

THE Servant of India

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An Appeal to the Public.

THE great loss which the Servants of India Society has sustained on account of the recent disastrous fire in Poona in the last week of May 1926, which burnt down its two valuable Presses, the old records of the Society's newspapers and the stock in trade, and dislocated for a time its business and some of its activities, has, it is a matter of great consolation, evoked general sympathy with the Society from all quarters in the hour of its great need. Details of the destruction caused by the fire have already appeared in several newspapers in the country and kept the general public acquainted with the nature and extent of our losses. These have now been calculated and put roughly at not less than two lakhs of rupees.

The fire has not only compelled us to curtail our journalistic activities, but has also made it very difficult for us to resume our business to the fullest extent, with the result that a steady source of income has for a time greatly shrunk. It has also necessitated further investment in material and a capital outlay for the construction of a fire-proof building big enough to enable nearly 250 men to carry on the various activities of a Printing Press. Thus it has been estimated that unless the Society collected in a short time a minimum sum of two lakhs of rupees to invest in this whole concern, it will not be in a position to resume its normal activities and to rehabilitate its whole work and business.

The members of the Servants of India Society, therefore, were called this year a week earlier than usual at the time of the annual session of the anniversary of the foundation of the Society on the 12th June to consider the grave situation with which it was faced. And on the strength of the widespread sympathy and assurances of help conveyed by friends by means of their letters, the Society definitely resolved to undertake the publication of its papers on which it has to spend a good deal every year by way of propaganda, relying on the financial support of the country as a whole. It

has also with some difficulty started its Presses in a modest way, relying on the spirit of devotion and sacrifice so marvellously shown by our employees. The Society has all along been true to its principles and its traditions and its members are trying in their humble way to render service to various causes in different parts of the country. Moreover it is a matter of satisfaction that papers all over the country generally, irrespective of their political creed or party, have given publicity to our President's appeal and supported it in their editorial columns. It is very cheering to note that even friends, who have not seen eye to eye with us in politics and in social matters, have generously come forth to show us their sympathy. As an instance in point, the *Kesari* office of Poona, through Mr. N. C. Kelkar, has made a contribution of Rs. 251 to our fund. But the response is not, in my opinion, as quick and widespread as it should be in the case of an all-India organisation like the Servants of India Society with its wide programme of work, considering its urgent need.

It is recognised that the times are bad and owing to trade depression money market is very tight; but what is needed is wider publicity and better organization for the work of collection, in arranging which we require the hearty co-operation of newspapers all over India and the readiness on the part of our friends and associates to share with the members of our Society scattered over different provinces the task of collecting subscriptions, which is now started and which has made some progress. In this connection, I would like to state that our collections and promises have gone only up to nearly Rs. 50,000, contributions having been received outside Poona and Bombay from places like Madras, Lahore, Simla, Allahabad, Lucknow, Nagpur, Malabar, &c., &c. I should have expected these to come in from many more places.

It is further a matter of great thankfulness that the officials in our Presidency have readily shown in a striking manner a large measure of

sympathy and active support. And for the information of the reader I quote here a letter of sympathy which I received from His Excellency Sir Leslie Wilson soon after his return from England. It runs as follows:—

21st June 1926.

DEAR MR. DEVADHAR,

I am sending you herewith a cheque for Rs. 500 towards the servants of India Fire Relief Fund.

I am extremely sorry to hear of the disaster which has overtaken the Society and I sincerely trust that the activities of the Society will not be handicapped. Believe me,

Yours very sincerely,
LESLIE WILSON.

Similarly before leaving India, the Hon'ble Sir Henry Lawrence, then acting as the Governor of this presidency wrote to me through his Private Secretary a very nice letter sending along with it a cheque for Rs. 300. Moreover, handsome amounts have been contributed by Government officials such as the Hon'ble Sir Chunilal V. Mehta, the Hon'ble Mr. Cowasji Jehangir (Junior), the Hon'ble Mr. J. E. B. Hotson, the Hon'ble Mr. B. V. Jadhav, Major Genl. A. Hooton, Mr. F. B. P. Lory, Mr. J. A. Madan, Mr. G. F. S. Collins and others.

Among the Indian Princes and Chiefs we have also to thankfully notice the names of Her Highness the Maharani Saheb of Baroda, H.H. the Maharaja Saheb of Kolhapur, the Chief Saheb of Sangli, the Chief Saheb of Ramdurg, the Chief Saheb of Kurundwad (Senior), the Chief Saheb of Jamkhadi and others. We feel extremely grateful to them all.

Similarly in Bombay we have begun to receive contributions from a few mill-owners and from some individual solicitors, bankers, doctors, engineers, pleaders and merchants; but we hope that when the work of collection will be begun in an organised way, all of them will begin to contribute. In Poona several associations such as the Deccan Sabha, Press-Owners' Association and Arogya Mandal called meetings of their members to express their sympathy with us and have started subscription lists among their members. What is more refreshing to note is that representatives of the various women's educational institutions in Poona called a meeting of their teachers and workers at the Seva Sadan and after passing resolutions of sympathy have undertaken the definite responsibility of making small collections in their own institutions from the pupils and the members of their staff. Their example may well be imitated by similar other institutions. I have been able to start, with the kind permission of their heads of some of the offices, regular collection of voluntary contributions from their members of the office staff. Besides, collection on an organised basis has so far been undertaken voluntarily by Messrs. P. D. Asher & Co. (Tirupur Madras Presidency), Mr. S. D. Nadkarni of Karwar, and the Managing Director of the Bombay Provincial Co-operative Bank in Bombay. The Press-Owners'

Association in Bombay is calling under its auspices on the 6th instant a meeting of all Press-Owners there in support of our Fund. I am mentioning these institutions just to show how some of our friends and sympathisers have voluntarily come forward to do their bit to help us on this occasion, and how very urgent and necessary it is that their circle should be very much enlarged and the work more vigorously pushed on. We, therefore, propose to write letters to friends in firms and offices to undertake this work of voluntary collections on our behalf and I have no doubt they will lend their co-operation. The Society would be thankful if friends scattered all over the country offer their services to co-operate with the members of our Society in this work when they go out for the collection of funds. Work thus divided will not only enable us to accomplish our task more quickly and save us a good deal of time which could otherwise be spent in doing our usual public work, but would also result in bringing more collection.

To facilitate such work, therefore, we have kept a number of copies of our appeal in English, Marathi and Gujerati ready for distribution. We have also prepared donation ticket books containing 10 tickets each of various denominations such as Rs. 10, Rs. 5, and Re. 1. For smaller collections in offices, firms and other places where a large number of people with limited incomes are working, we have subscription collection forms or sheets ready for distribution.

We now propose to address our appeal to the various Charitable Trusts and business firms requesting our friends there to assist us in such collection with the help of these donation tickets and collection sheets. Volunteers who would write to us would, on being selected, be supplied with a letter of authority to enable them to do this work on our behalf and it is hoped that our Society, which has on various public occasions called together several troops of volunteers for collection work in aid of other funds undertaken by us, will not be disappointed by our old friends, whom we hereby request to come to our aid. To all those who have expressed sympathy and afforded help we are sincerely grateful and hereby request all who can to make a donation, which, even if it should be small, is most welcome to us. I therefore, appeal to all who are in a position to help either by sending subscriptions or by offering their services to collect the same, and I have no doubt that this appeal will not go unheeded.

Donations may be sent direct to Mr. S. G. Vaze, Servants of India Society, Deccan Gymkhana P. O., Poona, or to me at the Servants of India Society, Sandhurst Road, Girgaum, Bombay.

G. K. DEVADHAR,
Vice-President, S. I. S.

TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE paralysis of the British Coal Mine Industry continues and has entered upon the third month of its duration. The British Coal Industry. Mr. Baldwin's Government, having waited for men and masters to come to an agreement on their own, and having waited in vain, have now taken a hand in the matter by introducing two bills, the Hours' Bill and the Mining Industry Bill. The latter has been described by Mr. Hartshorn as an "empty pretence," whilst Col. Lane-Fox of the Mines Dept. called it a "practical and useful first instalment of very considerable value." For ourselves we think that the Bill is good enough, as far as it goes: but that unfortunately it does not go far enough. The Bill bases itself professedly on the Samuel Commission's Report and gives effect to its findings regarding the amalgamation of collieries; it further gives the State the power to grant mineral rights to applicants, if in the national interest; it also will make possible the alteration of existing leases and elimination of restrictive terms impeding the working of the minerals. The last two items of course are merely permissive and no doubt are a useful amendment of the existing law on the subject; but unless there is some pressure applied, this amendment of itself naturally will not automatically remove restrictions and selfish dog-in-the-manger policies. As regards amalgamation of properties, the Bill merely gives power to prepare voluntary schemes of amalgamation and the Minister in charge, introducing the Bill admitted that his department meant to wait for three years, as passive observers, and only in three years' time, if "amalgamations were not going on as they ought," intended to come to Parliament again for more drastic powers. As will therefore be seen this Bill removes some existing obstacles to the reorganization of the British Coal Industry, but it really does nothing at all to reorganize it.

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MR. BALDWIN'S Government take their stand on the fact that at several General Elections the voters had turned down Nationalization of the industry and that they therefore mean to maintain the basis of private ownership at all costs. But even so, the present proposals do nothing to guarantee the working at a profit of mines in such private ownership. For what cannot be repeated too often is the fact that coal is no longer required in these days of oil and electricity, to the extent and in the quantities that it was required in pre-war days. This fact Mr. Baldwin and his lieutenants evade: and its evasion is the best comment on their effort of treating a volcano with a liberal supply of sticking plaster. The only way out is that proposed by the Miners before the Samuel Commission: the transformation of coal into oil

and electricity at the pit-heads. If scientifically treated in that manner, the British coal industry could be made to pay and could offer work to all present-day skilled miners. No doubt reorganization on so large a scale requires time: but where is there even the hint of any intention of making a beginning? The ominous silence of Ministers on this vital matter coupled with their "Hours' Bill" proves that all they can think of is to save non-paying mines by reducing the cost of labour. To do this, miners are to work $8\frac{1}{2}$ instead of $7\frac{1}{2}$ hours: yet to ask miners to produce more coal at a time when there is an international over-production of coal already, really strikes one as an incident fit for Alice in Wonderland. We mentioned last week a Miners' resolution passed at Saarbrücken, asking for a reduction of miners' working hours: the only common sense remedy surely for the time being.

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IF Government would declare against reduction of miners' wages below their present level and against any further subsidy to mine owners, the unremunerative mines would naturally have to close down. As a consequence, miners would be thrown out of work: granted; but it is just here that the Government should step in and provide for an absorption of these men by lowering the hours worked per man on remunerative mines. Not to do this, but rather to legislate for longer hours, is not only absurd: it also removes the only pressure that Government can usefully bring to bear on mineowners short of wholesale nationalization of their properties. For once it was made clear to them that, unless a mine can be made to pay on present standards of life of its labour force, it had better cease to be worked at all, the owners of such properties would have a new and very real incentive to consider favourably amalgamation with adjoining properties, selling agreements, support of central power stations, &c. The whole *gravamen* of the Miners is that they and they alone are asked to bear the necessary cost of a period of transition, without the slightest guarantee that it is really transition that is aimed at and not the *status quo*. The Mining Industry Bill as "a first instalment" might do: but only if coupled with an "Hours' Bill", which instead of providing for hours of work to be raised from $7\frac{1}{2}$ to $8\frac{1}{2}$, would provide for their being lowered from $7\frac{1}{2}$ to $6\frac{1}{2}$. In that case, the "first instalment" would, we feel sure, be followed pretty quickly by a second one; as it is, even the first is bound to remain a dead letter: and what is worst, Labour will be sure that it is meant to remain such—hardly the right and statesman-like way for Mr. Baldwin to establish that "industrial peace" which he advocates so often. Goodwill is admirable: but what about at least one substantial pledge of translating that good will from words into deeds?

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HINDU-MUSLIM tension still continues to be the outstanding feature on the Indian political horizon. There have been communal disturbances reported from Kustia, Pabna and Sihali. The U. P. Government have found it necessary to impose a punitive police force in Allahabad city for one year on account of the riots and sporadic assaults that disgraced the city in the previous week and which were reminiscent of the April riots in Calcutta. We are not certain that the disturbances in Allahabad were not due to the migration to that city of the up-country gundas in Calcutta as a result of the passing of the Bengal Security Act. It were far better to intern these gundas in a safe place than merely drive them from a place where they were known and matched to a place where they could play their devilry with greater ease. The Bakr-id riots in Delhi have been followed by the deplorable organisation of Muslim and Hindu Defence Committees to defend the members of their respective community who were implicated in the riots.

SIRDAR JOGENDRA SINGH, the Minister of Agriculture in the Punjab, where the discussion in the local legislature of the Money-Lenders Bill has tended to exacerbate communal tension, called an informal meeting of the members of the Legislative Council with a view to find means to ease the tension. The feeling prevailed that a compromise over the Money-Lenders Bill would form a suitable basis for a *rapprochement*. But that effort failed. Meanwhile the editors of newspapers in Sind have arranged to meet and discuss the ways in which they could help to restore communal amity. There can be no doubt that the press in India, particularly the vernacular press, has been guilty of fanning the flame and in some cases exploiting the discord. And in some recent cases the Government had to prosecute the editors. But it would any day be better if the editors themselves realised their full moral as well as legal responsibility, and declined to pander to the communal prejudices of their *clientele*. The Working Committee of the Indian National Congress, which met last week-end in Calcutta, has resolved on establishing a permanent Publicity Bureau to popularise the resolutions of the Unity Conference held in Delhi in 1924 and to educate the people out of their communal animosities and to develop a sound national outlook. While these efforts are good in their way, we must reckon the fact that as long as harping on communalism pays, somebody will surely be forthcoming to profit by it. The Government must take a more active share in sterilising communalism.

THE Swarajist party and policy are fast vanishing away. The party was much admired for its discipline. But now even that is gone. The Swarajist members of the Punjab Legislative Council were given a special dispensation to participate in the debates on the Money-Lenders Bill only. But they chose to take a leading part in other debates as well. The U. P. Swarajists, without any dispensation at all, are busy debating the Agra Tenancy Bill in the U. P. Legislative Council. The Swarajist members of the Bengal Legislative Council have given notice of several resolutions, very few of which seem to justify a walk-in of the Swarajist councillors. All the same, they mean to "walk in;" and it is doubtful if they will be deterred from going their way even if the Working Committee should have the hardihood to refuse the permission. As for

policy, a number of people in the Central Provinces and Berar, who "have been merely Congressmen and do not belong to any of the parties springing up like mushrooms in the country" have appealed to the Swarajist and Responsivist leaders to accept a formula that they have kindly invented. The Congressmen of C. P. and Berar—thanks for this limitation—are to contest the general elections on the common ticket of "continuous, consistent and persistent obstruction with a view to prevent the very functioning of the legislatures." If such Congressmen secure solid standing majorities in four provincial legislative Councils—the number is sufficient to impress the Government—then unadulterated obstruction ought to be followed. If such majorities are not forthcoming, Responsive Cooperation should be adopted to give effect to which "Ministerships may generally be accepted"! To these eminent politicians it makes no difference if they seek election on one ticket and do quite a different thing, once they get into their saddle. Down South, Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar, the acting Leader of the Swaraj party, had his faith in non-acceptance of offices questioned by his erst-while colleague, Mr. Chakkarai Chetty. Mr. Iyengar has had, therefore, to reiterate his policy that if the Congress captured the Councils, but refused offices, the Government would be forced to meet the national demand; whereupon offices might be accepted. Mr. Iyengar did not say what he would do if the Congress failed to capture the Councils. He might more usefully consider that probability: for with the personal and communal dissensions in the Swarajist camp and the growth of the Responsive and Indian National Party, there is but a slender chance of the Swarajists capturing the Councils.

IN his last article on "India Revisited" in the *Westminster Gazette*, Mr. J. A. Spender sums up his general conclusions on the Indian political situation. "The experience of the Act of 1919 has been quite sufficient" and the time has arrived to consider the next step. Diarchy must pass and all offices thrown open to those who are fit for them. "Nothing is more desirable than real responsibility in the Provinces," but along with it, a strong Central Government should be retained. Unexceptional conclusions, long held and cherished by the Indian politician. Mr. Spender would have the Indian *intelligentsia* think out and lay down plans for the future constitutional development of India. The Indian politician is not the sole arbiter of the political development of India; and as long as the other and dominant party is not willing, it would be too much of an academic diversion for him to draw up what must be only a paper constitution. All the same, the Indian *intelligentsia* has given serious thought to the subject and laid down the general lines of advance in the resolution of the Congress and other national bodies: and also in resolutions moved in the Legislative Assembly. The Commonwealth of India Bill is an effort at a more definite embodiment of the same. Mr. Spender's advice has, therefore, been anticipated and Indians have done as much as they could do under the present circumstances. The difficulty is with the Government. Mr. Spender would have them give up the fetish that only in 1928 the constitution could be revised, to drop the demand for the abject submission of the Swarajists, to cease to treat the Indian politician as a child to be rewarded for good behaviour and to initiate an enquiry in India regarding the future constitution of India. All these suggestions presuppose a will to con-

ollate and advance. As a matter of fact, it is conspicuous by its absence. The latest instance of this is the outrageous nominations to the Indian delegations to the Imperial Conference and the League of Nations on which we comment elsewhere.

THE Bishop of Singapore has recently raised in the *British Medical Journal* the question: The Professional "What is the cause of the upset of Disease of Trustee-ship. mental balance which is so common

in the tropics? This aspect ranges from excessive irritability or loss of judgment to lunacy or suicide." We have not seen the replies of medical men invited by our contemporary, but as laymen with some personal knowledge of the subject we suggest that the main reason is loss of *measure*. On the one hand this is fostered by the European in the tropics considering himself as Master and "natives" as children, fools or slaves, and by the unfortunate fact that this idea of the white man's super-humanity is still largely being pandered to by the servility of those classes of inhabitants of the Tropics with whom he naturally comes most in contact—servants, hangers on, sycophants, people who want to sell dear or to buy cheap; all the crowds of "natives" we are all so familiar with in our Indian cantonments, not to speak of the common people everywhere over whom he has been set to rule and who approach him with the weapons natural to the weak and downtrodden everywhere. If this sort of *milieu* quite naturally makes for megalomania and resultant loss of balance and irritability, on the other there is the absence of those traditional inhibitions which keep the average man's conduct up to the standard of the society in which he lives. Once he has left Europe, the European in the Tropics finds he can't himself go without anybody knowing of it: for the next European is separated from him by an isolating wall of "native" humanity and therefore cannot know about it, and the "natives" themselves of course do not count. Taking the two factors together, a man must be of pretty stern stuff, not to fall a prey to these insidious temptations and to go to pieces morally. What we have always maintained is that, if the relationship of man to man as that of master to slave is bad for the slave, it is almost worse for the master, even when he calls himself, as the latest fashion is—trustee.

THE latest Administration Report of the Belgian Congo (for 1924) makes melancholy Belgian Trustees-reading for anyone contemplating

Africa from the African's point of view. The Belgian "Congo Independent State" covers an area of nearly a million square miles (double that of the South African Union or only slightly less than that of British India) with however a population of only about 8½ millions, of whom 10,000 are Europeans. In 1924, 278 104 Africans were wage earners in agricultural, industrial and commercial undertakings of Europeans, i. e. of the whole population, men, women and children, old and young, able-bodied and unfit, one person out of thirty was working in these European establishments. Going by Indian analogies, in which the male population between the ages of 20 and 55 forms about 23½% of the total population, this means therefore that out of the total population of working age in the Congo one sixth was engaged in foreign establishments. No wonder "the drain", as the Official Report remarks, "was excessive" and it has been officially

realized and admitted that "the question of recruiting labour is acute and the time near, when the number of workers [for foreign enterprises] could not be increased without compromising the future of the native communities"; that therefore "the maximum number of workers available for European undertakings has very nearly been reached." As it is, the labour available for the native production of foodstuffs has become so reduced, that Government apparently has to resort to "constant pressure" (whatever that may mean), in order to "persuade" the village population "to extend the cultivation of foodstuffs, in order to prevent famine." What the average "treatment" is, can perhaps be guessed from the health situation of which no statistics are available but of which the Report is constrained to say that in Katanga "the general health had made no progress and remained serious," whilst in Kasai, where in 1923 it had been reported that mortality rates were too high, the Report now records that "employers of labour continued to offer the greatest possible passive resistance to the application of the legislation for the protection of the health of the native workers." The Report consequently stresses the necessity of husbanding the resources of available labour and therefore of treating the workers well", but it notes that employers are only just "beginning to realize the importance of good treatment in order to keep their workers". The Congo came under European "trusteeship" in 1885 and today, after 41 years, European employers there are just beginning.....

WE have great pleasure to announce that Her Highness the Maharani Saheb, S. I. S. Fire Relief Fund. President of the Gwalior Regency Council, has kindly given Rs. 8000,

and that His Highness the Aga Khan has, as soon as he heard in London of the fire that occurred in the Arya-Bhushan Press, kindly cabled to Mr. Sastri offering a munificent subscription of Rs. 5,000. We are also happy to note that Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Raja Rampal Singh, Syed Raza Ali, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. C. Y. Chintamani have issued the following appeal bespeaking generous response to the Society's appeal for two lacs of rupees towards the Fire Relief Fund: "The Servants of India Society has suffered a terrible loss. The Aryabhushan and Dnyan Prakash Press which was built up with great patience and foresight by Mr. Gokhale to be a support to the Society has been nearly destroyed by fire. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, President of the Servants of India Society, has appealed to the public for two lakhs of rupees which would be required to enable the Society to make a fresh start. We earnestly hope that his appeal will meet with a generous response and that the members of the Society, who will go round to various places, will receive full and active help from all quarters." We tender our grateful thanks to all these friends of the Society. The total promises have now come up to about Rs. 62,000. We need hardly emphasise that the sooner the public promise and pay up the full amount required, the sooner our members will be free to give their undivided attention to the service of the public.

INDIA "REPRESENTATIVES."

THE personnel, officially announced last week, of the Indian delegation at the forthcoming sessions of the Imperial Conference and the Assembly of the League of Nations must be taken as a definitive attempt on the part of the Imperial authorities to reduce India's status at these gatherings to the pre-war level. Not enjoying autonomy in domestic affairs, India was still raised, after the war and in recognition of her splendid war services, to equal status with Great Britain and the Dominions as an independent State in international affairs, and was admitted to full membership of the Imperial Conference and the League of Nations. It would appear from the selection of India's representatives at this year's sittings of these bodies that Government have now almost finally decided to remove the anomaly in the present position by officialising such representation in fact, if not in name, and thus to revert, as far as possible, to the position which existed before 1918. Else we cannot understand how the Maharajahdiraj of Burdwan may be supposed to represent non-official opinion at the Imperial Conference and Khan Bahadur Shaikh Abdul Quadir at the League of Nations. At both these bodies the Government of India had made so far a suitable selection of Indian representatives and given the men appointed a fairly wide scope, but still the public demand was that unless Indian representatives led the delegations, the purpose of India being included in her own right among the State members of these bodies would not be fully served. The Government of India too had held out the hope that the demand would be met so far at any rate as the League of Nations was concerned, but the hope is now dashed to the ground, and the persons selected are such that to all intents and purposes India has been deprived of her voice at these international assemblies.

In giving what may well be regarded as a promise to appoint an Indian to lead India's delegation, however, the Law Member of the Government of India, Mr. S. R. Das, had stressed in March last, it should be recalled, the anomalous position in which India stood, not having an autonomous government as yet. He had said, first of all, that India's admission to the League of Nations was itself due to the mere accident of India being one of the signatories to the Versailles Treaty; secondly, that the delegation of every country represents the Government of that country and not the population at large; and thirdly, that India, being yet a dependent country, cannot claim the kind of representation independent countries are entitled to have. On all these points the Law Member was egregiously in the wrong. India did not just happen to sign the peace treaty; the separate signatures of the Dominions, and of India along with them, to the Treaty of Versailles signified the attainment by these countries of a "new status," of a position of full national equality with other countries. The League of Nations Assembly again was never

designed to consist merely of official representatives, but of men who could claim to represent the broad mass of people. The well-known pronouncement of the late Woodrow Wilson, which lays down this principle, is authoritative on the point. The very fact that India, though a subject nation, was allowed to sign the Covenant as a separate member of the League of Nations as though she were independent, proves that she can rightly claim the same kind of representation at the League as any other country. The contentions of the Law Member are thus altogether ill-founded, and prove that the Government of India is not prepared to assert and utilise the "new status" which belongs to her by virtue of her admission to membership of the League. In the light of this statement the selection of an official to lead the deputation and of such a lesser light as Khan Bahadur Quadir to represent Indian opinion is not at all surprising; what is surprising is the fact that a virtual pledge was made to appoint in March last a non-official Indian to lead the delegation.

The anomaly on which the Law Member laid so much emphasis is being exploited by several critics to India's disadvantage. One such writer is Mr. Richard Jebb, who in his recent study of Empire politics, styled *The Empire in Eclipse*, calls pointed attention to the anomalous position in which India stands; he says, "The anomaly might give rise to awkward situations at the Conference, supposing some such question as that of the Indians in Kenya were pressed to a vote. Contingencies of this kind would require to be forestalled by judicious evasion, or met by absence from voting." Apparently the Government of India intend to meet such contingencies in another way—by sending to international gatherings men who would not bring matters to a head at the Imperial Conference and who would not even desire to raise them at the League of Nations. But naturally Mr. Jebb does not wish to rely solely upon the goodwill of the Government of India. He would rather see the latter formally debarred from arguing on any question against any of the Dominions. "The most serious feature of the Indian agitation has been," says he, "the support openly given to it by the Government of India, even by a Viceroy himself, in strongly worded public statements. Thus the Government of India has been publicly arrayed against the Governments of the Dominions, particularly South Africa." This will have, according to this writer, a disastrous effect upon the peace of the Empire as a whole; and therefore he suggests that "it ought not to be possible for the Government of India to appear in public conflict with the Dominions, however the merits of the disputes may be judged." The last clause is most important. No matter how unjust the policy of the Dominions may be in regard to India, still India must make no complaint in public but must pretend as if she were in the best of relations with the Dominions. It does not occur to this eminent author to ask himself what advantage would in that case accrue to India by

participating in inter-imperial gatherings if she cannot lay a complaint, however legitimate and wellfounded, against other members of the Dominions. What India principally hopes to secure by her membership of the Imperial Conference and the League of Nations is the betterment of the lot of Indians residing abroad. If however she is to be stopped from raising this or a similar question, she has little interest in the proceedings of these august assemblages. The Government of India would of course hotly contest the suggestion made by Mr. Jebb, but by their selection of the persons appointed to represent India they have done in practice what Mr. Jebb would like them to acknowledge in theory. India is gagged!

Finally, what the League ought to want to know and what we guess France will now want to know is, why, if the British Empire can get on extra vote by putting forward a puppet member like India, France may not put forward the Sultan of Morocco and/or the Day of Tunis for the same purpose?

DOES CHINA NEED SYMPATHY?

FROM certain sources sympathy has been vouchsafed to China in indulgent degrees for the last ten years. The world has been appealed to from platform and conference to offer it, and has responded in very generous expressions. This seemed reasonable and logical in the early years, but how long must it be maintained? Those farthest removed from China find it easy to slur over the awful opium conditions of this land by uttering the very worn-out statement that with a good Central Government all will be well. But will it? We who have worked here for almost a quarter of a century are not so sanguine. We wish we could feel convinced of the statement so often repeated in home publications, that the Chinese people are against opium and were it not for militarists and corrupt officials they would make an end of opium. Facts and experience are all against it. If China gets rid of opium during the next twenty-five years, it will only be by direct official suppression. A certain anti-opium sentiment is cultivated by missionary, public health, and anti-opium associations, but its effect is barely perceptible. The millions of China can only be influenced by law and force where opium is concerned. Take the present opium season of 1925-26; opium has been grown without let or hindrance in every province where cultivation has been worth while. It has been compulsory in an enormous number of centres, but where not compulsory it has been grown by the farmers, because it is a profitable transaction, and the lamentable increase in opium smoking is creating a proportionately increased demand. Opium smoking has no restrictions from the highest to the lowest, in the land. The traffic is encouraged and taxed for military and civil purposes in 15 out of the 18 provinces, all social restrictions are removed, opium is smoked openly in trains, steamers, hotels and

country inns, it is offered to guests in Yamens, official residences and tea houses; and when Missionary reports from some provinces state that 6 to 8 people out of ten smoke opium, is there any ground for stating that the Chinese as a nation are against the pernicious drug? It is more than suggestive, that the recrudescence of poppy in China coincided with the cessation of the Indian opium importation. Did China wish to get rid of opium, *per se*, or merely of Indian opium? A very large and unbiassed section of foreigners are inclined to take the latter view.

China is doing absolutely nothing to stop opium, she has done nothing for ten years, in fact the evidence is all the other way. We cannot be unmindful of the excellent work of Governor Yen of Shansi or Marshal Feng of the areas they controlled. These two examples are unique both for their excellence, and the fact that not another ruler in China has shown the least inclination to imitate them. The law is sometimes enforced in local areas against the poor, but never against the gentry or officials. As the country cannot be appealed to as a whole, because so many sections are under independent rulers, would it be interfering with internal affairs, if the League of Nations appealed to these independent satraps? Something must be done, for the inauguration of the 15 years' period of gradual suppression depends largely upon China's restrictive cultivation between now and 1929.

China north of the Yang Tze Kiang River is now dominated by three ruling powers, not one of whom has done anything to stop opium, except make speeches for publication, whilst their subordinate generals raise opium taxes to maintain their armies.

The opium state of China has never been more deplorable and certainly never more demoralising than at present, and sympathy is entirely misplaced. Sympathy for the poor and ignorant peasants who are being destroyed by the use of their own opium, yes; but for the nation as represented by her official and ruling classes, a thousand times no.

W. H. GRAHAM ASPLAND.

LABOUR IN SOUTH AFRICA.

ONE of the great shocks of surprise that comes to any one, who goes out to South Africa for the first time from India, is to find a 'Labour' Party in possession, which is entirely devoted to 'white' labour and has no place in its Trade Unions for any one else except the white man. Since all the unskilled and lower-skilled manual work of South Africa is performed by the native Africans called the Bantus or by the 'coloured' people, i. e. the half castes, or by the Indians (specially in Natal), the white man has got into such a condition that he regards it to be undignified to accept any but higher grade work that does not demand successive toil. Thus it is clear that the word 'Labour

Party' is a misnomer. At least, it in no way represents the proletariat of South Africa. White Labour is an aristocracy, strongly entrenched upon the labour of the coloured races. It draws its own high salaries owing to the incessant labours of those beneath, on whose shoulders it has risen to power. I have had many talks with white labour leaders in South Africa and they have told me frankly that white labour is out for its own hand; and that the coloured races which undersell the white labour, must be kept out of the skilled labour at all costs.

If the employer were to offer a skilled post to a non-European, there would be an immediate strike of the Europeans. For a whole series of posts have been protected for white men only. Yet it is still a recognised thing, in some of the mines, at least, to allow a white man at his own cost, a Native African to do the hard manual work, in his own skilled job. An instance of this given me was that of blasting; a white man who was in charge of his job, was allowed to supply the African native to drill the holes, etc. The only thing the white man did was to point to the place where the hole was to be drilled. It is practically certain that the native African could have done this blasting work in time entirely satisfactorily with a minimum of supervision. Yet the white man supervised the whole time and did nothing else. The white man was supposed to do even the drilling itself, which was a 'white man's job', and to draw wages for drilling and blasting. He drew for his work something between £40 and £50 per month, and out of this he would pay the Bantu labourer, who did the drilling £3. The employers were obliged to allow this to go on; and the Colour Bar Bill which has just been passed by a Grand Committee of both Houses of Parliament is meant to protect the white man in these privileges. I would add that the example I have given is the worst that I came across of the abnormal state of affairs in South Africa. It was told me by a 'labour' man himself. There are, of course, many thousands of white men as skilled engineers, electricians, etc., doing just as hard work as in England. They are drawing very high wages indeed, because they have made their Trades Unions a close preserve for the white man. Perhaps the best phrase to indicate this state of affairs is to call it, 'protected white skilled labour'.

There are some rudimentary organisations of Bantu labour also. The chief organisation is the I. C. U., which means the Industrial and Commercial Union of Bantu workers. Little by little, this organisation will gain unity, strength and power. At present it is only at the beginning of things. I met Bantu leaders and had very earnest talks with them. In many respects, it seemed to me more important for the All-India Trades Union Congress to come into touch with them and help them forward in their early struggling days, than to come into touch with the aristocratic 'white' Trades Unions who were keeping up their high wages owing to the depression of the coloured labourers, and

who would not admit any coloured labourer into the close preserve of their Trade Unions.

With regard to the white Trades Unions, there was at first, in South Africa, a very great reluctance to meet me, as a representative of the All-India Trades Union Congress. Pressure, however, was brought to bear from England by the Trades Unions authorities there, and I received an invitation, first of all, from the Parliamentary Committee of the Labour Party to meet them in conference. This was, as it happened, a very important event, because the Labour Party held the balance in the Cabinet on the Indian question; and their support for the suspension of the Asiatic Bill would be the turning point in the struggle. The discussion that morning was somewhat desultory, but the conviction was gained by those present as the debate went on that the Asiatic Bill was unworkable, as far as its main purpose was concerned, which was to get the Indians out of the country. The next meeting, which I had with the Cape Labour Party, was a failure. The Cape audience was a crowded one; but they had been induced to hear me only in the assurance that they should hear the anti-Asiatic side from Mr. Strachan, the Chairman of the Parliamentary Labour party, at a second session. The whole meeting which I addressed was hostile in the extreme; therefore I left the Cape gathering with a very disheartening impression of the selfish attitude of the white man in South Africa. The third opportunity that was given to me was in Johannesburg, where the Trades Union Congress was held. I was allowed by the Chairman to appear, at one of these sessions, for exactly half an hour. It seemed to me quite evident that it had only been with some difficulty that this privilege had been granted to me. The Chairman, Senator Briggs, asked for a patient hearing for me, and I had every courtesy shown me. But I was aware of a coldness in atmosphere and no questions were asked after I had finished. I was simply thanked by the Chairman and then left the room.

On the whole, therefore, throughout these different meetings, I had a sense of restraint and depression. Nevertheless, they made an invaluable opening through which to come into close touch with the leaders of the Labour Party; and it was probably due more to the action of those Labour leaders than anything else that the Asiatic Bill was in the end withdrawn. For if the Labour Party had insisted on the Asiatic Bill being carried forward (as indeed they insisted on the Colour Bar Bill), there would have arisen an impossible position for General Hertzog and Dr. Malan. They would not have been able to carry out their purpose with their own party, because the young nationalists headed by Mr. Roos were by no means prepared to drop the Bill. It was really the support, that the Labour Party gave to General Hertzog, which made him able to carry his whole nationalist party with him.

The news has reached me that the South African Labour Trades Unions are prepared to meet delegates from India at a conference. This has naturally made me think out the whole question very anxiously indeed. My own impression is that it would be best in the circumstances to defer to the coming conference between the two Governments and to suggest that any further conference be held over pending the result of the Government Conference itself.

At the same time, I think it would be a good thing for the All-India Trades Union Congress to get in touch with the Industrial and Commercial Union (I. C. U.) among the Bantus.

C. F. ANDREWS.

FREEDOM.

IN a previous article I showed that, according to Scholastic doctrine, the State is "a natural institution, an integral portion of the design of nature, and neither the product of chance nor of convention," as Dr. Cronin* so clearly puts it. To many, this emphasis on what seems almost a commonplace may seem superfluous: as a matter of fact, most Scholastic principles seem at first blush rather commonplace, and it is only when one goes further into the matter and draws the consequences which inevitably flow from these principles, that one discovers that what, to the plain man of commonsense had seemed almost axiomatic, has in the history of human thought been treated as highly controversial. So also in this case. In modern thought man either had invented the State or else man was merely the cog of a machine: in either case, the principal problem for the individual was, how to defend his individuality against this "Frankenstein" or "Leviathan" of a State. In Scholastic thought on the other hand there is no such antithesis: the individual is a rational being who employs his reason *inter alia* to discover "the design of nature," the natural laws in accordance with which the State has been designed by God and in strict compliance with which alone the State and the individuals, who compose it, can function properly i. e. easily, without friction, freely. Thus we arrive at the Scholastic idea of freedom as obedience to the Eternal Law, to the Divine Reason underlying the cosmic design. In natural science this attitude still holds good and it is agreed that to dispose of the forces of nature, it is necessary to obey the laws of nature: but in the moral sciences that attitude has been largely abandoned. On the one hand the Atomistic view considers man as void of all responsibility, the deterministic shuttlecock of battledores which are beyond man's power of interference; on the other, the Conventionalist holds that man does not discover, but invents social laws, and therefore that his own reason is autonomous, its own law, sovereign and not owing obedience to anything. The first theory issues in the Servile State of Communism, the second in the Rebellious State of Liberalism: whilst Scholasticism aims at the Peaceful State, if we take "peace" in the sense of St. Augustine's definition as "the tranquillity of order"; the tranquillity that is, which results from smooth running, from the healthy functioning of an organism according to its nature.

* Michael Cronin: *The Science of Ethics*. Dublin. 1917 Vol. 2, p. 41.

Harking back to Prof. Wilde's book* as typical of so much of modern thought, the problem in all its crudity appears to such thought as "that of adjusting the public and private aspects of life so that freedom of personality shall not be sacrificed to the external conditions of its realization"—"the State being really the great rival of the individual" (p. 11). This theory then is that of perpetual conflict: as in the economic sphere Socialism considers the perpetual state of war between class and class "natural", so in the political sphere Liberalism does the same in regard to the perpetual warfare between individual and State. And since Liberalism has enthroned each individual as the autonomous sovereign of himself, the best solution it can expect is that of "putting up with things", i. e. tolerating evil and compromising, resigning itself stoically, that "the only liberty for which one can hope, even in a democracy, is a moderate and tolerant liberty, involving the renunciation of our instinctive passionate wills, and the cultivation of a spirit of compromise and cooperation" (p. 203). To such counsels of despair, to such depths of pessimism, has a century of Liberalism's unquestioned sway brought us today.

In glaring contrast to such formulation of modern ideas of "freedom", Aquinas† lays it down that "the root of all freedom rests in reason" Animals therefore have no freedom, for they are without reason and act automatically in accordance with their non-rational instincts and sensory reactions. Man on the other hand is endowed with reason, which, to use Leo XIII's luminous explanation, enables him "to see that all earthly goods are contingent, and therefore to consider none of them as absolutely necessary ends: wherefore the human will is at entire liberty to decide for one or the other of them." (*ibid.*) This liberty is called the "liberty of specification," i. e. the human capacity of selecting amongst the means to an end, and it is this *libertas specificationis* which renders man capable of self-determination. This liberty itself is based on the simple and spiritual nature of the human mind, which, capable of transcending the concrete and temporal, can abstract universal ideas and can combine past, present and future in one comprehending glance; thus enabling man by this *libertas exercitii* to act freely, i. e. as master of his actions. Now since the human will, though always directed towards the good, must make a choice between the variety of goods which at every turn confront it, reason must necessarily be called in to decide which of the goods is the most desirable one to pursue under the given circumstances. The less instinctive, impulsive, therefore an act, and the more rational, deliberate, self-determined, the more truly human and truly free an act it is. Hence, "inasmuch as man is moved not by his own determination, but by something compelling him from outside of himself, in just that degree is man a slave. If therefore he ever acts contrary to reason, he becomes 'alienated', subject to something alien to his whole nature." (*ibid.* p. 28.) Now as is notorious, both human will and human reason are not perfect: hence reason often makes a thing to appear as good when really it is not, and induces the will to aim at it as if it were really good. In other words, reason is liable to err. But this possibility of going wrong on the part of the human mind is of course not an advantage but a drawback:

* N. Wilde: *The Ethical Basis of the State*. Princeton. 1924.

† *De Veritate*, 24, 3. quoted by Dr. Peter Tischleder on p. 23 of his "Staatslehre Leo's XIII. M. Gladbach. 1925". to which I called attention in my last article.

therefore this *libertas contrarietatis*, this capacity for acting contrary to the right, is not conducive to freedom at all, but rather to servitude.

It will be seen at once, how this idea of "freedom" differs from the current one of Liberalism, which seems to prize above all others man's liberty of going wrong, where Scholasticism would deplore it as a liability to going wrong. "To be free" to the modern practically means to be able to act according to caprice; whilst to the Catholic it means acting according to law. For laws to us are signposts, as it were, showing where human reason and will is likely to be deceived and to go wrong; to them laws are fetters, shackling the caprice of the individual. Scholasticism defines law, as "an ordering according to reason" in the sense that compliance with it will result in "order"; but also in that other sense that Divine Reason (of which human reason is but, as it were, a receiving instrument) orders, commands it. Heraclitus already perceived that all human laws derive from the divine law: inversely we can also say that inasmuch as human laws are according to reason, they are in accordance with the Eternal Law, God's grand cosmic design. Of this Eternal Law, the *ius gentium*, the "natural law",* is the reflection; whilst the "human law" is but a concrete application of the general principles of the "natural law". Thus, for instance, the Eternal Law of justice, of giving everybody his due, is reflected in the natural law: "Thou shalt not steal"; whilst human law defines and determines the different forms of theft and the varying punishments of the thief. Human law i. e. State law, therefore merely serves to facilitate man's observance of the Eternal Law, i. e. man's life according to the very laws of his being, hence also inversely is State law only binding, insofar as it does not contradict the eternal law of God.

"Freedom is thus contrasted, not with coercion but with irrationality" says Prof. Wilde (p. 197) quite rightly. In the last instance, even he and those he speaks for, of course cannot get away from the fact that "it is not doing as we please, that constitutes us free, but doing as we ought". (p. 64) But where Scholastic and Liberal are agreed that man is liable to go wrong, the latter advocates as the only safe corrective as far as possible an universal liberty for every individual to do as he pleases, in the hope that in the welter of contrary caprices the best plan of action will come up top; whilst the former endeavours to conform human effort to the standard set by natural law and, if he suspects such effort to have gone wrong, to reason out such deviations. Liberalism therefore is non-rational, an appeal to rule-of-thumb, pragmatist; Catholicism on the contrary is rational, knowing no other way out, but that of an appeal to reason, an appeal which itself can only be made by taking counsel together, by discussing the matter, in other words—by the parliamentary method in its strict and original meaning. Catholics know that there must be a right way of doing the thing, i. e. of doing it according to God's design: the only question is that of discovering it, of so ordering matters that everything may take its appointed place in the divine order. Whilst Liberalism therefore aims at "Liberty," Catholicism does aim at "Law and Order." But however unpopular the latter, nowadays in common parlance somewhat debased, idea may be, the fact remains that Liberalism is anti-social in fostering a mentality which

* In the sense of it being e. g. against "natural law" to prevent an accused from defending himself against the accusation.

revolts on principle against any limitation of the individual, and thus produces and has produced a general rebelliousness, a sullen distrust of all human laws, an irritability and impatience with every kind of authority as such, which have made the century after the French Revolution a long series of civil commotion and political upheaval in all countries of the West. It is this spirit of lawlessness and rebellion, which saps the roots of Western States to-day, since it is the very negation of that goodwill and readiness of the individual to take his place, which alone enables men to live and work together in a Commonwealth. The wrong "Liberty" set up by Liberalism as an ideal has in fact been proved wrong by its own test: it does not work in practice. A little more of that "Liberty", and there will be no State left in which to practise it. No, the anti-thesis of freedom is not coercion, but irrationality.

H. C. E. ZACHARIAS.

REVIEWS.

A MANUAL OF ECONOMICS.

THE SCIENCE OF PRICES. By JOHN A. TODD. (Oxford University Press.) 1925. pp. 264. 6s.

As the author says in the preface and the references given at the end of each chapter show, the book under review is mainly based on Marshall. The author has tried to put Marshall's theory before students 'in a form at once simple and easily followed, and yet not inaccurate or misleading through its omission of the refinements and qualifications which are characteristic of Marshall's own exposition.' It may be said at once that the author has succeeded in his attempt. While conforming to the main body of Marshall's doctrines, Prof. Todd has allowed himself a great deal of latitude in re-arranging the mode of treatment of the subject. He has added chapters on Private Property, Social Reform by Legislation, Co-operation and Profit-sharing, Monopolies, Combines and Trusts, and Socialism, whereas under Distribution the traditional chapters on wages of labour, profits of capital and rent of land are conspicuous by their absence. A special feature of the book is the statistical Appendix containing twelve tables of figures relating to production—agricultural, mineral, industrial—population and emigration, occupational distribution, consumption of staple commodities, prices and wages, etc. in the United Kingdom.

Prof. Todd believes that 'in a text-book there is little room for originality. The principles of Economics are now well established.' So there is little room for the reviewer to criticise Prof. Todd for any of the doctrines contained in his book. He has, however, displayed an unfortunate originality in the title he has given to his book. He calls it "The Science of Prices" and then, not being quite sure that the readers will understand what he wants to write about, hastens to add in smaller type "A Handbook of Economics". What he means by Economics he makes clear by further adding in brackets in still smaller type "Production, Consumption and Value." Distribution is thus altogether ejected as a division of economics. After this the author can hardly say with truth that 'in a text-book there is little room for originality'. He notes with pride that 'it is to the late Alfred Marshall more than to any other economist that we owe the development of the human side of economics; the very name that he gave it—the "science of everyday life"—breathes

the new spirit of the subject.' Yet Prof. Todd could not have chosen a better method of throttling that new spirit than calling economics the "Science of Prices". Marshall himself was not right in calling his smaller work "Economics of Industry" when what he wrote inside was the economics of every-day life including not merely industry but also agriculture, commerce, transport and what not, in their relation to human welfare. And more and more since Marshall first published his "Economics of Industry" in 1879 have we come to regard economics as the science of 'wealth'—'wealth' in its original sense of material well-being. Prof. Todd, however, is only one among many who, having been nurtured within the rigid framework of the classical theory of exchange-economics, find it impossible to get away from it in spite of their desire to breathe a new human spirit into the science. So they cannot see how the writer of a text-book on economics could show any originality except perhaps by inventing a wrong title for it or suppressing just that division of the science round which some of the hottest controversies of the present day are centred. Yet Prof. Edwin Cannan in his "Wealth" has demonstrated not only the possibility but also the necessity of a new mode of presentment of the science of economics.

R. M. JOSHI.

REDUCTION OF ARMANENTS.

INFORMATION ON THE REDUCTION OF ARMANENTS. By J. W. WHEELER-BENNETT. (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd.) 1926. pp. 216. 10s.

THIS is a useful compilation of facts and documents bearing on the 'practical' aspects of the great project of Disarmament.

The series begins with the quotation of the Fourth of President Wilson's Fourteen Points. "Adequate guarantees (must be) given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety." Articles I, VIII, and IX of the Covenant of the League of Nations are then quoted, and after a chapter on the work of the Peace Conference of 1919, there is a useful summary of the work already done by the League for Disarmament. A chapter is then devoted to the work of the Washington Conference and other minor Conferences. The book ends with a list of Demilitarised Zones and Areas already in existence, and with various documentary and bibliographic Appendices.

Of especial interest is the Introduction, which is by Major-General Sir Neil L. Malcolm. In the course of it occurs the following very important observation:—"As a soldier I may perhaps be permitted to express my opinion that in the discussions of the past six years the problem of disarmament has received too much consideration, while that of the spirit which underlies all forms of armament has received too little. Vast armaments are no doubt a danger; but wars were a common feature of national policy in the days when armies and navies were both small and cheap...Can it really be argued that swollen armaments produced the war? Is it not truer and more honest to say that a wrong spirit produced the armaments, and, in the case of Germany, insisted upon their being used.....Here then lies the real problem of European security. Can we not devise some new ethic, some better moral code under which races of different tongue and blood may live in close community without that bitter rivalry which has hitherto always expressed itself first in armaments and ultimately in war?"

These are weighty words. The problem of Disarmament is at heart one not of statesmanship so much as of religion; for it demands as its first pre-requisite a change of heart amongst the peoples.

J. S. HOYLAND.

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