

Servant of India

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
TOPICS OF THE WEEK	578
ARTICLES :—	
Muslim League and Khilafat Conference ...	579
Prohibition of Opium—Social Problems Resulting Therefrom. By Dr. Lim Boon Keng, M. B. C. M., O. B. E., LL. D. President, Amoy University.	581
Indian Representation in the Ceylon Legislature. By Hon. Mr. Mohamed Sultan, M. L. C. ...	584
REVIEW :—	
Truth and Justice. H. C. E. Zacharias. ...	585
MISCELLANEA :—	
National Liberal Federation—Resolutions ...	586

TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

Kenya Affairs.

THE news from Kenya is very confusing. The Indian Congress, we are told, passed a resolution at Nairobi recommending the cessation of the no-tax campaign and re-entry into the Council on the basis of the White Paper of 1923. A further message however adds that Mombasa refuses to come into this arrangement. We suspect that the body which passed the above resolution at Nairobi is not the East African Indian National Congress in full session, but a local committee of this wide-flung organization. Perhaps the regular session of the Congress is to meet some time hence, to which the decisions of the local committee will be referred for ratification or amendment. We are led to this conclusion because we cannot believe that the Congress could have passed under such excessively reactionary influences as to elect Mr. Abdul Wahed for president. We will not quarrel with whatever change in policy the Kenya Indians think desirable, but the change must be thoroughly discussed and deliberately adopted. And, frankly, little will come either of co-operation or non-co-operation if the leaders of the Indian community continually let slip opportunities of ventilating their grievances in a reasoned manner, the last opportunity they missed being the one afforded by the visit of the East African Commission. Of the latter they did not make nearly as much as they might have made.

Labour and the Swarajists.

LORD OLIVIER, in a series of articles in the *Stateman*, points out how the obstructionist policy of the Swarajists put it absolutely beyond the power of the late

Labour Government to do anything tangible towards extending the present Montagu-Chelmsford constitution. The temperate and restrained manner in which these criticisms of the Swaraj party are uttered will win general support for his contentions. Lord Olivier maintains that the whole basis of the Swarajist policy is wrong: that Montford reforms are a dishonest sham designed to keep the Indian nation for ever in subserviency to British control. The manifesto embodying this proposition as the very basic principle of the Swarajist policy, the former Indian Secretary characterises as "a poisonous document": "and as discreditable to their (the Swarajists') temper, their intelligence and their sagacity." These are no doubt harsh words, but they are no harsher than the words used by the Swarajists which have in fact provoked them in reply. After an exhibition of this sledge-hammer way of dealing with the Swarajists, one is not unprepared for the gentle sarcasm contained in the following words: "We could not, merely on the faith of its general repudiation by the Swarajists or others who had repudiated it from the first and had never given it any trial, agree that it (the constitution) needed revision." It needed evidence, cogent and independent evidence, to prove that the reforms in force were unworkable even as a transitional constitution without substantial modifications. The Labour Government had time only to take this preliminary step and institute an inquiry into the working of reforms thus affording an opportunity to Indians to produce the necessary evidence. On receipt of the Committee's findings the Labour Government would have had a chance to take the next step, and if a revision became necessary the Government would not have committed the pedantic folly of waiting till 1929, because a Commission of Inquiry was promised only in that year. But the Swarajists withheld all help from this inquiry into reforms as they withheld their co-operation in the working of reforms.

BUT could not the Labour Government have without making any inquiry replaced the present half and half constitution by a full-fledged democracy? Clearly not, replies Lord Olivier, and no Government can. He admits quite frankly that the Labour Government was not even mentally prepared immediately to confer a completely democratic constitution on India, and if it were so prepared, it could not have carried out its intentions without enlisting sufficient Parliamentary support for its proposals. A public in-

quiry would have been needed in any case to obtain such support if not to enable it to make up its own minds. But was not the Labour Government committed to give India full self-government at one stroke and without any inquiry by the resolutions passed by the Labour Party Conferences? Lord Olivier says, no. Resolutions passed at such conferences calling for the immediate establishment of full self-government in India "mean very little except sincere good-will." Those who are aware of political difficulties in the way cannot accept this rough and ready solution. However genuine may be its desire for progress, no Government can afford to condemn the present constitution out of hand and substitute another for it. It may proceed on the present basis till it is found unworkable and the unworkability is proved not by refusing to work the constitution but by giving it an honest trial and then showing that it had practical defects. The Swarajists failed to do it and thus effectually prevented the Labour Government from moving onwards. Lord Olivier's conclusion is: "Meanwhile, if this effort that is now being made by constitutional reformers in India to produce a draft scheme of constitution, acceptable alike to Swarajists, Moderates, Muslims and Mr. Gandhi's followers, succeeds in its aim, that cannot fail to be a most important achievement and may well mark the start of new developments." This shows which is the best line of approach for the attainment of Swaraj. Will the Swarajists learn the lesson of Lord Olivier's criticism and boldly accept responsibility in the Central Provinces where there is still a chance of rectifying their former mistake and co-operate with the Liberals and National Home Rule Leaguers in preparing a draft scheme such as Lord Olivier has in view?

* * *

THE Indian Social Reformer is very pessimistic about the prospects of unity in the Congress, and we are greatly relieved to find that whoever else may be to blame for this state of affairs, our contemporary does not lay the blame on the Liberal party. The atmosphere in Congress circles is now very greatly changed, says the *Reformer*, as an illustration of which it cites the treatment given to Dr. Besant at Belgaum. The paper writes: "Dr. Besant, we think, found that her assistance and co-operation which were so enthusiastically appreciated at Bombay, were somewhat ostentatiously dispensed with at Belgaum. It should not be surprising if the Liberals make a similar discovery when the Committee of the All-Parties Conference meets at Delhi. The fact is Mahatma Gandhi's earnest desire to establish points of sympathetic contact with all Indian parties and Englishmen is not shared by the twin leaders of the Swarajists, whom, for some reason not quite clear to us, Mahatmajī has installed for the time as masters of the Congress." The Swarajist leaders are evidently manoeuvring for party advantage, and having obtained a position of supremacy in the Congress as a result of their deal with the Mahatma, their coolness for a united Congress is easily to be understood.

But is not the Mahatma, who gave the Swarajists a monopoly of power, even a greater obstacle in the way of unity than Pandit Nehru and Deshbandhu Das? His earnest desire for unity we do not impugn, but the passion for unity is followed up with measures which make unity absolutely impossible. He who is anxious to make the way smooth for other parties to rejoin the Congress will at the least refrain from imposing upon Congressmen a franchise the like of which was never heard before in the world and in which even his own followers have but a limited faith. If unity does not come about, we feel sure that all impartial observers will acquit the Liberal leaders of all blame for the failure.

* * *

A New Congress! THE recent Non-Brahman Conference at Belgaum did not meet in the calmest atmosphere. Leaving aside the considerable body of progressives who have formed themselves into an opposition to the Ministry party in Madras, a good many of the latter's prominent supporters protested against the way in which Sir P. Theogaraya Chetty's clique recommended a comparative junior like Mr. A. Ramaswami Mudaliar to the presidency of the conference. In the Karnatic the Lingayats, who are the most influential section of Non-Brahmans there, as a body refused to join the conference. For some time there was great doubt whether it would meet at all. The conference therefore was far from being representative. As if to make up for this deficiency and also for the loss of ground in Madras itself due to the subsidence of communal feeling, the conference took the grandiose step of converting itself into an "All-India Non-Brahman Congress," which anyone who is not a Brahman may join. North of the Vindhya the feeling against Brahmans is unknown, but the wise men who met at Belgaum have provided for possible contingencies. Out of a total population of 319 millions only 14'25 millions, or about 4½ per cent, who are Brahmans, are ineligible to join this "Congress." Does the South Indian high caste Hindu see greater social and political kinship to himself in the European or the Bhil or the Afridi, than in the Brahman living next door? Nobody, however, need take this "Congress" seriously. It can deceive no one, it will achieve nothing. When the Non-Brahmans have had a sufficient taste of power, the feeling is bound to disappear.

* * *

Are Muhammadans Backward? SIR IBRAHIM RAHIMTULLAH, who presided over the All-India Muslim Educational Conference at Bombay, devoted the main part of his address to refuting the conclusion of the Government of Bombay, arrived at in reviewing the last Quinquennial Report on Education in the Presidency, that judged by educational statistics the Muhammadans cannot now be called a "backward" class. The refutation is not at all convincing. Sir Ibrahim admits that so far as elementary education is concerned the position of Muhammadans is satisfactory, but not so with regard to secondary and higher education. In respect of the

latter he quotes statistics comparing Muhammadans with Parsis, Indian Christians and advanced Hindus. All these together do not constitute the bulk of the population and we do not see any justification for his omitting the intermediate and backward Hindu castes. Any community to be considered "backward" should be behind the average; it is not sufficient that it is behind the advanced sections of the population. Moreover, there are backward and advanced sections among Muhammadans as among the Hindus, and if the comparison should be fair the different sections of one community should be compared with the corresponding sections of the other community, or the communities should be compared entire. The statistics on which the Government have taken their stand and their conclusion are unchallengeable as the following table shows:—

Division	Percentage of Muh. pupils to total pupils in public institutions.	Percentage of Muns. to total population.
Bombay	14.5	8.3
Central	10.5	6.1
Northern	14.1	10.1
Southern	14.7	10.8
Sind	49.0	7.3

It will thus be seen that so far as the Presidency proper is concerned the Muhammadans are clearly in advance of the general population and therefore can not be considered a backward community, though the Parsis, Indian Christians and a few castes among the Hindus are more advanced than they. The really backward classes have a special claim on the Government. They are however not the presidency Muhammadans but the depressed classes and other backward Hindu castes.

* * *

Is it due to poverty?

SPEAKING of Muhammadan backwardness in secondary and higher education, Sir Ibrahim says that whatever might have been the case formerly at present it is not due to the influence of the priesthood but to the economic backwardness of the community or want of funds. The Quinquennial Report, however, points out that in many secondary schools the freships allotted to Mussalmans are not fully claimed, so that inability to pay fees is not the main reason for the backwardness of the community in this respect. Poverty is not special to Muhammadans, and among Brahmins it is often the main incentive to education. The Indian Christians, surely, are not economically so well off as the Muhammadans, yet they are quite forward in education. Charity, organised and unorganised, is again so plentiful among the Mussalmans that if there was the urge for education, no deserving aspirant would have been obliged to give it up for want of funds. We fully appreciate Sir Ibrahim's anxiety that special educational facilities should be given to his community. But we should like them to be given without injustice to even more deserving classes and communities.

* * *

MUSLIM LEAGUE AND KHILAFAT CONFERENCE.

For a period of four years the Muslim League was obliged to suspend all its activities owing to the bulk of Mussalmans being carried off their feet by the current of non-co-operation. The field was then entirely occupied by the Khilafat organisations. The first attempt to revive the League was made in December 1923, but the non-co-operating Khilafatists brought the session to an abrupt end by discovering that the quorum required by the League's constitution was not available. The next session, held in Lahore last May, was more successful but even there the opposition of the Khilafatists was pronounced. Not so in the session of the League recently held in Bombay, though before it was held a suggestion had been made that its venue should be changed to Belgaum and its organisers refused to accept the suggestion. The League may therefore now be said to have come back into its own. Not that the Khilafat organisation is altogether dead; the recent conference in Belgaum is too strong a reminder of its existence for any such supposition. But the former antagonism has disappeared and, in keeping with the general desire for unity among different political parties in the country, there is among Mussalmans also a strong desire for unity expressing itself, which one foresees will be more easily achieved among them than among the political parties in the country. As a step towards achieving this unity a resolution was passed at the League meeting authorising it to convene a special conference at Delhi in the near future. This unity will be facilitated if the suggestion made by Mr. Syed Raza Ali in his presidential address at the League be accepted, that the Khilafat organisation should confine itself to questions affecting Mussalmans outside India, while the League would as of old look after internal politics. There is every likelihood of this suggestion proving acceptable because the Khilafatists, being mainly Congressmen, are still supposed to be non-co-operators and therefore precluded from addressing resolutions to Government; while they are too sensible to stand in the way of the League promoting the interests of their community by appeals to Government. Indeed, outside the Congress, non-co-operation does not seem to sit heavily even on Mr. Mahomed Ali who presided over the Congress so recently as only a year ago. He supported with a speech a resolution at the League which urged "upon the Government the immediate and paramount necessity of introducing reforms in the North-West Frontier Province and of placing that Province in all respects in a position of equality with the other major provinces of India." However non-co-operating he may be in the Congress, he has no compunction to address a request to Government, and that for reforms, from the platform of the League.

As if in anticipation of Mr. Raza Ali's advice, the resolutions of the Khilafat Conference concerned themselves, with one exception, with Mussalman affairs outside India. Among these resolutions was one of rather general interest, and it protested against re-

ruitment for Amir Ali's army permitted in that part of Palestine which is under British occupation and also against the presence of British military officers in that army. We hope the Government of India will strongly back up this protest, as the resolution represents not only the unanimous feelings of Indian Mussalmans but also of other Indians. The one exception referred to above recommends the boycott of foreign cloth as indispensable for the attainment of Swaraj and the compulsory use of Khaddar; the use of Indian mill cloth, however, being permitted if Khaddar be not available. It calls for no particular comment, except that like the Congress resolution it expresses pathetic faith in the potency of the spinning wheel. Dr. Kichlew who presided over this conference was however less exclusive in the subjects he dealt with in his address. He dealt with the representation of Muslims on elective bodies and in the services, to which we shall refer presently, and to the social, economic and educational improvement of the Muslim community. He, it seems, is the author of the scheme adumbrated last year by Mr. Shaikat Ali, the main feature of which is the making of mosques the centres of communal activity. For its financing Dr. Kichlew would start Muslim banks and co-operative societies. We do not see any hope of success in that direction. They are not philanthropic institutions but business organisations whose success will be slow and uncertain and whose profits will be required for their own building up. To start them with purely philanthropic motives or to depend on them for philanthropic work would ruin both them and philanthropic work. Co-operative societies in this country are not remarkable for efficiency and to introduce extraneous considerations into their management would only make confusion worse confounded. This scheme, known as *Tanzim*, has been thought of chiefly to keep alive the Khilafat organisation, the immediate justification for the existence of which ceased with the settlement of the Turkish political question. The game, however, is hardly worth the candle, and Khilafatists will be wise in not creating another financial muddle for themselves.

The main question engaging the minds of educated Mussalmans, being also the fruitful source of misunderstanding between them and educated Hindus, is that relating to their representation on elective bodies and the public services. Even non-cooperating Dr. Kichlew felt obliged to give it a prominent place in his address, while the President of the League more consistently did the same thing. From every Muslim platform one hears that the time is come for the revision of the Lucknow pact. There is indeed nothing in it that makes it unalterable, if the two parties between whom it was arrived at agree to alter it. But any alternation should be based on justice and not on grabbing on one side and yielding in sheer despair on the other. The Lucknow pact recognised communal representation as a necessary but temporary evil, and limited it to the legislatures only. It fixed the proportion of Mussalmans in various provinces, treating the Mussalmans in the

whole country as one community. In the Punjab and Bengal Councils it gave them a minority representation, though Mussalmans are in a small majority in the population, in consideration of the specially excessive representation given them in the other provinces. The revision of the pact is now urged because the Mussalmans of the two provinces do not want any longer to be in a minority. Coupled with this is also the demand, not made only in these two provinces, for separate communal representation to be extended down to local bodies, public services and in some cases even to educational institutions. In any revision three points would have to be carefully and thoroughly examined: the need for separate electorates, the extension of communal representation to bodies other than the legislatures, and the proportion of the representation in various provinces. In considering these points one fact has to be borne in mind—that the Lucknow pact looked upon communal representation as an evil, and it accepted it as only a temporary expedient. Is it now to be looked upon not as an evil but as a blessing? Experience amply proves that by rousing communal feeling to such an extent as to eclipse the national feeling and by giving rise to communal jealousies rather than to co-operation, it has proved very much of an evil. The time may not have come yet for doing away with it in the councils, but certainly it would be preposterous to extend it to lower elective bodies, educational institutions, hospitals &c., and thereby to perpetuate division. The problem before the statesman is surely not how to aggravate communal feeling but how to reduce it. Once our face is set against fissiparous and separatist tendencies, the adjustment of interests is not a very difficult matter. The first step in the right direction would be to do away with separate electorates. We are glad to note that Dr. Kichlew expressed himself in favour of their abolition, though Mr. Raza Ali laid great store by them. If Dr. Paranjpye's excellent proposal for the introduction of proportional representation and Dr. Kichlew's suggestion that a question affecting a minority should be settled by a two-third majority, be adopted, the interests of minorities would be amply safeguarded. There should be no objection to the enhancement of Muslim representation in the Punjab and Bengal, if representation in all provinces is put on a population basis. The claim for excessive representation on account of supposed special importance of any community is to be deprecated. Its recognition might be approved if the country were interested, not in developing democratic institutions, but in upholding dynastic, tribal or communal ascendancy. The special importance of any community will be naturally reflected in elections by the common electorates. Minorities, it is said, should be given effective representation. If the goodwill of the majority be lacking we do not see how any representation which is a minority representation can at all be effective for a set majority can always carry things. On the basis of distrust there can be no real safety for minorities—in other words, for democratic institution. But we refuse to believe that conditions in

any province are normally such as to make democratic rule impossible. If special irritating causes are not allowed to be present, if a conscious effort is made by the leaders of all communities to subordinate communal to national interests, we believe minorities would nowhere be unsafe. Where, however, communal tension exists, the so-called effective representation on elective bodies is no anchor. Therefore communal representation on population basis by mixed electorates and through proportional representation, seems to be the wisest course to adopt.

Communal consciousness being present, it is natural for backward communities to aspire for a due share of posts in the public services. This aspiration naturally rises with the increase of candidates in any community. We sympathise with these aspirations and recognise that absolute competition in all grades is not a suitable method of recruitment in the present social condition of the country. But we strongly deprecate the idea of fixed proportions for different communities in the public services—in other words, communal representation in the services, put forward by Mr. Raza Ali. If that idea were countenanced emphasis would be shifted from the performance of functions to the communal composition of the personnel. People would be asking themselves, not whether the departments were efficient, but whether an allotted number of posts were held by the respective communities. What is important is indeed not proportion but the creation of facilities for the recruitment of competent men from the several communities. The system adopted in the United Provinces for recruitment to the Provincial Civil Service appears suitable for adoption elsewhere, with modifications so as to suit local conditions. In recommending this system Dr. Paranjpye made some useful suggestions. He said :

"At present the various communities look to favouritism in order to get appointments. I am entirely against patronage of this kind being enjoyed by any Government and I wish to see all recruitment to public services made when possible by open competition and at any rate by an independent body. In order to see, however, that the backward communities do not suffer on account of unrestricted competition I would reserve a certain minimum percentage to be competed for by the candidates from these communities *inter se*. This minimum I would gradually reduce as the communities rise to a position of equality with the advanced communities."

The system recommended here is better than that adopted in the Mysore State, for instance, where a certain number of posts are filled by competition but others by nomination without the candidates being required to sit for the examination and obtain a certain percentage of marks. It is therefore not free from favouritism.

PROHIBITION OF OPIUM.

SOCIAL PROBLEMS RESULTING THEREFROM.

BY LIM BOON KENG, M. B., C. M., O. B. E., LL. D.,
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EVERY one is agreed that the opium question is of great social and moral importance to all civilized states and especially to the Chung Hwa Republic.

Let us suppose that opium can be absolutely banished from the market, and that the habitués will agree to do without their poison. This supposition is based upon two conditions, which are themselves problematical. Can we within a century entirely prevent opium, reaching those who are mad to have it at any cost? Will the opium sots voluntarily undergo their craving and sufferings to carry out a policy, of which they naturally cannot approve or may not see the urgency or even the necessity?

These questions cannot be answered off-hand, but they indicate what sort of intricate financial, administrative, social, psychological, medical and hygienic problems, are involved.

But, even if all these difficult matters were hypothetically settled, we could not even expect the prohibition of such an extensive and deeply rooted habit to be effected without grave consequences; in virtue of the known physiological and pathological effects, produced by the poison in the persons of chronic habitués.

The profound changes in the mentality of the opium sot have to be understood. The great danger of opium is not so much in the physical effects, though these are serious enough from the medical aspects of the case, but in the moral degradation of the individual through the narcotic obfuscation of the very machinery of the mind. The power to discriminate between right and wrong, to respond to external stimuli and to protect vital self-interests becomes through prolonged inertia enfeebled. The will is habitually inactive. Procrastination and perversion of the will become habitual and eventually instinctive. This is a brief summary of the evil consequences of opium, taken in small amounts during a long period. These effects are more readily produced in youthful persons and in women.

Sooner or later, the craving becomes an important feature. This means that, as soon as the sot is not supplied with his usual dose at the accustomed hour, a sort of nerve-storm arises with a complex syndrome, i. e., with a very complicated series of symptoms and signs of mental and bodily suffering. The phenomena of the opium craving are of great psychological interest and are of immense importance in relation to the different measures, which the statesman, the hygienist and the moralist may contemplate for the eradication of this evil. This craving is attended with acute bodily suffering and intense mental shock followed by a brooding melancholy, which is often so severe as to drive the sufferer to suicide.

Therefore it is clear that from the day that opium is prohibited, these hosts of habitués will be plunged into an abyss of despair and suffering—which can be only described as infernal. It can be easily realised that some kind of succedaneum will be needed. The sufferers will, as a rule, require help and advice. It is now that we have to guard against those sharks of society who take advantage of the urgent needs of their fellow-men, to enrich themselves at the expense of these helpless victims. Those would-be philanthropists pretend to encourage

the prohibition of opium, but in reality they want this, in order that the sufferers in their misery may require opium cures which they sell at a big profit to themselves.

The professions of philanthropy made for the vaunting of these cures are not at all disinterested, and the support given to the anti-opium cause by these traffickers in drugs is purely a trade camouflage, which is doubly reprehensible, in virtue of the bare-faced use of opium or its derivatives in the compounding of these vile nostrums. Society has to be warned against these pharisees of social temperance, because the extensive use of these proprietary drugs will not in any way diminish the danger to society, which the suppression of the habit is intended to remove.

Another danger, even more sinister than the substitution of opium by its derivatives, is the open inducement to use medicated wines as an infallible cure of the opium habit. In other cases, anxious friends counsel these victims to take some form of alcohol to relieve their depressing *ennui* and intolerable pains.

These then are the two great dangers which face the opium sot, when he is deprived of his drug.

1. He is assailed with a host of advertisements to use cures containing opium, or cocaine or other narcotics.

2. He is advised by friends and others to use alcohol as an infallible cure.

The evils which opium alkaloids, especially morphine or heroin, produce, are the same as those caused by the vegetable extract of the poppy but only in a more intensive and rapidly appearing form. This is notably the case when morphine or cocaine is injected under the skin. Apart from the risks of systematic infection and the production of disfiguring pustules, the hypodermic use of the narcotic alkaloids results in a more severe form of moral degeneration, in virtue of the more massive dose of the poison reaching the cells of the nervous system. Therefore, as far as the removal of the opium evil is concerned, the substitution of morphine injection, on the contrary, enhances the dangers manifold.

With regard to the possible introduction of alcoholic intoxication into a society previously free from its nuisance, the dangers are so great and so patent, that it is necessary just to call public attention to the matter.

We may premise, without attempting to prove, that alcohol in any form is neither a real food nor a true stimulant in the exact meaning of these terms. Alcohol like opium is a narcotic poison. Like it, the drug has a strong affinity for the most delicate structures of the nervous system. Alcohol also produces a powerful craving for its effects in most individuals. There is a difference, which is in favour of drink against opium. But in addition, excessive imbibition invariably causes drunkenness with all its attendant evil consequences, dangers and disadvantages, which, from the legal, social and moral point of view, must compel the statesmen to regard abuse of alcohol as of more serious import than the

abuse of opium. The vital difference consists in the effects which each of them will cause in the behaviour of the habitués leading, in the case of alcohol, to outbreak of violence and consequent destruction of life and property. The dangers and evil results of the alcoholic habit and drunkenness need not detain us. They have been recognized from the most ancient times everywhere, and nowhere so well as in China.

It is therefore a serious problem whether this prohibition of the use of opium may not cause a widespread use of alcohol among these millions of opium users. Also it is a problem whether the sudden prevalence of the habit among ex-opium smoking people, will not cause a spread of the infection of the drink habit to women and children and to their friends. This result, of which the contingency is not beyond the limits of possibility, will be disastrous. The history of alcoholic indulgence in modern times, especially where bad beverages of very inferior quality are sold at low prices, justifies us in believing that the introduction of the habit of using alcoholic drinks in the fashion customary among Europeans will be a source of social misery among the Asiatics of any country. The ravages done by alcohol in Africa and elsewhere are too well-known to need description. Though the Chinese will no doubt resist the spread of the drunken habit more successfully than primitive tribes, yet the dangers to the family and to society are too serious to be lightly passed over. They deserve the serious consideration of politicians, statesmen, philosophers and philanthropists especially at a time, when people indulge in mob harangues to incite governments to rush into general legislative measures, involving interference with the rights of private individuals.

The strongest objections can be made against uncalled for meddling with the freedom of the people in all matters relating to personal habits, which do not in any way involve the least interference with the rights or happiness of the public. There are therefore two sides to every question for or against prohibition of opium and of alcohol. Is the state justified to intervene, and in the interests of the commonweal, to interdict the use of either opium or alcohol? If we admit the state has such a right, may we not enquire whether such interference, such grandmotherly and autocratic act, will really be of service to the people?

As we have shown already, there is a close and necessary relation between the two habits. There is the imminent danger of ex-opium users becoming addicted to the alcohol habit. Undoubtedly the drunken orgies likely to be caused by alcohol are more of a nuisance and danger to society than the silent moral degradation of the opium habitués. It is therefore reasonable to require that the state which compels the opium smokers to forego their accustomed drug, should also prevent them from obtaining a more potent drug to relieve their inevitable sufferings caused solely in the action of the state. Moreover, it is morally the duty of all those who advocate opium suppression, to work for the prohibition of

alcohol also—at least to ex-opium smokers. The obstacles and difficulties to be met with are simply enormous, but in this general discussion they must be fairly faced. One arbitrary action must lead to another. Such is the history of all paternal legislation.

When the public have fairly recognised the dangers, perhaps it may be possible to think of remedial measures. These are of such a nature and on such a scale, that nothing short of state interference and international control will be of the slightest use. With regard to China, there is no means of enforcing the real prohibition of anything so long as the powers that be wish to sanction it for revenue purposes. On the other hand, the cupidity of traffickers is directly proportional to the urgency of the demand. As long as people will buy anything, no matter what it is, opium or human slaves, white, black or yellow, for the most degrading purposes, there will be found culprits ready to supply the demand. This is a psychological fact which must be honestly admitted.

Is there then any use in hiding one's head in the sand like an ostrich and pretending that by mere publicity in newspapers and placards, the anti-opium movement is being forwarded? Processions and protests are noisy nuisances which achieve nothing. They may, however, keep alive the urgency of the problems at issue. But may we not plead that the cause demands something concrete being done; and that the present helpless condition of the Chinese government ought to stimulate the true patriots to come forth by united efforts to achieve something of permanent value to the nation as a whole?

The people themselves can do much, if they really wish to, so that the drug may be taken off the markets and placed out of reach altogether. By example and precept, by philanthropic endowment of homes for habitués, and by adequate propaganda in every reasonable way, surely people will begin to realise that the habitual indulgence in opium and alcohol, is a terrible menace to individual health and to the happiness of society.

Above all, in China it is essential to carry on the campaign in the family, in the schools and in universities. The well established facts, which science has discovered, should be made known to children, so that every one can know the truth. At present, the public have only a very vague notion of the nature of the action of these substances, the use of which is so strongly condemned on the one hand, while on the other, it is as loudly, if not more emphatically, recommended either as a tonic or a specific for many of the common ills of mankind. In this dilemma there is no wonder that many people are unable to decide rightly what is the best thing to do. If influenced by one set of opinions, they naturally oppose those holding the contrary views. Or they may become neutral. This is what we find to-day. What is deplorable is, that those who work for the suppression of the habit, have come to be looked upon as misguided faddists or troublesome agitators.

If it is recognised that the dangers to individuals and through them to their immediate entourage, and ultimately to society at large, are manifold, then the need for preventive measures to ward against the known evils must be a foregone conclusion. But so far not only is nothing heard of these being contemplated, but even the very idea of there being any dangers at all, has scarcely ever been discussed. It is sincerely to be hoped that this attempt to direct public attention to the obvious perils of the contemplated moral activity, should not be regarded in any way, as an endeavour to throw cold water upon the agitation for prohibition.

There is no necessity at this time of day to repeat the arguments in favour of prohibition. Only it seems that in order to make prohibition a success, both governments and communities must not only make stringent laws forbidding the sale and use of narcotics, but they must also take steps to ensure that these are not easily obtainable, and what is infinitely better, that the people themselves may be brought to that state of mental and spiritual enlightenment, in which they will themselves shrink from the indulgence in these forbidden things!

This is no doubt a high ideal, which even in the United States in the laudatory efforts to stop the consumption of alcohol, cannot yet be reached. Nevertheless, something of the kind is needed in China. Otherwise the prohibition of opium, means that the habitués will be driven to use other substitutes even more deleterious, and the poor victims will simply be compelled to exchange a bad for a possibly worse and certainly not a better mode of self-poisoning. Should, however, alcohol be used, then the dangers to society will be enhanced in every way. It is therefore quite necessary to point out that those who favour the prohibition of opium must also insist upon the state carrying out the necessary prophylactic measures to combat the evils and dangers, which we anticipate from the sudden and forcible removal of opium from its habitual users. This is a simple fact, based on medical experience. The public bodies interested in prohibition should now bestir themselves in social and ethical work to induce individuals to give up the habit. They should urge philanthropists to provide homes for the cure of poor habitués. Until these things have been thoroughly done it will be premature to stop the use of the drug by legislation, so long as the drug can be easily obtained.

In the end therefore the question is whether all governments will join in suppressing the cultivation of the poppy. Without full international accord the attempt to prohibit the use of the drug is simply to enrich smugglers.

Nevertheless, all these arguments do not justify any government to take advantage of the needs of these habitués to make revenue out of vice. Any government having the interests of the people at heart must control and restrict the use of the drug with a view to its eventual eradication. A rich and powerful state, with ample resources should pro-

hibit the use of the drug while it, at the same time, carries out the preventive measures.

Japan strictly enforced prohibition from the beginning, and the Japanese nation has been saved from the opium intoxication. In China unfortunately the drug was forced upon the government, which had to tolerate its sale. The history of the last century proves that England was wrong to have forced China to permit the sale of opium as a luxury. Today it is too late. England not only admits the wrong, but is also willing to make some sort of reparation. But no outside help is available to-day. The danger is now within our doors. The whole people must be roused. The conscience of the nation must be awakened. Yes, the people must decide that opium must go, and then only will the peril be averted.

INDIAN REPRESENTATION IN THE CEYLON LEGISLATURE.

THE Reformed Legislative Council in Ceylon has only two elected Indian seats to represent the vast trade and labour interests of the Indian, in this Colony. And it is remarkable that, considering our numerical strength, and our contribution to the economic and trade development of the Colony, we should be deserving of only two seats on the lines of a minority representation granted to the Burghers or Europeans. Whereas the Burghers and the Europeans could manage to safeguard their interests for obvious reasons, even without representation, the political status of the Indians in the Colonies in general and that of those in Ceylon in particular seems to have no immediate prospect of improvement for the better even with adequate representation. Politicians in India pay a good deal of attention to the grievances and disabilities of Indians in Kenya or Fiji; but seem to observe almost a conspiracy of silence over what is transpiring under their very nose here. From the political point of view, we have, as I stated before, got only a very inadequate representation in the Council; the Civil Service is shut against us; the clerical service also is a complete monopoly of the Ceylonese; and consequently we have no opening in the state services. A very low political status is assigned to us, because, we are all classed among the estate coolies who form a large proportion of our countrymen here. But at the same time it should not be ignored that the Chetties and the Borah financiers control the money market, finance the internal trade and monopolise the Indo-Ceylonese trade; and again, Ceylon's obligation to the Indian labour for the agricultural prosperity and development of virgin lands is not inconsiderable, and consequently the Indian interests have to be specially safeguarded, particularly with reference to their sanitation, medical relief, housing, education and wages. But all along an apathetic policy of drift and neglect has been pursued by the Indians here and by politicians in India. I should therefore very much like to draw the special attention of our public men in India to the various disabilities of Indians in this Colony so that the Government of India may be moved to get the disabilities remedied.

A CHAOTIC CONSTITUENCY.

Numbering more than 700,000, the Indian community is distributed throughout the whole Island and consists mostly of estate coolies. It is formed into a single, cumbrous and unwieldy constituency. In the last election each candidate had to carry on his campaign in distant Jaffna, Batticaloa, Trincomali,

Mannar, Kandy and Galle, with agents in all these places; and how heavy the election expenses became in consequence, and how difficult it was for any candidate to work up satisfactorily so scattered a constituency, can be easily imagined. This anomaly of the constitution of the whole Island as the Indian constituency must be drastically dealt with. Then, in proportion to our numerical strength, we have a right for 7 seats out of the total of 34 elective seats, and as this increase in our representation is a necessary preliminary to other reforms, I would proceed on that assumption and advocate the reconstitution of the constituency into 7 different ones, each returning one representative. They should, in my opinion, be so constituted that the trade interests will have four and the estate labourers three representatives in the Legislature.

A WHIMSICAL FRANCHISE.

Then again, a serious disability in regard to the exercising of the electoral franchise has been created by the Order in Council which defines an "Indian" as one "who is a native of British India or of the territories of any Native Prince or Chief under the suzerainty of His Majesty exercised through the Governor-General of India or through any Governor or other officer subordinate to the Governor-General of India, and is a resident of Ceylon but is not domiciled therein." Now this stipulation in the Order in Council, 1923, excludes those Indians (whose number is considerable and whose political status should not be ignored at all) from exercising their franchise. A typical case under this category is that of Mr. Peri Sundaram M. A., L. L. B. He is a leading Indian in Colombo with large vested interests but is disqualified from exercising his franchise as Indian. This defective definition of the term "Indian" should be amended immediately, and in such a way that all Indians who have made Ceylon their home within the last fifty years would be included in the Indian electoral list. Again, there is another serious defect in the Order in Council which has disqualified a considerable number of influential Indian business men from exercising their votes. Those Indians only who could read and write English or Tamil or Singhalese and have an income of Rs. 50 per mensem, are eligible to vote. Now this stipulation excludes as many as 10,000 businessmen, who form the influential Borah community, the Guzeratis, and the Kutch Memons, and more than 100,000 Malayalis, who do not know English or Tamil or Singhalese. This is evidently an anomaly which ought to be put a stop to. If these ineligible are enfranchised, the constituency would attain a numerical strength of more than 100,000 voters in all, and would certainly necessitate the redistribution of the constituency and increase in the number of seats.

A COMPARISON AND CONTRAST.

That the Indian representation is even proportionately inadequate would be evident from the subjoined list showing the allocation of seats to the different communities in the Island.

	Population	Seats
Europeans	8421	3
Burghers and Eurasians	28,923	2
Singhalese	3,016,430	
Ceylon Tamils	514,247	8
Indians	639,400	2
Ceylon Moors	251,615	3

Now this disparity in the matter of Indian representation becomes all the more anomalous when we compare it with the representation of the Ceylonese Tamils, who having only a numerical strength of 514,000 odd, are given 8 seats. For what reason they deserve greater representation than Indians I do not understand. They cannot show that they have

greater and larger interests at stake than those of the Indian trade and financial interests or of the Indian labour. Yet, they have been able by incessant agitation to get this excessive representation, while the Indians, not having effectively presented their case, have not obtained even legitimate representation.

Hence, it is clear that earnest attempts are to be made for remedying this state of affairs regarding the number of Indian seats and the whimsical stipulations of the Order in Council in regard to the franchise. Our other political grievances, relating to the Municipal and Urban Council administration, I propose to consider at some length on another occasion.

MOHAMED SULTAN.

REVIEWS.

TRUTH AND JUSTICE.

H. M. SWANWICK: BUILDERS OF PEACE. Being ten years' history of the *Union of Democratic Control*. London, 1924. 7 x 5. pp. 191. Swarthmore Press. 2s. 6d.

THE publication of this book could indeed not be more appropriate, almost coinciding as it does with the death of the man who for ten long years, from the inception of the U. D. C. to the day of his death, November 12th last, was its Secretary, its soul, its power—Edmund Dene Morel. He, of whom Bishop Talbot once said that "he had done a hero's work, with a hero's motive, and a hero's courage," has indeed gone, but the U. D. C.—so largely his creation—remains behind as a monument to him, truer than any cold stone could be, because alive with the very spirit that made his whole life aflame with the burning fire of Truth and Justice.

Morel was not the founder of the *Union*: that credit must go to C. Trevelyan, who at the outbreak of the war was Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education, but—along with John Morley and John Burns—resigned a Government that had declared a War which they knew to be wrong. To C. Trevelyan belongs the further credit of having at the very outset (August 1914), when he was looking around to gather a band of like-minded people for the great task of the public's education which lay before them, asked E. D. Morel (whose *Congo Reform Association* had been wound up only the year before) to take up the work of Hon. Secretary to the group which was to become the *Union of Democratic Control*. "From that time to this," says Mrs. Swanwick (p. 31), "he has, as no one knows better than his colleagues, been the chief inspiration of the movement both here and abroad for democratic control of foreign policy and for the settlement of disputes by international arbitration and conciliation." On the other hand let no one make the mistake, as if Morel and the U. D. C. had been interchangeable terms. One has only to mention J. R. MacDonald, Norman Angell, Arthur Ponsonby, Helena M. Swanwick, Bertrand Russell, H. N. Brailsford, Carl Heath, Pethick Lawrence, the Buxtons and the Snowdens, to know that these men and women were all equals in their own way of collaborating, all making their own contribution and complementing each other—not mere zeros giving magnitude to their leading figure.

The U. D. C., as its great organizer in Scotland, Geo. Aitken, says, was "launched as a moral crusade" (p. 70) in the Foreign Affairs of the nation. "It created, as it was designed to create, a new school of constructive pacific thought" (p. 132), which appealed, not to sentiments, but to common sense; and applied itself not to mere theory, but to the immediate practical requirements of the hour. It was

composed of "men and women who study foreign affairs continuously, and are prepared to speak and write upon them with knowledge and in the international spirit." (p. 167). "Their appeal was pre-eminently to the mind. They did not wish to whip up emotion or to distract attention from the matter in hand. Hence they rejected martyrdom as a method" (p. 179)—yet were ready to go to prison, as E. D. Morel did; or have stones thrown at him, as J. R. MacDonald had; or be pummelled, as Arthur Ponsonby was; be spied upon, dogged and harassed by the Government; vilely slandered and insulted by the gutter press, as they all were "under the moratorium of justice in war-time" (p. 58): all of which would not have been possible, had the mass of the people not been against them. But that very fact became the *raison d'être* of the *Union*: keeping their faith in the people, if only they knew, they set themselves to the steady uphill work of letting them know—the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. "The distinctiveness of the U. D. C.," says Morel in his foreword (p. 10), "has been its insistence that while truth can never permanently injure a nation, falsehood, false history, false conclusions derived from false premises, woven into the warp and woof of the national policy and the national soul, can destroy a nation." As the war proceeded, the U. D. C. became to many "the one light in a terrifying darkness, the only body to which people learned to look for for an objective study of international relations amid the clamant din of war propaganda," (p. 37.) Clear-sightedly the *Union* turned to the permeation of Trades Councils and local Labour Parties as its chief work, knowing that its triumph was bound up with the triumph of a distinctively international Labour Foreign Policy. And the faith the *Union* placed in the people was amply justified in the end—when the war fever left them and when, as E. D. Morel says (p. 10), "the country has vindicated us on the charge of lack of patriotism with a completeness and a rapidity which not the most sanguine among us could have anticipated." From the very first, "the U. D. C. called forth a remarkable fervour and devotion and hope, and inspired an activity and influence disproportionate to its size and resources" (p. 70) and "that Great Britain arrived at a 'peace mind' earlier than any of the allies is entirely due to the fact that it was prepared by faithful souls during the war." (p. 60.)

The *Union*, formally inaugurated on November 17th, 1914, began with 5000 supporters, who by October 1918 had grown into 650,000 and by June 1922, into 1,418,075—the climax coming just a year ago, when one U. D. C. member (J. Ramsay MacDonald) became Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary, another (Arthur Ponsonby) Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, eight other members being in the Cabinet and nine more in the Government. Here was vindication indeed: and dull must be the heart that is not thrilled by a detailed history of these amazing ten years of an amazing movement, as told so fascinatingly by Mrs. Swanwick. To that tale we would earnestly refer our readers—for though last year's Government is gone and E. D. Morel is no more: let us remember, as he said himself in Dundee a week or two before he died, that "the leaders come and go, as the days pass; they play their parts, they pass as dust before the wind. Death? Death is nothing! Death cannot stop us! It is the cause which is immortal—the cause of the under-dogs, of justice for the weak and peace among men. Faith will remain with us, because we know that Truth and Justice must triumph in the end."

Amen, friend; and may Light Everlasting now shine upon thee.]

H. C. E. ZACHARIAS.

MISCELLANEA.**NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION.**

The following Resolutions were passed at the Seventh Session of the Federation held at Lucknow on Dec. 26, 27 and 28, 1924.

The Late Mr. Montagu.

The Seventh Annual Session of the National Liberal Federation of India places on record its sense of profound sorrow at the premature demise of the Right Honourable Edwin Samuel Montagu, a most devoted friend of India who gave the major part of this brilliant public life to the unselfish service of this country and laid the foundations of responsible government by introducing the constitutional reforms which will ever be associated with his honoured name. The death of Mr. Montagu is an irreparable loss to India, and her people will always cherish his memory in grateful esteem.

The Federation deeply sympathizes with the Honourable Lady Venetia Stanley Montagu in the cruel loss she has suffered in the death of her illustrious husband.

Deceased Patriots.

The National Liberal Federation of India deeply regrets the deaths of Dr. S. Subramania Iyer, Babu Bhupendra Nath Basu, Sir Asutosh Chaudhuri, Sir Asutosh Mukerji, Mrs. Ramabai Ranade, Bi-Amman, Dr. S. K. Mullick, and Mr. H. K. Patwardhan, in whom India has lost devoted children who in their respective ways rendered eminent public services, and offers its condolences to the bereaved families.

The Reforms Enquiry Committee.

The National Liberal Federation regrets that the scope of the Reforms Enquiry Committee was too restricted for their deliberations to prove of substantial utility. But it urges the publication without delay of the reports of the Committee and of the evidence, oral and written, received by them together with the dispatches of local Governments including minutes of members of Executive Councils and Ministers which may have accompanied those dispatches.

Self-Government.

(a) The National Liberal Federation of India re-affirms its conviction of the paramount necessity of the early introduction of full responsible government in British India, alike in the provinces and in the central government, only the foreign, political and military departments being retained for a time under the control of the British Parliament, and of the full recognition of India as a dominion in all matters of imperial concern and inter-imperial relations.

(b) The Liberal Federation holds it to be essential that

- (1) The control of the Secretary of State for India over the administration and revenues of British India should be curtailed by statute, so that his position may approximate as nearly as may be to that of the Secretary of State for the Colonies in relation to the dominions;
- (2) The Council of India should be abolished;
- (3) The Governor-General in Council should be responsible to the Legislative Assembly in the entire sphere of internal civil administration;
- (4) The departments of foreign, political and military should be under the control of Parliament, a certain amount of money for expenditure on them being fixed by statute, any further demand being subject to the vote of the Legislative Assembly and that the position be reviewed after a definite period;
- (5) Provincial Governments should be responsible to their respective Legislatures except in the administration of agency or central subjects;
- (6) All civil services at present recruited on an all-India basis should in future be recruited in India, and their control should be transferred from the Secretary of State to the authorities in India, subject to such conditions as may be laid down by statute;
- (7) The franchise should be widened, and adequate representation should be accorded to the depressed

classes and the urban labouring population; and
(8) Women should be given the right of vote as well as candidature on the same terms as men.

(c) The Federation authorizes its Council to prepare a scheme of reform on the aforesaid lines and on the lines of other resolutions and to confer with regard thereto with other political organizations in the country whose object is the attainment of self-government for India.

Financial Position of Provincial Governments.

The National Liberal Federation has noted with grave concern the financial embarrassments of provincial Governments which have severely handicapped Ministers and Legislatures in developing beneficial services and contributed to the unsatisfactory working of the Reforms in the provinces, and calls upon the Government of India to abolish the system of provincial contributions and reconsider the division of sources of revenue between the Central and Provincial Governments, so as to leave to everyone of the latter adequate resources for the efficient performance of their duties and for development; the Central Government balancing their own budget by the strict enforcement of economy, generally in all departments and specially in the Army Department.

The Lee Commission Recommendations.

- (a) The Liberal Federation records its protest against the acceptance by His Majesty's Government, in utter disregard of Indian opinion, of the Lee Commission's recommendations in behalf of increased emoluments to the British Services in India which, in the Federation's opinion, are excessive and beyond the capacity of the Indian taxpayer as well as compromising to the self-respect of India.
- (b) In the opinion of the Federation the continuance of recruitment in England under the Secretary of State's control is incompatible with steady progress to the good of responsible Government, which is the policy authoritatively laid down by the Sovereign and Parliament, and in future all recruitment should be made only in India.

The Depressed Classes.

The Federation expresses its deep sympathy with the depressed classes, abhors the unsocial sentiment that any section of humanity is untouchable, and calls upon the Hindu community to the utmost of their power to undo the grievous wrong done to them and take all possible steps to ameliorate their condition socially, educationally and economically.

Economic Development and Swadeshi.

- (a) The Federation desires to impress equally upon the people and the Government the urgent necessity of measures of economic amelioration, including the improvement of agriculture, the development of co-operation, the organization of capital and the encouragement of manufacturing and cottage industries.
- (b) The Federation is in full sympathy with the Swadeshi movement and urges both the people and the Government to give preference to the products of Indian industry even at a sacrifice.

Military Policy and Expenditure.

This Federation expresses its grave dissatisfaction with the manner in which the military training and equipment of Indians has been and is being neglected by the Government, and while it takes note of the grant of the King's Commission to a few Indians in recent years, the establishment of a preparatory school called 'Military College' at Dehra Dun and the scheme for the Indianisation of 8 units, it is strongly of the opinion that these steps are wholly inadequate and it accordingly makes the following recommendations and urges the Government to give effect to them:

- (1) That a scheme for the education and training of officers be prepared so as to bring about the Indianisation of the Army within a reasonable distance of time—the scheme of the Indianisation of the 8 units bearing in the opinion of the Federation no relation to the growth and development of the constitution;

(2) That Indians be admitted to all branches of the Army, including Artillery and Air Force, and that they should be admitted into these sections of the Army not merely in subordinate positions but as officers;

(3) That proper and well equipped colleges should be established, and a definite programme of military education should be prepared;

(4) That all distinctions based upon race between the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces should be abolished, and that these forces should be properly organized;

(5) That officers' training corps should be established in all universities in British India and that compulsory military training should be made the rule in the case of all university students who are physically fit;

(6) That selection boards for selecting young men for all classes of the people should be established, and that Indians should be adequately represented on such boards;

(7) That the question of the financial liability of India to the British Exchequer for British troops should be referred for examination to a Commission on which Indians should be adequately represented;

(8) That the strength of the Indian Army should be determined with reference to the needs of India for her internal security and safety against foreign aggression, and should not be based upon considerations of the needs of the other parts of the Empire;

(9) That the military expenditure be reduced to Rs. 50 crores as recommended by the Inchoape Committee, that the possibilities of a further reduction be examined and that the scheme for the Indianisation of the Army be adequately financed.

Indians in South Africa and Kenya.

(a) The Liberal Federation strongly protests against the enactment of the Natal Boroughs Ordinance depriving Indians of the Municipal Franchise and thereby not only creating a new civic disability but ruinously hampering them in their occupation as traders.

(b) The Liberal Federation urges the Government of India to immediately send an officer of theirs and a non-official to South Africa to enquire into the Indian situation and to make a full report to them. The Federation urges the Governor General to move His Majesty's Government to advise the Crown to disallow the Ordinance under section 65 of the South Africa Act of 1909.

(c) The Federation re-affirms its strong protest against the anti-Indian policy of His Majesty's Government in Kenya in 1923 and notes with regret that the late Labour Government did nothing to undo the wrong done to Indians by its predecessor.

(d) The Federation further urges the Government of India to publish the report of the Colonial Committee and the steps which have been taken to implement it.

(e) The Federation re-affirms its resolution asking the Government of India to take urgent steps to secure a reversal of the anti-Indian policy in Natal and Kenya as well as in other parts of the Empire and not to hesitate to have recourse to retaliatory measures.

The Bengal Ordinance and the Deportation Regulations.

The Federation is firmly of opinion that anarchical crime is entirely opposed to the progress of the country, and the Federation would support any reasonable measures for its suppression. But it is not satisfied that the recent measures taken in Bengal were called for and strongly protests against the promulgation of the Ordinance I of 1924. The Federation is further of opinion that all ordinary means for proceeding in the matter should have been exhausted before having recourse to any special measures.

The Federation is further strongly of opinion that the Regulation III of 1918 should not have been resorted to, as in the opinion of the Federation it is an abuse of that Regulation to apply it to the present case.

The Federation is further of opinion that measures like the Ordinance or the proposed Bill of such wide extent and giving such arbitrary powers to the executive, especially that

of detention of persons without a trial for an indefinite period, is not justified. In the opinion of the Federation any special measures which may be passed to cope with the anarchical movement should provide for the speedy trial of persons against whom action is taken under it by a bench consisting of three permanent Judges of the High Court.

In the opinion of this Federation the only effective permanent remedy for the recrudescence of anarchical activities is the removal of the causes of discontent which encourage and foster such crimes.

Education.

(1) This Federation is firmly of opinion that for political, social, material and moral advancement of India a sound system of universal education is absolutely essential and calls upon all Provincial Governments and the Government of India to do all they can to advance it in all possible ways; in particular by

(i) Making elementary education compulsory for all boys and girls,

(ii) Creating a sound system of secondary schools in which special attention will be devoted to the building of character and the inculcation of discipline, by a proper selection of teachers who should be well paid and by providing ample facilities for games, physical and moral instruction, and manual training and for promoting proper understanding between students of various communities,

(iii) Starting and encouraging schools of a modern type in which boys from secondary schools can be given vocational training which will enable the students to learn some bread-winning occupation,

(iv) Encouraging the promotion of the highest standards of learning and research in the universities,

(v) Founding institutions of the highest grade in all specialized subjects so as to make it unnecessary for Indian students to go abroad,

(vi) Paying special attention to the education in all grades of backward classes, and depressed classes,

(vii) Making special efforts to advance the education of girls and women;

That funds should be amply provided by all Provincial Governments for a well-thought-out programme of education and by the Government of India for educational institutions of the highest grade of an all-India character.

Judicial and Executive Services and Functions.

The Federation strongly urges the immediate and complete separation of judicial and executive services and functions.

The Kohat Riots.

The Federation is of opinion that the report of the Government enquiry on the Kohat tragedy is incomplete, one-sided and altogether unsatisfactory. The Federation is strongly of opinion that the local authorities responsible for law and order failed utterly in the discharge of their duty and their failure should be dealt with by the Government. The Federation further urges that every possible step should be taken to resettle and Hindu of Kohat in their homes and to make reparation for the losses they have sustained.

Medical aid in Rural Areas.

The Liberal Federation deplors the insalubrious condition of the rural areas and the inadequacy of medical aid for its people and therefore it urges the Government to lose no more time in providing for these legitimate and due needs of the people.

Hindu-Muslim Relations.

The Federation deplors the outbreaks of lawlessness in several parts of the country due to the tension of feeling between the two great communities of India and emphasises the need of all possible measures to create a feeling of mutual trust and regard. It commends the resolutions of the Unity Conference, held at Bombay in September, to provincial and district Liberal leagues and associations as being eminently practical and fair-minded and urges them to secure the largest measure of support for them by means of active propaganda.

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