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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
TOPICS OF THE WEEK	253
ARTICLES:—	
Gandhi's Disillusionment	255
North-West Frontier—III. By Prof. Gulshan Rai	256
Railway Rates Policy. By A. S. Venkataraman ...	258
CONTINENTAL LETTER. By Prof. Levin L. Schücking ...	259
A LETTER FROM THE PUNJAB.	260
REVIEWS:—	
Indian Administration	261
The Science of Emotions	262
CORRESPONDENCE	263

TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

FOR M.L.A.'s. APROPOS of the recommendations of the Lee Commission that the superior Indian Services should be given increased overseas pay and other financial relief on account of the rise in the cost of living in England, and the similar claim of military officers for increased emoluments, it is noteworthy that in England itself salaries and pensions are being reduced on account of the fall in the cost of living since they were last revised. In the House of Commons the Secretary of State for War was recently asked to explain how the pay and pensions of army officers were reduced by 5½ per cent. He said that the cost of living index which in July 1919 was on an average 107½ points above the pre-war cost, averaged only 77 points for the six months preceding March 1924. In other words, it had fallen by over 27½ per cent. 20 per cent of the pay, &c., he said, was subject to this reduction. 27½ per cent. of 20 per cent. was equivalent to 5½ per cent. on the whole. The Minister further pointed out that the percentage adopted was more favourable to the officers than the Government need have made it, since the index figures for 1st April and 1st May were 73 and 71 respectively. A point for our M.L.A.'s to remember when the Lee Commission's proposals will be brought up for their consideration is that a proportion of the pay, pension, &c. in England is subject to reduction automatically with the fall in the cost of living. A similar principle should be adopted by us in giving any relief to the superior Indian Services that the Legislature may feel convinced was necessary.

A Sensible View. LIEUT.-COL. T. WILLIAMS made a notable contribution to the short debate on India which took place in the House of

Commons on the 6th June, before the House adjourned for Whitsun. He has served for a long period in India and was here when the Rowlatt Act was passed against the unanimous wish of the Indian members of the Legislature. His opinion is therefore entitled to special weight. His main point was that the Government had antagonised the people by not advancing rapidly enough. If, on the other hand, it kept pace with the aspiration of the people their whole attitude would be changed. He said:

"I think we ought to advance so rapidly that we put the Indians themselves up against the difficulties of the situation. The difficulties of Dominion Government in India are enormous, but, as long as you keep refusing them any further advance, you will never get them into the mental attitude where they will sit down and discuss these troubles with you reasonably. My own feeling is that it would be better to risk whatever disorder might occur while the Central Government is strong, while you control the Army, and to give them the very largest measure which is possible of self-government in the Provinces and even in the Central Government."

When faced with the inherent difficulties of the problem, he continued, the Indians would turn to the British and ask for their assistance. Converting the Indians into an attitude of requiring British help was well worth, in his opinion, any trouble or disorder. There is undoubtedly a shrewd knowledge of human nature in this.

ON 25th June a largely attended Queen's Hall Meeting demonstration was held in London in Queen's Hall in support of Dominion Status for India. It was presided over by Mr. Robert Smillie and among the speakers were Dr. Besant, and Messrs. Sastri, Rangachar and Lansbury. Almost to a day last year a similar demonstration was held in the same place, presided over by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald. Mr. Sastri emphasised the need for freeing the Government of India from Whitehall control, so that the people of India might look upon it as their own Government. Dr. Besant spoke of the draft Bill which the National Convention was carefully preparing for conferring Dominion Status on India, and declared that if the Labour Government refused to pass this Bill, a group of members at Westminster had agreed to bring it up again and again till it was passed, which is good news indeed.

THE action that the Sangli Durbar has taken since a session of the Deccan States Conference took

place recently in British territory adjoining that State shows that it is determined to lead the way in putting down all agitation in Indian States. The Durbar instantly signalled its displeasure by depriving Mr. G. R. Abhyankar, the prime mover in the Conference, of the office of Public Prosecutor which he held. On Mr. Abhyankar it will inflict no great pecuniary sacrifice and it is personally immaterial whether the State entrusts its cases to him or to any other pleader; but it is distinctly stated in the State order that he ceases to be the Public Prosecutor because of his association with the Conference and other activities of a like kind. Now a Press Note has been issued to notify the subjects of Sangli that "it is against the policy of the State to allow any agitation or criticism against the British Government or the Indian States" and it warns them against all such "outside agitation." It will be noted that it is not only illegitimate criticism that the State wishes to ban, but all criticism and all agitation. It seems to us that this is but a beginning which is intended ultimately to lead to a suppression of agitation in other States as well. The Deccan States Association must therefore concert measures forthwith to meet this new danger.

* * *

THE behaviour of the Travancore
Atrocities in Travancore police at Vaikom towards the passive resisters was on the whole praiseworthy until at the last meeting of the Legislative council the Durbar made plain beyond doubt its lack of sympathy with the claim for civic justice of the depressed classes. But since then they have become utterly demoralised and have been allowing orthodox hooligans to commit all sorts of atrocities on the pacific Satyagrahis. Things are being done which are an utter disgrace to any civilised Government. The Associated Press reports that in one case a Brahmin volunteer's sacred thread was snapped, his garment torn, shirt set fire to, all under the very eyes of the police. In another case a rowdy rubbed quicklime into the eyes of a volunteer and he is in danger of losing his sight altogether. Other cases are reported of brutal assaults with fists, sticks and even dangerous weapons. It is to the everlasting credit of the Satyagrahis that under these inhuman provocations they have been absolutely non-violent. Instead of facing the situation in a straightforward manner and removing an age-long injustice, the Travancore Durbar has from the beginning sought cover under the plea of a breach of the peace. Hitherto there was not even a semblance of fact for the Durbar's theory, but after all doubts have been removed as to its attitude, the orthodox hooligans have come to its relief. We hope the Durbar will suitably recognise the services of its allies. Why does not the Durbar arrest the volunteers and send them to prison, until the movement dies of inanition rather than allow this disgraceful state of lawlessness to prevail? If it wants to be reactionary, let it be so decently at least.

Anglo-Indian
 Claims.

COL. GIDNEY roundly charges the Government of India and Indians with having combined to deprive the Anglo-Indian community of their right to live. The charge is obviously based on the action of the Bengal Nagpur Railway authorities who last month served 31 men on the ticket collecting staff at Ramarajatala with a month's notice of discharge. Of these 31 men 28 were Anglo-Indians and 3 were Indians. On appeal the Agent explained that he was discharging these men to make room for retired Indian soldiers and *inter alia* "to give effect to a measure of Indianisation, though not in the widest sense of the term." Anglo-Indians being statutory Indians and three other Indians also being included in the discharge order, the Agent, as pointed out by the General Secretary of the Railway Workmen's Association, is merely using Indianisation "as a flimsy blind for introducing the retired Indian soldier to oust the Indian civilian and Anglo-Indian." The Agent's action is atrocious and Government ought to protect the Railway staff against his arbitrary orders. The facts show at the same time how utterly baseless is Col. Gidney's charge. What, however, Col. Gidney wants is that Anglo-Indians should not be included among Indians, that they should be given a special privileged position in India, and that if that be not possible they should be given a privileged position in some other part of the British Empire. The Anglo-Indians have no motherland except India and if Col. Gidney represents them correctly, we cannot admire their love of the motherland. As Indians they are entitled to fair and equal treatment with the rest. But if they claim special privileges on racial grounds there cannot be the least sympathy for them, and they will be pursuing a most foolish policy.

* * *

Scurrilous
 Journalism

MUCH of the Hindu-Muslim tension in the Punjab is due to the scurrilous writings of the vernacular press, both Hindu and Muslim. This was the conclusion of the committee of prominent Congressmen who tried last year to restore harmony between the two communities but failed. They however met representative journalists and obtained from them a promise to avoid scurrilous and inflammatory writings. That promise, however, was not remembered long, if it was remembered at all, and things have become so bad of late that a non-co-operator like Mr. Mahomed Ali publicly wished the other day that the Government took steps under the Indian Penal Code to put an end to this inter-communal scurrility. Whether benefiting by his suggestion or independently, the Punjab Government have issued a press communique announcing their intention to prosecute two journals for scurrilous and obscene writing. We hope that this will have a salutary effect and that in case of necessity the Government will pursue a firm policy of putting down all attempts at fomenting communal troubles. The Government may rest assured that in this they will have the support of every shade of responsible opinion, for if Indian opinion has hitherto blamed Government for the existence of intercommunal troubles, it is on the ground that it has not honestly attempted to put an end to them.

* * *

GANDHI'S DISILLUSIONMENT.

THE recent meeting of the All-India Congress Committee will leave Mahatma Gandhi a much sadder and wiser man. With his main aim of purging the Congress executive of insincere elements every right-thinking person must sympathise, and every one whose natural instincts are yet unwarped by a partisan spirit will share his sorrow that such a large proportion of the Congress leaders still attach themselves to a political faith without an innermost conviction. He found, on his release from prison, that the practice of paying lip-homage to non-co-operation, while internally believing in its opposite, had grown to tragic dimensions, and that the constructive programme, and especially hand-spinning, which was, to Mahatma's mind, its most cardinal feature, had become a by-word among decent-minded people for cant and hypocrisy. To a man of Mahatma Gandhi's delicate sensibility this atmosphere of unreality became altogether intolerable and he insisted that either the governing policy of the Congress should be altered, or if it remained unchanged, at least the members of the Congress executive should be required, subject to the penalty of relinquishing their office, to carry out in their own persons the Congress policy in all its details.

Amid a general divorce of practice from profession, this separation was most marked among the Swarajists, who consequently stood to suffer the most by a rigid application of the Mahatma's test, and they therefore loudly complained that the sole object of Mahatma Gandhi in instituting an inquiry into the personal conduct of members of the A.L.C.C. was to oust the Swarajists from positions of power in the Congress, and even some true non-co-operators could not understand the purpose of this unheard of inquisition in Congress affairs. Mahatma Gandhi's motive, however, was quite plain. He did not bring forward his resolutions, which aroused such bitter feeling, merely from the desire of improving the moral quality of our people, but because since his release he was beseeched by the general public to resume the captainship of the non-co-operation movement, which seemed to be at its last gasp, and he could not possibly do so till he had in the A.L.C.C. an instrument which would set an example to the country by scrupulously carrying out his policy. He therefore said to the Congress in effect: "Either give me a Committee which will loyally put in force the programme mapped out by me and approved by the Congress, or change your policy and entrust its execution to those who believe in it. I cannot be in charge of the Congress without the power of enforcing discipline upon its executive," and who can say that this demand was at all unreasonable?

But in this he was foiled, not because he grew weak in his purpose, but because he had to deal with people who would not look facts squarely in the face. And the result is that he is still the nominal leader of the Congress without the power

or means of leading. The first resolution requiring every member of the A.L.C.C. to spin at least ten tolas of yarn every day, or in default, resign his membership was really the test. Mahatma Gandhi genuinely believes that hand-spinning is an indispensable preparation for civil disobedience and thus the best means of attaining Swaraj. Few men, however, even in the non-co-operation party share Gandhi's living faith, and yet the resolution was carried by a majority. True to his chivalrous nature, Mahatma Gandhi insisted that the Swarajists who had walked out in a huff should be counted among dissentients, and, when so done, the voting resulted in the deletion of the penalty clause but in the passing, by a bare majority, of the rest of the resolution. Mahatma Gandhi had, it would appear, declared beforehand that if his resolutions were either defeated or almost defeated, he would retire from the Congress and found a separate organization to prosecute the programme which he fancied but which the Congress would not make its own. He kept to his word, and, after the regular business was over, offered to relinquish his leadership as he had no clear call to lead the country in his own policy. His followers, however, went down on their knees to him, and, much against his wish and better judgment, prevailed upon him to remain the Congress leader, without, however, the organisation whereby he could make his leadership effective. The *khaddar* resolution has been rendered almost nugatory in its disciplinary value, because of the omission of the penal clause. And the resolution reaffirming the five boycotts, or rather four, because the ban on the Councils has practically been raised, is not more serviceable from that point of view. It seems passing strange that Mahatma Gandhi had not been kept informed of the sort of understanding that had been arrived at between Council-goers and Non-co-operators at Cocanada, whereby Mahatma Gandhi now felt precluded from excluding the former from the A.L.C.C. But, whatever the reason, no one who at all cares for principle can understand how in the executive of a body which has accepted an all-round programme of non-co-operation and which still formally adheres to Council boycott, there should be any persons who are themselves members of Councils. However much Mahatma Gandhi's desire might be, if necessary to override the Congress constitution in order to banish insincerity from the national institution, he was not allowed to do so in the present instance, and the Congress now presents the spectacle of a body which has for its chief executive men who defy the Congress policy.

The Swarajists have come out of this affair with a still further damaged reputation; for throughout their struggle with Mahatma Gandhi they appeared more keen on maintaining their places on the executive than on winning a victory for one political principle over another. They still swore by non-co-operation; they did not raise their little finger to oppose the reaffirmation of the five boy-

cotts; to hand-spinning (and other items of the constructive programme) as an indispensable preparation for civil disobedience and through it for Swaraj they urged no objection. In fact they did not seem to mind at all if the Congress policy was maintained intact; nor would they object to this policy being carried into effect by others; but they seriously objected to their being required to give effect to it. Provided they themselves were not worried into spinning and were left in undisturbed possession of their seats in Councils and were not precluded from making use of law-courts, Government schools, and withal could boss the Congress, they were perfectly happy and did not care one whit how often the Congress reaffirmed the non-co-operation policy and all the various inhibitions imposed by it. All the eloquence of Pandit Motilal Nehru and Deshbandhu Das was expended in developing legal points about "ultra vires" and "unconstitutional", but not one word was devoted by them to justifying their own political methods as against those of the Congress or to persuading the Congress to change its policy in accordance with their own opinions. Their gaze was fixed on the main chance, and could not possibly be diverted from it to such irrelevant matters as political principles. Mahatma Gandhi is now undeceived; he knows much better than before that the people who say "yes" to him often mean "no", and whenever he will put people's faith in non-co-operation to the test, as he attempted to do on this occasion for the first time, he is sure to be seriously disappointed, for though Mahatma Gandhi has won the country's heart, he has not yet converted its head.

NORTH-WEST FRONTIER.—III.*

INDIANISE THE PATHANS.

THE spread of foreign influence in territories this side of the Hindukush is thus very dangerous to the security of India. The present Afghan Government is at present engaged in spreading fast, among the Pathans, the study of Persian language and literature. In a few years' time the Pashtu-speaking Pathans may become completely Persianised. The natural barrier of the Hindukush Ranges will then become occupied on both sides with a Persian population. In that case the Hindukush will lose its position as a natural barrier. It is not for me to say whether this Persian policy in Afghanistan will eventually be of benefit to the Pathans, the ruling race in Afghanistan. I dare say the pursuit of this Persian policy in Afghanistan will necessarily result in tying the Pathans of Afghanistan to the chariot wheels of any newborn Persian nationalism, just as the Frenchification of the German population in Alsace and Lorraine have tied these two states to France. This Persianisation of the Pathans, I fear, will in the end stand in the way of Afghan Independence and

* The Previous articles in this series appeared in the issues of May 29 and June 26.

Pathan Nationalism.

But if the present Afghan Government is following a suicidal policy in Persianising the Pathans, we in India must prevent the Pathans in British territory from coming under Persian and foreign influence. If we cannot save the Pathans in between the heights of the Hindukush and the Suleman from being Persianised, surely we can prevent those Pathans who are living between the Suleman and the Indus from falling under the same influence. The lessons of our past history should not be lost on us. Our policy should be to attract the Pathans India-wards. We should not make them drift on westwards. Our effort should rather be to Indianise all the peoples living right up to the heights of the Hindukush. We should in no case allow, much less encourage, the North-West of India to become for all practical purposes a part of Central Asia or the Middle East. I have heard some people on the Frontier say that the problems of the Frontier Province and Western Punjab are not the problems of India, but of Central Asia. I must point out with all the emphasis at my command that Middle Eastern or Central Asian influence if allowed to cross the Hindukush will do very great harm to India.

THE BRAY COMMITTEE.

The Government of India and the Indian Nationalists must therefore settle very soon their policy towards the Pathans. The majority of the Bray Committee suggests that "if self-determination is to be allowed any play at all in India, it should surely be allowed to the Pathan race whom Providence has interposed between India and foreign aggression". If the entire Pathan race of 65 lacs of people were British subjects, and if Kandahar, Ghazni, Kabul, and Jelalabad also formed part of the North-West Frontier Province of India, I should have certainly advocated the grant to the Pathans of unrestricted "opportunity for self-development in a separate province". But we must remember that all the Pathans are not under one rule. 30 out of 65 lacs of Pathans are now quite outside the sphere of British influence. These 30 lacs of Pathans living in Afghanistan are moving westwards very rapidly. Unless we on this side of the Durrand Line set going among our 35 lacs of the Pathans a very rapid movement eastwards, we will not be able to make our North-West Frontier a safe frontier. The creation of an autonomous province for only a portion of the Pathan race will I venture to think not attract the Pathans eastwards. The Pathans in Afghanistan are a ruling race. They have deliberately decided to follow a Persian policy. The Pathans in Afghanistan, being independent, are held in great esteem by the Pathans living in the Cis-Durrand Tribal area and in the settled districts of the Frontier Province. The Pathans in Afghanistan will therefore be able to set the fashion and to lead the rest of the Pathan race. If we leave the Pathans in the Frontier Province entirely to themselves, as they will be in an autonomous pro-

vince, we will awaken and promote among them a separate consciousness of Pathan Nationality, and we will help in introducing among them a tendency to drift in the direction of the Pathans in Afghanistan. The majority in the Bray Committee seem to think that a bribe to the Pathans in the shape of the establishment of a fully empowered legislative council in the settled districts of the Frontier Province, will win them over to our side. I fail to understand how that could be. The teaching of history does not warrant this. Did the grant of autonomous powers to Alsace-Lorraine in the pre-war German Empire win over these two states to the side of the Germans? To grant autonomous powers to a people in deep sympathy with their kinsmen, who are independent in an adjoining separate and independent kingdom, is always dangerous. The examples of Alsace, Lorraine, Bosnia and Herzegovina, are before us. Grant of a fully autonomous legislative council to the Pathans in the Frontier Province will enable them to follow the lead of the independent Pathans in Afghanistan. We in India cannot allow that for obvious reasons. At present there admittedly exist between the Pathans of the Frontier Province and of Afghanistan deep and intimate relations. Our effort should be to separate the Cis-Durrand Pathans from the Pathans in Afghanistan, and to popularise among Cis-Durrand Pathans, Indian languages, Indian ways of living, Indian administrative machinery and Indian general outlook.

PATHANS ARE INDIANS.

The idea of offering to the Pathans a bribe in the shape of a separate legislative council is evidently based in the assumption that Pathans are an un-Indian people, quite foreigners in this country. Historically this is a wholly wrong idea. In Vedic Literature we find mention of the ten allied tribes. They are the Anus, the Drahyus, the Turvashas, the Yadus, the Purus, the Alinas, the Pakthas (Pathans), the Bhalanas, the Sivas, the Vishanins. The Pathans are thus one of the ten Vedic Aryan tribes. In the time of the Greeks the Pactyes, living in the valleys of the Kabul, are mentioned as one of the most warlike of *India's* tribes. Really the Pathans are an Indian people. They belong like the Kashmiris and the Sindhis to India. But as the Pathans live on the Gates of India, they are liable to be influenced by movements taking place outside these gates. Many a time before, in our long history, the Pathans have been reclaimed and purged free of all foreign influences. Their re-Indianisation is therefore quite practicable. There are 2,67,000 Pathans living in the Punjab. They are to all intents and purposes Punjabees. The eight lacs of Pathans living in the settled districts of the Frontier Province were in the Punjab for just two-thirds of a century, ever since the Peshawar division of the old Mughal province of Kabul was annexed by Ranjit Singh in 1834.

THE LESSON OF HISTORY.

The experiment of giving autonomous powers has also been tried several times before, and every

time it has failed. Kabul as a separate and independent province was not able to check the onward rush against India of the Persians under Darius. Neither was it able to stop the progress of Alexander. Was not it for this reason that under Chandragupta Maurya the province of the Pactyes, Pakas, or Pathans formed an integral part of the great Northern Viceroyalty of Taxila, which consisted of the modern territorial areas of Kashmir, North-West Frontier Province, Southern Afghanistan, Baluchistan, Sindh, and Punjab? When the controlling hand of the Mauryans was removed and the province of the Pathans became again an autonomous unit among a multitude of Indian principalities, the Pathans were again found unable to stop the invasions of the Bactrian Greeks, the Persian Parthians, or the Central Asian Sakas, Kushans, or Huns. But when under the Sahi rulers of Kabul and Lahore the Pathans and the Punjabees owned a common sovereign, and lived under the same administration, India was able to repel the Arab and Turki invasions for about 4 centuries. Again during the pre-Mughal Mahommedan rule in India, since Kabul never formed part of the Imperial system of India, the autonomous province of the Pathans failed to check the progress of Tamerlane or of Baber. During the time of the Mughal Empire, however, the task of ruling the province of the Pathans was always entrusted, either to the members of the Royal Family, or to Indian Mahommedan nobles or to Hindu Rajput chiefs. On the disintegration of the Mughal Empire, when the province of the Pathans once again became autonomous, the gateways of India were again opened to Nadir Shah and Ahmed Shah. When Ranjit Singh, after consolidating his power in the Punjab conquered the Peshawar division of the province of the Pathans, in 1823, he actually tried the experiment of keeping this Pathan province an autonomous province under their national chiefs, like Yar Muhammed Khan, and Sultan Muhammed Khan. But this experiment also failed. Ranjit Singh was compelled to annex Peshawar division to his dominions in the Punjab. In our own times Lord Curzon too has tried to entrust the task of defending our gateways to the locally raised Pathan levies. Has he succeeded in this experiment? Let the records in the Foreign Office of the Government of India give a reply. Will Government deny that in the last Afghan War of 1919, the locally raised militia raised from among the Afridis, the Mahsuds and the Waziris had to be disbanded. Is it not a fact that during this war many of the Pathan levies mutinied, and that the British military stations in the Tribal Area Agencies were looted by the local Pathans? This is what the experiment of Lord Curzon has revealed. On what grounds then does the majority in the Bray Committee propose the grant of autonomous powers to the Pathans in the Frontier? We have tried the experiment of leaving the Pathans to themselves, with the expectation that they would

on our behalf guard the Indian gateways against foreign invaders. They have always failed at the critical moment. We have made to the Pathans money grants and allowances and pensions, with the expectation that money will bring them prosperity and contentment and thus make them quiet. But we have only enabled them to make extensive purchases in arms and ammunitions. The Pathan race is now fully armed to the teeth, each man woman and child among them, only to commit raids and decoities in British territory. Shall we now try the experiment of giving them *opportunity for self-development in a separate province of their own*? I am sure this *opportunity for self-development* will lead the Pathans straightaway in the direction of seeking political union with their kinsmen across the Durrand Line.

GULSHAN-RAI.

RAILWAY RATES POLICY.

EVERY problem in India, whether fiscal, financial or Railway, is so intimately connected with her political condition that to miss the connection is to misconstrue the problem. Perhaps this political condition is something like a huge octopus, enlarging its scope and tightening its hold at the same time. At present a policy of protection with discrimination has been recommended by the Fiscal Commission. A Tariff Board has since been established and it has submitted a report as a consequence of which a bill for the Protection of Steel Industry has been passed. As fiscal policy is connected with the Railway Rates policy, an examination of the latter is rendered necessary.

HYBRID SYSTEM.

A slight reduction on enhancement in the Railway Rates goes a long way to determine the pace of the progress of industries. The question has become insistent in its demands on the attention of the public in view of the complaint that 'discrimination' of rates rampant in any private railroad, takes a pronounced and determining character in a hybrid system, such as the Indian Railway system is. The Company manages the Railways while the State owns them. The control of the State over the Railway Companies is nominal, while the latter's control of the former is virtual. Perhaps no dictum is more applicable to the Indian Railways than that of Sir Henry Tyler, the British Railway expert, that "if the State does not control the Railways the Railways will control the State." The Government of India being a foreign bureaucracy (according to Mr. Fisher, the civil service is the Government), the superior Railway appointments being held almost wholly by Europeans and the management of the Railways being mostly entrusted to English Companies, Railways in India are run principally with the object of furthering the interests of European passengers, traders, Companies and businessmen. Although the State owns by far the largest portion of the capital invested in Railways and the remaining capital is raised on the

guarantee given by it, the Railway policy is practically determined by the various boards of Directors of Companies located in the United Kingdom and by Railway officials in this country, who aspire on retirement from service to appointments on English Boards. The Company, with the lion's share of the capital supplied by the Indian Government, with interest guaranteed and with the deficits borne by other shoulders, is an irresponsible body, while the State is potent neither for good nor for evil. That the Railway Companies are callous to the complaints and grievances of passengers is a necessary corollary of this hybrid system.

THE PRIME INDICTMENT.

The prime indictment against the Company-managed Railways in India, as most of them are, is that the rates are injurious to the interests of the Indian indigenous industries and it is not inconceivable therefore that a policy of Protection might be nullified by injudicious Railway rates. The Industrial Commission in its report has shown how the policy pursued by Indian Railways tends to retard instead of fostering the growth of indigenous industries. After referring to certain instances to prove their argument they observe: 'There may be justification for these expedients in many cases but it would appear that they often affect trade undesirably. They have accentuated inequalities and have on the whole tended to operate to the disadvantage of internal traffic and therefore of Indian industries.' Mr. S. C. Ghosh, a well-known Railway expert, says, "The public side of the case is that in instances where the local industries of India are affected by the imports, whether it is right for Railways owned by Government to encourage imported traffic by low rates, which are not allowed for similar goods locally produced in India." The present system favours foreign exploitation and sacrifices the permanent interests of the people with whose money the Railways have been built and are maintained. Much to the same extent, a finding was recorded by the Acworth Committee that the Railway rates operate to the disadvantage of the Indian industry.

FISCAL COMMISSION'S RECOMMENDATIONS.

In plainer terms the gravamen of the charge is that the rates are framed so as to encourage traffic to and from the ports at the expense of internal traffic. The entire significance of the charge must be grasped. A stimulus is given to the export of raw materials and to the import of foreign manufactures, often to the detriment of Indian industries which are obliged to pay what must certainly be described as "unfair" rates on the raw materials transported from other parts of India and on their manufactured articles despatched to the various markets. The official view of the matter, according to the Fiscal Commission's Report, is that the complaints are largely unfounded and that the companies are alive to the importance of encouraging Indian industries. In support of the com-

plaints the Fiscal Commission was referred to a circular issued by the Railway Board to all Railway Companies on the 18th May 1915, which laid down the principles, namely, that the establishment of industries cannot fail directly or indirectly to increase the business of Railways and that the administrations of Railways have it in their power to do much for the encouragement of new industries by the quotation of favourable rates for the carriage of the raw materials and of the finished products, and that the Railway Companies were asked to co-operate in making a special endeavour to do all that was possible for the encouragement of indigenous industries. This recommendation met with the entire approval of the Fiscal Commission. Before it, pointed attention was drawn to this by witnesses before the Industrial Commission in 1918, before the Acworth Committee in 1921, and before the Fiscal Commission in 1922. The Fiscal Commission conceded that the complaints are not without foundation and emphasised certain points which, though generally accepted in theory, were seldom translated into practice. They were the recommendations of the Industrial Commission endorsed by the Fiscal Commission.

(1) "The governing principle which, we think, should be followed in railway rating, so far as it affects industries, is that internal traffic should be rated as nearly as possible on an equality with traffic of the same class and over similar distances to and from the ports.

(2) "We think that railways should accept the principle which is followed in some other parts of the world that a consignment travelling more than one line should be charged a single sum based on the total distance".

(3) "We recognise with the Industrial Commission the danger of a policy of individual concessions to industries and of treating railway rates as an indirect method of subsidy by the State. But we think that within the limitations laid down by the Industrial Commission it is not unreasonable that special rates should be granted for a term of years to new industries, and even to others if they can make out proper case for special treatment."

A RATES TRIBUNAL.

Endorsing the recommendations of the Industrial Commission and recognising the necessity to investigate the claims of certain industries for special treatment, the Fiscal Commission accepts the proposal of the Railway Committee in order to remove the existing complaints. That includes the constitution of a Rates Tribunal with power to give a fair judgment as between the trader and the Railways. Where the trader hitherto had to appeal to the Railway against its own decision, now a Rates Tribunal so constituted would be an impartial body, in a position to adjudicate the conflicting claims of the trader and the Railways so that ultimately there might be no fear that the Railway policy would adversely affect the development which the tariff policy is intended to achieve.

Similar to the complaints relating to the unfair treatment of and serious handicaps on the transport of raw materials from other parts of

India and the despatch of Indian manufactures to different markets, complaints are received regarding coastal shipping rates of Indian goods as compared with goods from foreign countries. The rates show a great disparity on goods shipped from one Indian port to another and on goods conveyed between India and foreign countries. The Indian Railway Rates policy needs to be drastically revised in consonance with and in pursuance of the recommendations of the Fiscal Commission.

A. S. VENKATARAMAN.

CONTINENTAL LETTER.

BRESLAU, 8th JUNE.

AFTER many weeks of tedious and annoying negotiations in Berlin between the parties, the old government that existed before the elections has returned. The bourgeois parties of the centre have again taken over the responsibility for the course of public affairs. That this was possible is a reassuring sign of the stability of political conditions in Germany. On the other hand, one cannot shut one's eyes to the fact, that the position of the nationalist opposition is very strong. They would indeed have been given a great share in the government, had not their claims exceeded all measure. Their demands are various, but there is one among them which they stick to with greater tenacity than all others: they want to regain their old decisive influence in the administration of Prussia. That was the stronghold from which before the war the Prussian junker brought almost the whole of Germany under his sway. To be in possession of the Prussian administration means to decide about the spirit that rules in some of the branches of public life which, like schools and universities, are of the greatest importance for the political thinking of the future generations. It means moreover that, by getting into your hands the power of the police, you are enabled to promote all reactionary movements and suppress those that tend to strengthen republicanism. Now in Prussia at present the so-called "great coalition" reigns, which comprises parties as well of the middle as of the left, and the very man at the head of the ministry of the interior is a socialist. This extraordinarily capable official, Herr Severing, is a real thorn in the side of the reactionaries. If they could do away with him they would make the greatest concessions. The very stumbling block of the experts' report, to accept which was called the signing of the second Versailles treaty no end of times at the nationalist election meetings, would in this case lose part of its scandalising qualities. Fortunately, the other bourgeois parties have not yielded, for the greater part of them is fully aware of the danger which a government of the extreme right would mean to the state. The end of it would be the end of the republic and although the political will power of the bourgeois parties in Germany is on the whole remarkably inferior to that of the junker-class on the one hand and the working men on the other

their instinct of self-preservation has in this case been sufficiently strong. So a government has been formed that will accept the Dawes report and try to put it honestly into practice. The continuation of the "Erfüllungspolitik" is secured.

Another question is, whether what the report proposes will show to be itself practicable. The starting point of the report is that Germany before the war had an export of about ten milliards of gold mark. Twenty five per cent. of this sum Germany is thought of as being able to pay in future. Nobody knows if this is really possible. The Germany of to-day is not the Germany before the war. She has lost all her working capital abroad; she has been, contrary to what was granted her in the armistice-agreements, robbed of her colonies. she has had to part with fertile provinces, she has been deliberately crippled as an industrial body by the greater part of Upper Silesia being taken from her; the iron-ore of Alsace-Lorraine is no longer hers; her mercantile marine she has had to deliver up and to rebuild; her river boats to a great extent have been ceded to her neighbours; her industrial life in the western provinces has been disorganised on purpose; her population is mentally depressed by having been through the hell of indescribable years of suffering, dearth, hunger and humiliation; social unrest is making itself felt everywhere and is being fomented by the Russian neighbour—all these circumstances make it appear very doubtful, if the optimism of the experts is justified. Nobody is able to say after all, if there will be money enough left to balance the German budget after the enormous reparation sums have been brought together. On the other hand, there seems to be no other way of getting rid of the French invasion, to regain the German sovereignty in Germany, to prevent the Rhineland from being annexed by France and to protect German industry from being at the mercy of its French competitors. Moreover, a new inflation would mean the end of political order and would increase the chances of Bolshevist as well as Fascist tendencies in an unheard-of degree. At the same time only the foreign loan promised in the Dawes report is able to keep German economy at all alive. For if capital is the life blood of economy, German economy suffers from an anæmia that some years ago would have appeared almost incredible. Even a few thousand gold marks in ready money are a very rare article now-a-days in Germany. It turns out that all reports about enormous German capital having been sent abroad during the last few years must have contained extraordinary exaggerations. Otherwise the want of money could not be so tremendous now when the capital could safely return. But the greatest firms do not know how to meet their obligations, the cases of bankruptcy increase from day to day, and the columns of the papers abound with announcements in which valuable objects are offered for ridiculous sums.

In spite of all these difficulties in Germany as well as in other parts of Central Europe, the situa-

tion shows an aspect very different from what it was six weeks ago when M. Poincaré's government seemed unshakable. The speeches of the new leaders of French politics which announced an era of understanding and good-will among the nations, have been received like water by a famished man. Nobody can live without hope. It was the seeming hopelessness of the situation that created an atmosphere of bitterness which is difficult to be described. The return of hope means the return of life. The old French government, it is true, is not yet dead. M. Millerand clings to his office with a tenacity that shows that his ambition has not given up its aims. The reactionaries in Germany on the other hand, who owe their strength to the brutality of M. Poincaré's policy alone, would be only too glad to see their prophesy realised that the new French government will show new men but not new methods. If only the responsible representatives of the new French government would be broad-minded enough to see that after all that has happened some serious gesture is necessary to convince Central Europe of the contrary, it is not difficult to be found. The reactionary forces of Germany could not receive a heavier blow than by the free and unconstrained decision of a new French government to release their thousands of innocent German prisoners and to cancel the banishment of many other thousands. One hard heart hardens the other, but humanity is only brought about by humanity.

LEVIN L. SCHÜCKING.

A LETTER FROM THE PUNJAB.

LAHORE, 23 JUNE.

THE memories and the wrangles of the Martial Law days in the Panjab have been once more renewed by the decision in the O'Dwyer-Nair libel suit. As the law of libel stands in England, the only protection for the press for outspoken criticism is the opinion of twelve honest jurymen, but this protection is reduced to a minimum when racial questions come to the front. But it is still more unfortunate that in this case the Judge went out of his way to criticise men and events that were not directly implicated in the issue before him. It may be only a question of academic interest to people outside this province, but to be told that the régime under which we passed during those days was the result of an honest Englishman's superfine sense of well-conceived duty is to us like adding insult to injury. When the House of Lords voted in favour of General Dyer it was forgotten and forgiven as the action of a body of reactionaries from whom nothing came unexpected. But when a Judge of his Majesty's High Court misdirects the jury and indulges in praises of people whom he is not trying, it seems that the cause of the British sense of justice is already well-nigh lost. I wonder if the House of Commons would be courageous enough to adopt Mr. Lansbury's motion against Justice McCardie.

The decision in this libel suit has not been the only shock we have received these days. Mr. Gandhi's article on the Hindu-Muslim tension came as a bombshell to most people in this province. His irrelevant references to the creed of the Arya Samajists have been objected to even amongst the staunchest of his followers. Mr. Ram Pershad, late editor of the *Bande Mataram*, has contributed a series of well-reasoned articles to the vernacular dailies, and it is rather surprising to note that the tolerance so much preached by Mahatma Gandhi has been so well appreciated by his followers here that the editor of the *Bande Mataram* has felt constrained to resign. It passes ordinary comprehension how the Mahatma could think of preaching toleration and advancing the course of Hindu-Muslim unity by such an ill-timed attack on the Arya Samajists. It has to be admitted that, like most people with the courage of their beliefs, the Arya Samajists are not easy colleagues to work with, that the faith that is in them is not easily extinguished by compromises which are no compromises and understandings which are agreements to misunderstand. But if the Mahatma thinks that the Arya Samajists of the old type have outlived their utility, or that he can influence them into changing their views by an attack on the Vedas and Swami Dayanand, he has misread the situation. His attempts to belittle the happenings in Malabar and at Multan and to exaggerate stories of Hindu oppressions are a little ingenious, but the Hindus cannot now be lulled into a sense of their security by such clumsy endeavours.

The D. A. V. College, Lahore, the premier purely Indian institution in Northern India, celebrated its foundation day on the first of June last. The Principal's report was a story of all-round progress. The Arts College has at present some 1200 students on its rolls, the collegiate school teaches another 1900 students, while the newly opened college of divinity has some 35 students. The president of the function, Mr. Justice Motisagar, pressed upon the attention of the Managing Committee the question of making some attempts to solve the question of middle class unemployment. Bakshi Tekchand, M. A., LL. B., President of the College Managing Committee, announced on behalf of that body its recent decision to move in the matter. An industrial chemistry class would be started from October next under the able guidance of a life member with American qualifications. Another life member is being deputed to Germany to study the problem of cottage industries, while an industrial school is to be opened to introduce the Hindu youths to such arts and crafts as do not require much technical knowledge. I hope here as elsewhere the D. A. V.'s would be able to preserve the lead which they have always taken in educational matters.

As I predicted, the Birdwood Committee has died of inertia. The Government was unable to convince the Sikhs that it was 'in earnest' and

the Sikhs have refused to continue the negotiations any longer. I wonder why the Sikhs, who are so active in fighting battles with the Government, do not succeed in getting the real control of the Khalsa College in their hands. As I wrote some time back, the struggle that is going on at present is unfortunate in the sense that the reactionary elements in the Managing Committee are being backed by the nationalist members of that body. Be it said to the honour of the College Reform Party that they have not allowed this fact to dishearten them and are continuing the struggle in right earnest. The one result of this has been that for the first time since the new regime under Government control began they have got an Indian officer, and a Panjabi Hindu to boot, as their Principal. The College has to be closed, however, and I hope that when it reopens Principal Manmohan would be more fortunate in running the College.

In his evidence during the Nair libel suit, Lala Harkishan Lal, late Agricultural Minister, has made an interesting revelation on the working of dyarchy. When the province lay under the ban of a proclamation under the Seditious Meetings Act, Lala Lajpat Rai was sentenced as a member of an unlawful meeting, i. e., a private meeting of the Provincial Congress Committee. The sentence was of course illegal and such are the strange ways of dyarchy that Lala Harkishan Lal had to speak to the Viceroy to get Lala Lajpat Rai released.

SRI RAM SHARMA.

REVIEWS.

INDIAN CONSTITUTION.

THE GROWTH OF INDIAN CONSTITUTION AND ADMINISTRATION. BY B. G. SAPRE. (Willingdon College, Sangli.) 1924. Rs. 4.

A book on Indian Constitution is always welcome. No lasting Constitution can be built up except by men thoroughly trained in the knowledge of the working of the present Constitution and any one who supplies this knowledge renders a valuable service to all citizens who form the intelligentsia. Immense harm is done at present, by men who dabble in politics without a knowledge of Constitutional history, either of India or of other countries. Prof. Sapre's book is mainly intended for College students but we think it will serve the purposes of the general reader as well.

The first two chapters deal with the beginnings and furnish the account of the crude attempts at parliamentary control till the passing of Pitt's Act, which made the Imperial Government the final arbiters of India's destiny. Chapters three to nine describe the various phases of the administration by the Board of Control established by Pitt's Act. The author has done well in quoting Sir Thomas Munro's views on the future of India which are thoroughly modern and which would make many a bureaucrat to-day hang down his head in shame. "Are we to be

satisfied with merely securing our power and protecting the inhabitants, leaving them to sink gradually in character lower than at present, or are we to endeavour to raise their character and render them worthy of filling higher situations in the management of their country and devising plans for its improvement?" The question was put in 1824 and exactly hundred years after, the answer is writ large on the face of Indian Administration is all its branches.

The author characterises the period from 1858 to 1919, as the era of Bureaucratic Government and rightly so. Nowhere in the world perhaps was bureaucracy so unbending, rigid and machine-like as in India during the last sixty years, the only ray relieving the gloom being the Morley-Minto reform period. It is a pity that the author has devoted very little space to the Morley-Minto Reforms, which in our opinion deserve a fuller treatment. Barring this, the treatment of Bureaucratic Government, which covers chapters 10 to 14 is eminently readable. The rest of the book is given to Responsible Government, that is, the period after the Reform Act of 1919. This covers nearly 200 pages and gives a detailed account of the working of the Act for the last few years. A full description is given of the Reformed Provincial Councils in respect of their Constitution, business and procedure and a separate chapter is devoted to the important subject of Dyarchy. The chapter on Dyarchy is very good, but we miss in it a sufficiently strong condemnation of this system. The author seems more interested in the views of British statesmen than those of Indian politicians. A neat summary of the criticisms of Indian leaders of thought would have been a good set-off to the eulogy of Dyarchy by the Joint Committee.

In the last portion of the book current problems of vital interest are considered. Considering the vastness of the subject and the short space available in a hand-book which is not a treatise, the treatment is quite satisfactory. But even then a discussion of fiscal policy covering only four pages must be pronounced as meagre. It is also lacking in the definite expression of the authors' views. On page 400 he says, "Indian opinion rightly or wrongly attributed the destruction of indigenous industries to the adoption of a free trade policy by the Government of India." The author ought to have given some indication of his views, in the case of an issue fraught with important consequences to the well-being of the nation.

In the section on Education the criticism is quite in keeping with the best Indian opinion. The Universities Act of 1904 is rightly criticised as virtually turning the universities into departments of state, making them largely dependent upon Government. The system of affiliation has been condemned and teaching Universities are held up as the model. We thoroughly agree with the author when he says that it would be unfortunate if in India a degree ceased to have an intrinsic value, as in the United States of America, on account of a low standard of learning. The B. A. degree of most of the Indian Universities compares very unfavourably with the same degree of the British Universities. Even the M. A.'s are found to be incapable of doing research work in their own subjects.

It is curious that only a passing mention is made of the Congress-League scheme which had much to do with the shaping of the final proposals as outlined in the M.-C. report.

Leaving aside the few spots where the discussion in our opinion ought to have been fuller, the whole book bears unmistakable evidence of indefatigable industry and sound judgment. No pains have been spared to bring into requisition all the available knowledge about a particular topic, and the authorities quoted are thoroughly representative. The general reader ought to welcome heartily this latest attempt to elucidate the intricate minutiae of the Indian Constitution.

V. N. G.

THE SCIENCE OF EMOTIONS: BY BHAGAVAN DAS. Third Edition, Revised & Enlarged. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras, 1924.

THE writings of Babu Bhagavan Das are valued not only by Theosophists but by all those who are interested in making a comparative study of Philosophy and Religion, and in their bearing on the social and political life. His writings are marked by deep thinking and a searching analysis, coupled with extensive reading and an amazing wealth of illustrations drawn from the most varied branches of knowledge. All these features are in evidence in the book under review. But these are not without their shadows: much extraneous matter that sometimes only bewilders, or at best only informs but does not illumine; over-subtle distinctions that are striking but not convincing; a desire to find out ingenious correspondences between Indian and Western ideas and terms and between the several "triplets"—physiological, psychological, ethical and metaphysical; too much reliance on the authority of the Purāṇas and a tendency to put an allegorical interpretation on the incidents and characters described therein. Yet these defects do not detract to any considerable extent from the value of the book.

THE SCIENCE OF EMOTIONS is a psychological study and it deals with the problem of emotion in its various aspects, and with fulness of detail, the aim of the author evidently being to give us an insight into the nature, genesis and mutual relations of emotions. For this purpose he has followed the *introspective* and *analytical* method which only means that mental changes are considered prominently and not the physiological, and which does not mean that the author accepts the division of one life into two water-tight compartments, Mind and Body. He refutes both the extreme views of the physiological origin of emotions (James), and the emotional origin of physiological changes. Though he recognises a sort of psycho-physical parallelism, he definitely leans on the side of mind and not of body and holds that mind leads and body follows, that function determines structure. Further he connects the sciences of emotions with Metaphysics or Atma-Vidyā, and draws out ethical implications therefrom, the supreme ethical task being to control vicious impulses and to cultivate virtuous emotions. And virtuous emotions are all rooted in Love and the ground of all vice is Hate. Love and Hate are the two basic primary emotions. All the various emotions, vices and virtues are only love and hate combined in various proportions. Love is Virtue. Love is fulfilling the Law. The excellent analysis of some of the important emotions will prove to be of great use to moral aspirants, and they will feel obliged to Babu Bhagavan Das.

Some of the metaphysical doctrines and views about the World-process, which are characteristic of the Theosophical cult, however, to which the seve-

ral conclusions in the SCIENCE OF EMOTIONS are referred, cannot be acceptable to all. They are shrouded so much by mystery and occultism, and we might even say by superstition clothing itself in the garb of science. The evidence gathered from stray passages from ancient Indian writings and extracted from the records of the Psychical Research Society, and that furnished by the young science of psycho-analysis is not convincing. We might venture to suggest that an attitude of healthy-minded agnosticism in such matters will serve as the best corrective. We need not be very sorry if we are deprived of the support of the artificial props and the pleasures of fairy tales. In the work under review, however, there is not very much of such metaphysics.

In spite of the above-mentioned blemishes, which owing to limitations of space are not discussed in full, but only roughly mentioned, the book remains an excellent piece of analytical work in the domain of psychology of emotions, and a source of moral inspiration. And as such we heartily recommend the "Science of Emotions" by Babu Bhagavan Das to our readers.

N. G. DAMLE.

CORRESPONDENCE.

UPLIFT OF SUPPRESSED CLASSES AND RELIGIOUS FANATICISM

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR,—It is most unfortunate that fanatics and self-seekers of some type or other always make their appearance even in movements started with the noblest and purest of motives. The movement for the uplift of the Suppressed Classes has also secured a fair share of such people, both Hindus and Muhammadans. They are merrily busy spreading most vicious ideas and exciting the worst kind of racial passions which, if given full scope to propagate among the credulous masses, will do irreparable harm to the much-cherished Hindu-Muslim unity, though they may be helpful in removing untouchability and other disabilities of the Suppressed Classes to some small extent.

The appeals made by Hindu and Muslim Sangathanists, both in the press and on the platform, to their respective communities, make most painful reading. It is a common plea of the Hindu workers that if the six crores of untouchables are not given even their most natural rights, the number of cow-killers will rise from seven crores to thirteen crores, that is to say, that the Suppressed Classes will embrace Islam. Then there is another stock argument, which is full of grave consequences. Hindus are repeatedly reminded of the heart-rending atrocities of Malabar, Multan, Saharanpur and of numerous other places, and are asked to treat untouchables as men, in order to use them as shields against Muhammadan aggressions. Slides depicting scenes of Malabar and Multan tragedies are exhibited in all their freshness to fan the fury of Hindus against Mussalmans and to rouse enthusiasm in the former for the uplift of the Suppressed Classes. Few realise and appreciate that the raising of six crores of down-trodden and oppressed humanity to the level of men, setting aside all religious or political considerations, is in itself the greatest service to their religion, community and country.

But if the Hindus are to be blamed for the highly selfish motive which is prompting them in ameliorating the condition of the Suppressed Classes, what shall we say of some of our Muhammadan brethren who mean nothing but mischief in putting every possible obstacle in the way of the Hindu reform movement? In some places of the Punjab, Moslems have made an unholy alliance with orthodox Hindus in order to prevent them from following the lead of liberal Hindus and thereby getting rid of the curse of untouchability. Apparently these Moslem fanatics want to respect the tender feelings

and favourite prejudices of orthodox Hindus, but their real motive in doing so is to demonstrate to the Suppressed Classes that there is no place for them in the Hindu fold and that only Islam can give them social equality. As true Moslems, they should have rather welcomed the reform movement in Hinduism than to have followed such undesirable tactics. To what low level are some of the misguided Moslems reducing the highly democratic and straightforward Islam! It is simply painful to relate the methods, hidden and open, employed by these so-called religious enthusiasts. Suffice it to say that the writer has personally detected Maulvis assuming the garb of Hindu Sadhus for seducing untouchables to Islam. Cases of bribery have also been reported, though not fully substantiated.

Under these circumstances, the duty of every true social worker and well-wisher of the country is quite obvious. He should, whether he is a Hindu or a Moslem, steer his course clear of all religious and communal bias. Undisturbed and unruffled, his one aim and one religion should be the service of oppressed humanity. Let us make untouchables self-respecting men capable of standing on their own legs first and then they will, of their own accord, label themselves Hindu or Muhammadan, as they like. It is difficult to take a detached view of things and to be in the midst of the struggle at the same time, but as social workers and lovers of the country, we have to develop such an attitude of mind. The duty of political leaders especially in Northern India is also clear. They should leave their Council Chambers and happy urban homes and move about from town to town and from village to village to counteract the pernicious propaganda actively carried on by Hindu and Muhammadan fanatics. Otherwise the seed of Hindu-Muslim discord will be sown deep, which it would be difficult to root out. Repentance afterwards would be futile.—Yours etc.

MOHAN LAL.

Seva Ashram, Dharamsala.

BERAR FOR BERARIS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR,—It was the late lamented Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar of Amraoti who years ago raised this cry. He had also in accordance with this idea submitted to the Montagu-Chelmsford Committee definite proposals. His scheme was to create the districts of Berar into a Sub-Province with a common Governor over the Central Provinces and Berar. An executive council and a separate legislature were to be brought into existence. This draft also provided for a separate Judicial Commissioner. Now that the Ruler of Hyderabad has come forward to give Provincial Autonomy to Beraris, it would be better to examine the scheme of the late Rao Bahadur Mudholkar and represent to the Government of India and the Home Government that it is high time to give effect to this or some such scheme in the interest of the people of Berar.

It is now an open secret that the Beraris are not willing to go back to H. E. H. the Nizam, whatever "boons" he is going to offer. Some say matters would have been different had a Hindu Raja made such magnanimous offers. But it is not so. Those Indian States' subjects who have enjoyed British Rule for nearly a century or so would never like to go back to any Native Prince, be he Hindu or Moslem. It is a question of one-man rule or rule by the will of the peoples. Again the Indian States' subjects are under a system of double-government. The people of Berar do not want this double-government nor do they want to submit themselves to the one-man rule.

But at the same time it would be better to state clearly that the Beraris were unwilling to be yoked to the C. P. Government. Even now they keenly resent that their revenues should not be available to the full for their material welfare. A separate province is said to be not a practical question. Why not then create a sub-province according to the scheme already referred to? That is the only solution and a fitting reply to the controversy raised by H. E. H. the Nizam.

Akola.

T. R. GABER.

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