

THE Servant of India

Editor: V. VENKATA SUBBAIYA

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TOPICS OF THE WEEK

THE unconditional release of Mr. Gandhi, announced at 8 a.m. on Tuesday morning, four hours before the Resolution to that effect could be moved in the Assembly, is the brightest event for years now in the course of relations between the Government and the People of India. As our readers are aware, we have from the moment of Mr. Gandhi's arrest been convinced that his prosecution and conviction were both wrong and inexpedient: a conviction which perhaps might claim more weight than that of an out-and-out devotee's for whom Mahatmaj can never do wrong. We have always distinguished between Mr. Gandhi's personal sanctity and his political wisdom: a distinction to which we still adhere. All the more sincere may we be believed to be in our heartfelt joy at the right thing having at last been done. But not only do our congratulations go out to our great fellow-countryman: we almost equally rejoice at this pledge that His Majesty's new Government means to pursue a line of its own and to have done with the "Full speed ahead" policy, inaugurated a couple of years ago. The Viceroy's opening speech at Delhi, on which we comment elsewhere, was, we hope, the last gasp of the Wintertonian grammophone; clearly a new tune has now been called. When we wrote our comment, we were disappointed that the Government of India should have let slip so magnificent an opportunity of reassuring India that a return was to be made to the spirit which conceived and, at first, worked the Reforms, and of thus opening a new chapter of goodwill all-round.

NOT, as if we looked simply to a Labour Government to grant us boons. Our Indian contemporaries seem to have great difficulty in seeing any *tertium quid* beyond such an attitude and one of bitter hostility to any British Government, just because it happens to be a British Government. Not so do we understand democracy. If we feel strongly on any point—be it the release of Mr. Gandhi, be it the Kenya franchise—we must translate, and go on translating, these feelings of ours into all such actions, as are lawfully and constitutionally open to us. Only thus can we convince the Cabinet, the Parliament, the people of Britain of the reality of these feelings; only thus can we make it possible for our friends in Britain to help us. But hand in hand with an unrelenting struggle here, may well go, may must go, a frank recognition that the Labour Government in power is by its nature friendly to India and to all our legitimate aspirations. Our agitation here therefore should be carried on, to free their hands, not to force them; and until the contrary is proved, we surely should work on the assumption, that those who try to thwart and who oppose us, are the very people who oppose and would thwart, if they could, any Government formed by the British Labour Party. The latter, to be sure is not uniform: the party is not a factory which turns out voting automata. The I. L. P. is represented: but so are the Trade Unions. The latter, with all their innate conservatism, are well represented by Mr. Thomas and it is only natural that the latter should have been rather spreading himself of late and been basking in the sunshine of ducal approbation. He also represents British Labour and it is only right that he and his friends should have an important share in a British Labour Government.

THERE is moreover apparently excessive condensation in the cabled message of the first impressions of Mr. J. H. Thomas in his new office of Secretary of State for the Colonies. The portion regarding Kenya is obviously scrappy but very disquieting as it stands. The expression as to the White Paper policy being mostly maintained might, according to the context, apply to the predominance of native interests in the administration of the Colony. That item this country never questioned and will never question. But we are sceptical of the power of the Colonial Office to safeguard the African native from the tyrannical and selfish policy of the white settler, which is the same thing as saying of the Government of Kenya, for the two are hardly distinguishable for any practical purpose. The Colonial Office, therefore, must

be endowed with a degree of strength, insight, and vigilance which is almost beyond the reach of a human institution to effectuate its intention in this regard. But let it pass. If however, Mr. Thomas's statement means that in respect of the relative position of the European and Indian settler the policy of the White Paper will not be departed from, it is a disastrous blunder. Neither the Government of India nor its people will ever acquiesce in a decision which relegates Indians to a subordinate grade of citizenship, establishes a colour bar, in imitation of an institution of the East already discredited and in process of being discarded there, and gives to the white colonists, in violation of solemn pledges, a position of unassailable political superiority, to which they are not entitled by numbers, influence, or usefulness to the state. It would be well for the public of India to let Mr. Thomas know of their determined attitude as early as possible. Mr. Thomas speaks in enthusiastic terms of the Empire. If it is to be of any use to India, it must deserve those terms at our hands. The Committee to be set up by the Government of India will devote itself mainly to the task of securing a revision of the conclusions of the White Paper. Else, it would be the merest waste of energy and time.

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The Recognition of
Russia.

FORTUNATELY good Mate or First Engineer that he may be, Mr. Thomas is not the Captain. The Leader is and remains Mr. MacDonald; and if any one had any doubts as to his quality, his two first opening moves in Foreign Politics should have removed them. Of the two moves we are inclined to rank the recognition of Soviet Russia highest. It certainly brings out in clearest relief the essential difference between the old and the new leadership. Whilst the old diplomacy can only conceive of *de jure* recognition as a useful item of barter and while accordingly Italy and France are still higgling and huckstering over this new concession here and that old debt there, Mr. MacDonald is merely concerned whether or not it is a fact that the present government of Russia is so *de jure*. If it is—and what European Government is so unitedly backed by 90 p. c. of the people?—then it is a mere question of truthfulness on the part of other Governments to acknowledge that fact. If it is not, the grant of a petroleum concession can obviously not turn the illegitimacy of a government into legitimacy. A Labour Government thus looking at this, as at all political and economic questions, from the moral point of view, first acknowledges, what it considers to be a fact—that the Soviet government of Russia is *de jure* the government of Russia—and only afterwards calls for a conference to adjust pending claims; whilst the capitalist government of, say, Italy, in its eagerness for “business” stands revealed as only ready for a deal—even in truth, if marketable. That over this ignoble traffic it should have happened to be just Mr. Mussolini who was passed at the very winning-post by a Socialist horse of a very different colour certainly adds to the piquancy of the event. And so, *pace* yesterday's cables, “Italy has been very greatly disappointed” and France too “does not altogether like being forestalled.” Yes: strange to say, honesty still is the best policy.

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Ententes and the
League.

AS for Mr. MacDonald's second move—his message to Mr. Poincaré—it is characterised by the same ideology. The British and French Governments being at acute variance over a number of most vital

questions, Mr. MacDonald does not continue say, *a la* Coué, that this variance does not exist that it is every day, in every way, vanishing, as his predecessors have said these last three years. On the contrary, he writes, what Reuter calls “a remarkably straightforward letter” pointing out that Anglo-French relations have ceased to be friendly and that French policy has given ground for much British apprehensiveness. But he adds: “We can be frank without being hostile, and can defend our countries' interests without enmity.” What could be finer? M. Poincaré's reply certainly comes as a perfect anticlimax after that and only serves to reveal the intellectual bankruptcy of a man, who still tries to hide it behind a mulish obstinacy which even in his own country is no longer being mistaken for strength. That all is not well in French foreign politics, even outside English and German relations, must have become unpleasantly clear when it became known that Italy and Yugoslavia had actually come to terms over Fiume as were in a fair way of cementing a little *entente* of their own. For once this is effected, Italy's hope of a southern *bloc* against the intolerable domination of France is near realization. If France can count on Czechoslovakia, Italy can on Spain, Austria and on Hungary; and if to these is added a militarily formidable country like Yugoslavia, the balance against France tips heavily. Is it once more Rumania's *flair* for rattling which has been responsible for that country's just announced refusal of accepting another little hundred million “loan” from France? Anyhow, leagues and counter-leagues are no final solution: only the League of Nations. And old internationalist that he is, it is once more Mr. MacDonald's leadership which alone promises that “fine vision of reason and wisdom” which poor Woodrow Wilson could conceive, but alas, was constitutionally unable to fulfil. Peace to this great pioneer's ashes—and all power to “Old Mac” who, if anybody, will be able to “make these dry bones live.”

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A Serious Situation. THE strike situation in Bombay has assumed a very serious aspect, as it was bound to do with nearly two lakhs of workmen remaining idle and in a state of excitement. The *Times of India* in its leading article of the 31st January forcibly pointed out the danger arising from the idleness of such a large population not only to the public peace but to the public health of the city. It recalled how in 1916 as the result of a similar general strike, cholera broke out in the mill area which had become particularly insanitary owing to the workmen not having the use of the good sanitary arrangements of the mill and also on account of their being underfed owing to unemployment, and how the infection spread to other parts of the city and several hundreds die every day. That danger is ahead on the present occasion also. Meanwhile the danger to public safety has become a painful reality. The strikers who were peaceful for some days have now become violent and disorderly. Everybody regrets their behaviour, but mere regret on whosoever part does not help the situation. It is no longer a matter to be left for settlement between capital and labour. The state must intervene now. A very sensible solution is suggested in a resolution accepted by the workmen at the instance of Mr. N. M. Joshi and others, which urges the Government to appoint an arbitration committee on which the mill owners and labourers should be equally represented and on the appointment of which the latter will resume work.

THE VICEROY'S SPEECH.

THE speech made by His Excellency the Viceroy to his legislature has evoked exceptional interest. There were circumstances in the political world which made people look with expectancy to declarations of policy. Those that have an eye for small things as well as large, set afloat awed whispers caused by the glitter and pomp of the viceregal procession for which extra-ordinary preparations had been made. In fact, visitors, including members of the legislature, had begun to complain bitterly of the inconvenience that had been thoughtlessly caused by the blocking of roads without previous notice and for unnecessarily long periods, on account of the movements connected with the National Baby Week on the part of the inmates of the viceregal lodge. It would be well if some kindly god of humour should prompt earthly potentates to keep some watch over the doings of their military and police underlings, doubtless from a mistaken sense of zeal. Swarajists were heard to say the viceregal utterance was not going to be full of honey, if such elaborate preparations were necessary to protect him. Only upholders of the medieval doctrine that the King's representative must always speak in tones of warning and command, were pleased at the correctness and sonority of diction, which kept the speech of the occasion upto the true standard. Of course the commercial magnates, to whom a considerate franchise law accords undue representation, set the coveted seal of their approbation upon an utterance, marked by the regulation degree of stern and admonitory precept, specially designed for the ear of the doctrinaire politician and impatient idealist. But even amongst members of the white ruling caste, there were not wanting those whom either a love of peace or a sense of chivalry impelled to an exclamation or two of regret that the pronouncement should have been disfigured by an occasional severity of phrase and an utter absence of that liveliness of sympathy or brave promise of help with which wise statesmanship could have at once disarmed suspicion and evoked the gratitude of a sensitive and imaginative people. On the other hand, the fullness and candour of a statement which embraced a review of the relations of India with the Dominions and Afghanistan, might have received more appreciation than they did at the hands of an audience which was straining its ears all the time for an announcement of the release of Mahatma Gandhi or of some plan of escape from the political impasse which the stagnation in the progress of the reform scheme had brought about. Indeed, we cannot help thinking that the Swarajists, who stayed away from the garden party of Mr. Chatterjee, were disappointed in expectations which they had no business to entertain and offended at statements which transgressed neither political propriety nor courtesy of any kind.

To come, however, to more precise points in the speech. This paper has fully allowed hitherto that the Government of India have identified themselves with the people as regards the substance of their claims in Kenya as well as elsewhere and that their representations on the subject were marked by a frankness and boldness to the extent possible to a Government hitherto treated as a subordinate branch of His Majesty's Government. Since the snub, however, administered in consequence of the "protest" with which this Government submitted to the Kenya decision, one has noticed the beginnings of a retrogression in the official tone on the subject. We pass over the exaggerated importance attached to the supposititious gains in the decision. No Government could perhaps be expected ever to admit complete failure on its part. We shall agree even to overlook the simplicity which trusts by careful examination of the provisions of the immigration bill to get back as through a window what has been lost through the front door of the White paper. But why does the Viceroy, in his recent speech refer only to "our contention that there are grounds for an increase in the number of seats to Indians"? Are there grounds only for an increase in the number of seats for Indians? Are not the Government of India going to stand up for the equality of that number with the number of seats granted to the white settlers? Does the blighting effect of Lord Peel's regime continue, that the idea of equality is no longer insisted upon? We confess also that the Viceroy protests too much, almost to the point of impropriety, when he speaks of the "sense of justice and fairness" with which His Majesty's Government have been animated in dealing with these proposals. Sometime ago he bade the Indian people continue their faith in British justice and fairplay. Since we cannot see anything in the nature of official compulsion behind these statements we would implore His Excellency not to allude, so long as the infamy of Kenya is not forgotten, to British justice and fairplay. His Excellency cannot mean to jest. Is it then meant as a mockery—this frequent allusion to British justice and fairplay, so soon after the British Cabinet perpetrated the Kenya infamy?

The use of the old Bengal State Regulation for the arrest and detention of persons suspected of political crime or conspiracy is a reversion to methods which had been discredited and nearly abandoned by Government. We admit we are much impressed by the testimony of a Governor of the undoubted sincerity and goodwill of Lord Lytton and a Viceroy of the experience and love of justice of Lord Reading, and we attach due importance to the fact that every case is scrutinised by men of judicial experience. Nevertheless these are but poor substitutes for open trial and it is difficult not to condemn resort to weapons which the Government themselves had recently promised to drop out of their political armoury.

Those who have always stood for ordered progress can have no quarrel with His Excellency's disapprobation of the Swarajist policy of wrecking as exemplified in the Central Provinces, and we fully share the hope that the work of the Assembly in the session that has now opened, will not be marred by similar tactics. But His Excellency's Government have apparently no plan for the immediate advance of the Indian Constitution either at the centre or in the provinces. The customary phrases, "Parliament must decide; people must deserve" were never soothing and have now begun to irritate. Nor can we take without qualification the statement that direct action will never cause Parliament "to act contrary to their desire and better judgment", or that "action based on reason and justice will alone prevail with the British people." The Irish and Egyptians, not to mention the white people of Kenya, as His Excellency very well knows but chooses to forget, have demonstrated the futility of these propositions. What is apparently implied is that the application of force has been rendered impossible for the people of India and that, therefore, they must try the methods of persuasion. So stated the sentiment has hard fact on its side. Even then it has its lesson to the people of India which neither the Viceroy nor his Government can prevent them from learning, except by a policy of generous and bold statesmanship.

THE INDIAN NATIONAL PACT.

AT the request of Dr. M. A. Ansari, we are publishing in this issue the 'Indian National Pact' which has been drafted jointly by him and Lala Lajpat Rai. From the preamble it will be seen that the object of the pact is to remove the misunderstandings and mutual suspicions about each other's aims and intentions that are now prevailing among the different communities, so that they may all join in a common endeavour for the attainment of Swaraj. It is believed that a joint declaration by all communities of the goal which they seek to attain and the rights which they wish to secure for the people will bring about the necessary co-operation between the communities. What has to be considered is whether the provisions of the present draft pact are such as to bring about that co-operation between the different communities. We may also consider whether a pact is at all necessary or likely to do good in the long run. We shall here confine our attention to those provisions of the pact that are directly intended to restore communal harmony.

This idea of a pact had its origin in the very strained relations between Hindus and Muhammadans which prevailed last year in the Punjab. The executive of the Congress deputed a very influential committee consisting of Messrs. C. R. Das, Motilal Nehru, Ajmal Khan, and Abdul Kalam Azad and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, to bring about a conciliation. That committee tried hard to get the

Hindu, Muhammadan and Sikh leaders to agree to a pact regarding the proportions in which they wished to be represented in the legislative council and on municipal and local boards, but did not succeed. Nor were they able to induce the Musalman leaders of Multan to change the route of the tazia processions which occasioned the regrettable riots. They had to come away without achieving any appreciable measure of success. It is true that at that time both Hindus and Muhammadans were in a temper, and that they may be expected to be more reasonable now. But there is no evidence whatever of their having modified their respective demands, and therefore the difficulty of inducing them to accept a pact remains unabated. The Congress committee divided the causes of irritation broadly into those affecting the masses and those affecting the educated classes. The committee reported, "So far as regards the masses, the real causes of the trouble are firstly the memories of Malabar and Multan riots, secondly the Suddhi and the Hindu Sanghatan movements which have in their turn given rise to counter agitation amongst the Muhammadans". Malabar and Multan memories will in course of time fade away, especially as the vernacular Press of the Punjab has agreed not to revive them needlessly. But the Suddhi, Sanghatan and their counter movements are there and will be there. Any interference with them would be regarded as interference with the religious liberty of propaganda and association. The masses of each community have to be educated to respect the liberty of every other community in this matter. The draft pact guarantees this liberty. If the masses of a community have not learnt sufficiently to respect the liberties of others, either this clause of the pact will not be agreed to or it will have no force. Its inclusion in the pact can only have an educative value. The fanaticism of the masses, their disregard for others' liberty, is the real cause of all trouble. If that fanaticism—in Hindus as well as in Muhammadans—decreased, there would be no trouble over cow-killing or processions or tom-toms. The provisions in the pact regarding these matters are unexceptionable. For that very reason fanatics will not agree to them. If the leaders of the different communities could subscribe to them on behalf of the masses, not as representing an ideal, but as a programme of present action, there would indeed be no need for a pact.

As to the causes of irritation affecting the educated classes, they include not only representation in councils and on municipal and local boards, but also in the public services and educational institutions. In the Punjab legislative council the Muhammadans have at present a representation of 50 per cent. They are not dissatisfied with it, though they would like it to be raised to 55 per cent., which is the proportion of their community in the population of the province. But the Hindus and Sikhs, who form 34 and 11 per cent. of the population, and who have a representation in the

council of 32 and 18 per cent., respectively, are much dissatisfied, because even when both of them combine, they cannot defeat the Muhammadans. They therefore ask that the Muhammadan representation be decreased and their own representation increased. The Sikhs in particular urge that, as they are of special political importance in the Punjab, they should be given a representation of 30 per cent., like the Muhammadans in Behar who also form only 11 per cent. of the population in that province. The draft pact suggests that separate communal representation "throughout the country shall be in proportion to the numerical strength of each community in the constituencies." So far as the Punjab is concerned, it will be acceptable to the Muhammadans, but not to the Sikhs who have been demanding an even more excessive representation than they are now enjoying. It will be acceptable to the Muhammadans of Bengal, who now have only 40 per cent. of the seats, though they form 55 per cent. of the population, but not to the Muhammadans in other provinces, in every one of which they are enjoying a representation far in excess of their numerical strength. The present proportion of Muhammadan representation in all the councils was fixed by the Lucknow pact of 1916, between the Congress and the Muslim League, and even the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms committee did not think it expedient to alter it. The Punjab and Bengal Muhammadans agreed to a smaller representation, because their co-religionists in the other provinces were given a larger representation, than their numbers justified. The proportions so fixed would have to be changed in all or in none. As on the whole they are favourable to the Muhammadans and the Hindus have so long been reconciled to them, would it not be best to leave them alone—if communal feelings are not to be aggravated?

Regarding representation on municipal and local boards, there is no agreement between Dr. Ansari and Lala Lajpat Rai, the former being in favour of it and the latter opposed. If, however, communal representation even in the councils is limited to a specified period, Mr. Lajpat Rai is prepared to extend it for that period to municipalities and local boards. The Punjab Muhammadans despite the protests of Hindus have obtained communal representation on some municipalities and they will not be willing to give it up, when Muhammadans in other provinces also are demanding it. The draft pact lays down that there shall be no communal or colour or caste distinction in public offices and in the educational institutions. It is no doubt the right principle, but we cannot ignore that Muhammadans in the Punjab and Bengal, and backward classes in Madras and Bombay have been insisting on a proportion of posts being reserved for them. The fixing of a proportion on the basis of population and a rigid enforcement of hard and fast rules are absurd and would necessarily destroy efficiency of administration. But at the same time we think some special encourage-

ment within limits is also necessary for the progress of backward classes. For example, it would be absurd to fix a proportion of subordinate or superior posts for members of the depressed classes. Nevertheless, a qualified applicant of those classes may be preferred to a better qualified person of an advanced community in filling up some posts, so long as the depressed classes are either unrepresented or too inadequately represented in the public services. In dealing with a question of this kind we have to remember that the state is a human institution, which neither absolute competition nor communal representation should be allowed to render wooden.

To sum up, the provisions of this draft pact, being very reasonable, will appeal only to those who place national interests above communal ones. Such persons have no use for a pact. The fanatical masses and those educated men who want to get jobs and places of importance without facing competition, will not subscribe to the pact. If enlightened leaders accepted it, the unlightened followers would only repudiate them. The object of the pact is therefore not likely to be achieved.

But it may be said that though it may fail to give immediate practical results, it will have an educative value. If the leaders subscribe to it, you could go with their combined moral authority to the unconverted and preach to them the necessity of subordinating communal ambitions to national well being. There is a greater chance of their listening to you with such authority than without it. There is some force in this agreement but there is also another aspect to be considered. The idea of a pact itself is demoralising. It puts a premium on the unreasonableness of a community. It also whets communal appetite which always grows with feeding. When communal representation in councils was first conceded to the Muhammadans in the Minto-Morley scheme of reforms, it was hoped that it could be withdrawn after a reasonable lapse of time. But in these fifteen years their communal consciousness has only grown instead of decreasing. They have come to regard their separate representation as a vested right and want it to be extended from councils to local boards, public services and even educational institutions. What is worse, their example is copied by other communities,—Sikhs, Christians, non-Brahmins, Panchamas—and they claim similar representation on public bodies and in the services. One hears only of sectional interests, the general interests are lost sight of. The evil results of our communal representation are not confined to India. It is made to justify an unwanted communal franchise for Indians in Kenya. White fighting for its removal there, we cannot with any consistency demand its continuance here. If all round justice and impartiality are the aim, no pact is needed. Enlightened principles of government will secure it. The very idea of a pact suggests bargaining, the purchase of the consent of one community albeit for a good object, by another at the

be endowed with a degree of strength, insight, and vigilance which is almost beyond the reach of a human institution to effectuate its intention in this regard. But let it pass. If however, Mr. Thomas's statement means that in respect of the relative position of the European and Indian settler the policy of the White Paper will not be departed from, it is a disastrous blunder. Neither the Government of India nor its people will ever acquiesce in a decision which relegates Indians to a subordinate grade of citizenship, establishes a colour bar, in imitation of an institution of the East already discredited and in process of being discarded there, and gives to the white colonists, in violation of solemn pledges, a position of unassailable political superiority, to which they are not entitled by numbers, influence, or usefulness to the state. It would be well for the public of India to let Mr. Thomas know of their determined attitude as early as possible. Mr. Thomas speaks in enthusiastic terms of the Empire. If it is to be of any use to India, it must deserve those terms at our hands. The Committee to be set up by the Government of India will devote itself mainly to the task of securing a revision of the conclusions of the White Paper. Else, it would be the merest waste of energy and time.

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FORTUNATELY good Mate or First Engineer that he may be, Mr. Thomas is not the Captain. The Leader is and remains Mr. MacDonald; and if any one had any doubts as to his quality, his two first opening moves in Foreign Politics should have removed them. Of the two moves we are inclined to rank the recognition of Soviet Russia highest. It certainly brings out in clearest relief the essential difference between the old and the new leadership. Whilst the old diplomacy can only conceive of *de jure* recognition as a useful item of barter and while accordingly Italy and France are still higgling and huckstering over this new concession here and that old debt there, Mr. MacDonald is merely concerned whether or not it is a fact that the present government of Russia is so *de jure*. If it is—and what European Government is so unitedly backed by 90 p. c. of the people?—then it is a mere question of truthfulness on the part of other Governments to acknowledge that fact. If it is not, the grant of a petroleum concession can obviously not turn the illegitimacy of a government into legitimacy. A Labour Government thus looking at this, as at all political and economic questions, from the moral point of view, first acknowledges, what it considers to be a fact—that the Soviet government of Russia is *de jure* the government of Russia—and only afterwards calls for a conference to adjust pending claims; whilst the capitalist government of, say, Italy, in its eagerness for "business" stands revealed as only ready for a deal—even in truth, if marketable. That over this ignoble traffic it should have happened to be just Mr. Mussolini who was passed at the very winning-post by a Socialist horse of a very different colour certainly adds to the piquancy of the event. And so, *pace* yesterday's cables, "Italy has been very greatly disappointed" and France too "does not altogether like being forestalled." Yes: strange to say, honesty still is the best policy.

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A Serious Situation. THE strike situation in Bombay has assumed a very serious aspect, as it was bound to do with nearly two lakhs of workmen remaining idle and in a state of excitement. The *Times of India* in its leading article of the 31st January forcibly pointed out the danger arising from the idleness of such a large population not only to the public peace but to the public health of the city. It recalled how in 1916 as the result of a similar general strike, cholera broke out in the mill area which had become particularly insanitary owing to the workmen not having the use of the good sanitary arrangements of the mills and also on account of their being underfed owing to unemployment, and how the infection spread to other parts of the city and several hundreds died every day. That danger is ahead on the present occasion also. Meanwhile the danger to public safety has become a painful reality. The strikers who were peaceful for some days have now become violent and disorderly. Everybody regrets the behaviour, but mere regret on whosoever part does not help the situation. It is no longer a matter to be left for settlement between capital and labour. The state must intervene now. A very sensible solution is suggested in a resolution accepted by the workmen at the instance of Mr. N. M. Joshi and others, which urges the Government to appoint an arbitration committee on which the mill owners and labourers should be equally represented and on the appointment of which the latter will resume work.

towns, Madras, Bombay, Calcutta and Karachi, while there are no cities to match with them in the interior. Apart from their being the seats of Government and western learning, which have attracted to them a good number of people, the growth in our foreign trade is primarily responsible for this result. This foreign trade has expanded almost without a check in the last fifty years and is now of high value and importance. (The average total value of imports and exports of merchandise in the quinquennium 1864-5 to 1868-9 was 8,756 lakhs of rupees. The corresponding figures for the quinquennium 1909-10 to 1913-14 was 37,590 lakhs; in 1913-14 the value was 44,032 lakhs; in 1919-20, it was 53,476 lakhs and in 1920-21 it rose to 59,194 lakhs). How far is this increase an indicator of our prosperity?

Trade is exchange of commodities and the larger the facilities for and number of such acts of exchange the greater the specialization of industries possible and consequently the more numerous the opportunities for investment of capital and labour. An increase in the volume of trade is therefore *prima facie* indispensable for increasing the productive power of the nation. Based on the area covered, trade is of two kinds, internal and external or foreign. In a small country like Belgium or Switzerland or England, an increase in the foreign trade is the chief means of getting increased work and increased purchasing power for its inhabitants. England, for example, is dependent for four-fifths of its employment upon foreign trade. India, on the other hand, is a vast country with an area of 1½ million square miles and 350 millions of inhabitants. Here is a large market, in fact one of the largest markets of the world, while the climatic conditions and natural endowments are so diverse in different parts of the country that there is unlimited scope for interchange of commodities between the several parts. Exact statistics of the present internal trade are not available, but there is no doubt that this is not adequately developed, while the existing system of transport and communications, banks and currency, are more favourable to the development of our foreign than the internal trade.

Again, the advantage of international trade, according to the classical theory, consists in the benefits due to the differences in the comparative costs of production. For example, even if India is absolutely at an advantage in the production of wheat and cotton goods when compared with the cost at which England can produce them, still India stands to gain by concentrating her capital and labour on wheat, if the efficiency of her capital and labour in its production is greatest, and it will pay her better to import cotton goods from England and export wheat. This theory assumes that there are enough competitive employments which will absorb the available capital and labour of a country, but the fact in India is that the agricultural industry is already overstocked (regard being had to the present methods of cultivation) and the surplus population finds it increasingly difficult to get work at home and has to emigrate to cities, plantations or foreign countries where the conditions of work and wages are far from satisfactory. The alternative in India is not often between two different kinds of work, but between work and no work. Since there are undeveloped resources on the one hand and surplus labour on the other, it follows that India gains by bringing them together instead of playing the present unsatisfactory role of exporting raw materials and importing manufactured commodities.

Again, ordinarily between 70 and 80 per cent, of the imports are included in the class of articles wholly or mainly manufactured, while in the case of exports, cotton, jute, oilseeds, hides and skins represent 40 to 50 per cent, of the total, manufactures (mainly jute and cotton) over 30%, and food, drink and tobacco about 20%. The exports admittedly fetch less value, since they are mostly foodstuffs and raw materials which are given in exchange for more valuable imports into which more capital and labour are applied during the process of converting those raw materials into manufactured commodities. India has also to bear the cost of carriage of her goods, imports and exports, since she has no mercantile marine of her own. This work of external transport is almost wholly done by foreigners and to that extent Indians get no work and wages in the foreign trade of their country.

Another advantage of increase in the volume of foreign trade is that by opening up new markets for Indian produce, production is encouraged and the producers get increased purchasing power. But in the case of India at least we should be on our guard not to exaggerate the importance of this, for this increased purchasing power gets itself unequally distributed since the services of the middlemen from the shipping agent to the village dealer and money lender have to be paid for. Even if something reaches the producers, most of the cultivators of the soil are small producers and a small increase in their purchasing power will not appreciably improve their economic status. Against this small advantage must be set the utter dependence of our people on foreign commodities. Increased internal movement of goods on the other hand, will have the same effect as a rise in foreign demand, with the additional advantage that work and wages will be available for an increasing number of Indians in the several new industries.

In the interests of Indian prosperity therefore, the nature of the present foreign trade must change and internal trade must be stimulated and towards this end the fiscal, industrial and political policy of the State must be directed wholeheartedly and without any delay.

AGRARIAN DISORGANIZATION.

In those parts of India where there are big landed proprietors or zamindars on the one side and small proletariat on the other, unequal distribution of agricultural produce tends to increase the poverty of the poor. The increasing pressure of the population on the soil, the dying out of sentiment and custom that used to regulate the relations between landlords and tenants, the action of our law courts which, upholding contracts, increases the bargaining capacity of the landlord and forces his demand, the weak and unorganized state of the tenants—all favour the rack-renting of the tenants by the landlords. The changes in the habits of life of the rich landed proprietor and the increasing use of money economy tend to accentuate this difference. In the old order of things inequality of wealth between rich and poor was perhaps not so serious a bar to the enjoyment of the good things of life by the latter. But today the poor tenant, or cultivator and labourer, has often to be content to part with a fair portion of his own labour to see his patron and landlord spending the money elsewhere. It is spent perhaps in buying a motorcar, or having a suburban villa in the city, travelling first class by railway, buying a thousand and one luxuries of the modern era of industrial civilization or among the more prudent among them in taking

up shares in industrial concerns established in other parts of India.

To conclude, the poverty of certain classes is diminishing, while that of others and of the majority is increasing from some points of view and decreasing from others, but in the net the poverty of the poor agriculturist and of farm labourers is not diminishing. On the other hand, signs of increasing poverty are evident on all sides. The remedy, as Ranade pointed out long ago, is to prevent the "rapid ruralization" of India and provide increasing facilities for non-agricultural industries whether in the factory or the cottage according to circumstances and to increase the productivity of the soil by providing better facilities for irrigation, better cattle, better implements, better seeds, better manure and better organization of rural resources on communal and co-operative lines.

S. SUBBARAMA AIYER,

THE DELHI SESSION.

(FROM OUR PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT)

DELHI, 2ND FEB. 1924.

THE Viceroy's speech was received with considerable disappointment. There was no graceful announcement of the release of Mahatma Gandhi which all parties in the country had advocated; no declaration of policy that would strengthen the hands of the Liberal constitutionalists, no sympathetic appreciation of the unanimous desire for constitutional advance, no suggestion of a way out of the deadlock created by extreme and obstinate stagnation of Government policy and the equally extreme and impossible demands of the Swarajists; but only a sermon, a warning and a threat. A splendid opportunity of rallying the Independents—they do not style themselves Moderates or Liberals—was lost and one will not be surprised if the Viceroy's speech drives the Independents into coalition, within certain limits, with the Swarajists. Strenuous efforts are being made to bring about such a coalition by a series of private conferences of members. The limits of such coalition are the theme of anxious and prolonged discussions. All the leading Swarajists including Mr. C. R. Das are here for the purpose. Their ultimatum is ready but Mr. Rangachari's resolution on Dominion status and provincial autonomy on the 5th inst, might block the way for the Swarajists' ultimatum. So they are anxious to exploit Mr. Rangachari's resolution for that purpose. But the possibility of carrying a resolution of the kind depends entirely on the co-operation of the Independents, who correspond to the Asquithian Liberals in the British Parliament. Whomsoever they join will carry the day. It is to be hoped that the Independents will sober down the demands of the Swarajists by persuading them to adopt the resolution of the last Liberal Federation in Poona as the basis for their joint demands. Lord Reading has already said in his opening speech that complete and immediate self-government was impossible. From his failure to refer to them it is doubtful if he would accept the proposals of the Liberal Federation for full provincial autonomy

and responsibility in the central Government in all departments except defence and foreign affairs. What is to be done if the demands are refused point blank, is a question that might render a coalition between Swarajists and Independents impossible. The Swarajists are pledged to wholesale obstruction. Will the Independents do the same? Not likely, because among other reasons they will have to allow time for the new Labour Government to function and watch its policy, though Mr. Thomas's speech regarding Kenya has already created apprehensions.

The Assembly has sat for three days so far and it has been all smooth sailing in sunny skies, with hardly a ripple on the surface, without even a hint of the mighty agitations and confabulations beneath the surface. It is evidently the lull before the storm. The Delhi political barometer signals storm Tuesday, 5th, onwards. Will there be enough statesmanship to ride the storm?

A LETTER FROM LONDON.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

JAN. 17th 1924.

An important movement, undertaken at the inspiration of Sir Leonard Rogers, is now afoot. It is the collection, under the auspices of the British Empire Leprosy Committee, of a sum of a quarter of a million sterling for the campaign of stamping out leprosy in the Empire, and particularly in India, by making use of the latest discoveries, which promise to bring the removal of the scourge within easy reach within a relatively short period. It is to be hoped that the comparatively small sum mentioned will soon be forthcoming.

The British Indian Union is recommencing its series of At Homes, at the new offices of the Union, No 200, Palace Chambers, Westminster, so Mr. R. M. Gray, late of Bombay, announces, the first three hostesses being the Lady Cynthia Mosley (whose husband, Mr. Oswald Mosley is mentioned as Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs), Mrs. N. C. Sen, and Lady Reed. By the way, Sir Stanley Reed has an article in the January issue of the "Review of Reviews", now edited by Mr. Wickham Steed and which appears to-day, in which the former editor of the "Times of India" tells his readers that nowhere can a stable alternative to the British Government be found. We cannot, he says, leave India to herself at present. The only course is for Parliament to support the Viceroy and the Governors in making the most rapid advance towards self-government for India that is compatible with the maintenance of law and order.

The East India Association is holding its annual At Home and Conversazione next Monday. The Royal Society of Arts, Indian Section, announces a paper on the "Survey of India" by Col H.L. Crosthwaite, late Superintendent of the Survey of India, Sir Thomas Holland presiding, to-morrow.

The Indian Students Union and Hostel will celebrate its fourth anniversary at the new premises

in Gower Street, on Tuesday, February 12. Lord Ronaldshay is expected to deliver an address on "India at the Cross-roads." Last night, Mr. Polak presiding, Mr. C. F. Andrews addressed a conference at the Hostel, and gave a brief review of his work here.

Mr. E. B. Havell publishes, through Messrs. Macmillan and Co. Ltd., a useful short History of India, in which the author surveys, along his own special lines, the history of India, from earliest to the present day, emphasising the principal features of Indian political economy, art, and religious thought. The maps and illustrations have been specially prepared to show India from the Indian point of view and to explain the symbolism of Indian art. Mr. Havell's aim has been to give a condensed and unbiased account of Indian life and thought in their many departments, containing the essential facts that every educated Englishman and Indian ought to know. He cannot be accused of the faults that so often repel both the general reader and the student of Indian history, either owing to dullness or to obvious propagandist bias. The book ought to have a wide circulation both in this country and in India, and it is published at a very low price, which is an added recommendation.

I have just returned from seeing off Mr. C. F. Andrews at Victoria Station, on his return to India. His health is almost restored, but there remains considerable room for improvement. Reading between the lines of the medical reports, it is clear that he has for long been overtaxing his strength. He has forgotten or, through force of circumstances, not been permitted to remember, that he is no longer a young man, and it is earnestly to be hoped that, since he finds it difficult to conserve his energies, his friends will see to it that too great a strain is not imposed upon him in the future. Mr. Andrews very strongly feels that, with the initiative that has been already given by him and other friends in many a progressive movement, they ought in an increasing degree to be carried on by Indians themselves. Nevertheless, so long as his special knowledge and experience in the various activities in which he has for so long been engaged are wanted, they are always at the disposal of India, and, indeed, he hopes to be able to make good use of his opportunities, of a very special kind, during the next few months. It is not generally known that, in the best Labour circles, he is regarded with the greatest respect, and his views are taken as coming from a man of exceptional authority. He has not been slow to employ his advantages of friendship and standing with such influential Labour leaders as Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, Col. Wedgwood, and Mr. E. D. Morel in the interests of Indian reform and the welfare of Indians overseas. His coming here at the present political crisis in this country was almost providential, and the information that he has been able to communicate to leading men of all parties, including Lord Curzon himself, has been of the utmost value. If it is or can be made

at all possible for him to return here about May or June of this year, a further visit will not only do much to restore him to normal health and vigour, but to advance the cause of India in many important directions. Mr. Andrews has been at pains to point out the immense injury that is being done to British prestige by the continued imprisonment of Mr. Gandhi and the withdrawal of the latter's moral influence upon Indian public opinion at a time when it should be in the highest degree effective. Mr. Andrews' admonition is peculiarly appropriate at a moment when public opinion here is stirred by the news of the assassination of Mr. Day in Calcutta in mistake for the Commissioner of Police, and it may be that Mr. Gandhi's unfortunate illness may provide the Labour Administration when it takes office within the next few days, with a convenient occasion to put Great Britain to that extent right with the people of India. At the same time, Mr. Andrews has been insistent on the folly of unnecessary delay in restoring confidence in India on the subject of British good faith in regard to the question of political reforms. He will be able to give the Indian leaders much information of the greatest value as to the actual situation here, and I feel sure that his advice will be along the general lines of not making things unnecessarily difficult for the Labour Administration, which has a long and difficult row to hoe as it is and which would be very friendly with India, with a little reciprocity on the latter's part which would make it easier for the Liberals to associate themselves with a progressive Indian policy.

In addition to his work above referred to, Mr. Andrews has been trying hard to avert the disaster that has been threatening Indians in Kenya and India as a whole by the threat of the Immigration Bill. Thanks to his assiduous warnings here, and the obstinate stand on the subject that Government of India appear to have taken, what seemed to be the Colonial Office intention of rushing through the Bill, in order to face the Joint Committee, when it comes here, with an accomplished fact, has been prevented. But the influences at the Colonial Office are still sinister, and the India Office officials of senior rank are not exactly the sort of people to make a stand in the last ditch either for principle or for the interests of India. One of them, who has a great deal to say in these matters, appears to labour under the delusion that he is a lent officer of the Colonial Office, whose general point of view appeals to him more readily than that of the Government and people of India. I should not be at all surprised if, some day, he were to be found mounting the building at the diagonally opposite corner of the quadrangle between Downing Street and King Charles Street, in a moment of absent-mindedness. It would be all to the good of India if, with the rearrangement of duties and responsibilities that should result if the Labour Government remains in office, some of these higher officials, with reactionary Anglo-

Indian sentiments were to be retired, in the best interests of Indo-British relations.

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE INDIAN NATIONAL PACT.

Whereas India being a dependency of the British Government has been deprived of all the rights and privileges of a free country and Indians are denied even full citizenship rights in several parts of the British Empire, and the present foreign government does not use and in the nature of things cannot be expected to use all its resources to uphold the dignity and protect the elementary rights of Indians; whereas it is essential for the free and full moral and material development of her citizens and the enforcement of due respect for their human rights and their liberties in all parts of the globe that Indians should before all else possess in India the rights and privileges that the free nations of the world enjoy in their respective countries; whereas it is necessary that all the peoples of India, of whatever religion, race or colour should unite together and apply all their resources, moral, mental and material, for the attainment of Swaraj and the only obstacle in the way of co-operation among the different communities due to misunderstandings and mutual suspicion about each other's aims and intentions, and whereas a joint declaration by all communities of the goal which they seek to attain and the rights which they wish to secure for the people, which a Swaraj Government will be pledged to guarantee and safeguard, will be beneficial to the creating of that confidence and toleration, which are absolutely essential for a common endeavour :

It is hereby resolved that all the communities represented by the signatories to this document shall enter into an agreement in terms of the following resolutions which shall be known as the Indian National Pact :—

In pursuance thereof it is hereby resolved :—

- (1) It shall be the firm and unalterable object of the communities represented by the signatories to this pact to secure complete Swaraj for India, that is to say, the Swaraj which will secure and guarantee to Indians the same status, rights and privileges in India as every free and independent nation enjoys in its country.
- (2) The form of Government under Swaraj shall be democratic and of the federal type; but the exact nature of this Government shall be fixed and determined hereafter by a National Convention consisting of representatives of all communities and all shades of political opinion.
- (3) Hindustani shall be the national language of India. It shall be permissible to write it in either Urdu or Deonagari script.
- (4) Full religious liberty, i. e., liberty of belief, worship, propaganda, association and education, is hereby guaranteed to all the communities forming the Indian Nation and shall form a constitutional right which it shall never be lawful for any government to annul, modify, suspend or otherwise interfere with.

The afore-mentioned liberties shall, however, be exercised subject to such disciplinary rules and regulations as may be found necessary to preserve peace and order and to eliminate force or compulsion by any one party in derogation of the rights of others.

- (5) To prevent any particular religious denomination being given undue preference over any other, no Government funds or funds collected by local bodies from public revenues and public taxes including cesses shall be devoted to the promotion and furtherance of any denominational institutions or purposes.
- (6) When once the Swaraj has been achieved it shall be the sacred duty of every Indian, be he Hindu,

Mussalman, Sikh, Parsi, Christian or of any other denomination, to defend it against all attack external or internal.

- (7) In view of the present state of feeling prevailing in the different communities and in view of the insufficient development of political sense and responsibility in them, it is necessary for sometime to afford adequate protection to the interests of minorities, and it is therefore hereby agreed that the various communities shall have separate representation in the Legislature, both State and Federal.

Such representation shall throughout the country be in proportion to the numerical strength of each community in the constituencies. But the electorate in all cases will be joint.

There shall be no communal or colour or caste distinction in public services and in the educational institutions.

(NOTE I.—Dr. Ansari wishes to extend the principle of separate representation to municipalities and local boards. Lala Lajpat Rai does not agree to this. An alternative Lalaji proposes that a time limit may be fixed during which communal representation will be enforced and at the expiry of which it will be abolished altogether.)

(NOTE II.—Lala Lajpat Rai wants that special provision shall be made for the representation of Sikhs and some other communities who are in a very small minority such as Christians, Parsis etc. Doctor Ansari suggests that large minorities such as Sikhs, and Christians may be given special representation in the Federal Legislatures but only very small minorities such as Parsis should be given special representation both in the Federal and State Legislatures.)

- (8) In order to achieve national unity and out of regard for the religious feelings of their Hindu compatriots the Mussalmans of India do hereby by a solemn self-denying ordinance bind themselves to give up cow-slaughter except in connection with Id-i-Azha when it will be done in such a manner as will not injure the feelings of Hindus.
- (9) In order to secure and preserve a calm atmosphere for public worship it is hereby declared that no music shall be allowed in front of places of public worship at such time as may be fixed by local mixed conciliatory boards.
- (10) Religious processions of different denominations when falling on one and the same date shall follow such different routes or be fixed for such different times as may be determined by local, mixed conciliatory boards.
- (11) In order to prevent friction and settle all questions giving rise to differences and conflicts between different religious communities, e. g. on the occasions of Dusera, Moharrum, Rath Yatra procession, Sikh Divans, etc. etc., provincial and local joint boards will be appointed to act as conciliatory and arbitration boards.
- (12) While cherishing feelings of the most friendly nature towards all the nations of the world at large it is further resolved that the people of India should participate in the formation of a Federation of Eastern countries to be established for purposes of mutual help in trade and commerce and the emancipation of the East from Economic exploitation and domination by Europe and with a view to a courage and support Oriental culture and generally to maintain good and friendly relations between the various nationalities all over the East.

(Note:—Doctor Ansari wishes to incorporate in the National Pact a proviso similar to that of the Lucknow Pact which would run as follows: "Further that no bill nor any clause thereof, nor a resolution affecting any community of which question is to be determined by the members of that community in the Legislature concerned shall be proceeded

with, if three fourths of the members of that community in the particular Legislature, Federal or State, oppose the bill or clause thereof or resolution." But as there is no time to get Lala Lajpat Rai's opinion it is submitted with his recommendation only.)

LALPAT RAI,
M. A. ANSARI,

CORRESPONDENCE.

TO THE EDITOR, THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

Sir,—The leading article in your issue of the 24th January on the political situation in the Central Provinces contains the following :

"As to the transferred subjects, a suggestion has been made which is calculated to bring home to the electors the folly of electing the Swarajists. It is that though the Governor is invested by the Government of India Act with power in cases of emergency to authorise such expenditure as may be necessary for the safety or tranquillity of the province or for the carrying on of any department, he should not exercise that power but let the schools, hospitals etc. be suspended for a time, so that the teachers, parents and others may taste the direct results of the Swarajist policy and give no support to the Swarajists at the next elections. We do not think that a strong and enlightened Government like the British will accept this suggestion, as it entails suffering and hardship on the whole population for the fault of a small section of it."

The words I have italicised are certainly astonishing words to read in a leading organ of liberal opinion. For what is this "small section"? It consists of a majority of the representatives of the provincial electorate—representatives who, on taking their seats in the Legislative Council, solemnly pledged themselves faithfully to discharge the duties entrusted to them under the constitution. If the people of the Central Provinces are to be saved from consequences deliberately sought by their accredited representatives, what becomes of democratic or responsible government? If the electors cannot save themselves, we may well despair of their political intelligence and of the future of representative institutions in India. But how can they be made to realise these consequences? Certainly not by action taken to amalgamate (whether in name as well as in fact matters little) the transferred and the reserved departments. This is the very thing, I take it, the Swarajists wish to bring about; when they will go to the electors, and say: Didn't we tell you that transferred and reserved are all the same, and that the so-called responsible government in the transferred departments is a sham? Admittedly, the legal and constitutional issues involved are full of difficulty; but the main desideratum surely is to bring things home to the people of the Central Provinces themselves. In this connection, the following from the Instrument of Instructions to Governors is illuminating:

"II. You shall bear in mind that it is necessary and expedient that those now and hereafter to be enfranchised shall appreciate the duties, responsibilities and advantages which spring from the privilege of enfranchisement; that is to say, that those who exercise the power henceforward entrusted to them of returning representatives to the legislative council, being enabled to perceive the effects of their choice of a representative, and that those who are returned to the council, being enabled to perceive the effects of their votes given therein, shall come to look for the redress of their grievances and the improvement of their condition to the working of representative institutions."

Patna College,
Moradpura.

I am, etc.,
E. A. HORNE

(If Prof. Horne believes that the end justifies the means, we do not; nor have we much use for a Government which would withhold medical aid to the sick and those in danger of death, in order to demonstrate the fallacy of their opponents' political ideas—Ed.)

THE RELIGION OF SOCIAL SERVICE.

One of the striking symptoms in the world to-day is the increasing number of social workers in every land. There are thousands of men and women to whom the appeal for individual salvation has little reality, while a very appeal for social service brings out their enthusiasm. This is now to be found in every country.

Each of the world's religions goes to-day along its own old groove, largely emphasizing the doctrine of individual salvation, and making every effort to strengthen itself as an institution. But while it does so, innumerable social evils—such as early marriage, ill-assorted marriages, child widows, and an uneducated motherhood—still flourish in the community. As a result of these things, it is not unusual to find there terrible cases of torture and cruelty towards poor women and children. Therefore a large number of us, while devoted to our particular religion, find the need to create a new religion of our own to satisfy even this part of our natures. This extra religion, so necessary for us all, is the religion of social service.

Social service has the highest characteristic of religion, in that it represents a living ideal which is ever before the consciousness of the worker. It makes him see his relation, as a unit, to the animal world which is the whole. For he who is truly dedicated to social service overleaps the barriers, of race and caste, and greets with delight fellow-servers from all faiths and lands.

We have been so long trained by orthodoxy to visualise God as existing only in some heaven or spiritual realm, away from our earthly conditions. But this veil of orthodoxy is now slowly dropping from before our eyes, and we are beginning to realize that in our fellow creatures is reflected something of the Divinity to which our hearts are drawn, and that God Himself is moving in our every-day affairs, showing His Face through the faces of all living creatures. We are beginning also to see, some of us more swiftly than others that the spiritual achievements to which we aspire are inseparable from the divine nature in all those who dwell round us in our work-a-day world.

This new extra religion of the world is a great Gospel which will bring all mankind to work together towards one common cause of social service. This religion of religions is not local. It is national, international and universal. But before the world can be put right, each one of us must put right his own little world in which he lives. We must not make the mistake of dreaming of large ideals of service, while we are blind to the little ways of service near at hand.

Nor must we make the mistake of thinking that social service is limited to service of mankind. All service always is service of God, and so He is to be served wherever He manifests Himself—whether in men, women, children or in animals. Therefore, we must not forget that an essential part of social service is the abolition of every form of cruelty from upon this earth.

So let all of us combine our efforts to advance unity and co-operation in this real and practical religion of social service.

NARSI RAM

Ferozapore Cantt.

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