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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
TOPICS OF THE WEEK	433
ARTICLE—	
The Failure of Non-co-operation	435
SPECIAL ARTICLE—	
The Imperial Conference, And After—II. By C. F. Andrews	435
A LETTER FROM LONDON.	438
THE WORLD OUTSIDE	440
THE BOMBAY COUNCIL	442
AN APPEAL—Famine in Bellary and Anantapur	443

TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

Dharwar Shooting.

EVER since the Dharwar shooting incident, there has been a strong body of public opinion which considers that the circumstances did not at all justify the shooting. Impartial outsiders who conducted enquiries on the spot also came to the same conclusion. Rao Bahadur Chitale tried to give expression to this view in the local Legislative Council by asking for its adjournment and several others put interpellations regarding the incident. But the President rightly or wrongly—wrongly, in our opinion, as we said on a previous occasion—disallowed them on the ground that the matter was *sub judice*. But now that it is so no longer, we press once again for the appointment of an independent committee to find whether the circumstances necessitated the firing. The trial itself cannot be said to have cleared the point though the judge has passed an obiter dictum on it, because what the court was required to decide was not whether the firing was justified but whether the accused were guilty of the charges framed against them. Even with regard to the case itself one cannot help feeling that the conduct of the officials has not been above reproach and that they were responsible for its acquiring the colour of the Brahmin-Non-Brahmin controversy. One cannot also help regretting the unfortunate non-co-operation attitude of the accused, who, by cross-examination, could have well exposed the true nature of the prosecution evidence. But reverting to the appointment of the committee, we hope that Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoolla, who, as President of the All-India Muslim League in 1913. (quoted in the SERVANT OF INDIA of 28th July 1921) said that in every case of firing there must be an independent enquiry, will see before taking up his new duties

that the principle enunciated by him so long ago will be given effect to now.

* * *

Afflicted Malabar. The situation in Malabar is yet far from satisfactory. The Moplahs

have taken to guerilla warfare for which the nature of the country is very well adapted. They evade the troops, attack the peaceful population, chiefly the Hindus, at night and perpetrate all sorts of atrocities on them. Refugees are flocking to towns in hundreds and even thousands. Though additional troops have been sent to the area it will still be some time before order is restored. Meanwhile the distress of the harrassed people is becoming unbearable. It has not been possible to organise relief in the villages on account of the insecurity of communications. Mr. Devadhar who has visited portions of the afflicted area is of the opinion that nearly 75 per cent. of the Hindus and 50 per cent. of the Muhammadans will require relief. No distinction can be made between the poor and the well-to-do as all alike have lost all their belongings. Gratuitous relief will not be wanted, of course, for those who were well-to-do and possess large landed properties. They need loans which Mr. Devadhar thinks can best be given through co-operative societies, either existing or to be specially organised. The poor, in his opinion, would need relief for about three months, for which a sum of ten lakhs at least would be required. It is obviously beyond the capacity of Madras, a large part of which, moreover, is in the grip of famine. Philanthropic Bombay must come to the rescue, though recently large drafts have been made on her generosity for various purposes. We are glad that a public meeting will soon be held there and that in the meantime the Wadia Trustees have made a generous contribution.

* * *

Self-Sacrifice. SOME young Brahmins holding acting appointments in the Taluk Office of Bezvada have resigned their posts in order that these may be filled up by non-Brahmin aspirants. They have not taken this action in anger or disgust either with non-Brahmins or Government or on account of non-co-operation. It is an act of self-sacrifice which, coming from such poor and humble individuals as acting clerks in a Taluk Office, has a special value. In their letter they admit that the Brahmins have hitherto monopolised the services but point out that it is due to

causes beyond any one's control and mainly to the indifference to education of the non-Brahmins. They say further that they cannot be less kind to their own brethren than a foreign Government and that it is their duty to prevent any disunion that may result in their countrymen on account of a scramble for office. They conclude with an earnest appeal that the posts vacated by them may be filled only by non-Brahmins. We commend the spirit of these young men which if emulated by a large number of Brahmins will relieve the acuteness of the Brahmin and non-Brahmin problem which exists in such a virulent form in Madras and the Deccan.

* * *

Mr. Lajpat Rai. FOR some time past we have ceased to look for any fairness at the hands of Mr. Lajpat Rai. As the *Looker-on* cartoonist hit it off recently :

"You'll have one, and one only, hate:—
The Moderate."

In his latest misrepresentation of the Moderates he says that though they have been presidents and secretaries of temperance associations all over the country, they have now begun to speak against temperance itself for no other reason than that non-co-operators have been effectively weaning drunkards from the vice. He says further that casting to the winds all their former principles and professions, the Moderates have given up Swadeshi, compromised on the question of the separation of the judicial and executive functions and are advocating repressive methods for putting down non-co-operation. These statements are so palpably false that one need not put oneself to the trouble of refuting them. It is however a pity that in the same speech in which he made these statements he thanked God that Mr. Gandhi had taught them to speak the truth. The thanksgiving was clearly premature.

* * *

**Indians in
Kenya.**

NEWS from East Africa is far from reassuring. On his return from England the Governor is reported to have had a secret consultation with local Indian leaders in respect of the "tentative" proposals, which were evidently framed by Mr. Churchill in consultation with him. Undoubtedly these so-called "tentative" proposals include a prohibition of Indians acquiring land in the uplands. Is it any wonder that these proposals have been contemptuously rejected by them? The Imperial Peace Cabinet having affirmed the principle of equal status for Indians in Crown Colonies, this attempt made by a responsible member of the Imperial Government to coerce Indians into accepting such an obviously unjust settlement will come upon all thoughtful persons as a very disagreeable surprise. The sooner the Colonial Office realises the risks involved in breaking faith with Indians, the better for the interests of the Empire.

* * *

**The Labour
Gazette.**

WE congratulate the Government of Bombay on the excellence of the *Labour Gazette* which is issued by

the Labour Department under the direction of so able a statistician as Mr. Findlay Shirras. It is intended for all those who take an interest in labour questions and are eager to guide labour organisations in the right path. The first number has very informing articles relating to the cost of living and explains the basis of the index number of the prices of essential articles of consumption. It gives also interesting information relating to trade unions and labour disputes in the Presidency. The price however of each number is fixed at one rupee, which places it beyond the reach of the general public among whom a good many may be expected to subscribe to so useful a journal. The paper used for its printing is needlessly costly. Another suggestion we could make, is, that since it is not meant for the labourer himself the Department might bring out vernacular editions made suitable and interesting to him; or else as an alternative, issue a series of leaflets.

* * *

**Famine in
Bellary.** WE wish to draw the attention of our readers to an appeal for help on behalf of the famine-stricken people of Bellary and Anantapur districts in the Madras Presidency. For several months past Government have opened relief works which are attended by thousands of people. But the provisions of the Famine Code are felt to be too severe and much supplementary non-official relief is needed particularly for babies, mothers and old men. We are aware that many calls are now made on the generosity of the public. But the wail of starving humanity cannot be allowed to go unheeded.

* * *

**"Confidential
Communications"** SPEAKING to Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer's resolution regarding the administration of the North-West Frontier Province and explaining the difficulties of Government, Sir Godfrey Fell informed the Assembly that while 20 years ago only 20 per cent. of the frontier tribesmen were armed, their proportion had now increased to 80 per cent. and that the entire male population had learned the art of fighting from the British. There could be no greater condemnation of our frontier policy of "confidential communications" initiated by Lord Curzon. A frontier correspondent who fully endorses Sir Sivaswami Aiyer's views on the administration of the province, writes in the *Tribune* that the bribes to these tribesmen are increased 'in inverse proportion to their good behaviour,' and that it is these bribes that have enabled the tribesmen to become universally armed and to extend their practice of raiding, looting and kidnapping the peaceful population. It is certainly time that the policy of 'confidential communications' was changed and instead of the frontier tribesmen the civil population of the Province was trained and armed against the raiders.

* * *

THE FAILURE OF NON-CO-OPERATION.

IT is no doubt sad to see a great man confess failure after having made truly heroic efforts. But the idea and programmes of non-co-operation are so clearly opposed to human nature that the movement was bound to fail. On Sunday last Mr. Gandhi told a meeting at Bombay that in September last year he had said it was possible to gain *Swaraj* and to redress the Punjab and Khilafat wrongs if certain conditions were fulfilled. The twelve months had gone; but there was no *Swaraj* because though the people had done much the minimum required had not been fulfilled. He had failed to convince the lawyers that it was wrong to practise in courts, the students that it was wrong to belong to Government and aided schools and the people that only Khaddar should be worn. Its sale had steadily fallen in the Khadi Bhandar at Bombay from Rs. 18,000 in July to Rs. 13,000 and Rs. 7,000 in August and September respectively. And this in spite of his having put the greatest emphasis on the spinning wheel, in spite of his having declared it the only salvation for India's poverty, the only way of getting the Punjab and Khilafat wrongs righted, the only proof of India's fitness for *Swaraj* &c. Nor is it only these items in his changing programmes that have failed: in fact, all of them have failed excepting the collection of the Tilak *Swaraj* Fund. Drunkards have not been weaned from their evil habits; picketing has only thrown obstacles in their way, not reformed their character. Untouchability is as rampant as it was twelve months ago, and as to the capacity of people to remain non-violent, the Moplah atrocities have thrown all the previous riots in the background. Mr. Gandhi has tried to dismiss this night-mare from his mind by calling the Moplahs mad, but the people cannot ignore that there is a method in this madness and that it can spread like wild fire. Mr. Gandhi himself has not sufficient confidence in the non-violence of the people and has therefore refused to start a general campaign of civil disobedience. The manifesto which he and other non-co-operation leaders have issued, in connection with the Karachi trial, only affirms the right of individuals to express their opinions freely. It makes distinction, generally recognised in law, between expression of opinion and direct action arising therefrom. It does not ask non-co operators to go to individual soldiers and openly ask them to secede from the army. To our considerable relief, Mr. Gandhi has decided not to recommend such a course until men of all castes and creeds, from merchant princes to mill-hands, universally took to hand-spinning. It is quite characteristic of him that in spite of all this confession he should continue to say that *Swaraj* could be had within the end of this year if only people should fulfil his conditions, if only they did in a few days what under his great pressure they had been unable to do in twelve months.

The causes of his failure are well-known and widely understood. They have been loftily expressed by Dr. Rabindranath Tagore in his own inimitable way in the latest number of the *Modern Review*. In a word the failure is due to the call of truth not being heeded. The real country or *Swaraj*, says Dr. Tagore, has to be created, and created by the combined efforts of all people. Emotion, intellect and will must all take part in it. Emotion, necessary as it is, is not sufficient by itself. Unaided by intellect it will only consume itself. For the creation of the country, the economist must think, the mechanic must labour, the educationist and statesman must teach and contrive. There is no short-cut to it, no magic formula, no Alladin's lamp. The desire to get *Swaraj* without paying the full price for it can only be called greed. This greed is intolerant of criticism and demands implicit obedience.

"There dangles before the country the bait of getting a thing of inestimable value, dirt-cheap and in double-quick time. It is like the *fakir* with his gold-making trick. With such a lure men cast so readily to the winds their independent judgment and wax so mightily wroth with those who will not do likewise. So easy is it to overpower, in the name of outside freedom, the inner freedom of man."

The burning of cloth, 'heaped up before the very eyes of our motherland, shivering and ashamed in her nakedness,' is a magic formula, another of its kind being blind obedience. Dr. Tagore therefore points out that 'we must refuse to accept as our ally the illusion-haunted magic-ridden slave-mentality, that is the root of all poverty and insult under which our country groans.' Truth calls the people of this country to take up this strenuous constructive work. It has got to be done in the homes, in villages, in universities, in councils. The *maya* of non-co-operation is bound to disappear as soon as the lamp of truth is lighted.

THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, AND AFTER.

II.*

THERE is one advantage which has come to us in India, as it were, like a windfall, out of the recent Imperial Conference in London. I doubt if anyone, even on the spot, saw clearly beforehand what was going to happen, and how the Dominion question would help to clear up the East African question also.

A resolution had been brought forward at the London Conference, that, in return for India waiving all her claims to send immigrants into the Dominions of Australia, Canada, South Africa and New Zealand, these Dominions, on their part, should agree to give equal status, in every way, to the small number of Indians who were domiciled in their territories.

Such a resolution meant practically nothing to Australia, Canada and New Zealand. For, in

* The first article in this series appeared in our issue of October 6.

those Dominions, the proportion of domiciled Indians to the whole population is infinitesimally small, while at the same time, the immigration laws are so absolute in their powers of prohibiting any new Indian residents from entering, that all fear for the future is discounted. Since, therefore, the small original domiciled Indian population (who entered before the Immigration restriction laws) is likely to die out, or become absorbed in the general population, and since the door of entrance is hermetically sealed against fresh permanent Indian residence (while permitting temporary visits for special purposes) this innocuous resolution was accepted by them without demur. It should be added to their credit, that, in Australia and New Zealand, full citizen rights had been given to domiciled Indians long ago. I am not sure about Canada, but I believe I could add Canada also. To take an instance from Australia, I myself found domiciled Indians serving in the Australian citizen army, during the war, on exactly the same scale of pay, rations, lodging and equipment as the rest. These Indians were called 'Australians', and they were proud of the fact, for Australia had adopted them and had treated them as her own children. At the time of going to Fiji, on two occasions, I visited Australia and New Zealand also and spent some time there. The impressions which I had gathered were published in the columns of the *Modern Review*. I pointed out with abundant illustrations, from my own personal experience, how changed the atmosphere was in Australia from that of Africa.

To return to the Imperial Conference in London. The remarkable thing was this, that when the resolution was pressed to a division, Australia, Canada and New Zealand abandoned South Africa. The latter Dominion, by general consent, was allowed to stand outside the resolution altogether. It stiffly decided against it. But the matter was brought even a step further. For expression was given to the opinion, that while the Conference recognising the racial difficulties, would not ask South Africa to alter its decision with regard to its Indian population at the present time, yet it was hoped that an equal status might be granted to Indians at no distant date. This was the farthest point, which the London Conference reached on the Indian Question, and it carried with it important consequences which I shall now go on to describe.

I do not know for certain, whether the question of equal status for Indians in the Crown Colonies was brought up at the Conference itself or not. But when the new decision about equal status is examined in all its lights and bearings, it becomes obvious that Great Britain herself, in her treatment of domiciled Indians in the Crown Colonies, cannot possibly be less liberal than her daughter Dominions of Australia, New Zealand, and Canada. All the Crown Colonies and Protectorates are still kept strictly bound to Great Britain herself for government and control. In some of

these,—such as Fiji, British Guiana, East Africa, Trinidad, Uganda,—Indians have been domiciled for a very considerable period. These Colonies are under the immediate direction of the Colonial Office for all the major acts of administration. The Colonial Secretary is himself responsible to the British Parliament for all his decisions. The British Parliament can cancel those decisions, if they are not agreeable to its will. Therefore Great Britain's vote at the Imperial Conference, having been given along with that of Australia, Canada and New Zealand, in favour of equal Indian status it follows directly that this vote was really, on the part of Great Britain, a vote on behalf of the Indians in the Crown Colonies. Domiciled Indians in Fiji, Kenya, Uganda, and other Colonies, have now a claim to equal status which they did not possess before. As I have already explained it is inconceivable, that Great Britain herself can ever be less liberal towards domiciled Indians abroad, than the Dominions of Canada, Australia and New Zealand, who have now all voted for equal Indian citizenship and status.

Thus the Conference decision has had an immediately important bearing on the most vexed question of all at the present time, namely the rights of Indians who have been domiciled in Kenya Colony, East Africa. It has affected first their franchise position, and given them an unanswerable argument for an equal common franchise. It has affected also their position with regard to landed property in the Uplands of Kenya. For there could never be equal status for domiciled Indians there, if Indians were prevented from purchasing landed property from Europeans. [Let me explain in a parenthesis, that many Europeans are anxious to sell these lands to Indians at high prices, and the Indians are ready to give those prices. But for purely political reasons, this right of sale and purchase (which is one of the most elementary rights between man and man) is being hindered and thwarted by European politicians.] These hindrances would obviously have to be removed if equal status for Indians were granted. The Conference decision has affected also the whole question of racial segregation. It must be patently obvious that those, who were of equal status in the same Commonwealth, could not be subjected to the indignity of legalised race segregation. Thus the new argument, opened out by the passing of the new resolution at the London Conference, would run as follows:—Land rights, freedom of residence, as well as the franchise have now been made available for domiciled Indians in Australia and New Zealand and Canada. Therefore, why not in East Africa? East Africa is directly under the control of Great Britain. How then can Great Britain refuse, what Australia has already given? Can Great Britain afford to appear retrograde and reactionary, in comparison with the Dominions?

It will be clearly seen, when the facts are stated in this manner, that as far as the actual *principle* of equal status is concerned, this new event in the

history of the Imperial Conference has now superseded Lord Milner's premature pronouncement concerning Indians in Kenya Colony. This pronouncement went against the Indian claims on every vital point, and took the side of the Convention of European Associations, at Nairobi. It was hailed by them as a great triumph, and the Indians in despair were ready to offer passive resistance against it. Lord Milner refused the franchise on any but the most niggardly terms. Lord Milner advocated racial segregation on the lines of Professor W. J. Simpson's notoriously anti-Indian Report. He would not allow Indian rights of land purchase from Europeans in the Uplands.

It will be noticed that, in the statement which I have made above, I have italicised the word 'principle.' I do not wish for one moment anyone to gather from this article, that the victory is already won, and that equal status will now as a matter of course be offered, without any hitch or opposition, to Indians domiciled in East Africa. Such an inference would be altogether premature, and it would also be calculated to do harm. For it would surely serve to relax all our energies at a time when the greatest care and judgment are needed. We must surely have learnt by this time in British Indian history, that the principle of a thing is far easier to obtain than the practice.

This decision of the Conference has already put the European Associations on their guard. They are now actively engaged in taking every possible step, carefully and determinedly to avert what must appear to them to be an impending disaster. We too, on our side, must immediately be up and doing. We, too, must be vigilant and active on behalf of our own people. Otherwise, we shall lose this great opportunity which has come once, but may never return.

Theoretically, therefore, the advantage gained is quite obvious. It will be possible now for the Indian people themselves to challenge the British Cabinet along with its Colonial Secretary on this subject of equal status, and it is difficult to see how the Colonial office can be logical and yet refuse the Indian claim. It will be difficult also to see how the Prime Minister, after his declaration concerning racial equality at the opening of the Imperial Conference, can at once go back on his own words. To me, at least, it appears that the Lloyd George Ministry is now so deeply committed, that they can hardly retreat. That, at least, is my own personal opinion.

But I would reiterate the warning to the Indian public, who may care to study these facts which I have laid before them, that promises have been made before, with regard to racial equality in India and the Colonies, a hundred times, by Prime Ministers and Secretaries of State, by royal Princes and Kings and Queens; that charter after charter has been published, from the year 1833 onwards; that Royal Proclamations of racial equality have been promulgated, from the famous Proclamation

of Queen Victoria, in 1857, down to the Proclamation of King George V at the recent opening of the Legislative Assembly at Delhi. Indeed, we have been overwhelmed with promises and proclamations. We are sick and tired of them. Therefore, for our own souls' sake, we must not rest, at our ease, on the strength of what has taken place in London, but rather rely upon ourselves and on our own strength in the struggle that lies before us.

There are two dangers which are to be equally avoided. The one danger, I have already stated. We must not again, as we have so often done in the past, set too great store upon what is given to us merely on paper. We must rely on our own exertions. The second danger is that of cynicism. We must not be tempted, despondently and dejectedly, to depreciate the advantage that has been obtained, and thus fail to make use of the new opening which has been given us. We must not be cynically apathetic, but rather tireless in our hopefulness, our energy and our enthusiasm. We must be practical, taking every advantage of the opportunity that has now been offered, and in every way pressing it right home to its ultimate logical conclusion. While not counting too much upon this 'windfall' which has come to us from the London Conference, affecting so closely the East African situation, we should at the same time be determined in our own minds not to neglect it.

I would emphasise, at the conclusion of this article, the remarkable difference which exists between what may be called the Australasia-Canada group on the one hand, and the East and South Africa group on the other, with reference to the race question. The Imperial Conference has now revealed the line of cleavage between these groups in respect to the treatment of Indians. We must no longer go on ignorantly mixing these two groups up together. If I may make a confession I had hardly expected that they would actually come to the vote on opposite sides. I knew well the great divergence between them on the race question. But I had feared that the ties of blood would be so strong that Australia, at least, would take the side of South Africa against India.

As it was, the situation was reversed. Australia and Canada took the side of India against South Africa. I have explained that the issue was innocuous to Canada and Australasia. Nevertheless the vote itself was significant.

Perhaps, I may repeat a story which I told from my own experience, some years ago to illustrate this important difference of outlook between Australasia and Africa.

Three Australian working men were fellow-passengers with me on board a Dutch steamer called the *Tasman*, in January and February, 1918 when I came round the north coast of Australia to Singapore. The first Eastern port we touched at was Macassar, on the island of Celebes. These Australian workingmen had never been abroad before and they were very eager to go on shore and to see an Eastern country. When they returned to

the ship late at night, after spending the day in Macassar, they came up to me in great indignation and said: "Mr. Andrews, we've seen a thing to-day, that we've never seen in our lives before. If we wrote home to Brisbane and told them, they would never believe it." I asked what it was. One of them replied: "We have seen men,—men, I tell you!—being used just like horses, to pull other men about! We would never put up with anything like that in Australia."

These Australian working-men referred to the use of *rickshaws*, which had shocked them. What they said was perfectly true. *Rickshaws* would be inconceivable in Australasia. Public opinion would never endure them.

But a South African European, born and bred in South Africa, would never have been shocked at all; and I am afraid very few Indians born in South Africa would have been shocked either. Indeed we may go nearer home. For we can see this, as the commonest sight, in the streets of Madras, Calcutta and Colombo.

In Durban, certainly, the incongruity or inhumanity of being driven by a man instead of a horse, never enters people's minds. Yet it is one of the most painful experiences for a new-comer, in that growing commercial town, to see Europeans,—and Indians also,—being drawn about the streets for hire by the Zulus, who are physically one of the most finely developed races in the world to-day. There is something tragically humiliating in the sight of this proud warrior race, thus acting the part of beasts of burden. Mr. Pearson and I were struck with shame at it, when we first landed in Durban in 1913; and I was not able to get over the shock of it, even on my second visit last year, although it is often said that familiarity breeds contempt.

In Australia, a man is a man. But in South Africa, everything depends upon the colour of the skin; and there is a great gulf fixed between these two positions. In South Africa, there is a physical repulsion,—the equivalent of what I have seen of 'untouchability' in Southern India. It is something very terrible in its depth and intensity. It has been slowly built up generation after generation and it will not be obliterated in a day or in a year.

In East Africa, this physical repulsion is scarcely noticeable, as yet, among a certain number of the settlers, who have come out direct from Europe. But, on the other hand, the settlers who have flocked into the great Kenya Uplands from South Africa, whether Boer or Briton, have retained this racial prejudice in an almost virulent form of 'untouchability.' 'Race segregation' is nothing less with them than a creed. The virus is spreading from them to the rest of the European population.

In my next paper, I shall deal with East Africa itself; and it will be seen to what lengths this 'white race' prejudice leads.

C. F. ANDREWS.

(To be continued.)

A LETTER FROM LONDON.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

LONDON, SEPTEMBER 22.

THE UNEMPLOYED PROBLEM.

THE unemployed problem is rapidly getting more acute. The Cabinet had appointed a sub-committee to devise a scheme for its solution, but the scheme that it has recommended has seemingly failed to satisfy most of the authorities that will have to give effect to it. Prominent among these are the London Boroughs which have Labour majorities. The Labour Mayors have for some days been trying to see Mr. Lloyd George in Scotland. They have not allowed themselves to be fobbed off on various pretexts. Unfortunately, the Prime Minister has been very unwell, and has not been able to see them before to-day with what result is as yet unknown. That the Government will have to take the question of the unemployed in hand immediately is beyond doubt. Winter will set in shortly, and already distress is immense among the workers. There are still upwards of 1½ millions unemployed, which means about five times that number is affected by industrial stagnation. Mr. Clynes, on behalf of the Parliamentary Labour Party, has written to the Speaker asking him to consider the advisability of summoning Parliament to meet at an early date for the purpose of giving the matter immediate attention. Probably Parliament will reassemble at an earlier date than was at one time expected. By a resolution of the House, at the end of the last sitting, the Speaker and the Lord Chancellor, after consultation with the Government, have power to summon Parliament to resume its duties. It is generally felt that it would be wiser to provide this ventilation of grievances so as to deprive the Bolshevik group of the opportunity that would otherwise be provided for it of working upon the anguish of the unemployed, faced with bitter winter conditions and starvation. Such material is exactly that in which the Third Internationale would like to incubate its designs against the hated capitalist governments outside of famishing Soviet Russia.

FAMINE IN RUSSIA.

It is evident, from the independent reports that are reaching us from all quarters, that the famine in Russia is of appalling dimensions, and it is being followed, as was to be expected, by typhoid, typhus, and other diseases associated with filthy conditions and malnutrition. Somewhere between 25 and 35 millions of people are directly affected, and it is expected that, in spite of all that can be done by official and unofficial systems of relief, millions of the inhabitants of that unhappy country will succumb to hunger and disease. The prospect is too horrible to be contemplated. Yet, in the midst of this awful situation, the Soviet Government can spare efforts to embroil Russia with the rest of Europe, and in particular, with France and Poland, who are accused of Imperialist designs upon Russia. It is very unlikely that either country has the means to do so, even if it has the will, which, too, is improbable. Meanwhile, the British Foreign

Office has effectively countered the Russian charges against France and Russia by charging the Soviet Government with deliberate and continued violation of the Trade Agreement entered into with this country such a very little while ago.

SOVIET'S ANTI-BRITISH PROPAGANDA.

By that agreement, the Soviet Government definitely undertook to refrain from anti-British propaganda anywhere. The Foreign Office declares that it has irrefutable evidence that not only have the Russian pledges been wantonly violated, but that this is part of a systematic scheme on the part of the Soviet Government. Chapter and verse are given in the British despatch, of which an extended summary has been published. The following extract speaks for itself:—

"His Majesty's Government also have evidence of continued intrigue with Indian revolutionaries in Europe, of which complaint was made in Sir R. Horne's Note. After lengthy negotiations between the Soviet Government and Chattopadhyaya, some of these individuals, who were then taking refuge in Berlin and other places in Europe, were invited by the Soviet Government to attend a meeting in Moscow on May 25, 1921, in order to discuss the best means of provoking a revolution in India. They were supplied with funds through M. Kopp, the official representative of the Soviet Government in Berlin, who also supplied them with visas to their passports. . . .

His Majesty's Government are likewise aware that the Soviet Mission in Berlin have afforded facilities for communication between members of the Indian Revolutionary Society in Berlin, which, as is well known to the Soviet Government, is plotting against British rule in India, and their associates in Moscow, thus directly assisting anti-British intrigue. For some considerable time the Soviet Government has been trying to persuade a well-known Indian anarchist, Dr. Hafiz, who has been studying the manufacture of bombs in Vienna, to proceed to Afghanistan, to supervise a bomb depot on the borders of India in order to facilitate their importation into India. Dr. Hafiz has now, with the assistance of the Soviet Government, undertaken the task of manufacturing smokeless powder in Kabul, and has received from the Soviet Government the sum of 10,000 kronas for expenses connected with his wife and children."

One is entitled to ask whether the Soviet Government is capable of keeping any pledge, however solemnly undertaken. In the very nature of things, one might suppose that that Government deems it a sacred duty to offer every form of fraud and deceit, if its aims and objects, to undermine the existing state of society by all possible means, can in any way be achieved or furthered.

MR. SASTRI'S WORK AT THE LEAGUE.

I hear excellent reports of the esteem in which Mr. Sastri is held by those who heard his two outspoken speeches at the Assembly of the League of Nations and the Opium Committee during the last few days. One of the vices of speakers that has been most emphasised is their wretched habit of making long speeches containing nothing or little else than a repetition of high sounding platitudes, which, of course, have not even the merit of being new. One of the few exceptions to this rule of amiable inanity is Mr. Balfour, who carefully lost his temper a couple of days ago at the failure to settle the Lithuanian dispute as to the future of Vilna. He

succeeded in putting Poland definitely in the wrong, without alienating French sympathy. Another exception has been Mr. Sastri, who has gained golden opinions by his refusal to consider the tenderness of the corns upon which he designedly trod. The *Times*, the *Daily News*, and the *Daily Chronicle* have united in favourable comment upon the substance and method of his courageous remarks. Even at Geneva people seem to get tired of make-believe.

ALI BROTHERS' ARREST.

The British Press practically unanimously supports the action of the Government of India in ordering the arrest of the Ali Brothers and other inciters to violence. They meet with no sympathy here, where people were beginning to wonder when the Indian authorities would take action to put a stop to the activities of these gentlemen. These activities have served to accentuate racial feeling, which, it was hoped, would be softened by an appreciation of some of the realities of the situation in Europe and in India. Anti-British propaganda, such as that to which the Ali Brothers are held to have devoted themselves with increasing virulence of late, has aroused much resentment even in otherwise sympathetic quarters, and has done the cause of Turkey no good whatever. The psychology of the British people has been entirely misunderstood by the gentlemen against whom the Indian authorities have now taken action, and it is as well to state plainly that expressions of public sympathy with them in India will not be kindly received here. I may take this opportunity of mentioning an article by the Bishop of Madras, in the *Church Family Newspaper*, in which he declares, for the consolation of those timid folk who do not understand the Indian scene, that the present disturbed conditions are not consequential upon the reforms, and that the hope for the future lies in the success of the Councils. He says very properly that "we can no more govern India than we can govern Ireland without the consent of the people themselves."

IRISH NEGOTIATIONS.

Which reminds me that the confusion in the Irish negotiations is more confounded than ever. Mr. de Valera seems to have done his best, without in the least intending to do so, to bring about a fiasco by sheer fatuity and loose thinking. Some little time ago it was confidently predicted that the only real danger lay in the possible inability of Mr. Lloyd George to prevent Sinn Fein from falling over the precipice through sheer political ineptitude and not at all deliberately. Now even Sinn Fein is eagerly looking to the British Premier to save it from the consequences of its own mistakes. Mr. de Valera has made several mistakes. The worst crime against civilization that he could commit would be to ruin the chances of successful settlement because of a foolish formula in which no one really has any faith.

THE WORLD OUTSIDE.

Chemistry and Beastliness.

THE Annual Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, held at Edinburgh this year, was presided over by Sir T. Edward Thorpe. In his opening address on September 7th, Sir Edward made a spirited appeal to scientists, not to degrade science by making it serve any further the horrors of war, and especially denouncing chemical warfare as a prostitution of human knowledge. Nobody will suspect us of any anxiety to increase the frightfulness of war: yet, we must confess, this presidential appeal leaves us unmoved. We think of the period when fire arms were invented, we remember reading the pathetic appeals of valorous knights, whose armour and personal prowess availed them nothing against the bullet, hurled at them uncannily through the pulling of a little trigger by, possibly, a weakling and a coward, safe beyond spear or arrow-shot. If this diabolical invention was permitted in honest warfare, what would become of chivalry, of courage, of high adventure? Thus the wail rose then; thus it rises to-day. And the result, too, of the wail will, we are afraid, be the same, now, as then—namely, NIL. Nothing is more typically human than trying to keep one's cake and to eat it; to organize wholesale slaughter and not to transgress ethical standards. Non-combatants are constantly made to look upon war as something very fine, very glorious, very noble which only the enemy always tries to spoil by resorting to methods of barbarism and by transgressing all the laws of the game. However, at the present time in Europe there are not many non-combatants left to be gulled, except the very old and the very young and most of the women.

Beastliness and War.

THE others know out of the fulness of their experience that war is not and cannot be a game; that it cannot be anything else but inhuman, beastly and horrible. They know that the belief that you can humanize war is an illusion—and not merely an illusion, however mischievous, but a deliberate deception. Whenever the appeal is to force, force will only let itself be curbed as long as the final result is not jeopardized. But once the position becomes critical, however detestable the brutality may be, it will be justified, welcomed and even increased, if only defeat can thereby be averted. And mark you, the brutality is not a mere bye-product of warfare: it is of its very essence. To incapacitate an enemy physically is not what decides a battle or a campaign: it is that the survivors acknowledge themselves beaten. And this psychological moment, the mind's realization that "all's up", technically called "loss of moral," is of course brought about by nothing so much as sudden fear of something altogether horrible. The "science" of war deliberately sets out to create

such panics and stampedes—and therefore every new invention in warfare is doubly valuable, if it can be sprung on an enemy, so as to take him unawares. That was the main effect of the first use of gas on the British Army and of the tanks on the Germans. And the more ghastly and fearsome the novelty, the greater its effectiveness: hence the intrinsic futility of wanting to "humanize" war. You cannot make an omelette without breaking the eggs; you cannot make war without beastliness, frightfulness and horror. And that beastliness is not going to be done away with by the good intentions of chemists or of Sir Edward Thorpe, but only by doing away with war itself. As long as man allowed himself to be blinded by the fallacy that the infamy of war is not all war's, but only the infamy of one's opponents,—so long there will be no real effort made to eliminate the root cause, war itself. And is modern war not yet noisome enough for men, all men to be ready to buy its abolition, though its price can only be the surrender of the rights of "Sovereign States," as these fragments of Humanity are still misnamed?

THE "League" surely is the only way out: yet two emotions always seem to be striving in one's heart, whenever one thinks of it—gladness

at the attempt of introducing sanity and healing into a world of homicidal maniacs; and melancholy at the fiendish determination with which this attempt is being resisted and stultified. We have before us the official monthly summary of the League for August and the first thing that strikes one is the immense handicap under which the League labours through the abstention of the United States. Obviously the League is the natural organization which should comprise all international activities and absorb and subordinate already existing international organizations. One of these is the "Office International d'Hygiène Publique," another the "International Opium Convention": of both the United States is a member and in both cases the United States has vetoed the otherwise unanimous decision to hand over to the League. There is no question that International Health and the Opium Traffic would not better be dealt with by substituting a world-wide League for sectional organizations constituted *ad hoc*: but no, the U. S. Senate has said once for all: "Away with the League" and so let the world perish rather than that they should be seeming to eat their words. Of course, the whole principle really hinges on that; whether the hitherto sovereign States of the world are prepared to surrender any part of their sovereignty. The U. S. Senate emphatically says "no"; and as long as that is so, no true League is possible. Without a surrender of individual rights there may be treaties, but there can be no law. The individual citizen does not make a treaty with his fellows to guard his life and property, but obeys and is made to obey a law outside of himself. Until the Nations of the world realize that there is

such a law of humanity already existing in the very nature of humanity, they will not obey it nor can they be made to obey it. Treaties that can be made, can also be unmade: but a true League of Nations is one to which all humanity belongs by natural law and from which no withdrawal is possible.

Half a League,
half a League,
onward!

AS long as we therefore have a League of a few nations, with America, Germany and Russia outside of it, we have only an aspiration, not an accomplished fact. The aspiration is better than nothing, but of course it cannot do what the organization of Humanity as a whole would effect. One of the saddest events in the history of the League is that Germany has now apparently given up altogether, even to ask for admission to it. The Victor Nations, or more correctly speaking, the gentlemen of Europe who have the power to speak for the rest, have so long treated the League as if it was a gentlemen's club, for which all bounders naturally must be blackballed, that the fundamental ideal of a federation of the whole world has become quite absurd. On the one hand, the League is but another incarnation of that war legacy, the "Supreme Council" of the victors; on the other, it has been planned as a Co-operative Commonwealth of all mankind: and between these two incompatible functions the poor torso of a League is perpetually oscillating. Where there is safety in abstract theory, the League speaks with the voice of Organized Humanity; where there are practical tasks to perform, alas, the voice is that of George, Briand and Co. Not that even the latter voice sounds particularly unanimous: witness the extraordinary "wriggle" tried by the second partner of the firm over the reference of the Upper Silesia quarrel to the League. M. Briand on August 12th asked the League on behalf of the "Supreme Council" to undertake the task; "indicating the solution which it recommends." Twelve days later a subsequent letter of his is quoted by the League publication in which M. Briand adds that each of the Governments represented on the Supreme Council had "solemnly undertaken to accept the solution recommended by the League": a very different thing, though of course that which the Council at Paris had intended. And yet in the face of that, as a last resort, behold M. Briand trying to twist out of it by only asking for a recommendation! The senior partner must have done some pretty plain speaking in the interval of twelve days, to have brought his fellow-Celt so satisfactorily to heel. Talking of the League publications: why do they employ American instead of English as a medium, speaking of "railroads" and "captions," when America so signally refuses to be a party to the League? Does the League Secretariat hope to woo coy Columbia by adopting a Yankee accent?

The Land
of
the Free.

THE trouble about understanding the United States is, that its development is so uneven: that in applied science, for instance, it is outstripping the rest of the western world, whilst in the regulation of human relationships it is still in the darkest age of Victorian *laissez-faire*. Mr. E. J. P. Benn who has been recently touring the States, illustrates the latter fact in an article published in the *Financial Times* of the 6th inst. "Imagine," he says,

"a country in which there are no old-age pensions and nobody wants them; where the suggestion of unemployment pay is looked upon as revolutionary; where health insurance is unknown; where a poor law does exist, but nobody seems to know anything about it; where there is no political Labour Party, and so far as I can judge, no chance of any such thing arising; where if you wave the "Red Flag" you are locked up, and if you talk the commonplaces of social reform you are regarded as a little weak in the head."

No wonder that after five weeks of breathing in this sort of atmosphere, he came to realize how seen from Chicago, the difference between England and Russia appeared as merely one of degree. It is only, when one knows the existancee of such a mentality, that one can understand, how it is possible for that nation to acquiesce in such civil wars as are of the nature of its economic structure—such a one, for instance, as has been going on in West Virginia for the last year or so and which, we are told, has just been quelled by the plentiful administration of aeroplanes and bombs by Federal troops. For a mere European, let alone an Indian, it is indeed hard to believe that this guerilla warfare in the Mingo coalfields culminating in the recent battles of 5 to 10,000 aside with its hundreds of killed, is being waged for such elementary rights as that of membership in a Trade Union—rights enjoyed and specifically guaranteed by law in every civilized modern country. We cannot say "every other civilized country:" for surely, no country can be called civilized which denies to its workers the natural right to organize themselves in Trade Unions for the purpose of the peaceful corporate bargaining with Capital. Yet that is exactly what is being done in the U. S. A.: the West Virginia mine-owners with their own armies, helped of course by the "forces of law and order", are professedly fighting (no metaphor this!) to eliminate the unionist from the ranks of their employees and for no other end whatever. What a picture of Putocracy Triumphant!

HERE is another little snapshot which we take from the *New Republic* of August 10th:

"A certain Captain Brockus, head of the West Virginia State Police, had organized a volunteer force, from non-union miners and from businessmen, which, he said, "could be trusted on the side of law and order." This force was charged with having raided the striking union miners' tent colony, and Brockus was accused of threatening to "pile up all these women and the tents on top of them, and burn them all." The shooting of a union miner, whose hands were above his head, by one of

Brockus's men, Bowles, is described by an affidavit in these terms: "Bowles said to Breedlove, 'Hold up your hands, God damn you, and if you have anything to say, say it fast'; and Breedlove said 'Lord have mercy,' and instantly the gun was fired and Breedlove fell."

And these savageries unfortunately are nothing new or particularly abnormal; witness the dreadful Colorado Strike War of some seven years ago. Yet these are the same Americans, whom nobody can match in moral indignation about the horrors and atrocities of—Soviet Russia! Only the other day (Aug. 2nd) the *Chicago Tribune* published a picture represented as the photo of a recent riot in Moscow, illustrating the "tottering" of the Soviet regime, of course. There was, needless to say, all the melodramatic setting of the 'proof of the frightful carnage taken by a French secret observer there in Moscow who hid the plate under a carpet' &c. &c. &c. Looking up the file of the *Tribune* for 1917, a curious reader, however, has discovered that the same picture had then already been published as "A Petrograd Street Scene during the Revolution"! That's the worst about lies. Not that we are sanguine enough to believe for one moment that such "nailing" of a lie will have the slightest effect on a public with "the will to believe."

Philanthropy and Bolshevism. ANYBODY anxious to understand the American mentality should read in the June number of *The World's Work* an article by Capt.

Gregory, wherein he describes how his chief, Mr. Hoover, and himself engineered the downfall of Bela Kun. Bela Kun was at the time the Lenin of Hungary and Hungary was badly in want of relief when Mr. Hoover who had saved the child population of Belgium volunteered to do no less for Hungary. He sent Capt. Gregory who now fully and openly in the article above-mentioned describes, how under such philanthropic cover he set about to overturn the Hungarian Soviet Republic and bring into power the white Terror, whose main representatives still rule Hungary. Captain Gregory's article is unashamed—that is the interesting point about it: he boasts of the blatant deception; he is nauseatingly conceited about the despicable abuse of the, so to speak, professional advantages confidently given to him. But it is not only on himself, but on his readers that this article sheds such a lurid light: for if they felt, as one hopes every decent person outside the States feels about it, the article could not have been written or at least published. But in America apparently the Plutocracy is not merely a fact, but an ideal, to preserve which every means becomes hallowed. It is a most amazing spectacle. On the other hand, with such a record against Mr. Hoover, is it in the least remarkable, that the Soviet Government of Russia should have felt some hesitation about letting him come and run there another of his philanthropic "Relief Funds"? In fact the really remarkable fact is that the Russian Government should have admitted him at all, as they now have. Of course he will not touch the "accursed thing,"

the Soviet Government machinery, and therefore has to sit in towns, waiting for people to come to him for relief, instead of letting the local authorities distribute his foodstuffs in the villages; thereby worsening the already great evil of congested towns and peasants migrating instead of preparing their fields for next year's crops. But what of that? He is a man of principles, quite obviously, is Mr. Hoover.

THE BOMBAY COUNCIL.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Poona, October 12.

SUPPLEMENTARY GRANTS.

MOST of the business transacted by the Bombay Council in the course of the latter half of its last session consisted of the voting of supplementary grants amounting to over thirty-seven lacs. Some of the schemes for which these grants were asked, were new ones mooted since the main budget was voted by the Council last March and thus violated the underlying principle of a *supplementary* budget. As the President himself explained, the Government was free to come to the Council for supplementary grants if the provision already made in the Budget was found to be insufficient or when expenditure is rendered necessary on some service not contemplated in the Budget. Well may he therefore exclaim that these grants appeared more or less like 'second Budgets'. This was perhaps due to want of experience on the part of the Government, the first year of the Reforms having still more than two months to run; and it is to be hoped that in future they will show a better appreciation of the Rules and Standing Orders.

EXPENDITURE ON THE ROYAL VISIT.

Before I turn to the grants, let me make a reference to the grant of nearly eight lacs and three-quarters passed by the Council for expenditure in connection with the visit of the Prince of Wales. There was an undoubted feeling, as mentioned in my last week's review of the Council's work, shared by several non-official members that the amount for which their sanction was asked was more than the presidency could bear in its present financial condition and this found expression in the several motions that were brought forward to reduce it. It may be that the amount is not too much when regard is had to the dignity of the Royal visitor and to the mission of peace and good-will which has been the keynote of his activities in other parts of the Empire. But to us the real question seems to be whether we can afford such expensive luxuries as an amphitheatre at the Apollo Bunder for the Prince's reception at the cost of something like three lacs. This is intended to provide seating accommodation for three thousand persons, for only about three hours and the cost works out at a hundred rupees per head. Who can say that is not prohibitive? The Prince is a democrat and is known to abhor all unnecessary expense on his account. He will be pained to see so much of the poor taxpayer's money being spent in offering him hospitality.

GOVERNMENT DEFEAT.

The voting of supplementary grants was notable, among other things, for a defeat sustained by the Government. A grant of Rs. 40,000 was asked for by way of additional provision for Assistant Judges and their temporary establishments. A very similar item was disallowed by the Council only last March and it was complained that the Government was merely trying to circumvent that decision by bringing forward the very same proposal, in a slightly different form. That even the President felt compelled to rule out an item of Rs. 5,000 from the lump provision on the ground of the same having been rejected by the Council on the occasion of the main vote, showed that the complaint was not altogether groundless. Despite all explanations by the Home Member to the contrary, the Council refused to be satisfied that the Government was playing a fair game in the matter; and it was this feeling which was ultimately responsible for the rejection of the grant. A Government defeat is a matter of rare occurrence in the

Bombay Council and on the present occasion there were other factors as well which contributed to bring it about. Be it said to the credit of the non-Brahman members that whether out of communal or other considerations they threw the whole weight of their numbers on the popular side. A batch of about eight or nine Sind Mahomedans in whom the Government have found invaluable allies was conspicuous by its absence which in no small measure contributed to the satisfactory result.

ECHO OF MALEGAON.

There were two grants, one for Rs. 8,000 and the other for Rs. 1,68,000 rendered necessary by the occurrences at Malegaon earlier in the year. The former was required for meeting the District Magistrate's expenses on account of taxi hire; while the latter represented a third of the total amount of claims for compensation preferred by 35 persons whose property was destroyed by the fury of the mob. It is proposed to recover the whole amount from the Mahomedan inhabitants of Malegaon; but as it has to be spread over a period of three years, this temporary provision was necessary so as to enable the Government to help the people concerned to start life afresh. Now, if there was any demand which should have been passed without any dissent, it was this; but strange as it may appear, even this was opposed in some quarters. The opposition was evidently prompted by the failure to take proper account of the fact that most of the sufferers from mob fury were men whose influence was invariably thrown on the side of law and order and that it was their firm faith in the blessings of an ordered Government that had landed them in trouble. The Education Minister did well in sounding a timely note of warning. He told the Council that the rejection of the grant would virtually mean its readiness to penalise sobriety and sanity. The remonstrance had its effect and the demand was granted without further dissent.

BOMBAY DEVELOPMENT.

The Government demand for 85 lacs of rupees for works connected with the Bombay Development Scheme occasioned considerable controversy. It is a matter of common knowledge that considerable dissatisfaction exists in the public mind as to the way in which the Development operations are conducted. Serious misgivings are felt as to the extent to which the scheme, when completed, will benefit the poor and the middle-classes and the fact that large contracts have in several cases gone to European firms is strongly resented by the Indian mercantile community. There is a general belief that the employment of Indians in the higher posts could be much larger than it is at present without lowering efficiency. Dewan Bahadur Godbole emphasised the absence of firm estimates for schemes for which the additional grant was needed. Though the grant was eventually passed, the occasion served to bring out the Indian viewpoint in regard to the scheme.

INDIGENOUS SYSTEMS OF MEDICINE.

Rao Bahadur Kale wanted to move for a committee to go into the question of the indigenous systems of medicine. He had little realised, until it was explained to him by the Education Minister, how little the matter lent itself for inquiry by a committee. The Government are, however, placing an Indian member of the I. M. S. on that special duty. We are moving so fast that this decision of the Government, which is due to the presence of an Indian at the head of the Medical Department is likely to pass unnoticed. But those who remember the fierce controversy that raged round the question not long ago and the spirit of narrow trade unionism exhibited by such die-hards and partisans of the Western system of medicine as Lt. Col. Jackson at the time when the Medical Registration Bill was on the legislative anvil, will not fail to be struck by the rapidity with which the Ayurvedic and Unani systems are coming into their own.

AN APPEAL.

FAMINE IN BELLARY AND ANANTAPUR.

THE Deccan has suffered greatly in the many severe famines that have devastated the country during the last fifty years. The districts of Bellary and Anantapur situated in

this portion have also experienced severe distress during these famines. Irrigation sources are few, monsoons are precarious and so failure of crops is by no means rare. The rainfall last year was hopelessly scanty. This year too till now sufficient rain has not been received. The little rain that was received last year and this year is made up of small quantities distributed over a long period. At no time was the rain received helpful for any systematic cultivation and growth of crops. So the crops have yielded nothing, not even fodder in many places. The Government have declared famine in portions of the district. Where the distress has been serious they have started relief works. Gratuitous relief also is being distributed. But such relief as the Government can afford to give under the provisions of the Famine Code, which needs revision in many important particulars, is not only inadequate but also limited in its scope. Private relief is absolutely necessary to avoid suffering. To supplement the relief given by Government, non-official committees have been formed which have been doing their best to alleviate the suffering of the distressed by opening cheap grain shops and distributing *conjees* to children and milk to babies in arms. Medical comforts of the weak-bodied and sickly are also attended to. Provision for clothing the most needy has also been made. But for want of funds the work of these committees has been restricted in scope and extent. May I appeal to the generous public all over India to extend their helping hand to the famine-stricken people of Bellary and Anantapur districts in the Madras Presidency and enable the distressed to live up to the ordinary standard of living? Clothing and contributions, however small, will be gratefully acknowledged.

R. SURYANARAYANA RAO,
Member, Servants of India Society,
GOOTY (Madras Presidency).

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