if they were to be a live force in the politics of the country, if they were to bring solidarity amongst their ranks, if they were to extend the scope of their influence and increase their utility, the first thing they ought to do was to organize their party on proper lines. The Berar Liberals were not slow to perceive this. In a special general meeting held for that purpose on the 9th March they have decided to organize branches of their Association in all the districts of Berar where they do not already exist. They have also decided to start a Marathi weekly paper at Akola with a view to carry on the party propaganda amongst the masses. The coming summer vacation is to be utilized by the members of the Association in touring into the interior of the districts in educating the masses.

The Berar Liberals also re-affirmed the resolution passed at the last Berar Liberal Conference regarding the retrocession of Berar to the Nizam, saying that such retrocession is not desirable, not being conducive to the political, social, and economic progress of the people of Berar. They have also decided to ascertain the views of other responsible people in Berar on this matter with a view to find a common platform amongst all political parties on this question. A plan of concerted action will then be laid out against such retrocession.

BERAR AND THE NIZAM.

The special correspondent of the *Times of India* writes from Nagpur, dated March 9th;

"We will not go back to the Nizam" was the emphatic declaration of the several representative Beraris whom I interviewed lately on the question of the retrocession of the Berars to H. E. H. the Nizam. I selected for my interview some representatives of the people who had the largest stake and who had lived for generations in the Province of Berar and took care to ascertain the views of the moderate as well as the extremist class of political opinion. The verdict of all was the same with the exception of those who spoke on behalf of the Mahomedan section of the population, which forms a microscopic minority.

The Swarajist Beraris in the C. P. Council, however, seemed most reluctant to admit in so many words that they were in favour of continuing under British administration but, reading between the lines of their diplomatically worded replies to my questions, it is not difficult to see that they are as

emphatically against going back to the Nizam as is the moderate opinion of the Province.

The question of the retrocession of the Berars to the Nizam has been discussed for a number of years now but, so far as one can judge, it is only since the time the Aligarh element predominated in the counsels of H. E. H. the Nizam that the question has assumed a serious import to the people of the Province. So long as the Nizam's own territories do not possess a democratic form of government, the Beraris can feel no confidence in promises of autonomy. If the Nizam repudiates the transaction entered into by his predecessor, there is no guarantee that his successor may not do the same thing if it should suit his purpose, or rather if the Aligarh element that is now predominant in the Nizam's counsels so advise.

NOT A RACIAL QUESTION.

This opposition on the part of the Beraris does not appear to have anything to do with the fact of the Nizam being a Mahomedan ruler. Their opposition to any kind of a retrocession would be equally strong if it were any Hindu autocratic prince who made such a demand. In the territory of the Nizam at present the proportion of the Hindu population to the total is near about 80 per cent, yet it is notorious that the Hindu element even in the lower grades of the services such as Tahsildars and Naib Tahsildars can be counted on one's fingers. Under Mahomedan rule although it may assume the garb of autonomy, all progressive social legislation is bound to suffer. With regard to the monied and industrial classes, crores of rupees of new capital have been invested in the Province since the cession, mainly on the understanding that the Province for all practical purposes was a British Province and would remain as such. It will be a serious breach of faith, argue these Beraris of the wealthier section, if any arrangement is now made which would place those interests in a position of doubt and uncertainty.

ALLOCATION OF REVENUES.

In the Nizam's letter to the Viceroy the question of the surplus of the Berars is referred to, but it must be borne in mind that the very existence of the surplus has a good deal to do with the system of administration that prevails in the Berars, coupled with the sense of security which this administration has produced in the capitalistic classes, leading them to invest large amounts of money and making the Province as a whole more wealthy and productive than it might otherwise have been. It is doubtful whether such a surplus could have been produced at all if the system of administration in the Berars had remained as backward as that which obtains in the Hyderabad territory. Recently an equitable arrangement for the allocation of revenues for expenditure for the development departments in Berar has been arrived at, and, whatever grievances the Berars may have had in the past, in this respect they are now considered to be non-existent.

THE EXTREMIST VIEW.

The views of the extremist Berar Members of the Legislative Council, though the same in substance as the foregoing, deserve to be treated separately owing to the transparent political bias which they manifested in their replies to my queries. I will therefore reproduce my questions and their answers in full.

Are you in favour of the restoration of Berar to the Nizam?

We are not completely against it. We should like to impose certain conditions and not until those conditions are fulfilled are we prepared to consider the question. The Nizam does not say definitely that he will give us the form of government that we may determine by exercising our right of self-determination. His letter is couched in diplomatic language.

Will you be content to go back to the Nizam on his promising to grant autonomy after the restoration is completed?

Not unless he establishes a similar form of government in all his dominion and surrenders his absolute monarchy, and not until that state of government has been in vogue for a long time are we prepared to agree to the restoration.

What are your powers to enforce the continued fulfilment of the Nizam's promise? If the Nizam goes back on his pro-

mise will you seek the aid of the British Government to enforce the promise?

The theory that the subjects are merely chattels and have no voice in the evolution of their destinies is exploded. . . .

Don't you think that in asking for complete autonomy in the whole Nizam's dominion you are asking for the impossible? No.

Don't you think that if you continue under the British administration you may win your political freedom sooner than under the Nizam?

We are not so hopeful. The popular will should tell better on a single individual prince than on the British people.

Don't you think there is greater political freedom in the Berars at present than in the Nizam's territory?

We admit that under the present conditions there is greater political freedom in Berar.

Is there not a greater sense of security also, and has not that security brought more capital into Berar and helped to increase the productivity and wealth of Berar?

We do not know what sense of security obtains in the Nizam's territory and are not therefore able to make a comparison. If outside capital has been invested in Berar it has brought in its train foreign exploitation and greater vested interests. As regards increased productivity or improved economic conditions, we have no data to judge.

THE KATHIAWAR HITWARDHAK SABHA.

FOURTH ANNUAL GATHERING.

The fourth annual gathering of the Kathiawar Hitwardhak Sabha was held on 9th March 1924 at the bungalow of Mr. D. B. Shukla, the President of the Sabha. In addition to the members of the Sabha, there were present a good number of other distinguished persons taking interest in the affairs of Kathiawar and entertaining sympathy towards the aims and objects of the Sabha. These included Messrs. T. D. Rana, ex-Dewan of Junagadh, C. H. Shraff, Chief Karbhari of Rajkot, Vithaldas Girjashankar Trivedi, Bhavnagar State Vakil, and Liladhar Amritlal Mehta, President of the Rajkot Praja Pratidinhi Sabha.

The proceedings commenced with the reading of the annual report by the Honorary Secretary, who gave a short outline of the activities of the Sabha during the year under report. These principally consisted in seeking reforms in the administrative machinery of the Kathiawar Political Agency, just and equitable settlement of the Kenya question, establishment of elected Municipalities in the Civil Stations of Rajkot and Wadhwan, improvement in the management of the Kathiawar Railways, removal of the grievances regarding passenger and goods traffic, proper upkeep of the trunk roads of the Province, uniform system of text books and course of studies in the schools of the Province, abolition of Veth and stopping gambling allowed in certain States. The report further dealt with the progress of the work done by the Khadi Bhandar opened under the auspices of the Sabha, and also with the free reading room established by the Sabha on its premises.

The President, Mr. D. B. Shukla, in his presidential address dealt with the general political condition of the Province. He stated that the political condition of the Province had to a certain extent improved. Several States had introduced reforms and new constitutions were formed with a due regard to the popular representations. He referred to the Praja Pratidinhi Mandal (Peoples' representative assembly) established by the Thakore Sahab of Rajkot, and wished all success to it and expressed his gratification at the liberality of the Thakore Sahab in appointing a Committee consisting of two leading citizens of Rajkot and the State Revenue Karbhari with full powers to administer the State during his absence in England. The President also eulogised the reforms introduced in the States of Bhavnagar, Vankaner, Morvi, Forbandar, Wadhwan and Jasdan. He said that the people in their turn should show a generous, peaceful and grateful spirit and study the political problems better than they do now. The President dwelt on two principal questions affect-

ing the Province at present, viz. (1) the reforms in the present administrative system of the Political Agency on its transfer from the Government of Bombay to the Government of India and (2) the Tariff Act Amendment Bill which is recently introduced in the Imperial Legislative Assembly and which it is apprehended, will revive the former horrors of the Viramgam Customs barrier. He said that the Sabha had made representations to his Excellency the Viceroy with regard to these matters and expected the people of the province to raise their voice to achieve the reforms asked for. As regards the Tariff Act Amendment Bill, the States as well as the people should do their best to see that under the amended Act or the Sea Customs Act, Government do not impose the hated customs barrier again.

In conclusion he requested the people of Kathiawar to extend their sympathy and co-operation towards the Sabha and thereby to make it a powerful institution of the Province.

CORRESPONDENCE.

HEIGHT OF CHILDISHNESS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

Sir,

The Swarajists have pledged themselves to a policy of indiscriminating and unmitigated obstruction; they seem to have lost also all sense of grace and propriety. Their resolution in the C. P. Council to cut down the Ministerial salaries from Rs. 72,000 to Rs. 2 a year, i. e. one anna for each Minister a month, not only betrays extreme bad taste on their part but indicates also the extent to which they can stoop in meanness to throw ridicule on those whose only fault is that they do not see eye to eye with them. The resolution, however, far from injuring the Ministers in the least recoils on their own heads as it only serves to damage still further their reputation for sanity and sobriety, if they have had anything left of it still, and holds them up instead of the Ministers to public ridicule. The Swarajists were complaining till now that the Government had only given them toys in the shape of Reforms to play with and that they wanted something more substantial. But would not this childish resolution of the Swarajists only provide a handle to our Anglo-Indian critics to maintain that the Government's grant was most judicious and wise, since the Swarajists have not at all proved by their behaviour that they are in any way better than children? Nay, most of them would even urge the total withdrawal of the Reforms since, as they would say, the children have proved too naughty for the toys even to be kept with them, thus, the Swarajists' ill-advised and suicidal endeavours are bound to meet with only one kind of success, i. e. the re-instatement of the old autocratic regime under which we were groaning not very long ago. The pity of it is that for the rashness and obstinacy of a few the whole country will be in deluge.

K. B. DIXIT.

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