

THE Servant of India

Editor: S. G. VAZE.

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
TOPICS OF THE WEEK ...	241
ARTICLES:—	
Lord Winterton's Speech ...	243
Social Work amongst Gujarat Bhils. By A. V. Thakkar. ...	244
Overseas India. By H. C. E. Zacharias, Ph. D. ...	245
The Results of the Genoa Conference. By Professor Levin L. Schücking ...	247
WITHOUT COMMENT:—	
Treatment of Political Prisoners ...	250

TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

FEW will approve of the action of a *Marsh Sentence*. The Magistrate of Ahmedabad who tried the conductors of *Navajivan* and *Young India* in sentencing them to rigorous imprisonment, while the Public Prosecutor asked for only simple imprisonment. The Magistrate's reasoning was that a sentence of rigorous imprisonment was called for in the present case as the prosecution and conviction of Mr. Gandhi had produced no effect on the conduct of these papers. He shows very little knowledge of history or of human nature by this kind of reasoning and by expecting such a result from his action. Those who transgress the political sections of the criminal law do so out of deep-seated convictions and are not deterred by the mere nature of the punishment. It is unfortunate that persons who are in every way esteemable citizens should feel impelled to defy the authority of the State on certain occasions. They are not of the ordinary criminal population and the ends of justice would be fully met in their case by simple detention. Any appearance of vindictiveness on the part of the State would only defeat the very object of the imprisonment. That is why political prisoners are treated on a different footing from others in all civilized countries. The fact that in Bombay no special treatment is given them makes the Magistrate's action all the more regrettable.

Khaddar or Swadeshi?
KHADDAR enthusiasts will be very much disappointed to know from the figures relating to the sea-borne trade of the Madras Presidency during 1921-22, a review of which has just been published, that during the period when khaddar propaganda was most vigorous, the quantity of foreign yarn imported by the Presidency increased by no less

than 25 per cent. as compared with the figure for the previous year. And this in spite of the fact that the charkha was reputed to be as popular in the Andhra districts, which comprise nearly half the province, as anywhere else in the country. It is, however, gratifying to note that at the same time there was a decrease of 32 per cent. in the quantity of foreign cloth that was imported, though the unusual slump in all foreign trade and the enhancement of customs duties go far to explain this decrease. The result is more striking when a comparison is made with pre-war conditions:

	1913-14	1920-21	1921-22
Yarn imported in lakhs of lbs.	120	67	84
Cloth imported in lakhs of yds.	22,31	6,27	4,24

The fall in the import of foreign cloth is most remarkable. Madras is pre-eminently the province of the hand-loom in which foreign yarn is largely used for the manufacture of superior cloth. We are not at all sorry that that industry has not in any way suffered on account of the propaganda for the boycott of foreign yarn. On the other hand, we are glad it is supplying increasing quantities of hand-loom cloth to replace the fine imported cloth. It may not be success for khaddar, but it is certainly success for swadeshi.

* * *

In Maharashtra. NATIONALIST Maharashtra seems almost evenly divided on non-co-operation, most of the prominent men being obstinately opposed to it and an energetic group of junior men being in its favour. As a matter of fact if the former pulled their full weight, they could easily overwhelm the adherents of non-co-operation, but they hardly ever give a square fight, being always engaged in somewhat complicated manoeuvres designed to checkmate the other party. The result is that the uninfluential but intrepid non-co-operators can generally muster a larger striking force and get the better of their whilom leaders. Whenever the two factions happen to measure their strength. Latterly their struggle has degenerated into a peculiarly unseemly squabble, both parties giving rein to their utmost capacity for vituperation. A desire was therefore expressed in certain quarters that a halt should be called on both sides to this pleasant but rather unedifying pastime and an attempt made to establish a sort of workable understanding, if not a perfect reconciliation. Accordingly a Compromise Committee was appointed which held its meeting last week. After a protracted discussion of the points at issue, the

meeting discovered what anyone who is not a non-co operator could have found out without any elaborate research, that no compromise was possible between non-co-operation and its opposite. If Mr. Kelkar and his associates are eager to go into the Councils, as it is quite evident they are, they must begin from now to undo some of the mischief previously done by them in dissuading voters from exercising their franchise, and they must also declare in an unambiguous way whether they intend, after the election, to give up their seats in the Councils because of the requirement of an oath of allegiance, or whether they are committed to indiscriminate obstruction, or whether they will follow the Liberal policy of supporting all good measures and opposing all bad ones.

* * *

Decent Journalism. BEING in the profession ourselves, we are naturally jealous of the honour of journalism; perhaps almost as jealous as all our local contemporaries. And we must confess to have felt misgivings now and again as to the lengths to which disagreement with a political opponent or indignation at glaring abuses take writers in our papers. On the one hand a journalist naturally must steer clear of mere abuse or personalities, on the other his criticism will surely lack all effectiveness, if it is expressed in milk-and-water terms, insipid stuff incapable of arresting a reader's attention, let alone rousing his feelings. "Decent journalism" is the aim of every journalist in the world, in India, even in Maharashtra, but although the theory of decent journalism is well known, its application often presents practical difficulties. All the more thankful must one be when one is authoritatively given some practical illustrations as to what is and what is not "decent journalism." The *Mahratta* (and whose authority on such a subject could be greater?) in its issue of the 18th inst. castigates the *Bombay Chronicle*, which is told to have exceeded all bounds of "decent journalism" for referring to stories implying that somebody was "amenable to pressure from undesirable quarters." This outrage on decent journalism is held up for our execration, and the terms in which the *Mahratta* does so includes reference to the *Chronicle's* present editor as a "penny-a-liner and political and religious renegade," and once again, to the "presumptuous audacity for renegade mercenaries" to differ from the Maharashtra party. Which of course is "decent journalism."

* * *

Want of Truthfulness. ONE always likes to have clean opponents and we were therefore glad when *Swarajya* was started in Madras as a protest against the insincerity of those non-co-operators who, while preaching pure swadeshi and other doctrines of Mr. Gandhi, flourished on foreign advertisements and went about in foreign clothes—not wearing khaddar even at public meetings. But the atmosphere of non-co-operation is so charged with insincerity that even *Swarajya*,

the exponent of soul force, is unable to observe an ordinary standard of truthfulness. Relying on the vague report of a Ceylon paper, the *Bombay Chronicle* concluded that Mr. Sastri's "staffs" included two junior Sastris, 'one a son and the other a brother' and wrote a malicious note on the 'entourage' being 'as big as that of a second cousin of the Prince of Wales who might choose to visit and conciliate India.' *Swarajya* reproduces this note, pointing out, however, that the person mentioned as Mr. Sastri's son was not his son but a member of the Madras Education Service. But it did not occur to our worthy contemporary either to correct the *Chronicle* with regard to this "staffs" or to refrain from giving currency to a piece of false information. If it could know that one of these junior Sastris was in the Madras Education Service, it could also know whether he was on Mr. Sastri's staff or not. As for the brother, he is a well-known journalist in Madras carrying on his profession within a furlong of *Swarajya* office. The *Chronicle* might plead ignorance but not the former. *New India* promptly contradicted the *Chronicle* saying that these two Sastris only went as far as Ceylon to give a send-off to their friend and brother, but no one expects the *Chronicle* to make the correction. Does *Swarajya*, also not know better?

* * *

The White Australia Policy. MR. SASTRI'S acquiescence in the White Australia policy has been severely criticised by some of our contemporaries and among them by the *Bombay Chronicle* with that fineness of feeling and expression which of late has become so characteristic of it while writing about Mr. Sastri. There seems to be a general misconception in this country as to what that policy really stands for. "White Australia" is a popular and rather misleading expression. It does not mean the right of free and unrestricted immigration for the white race and a colour bar against the other races. Every year hundreds of white immigrants, some of them from England itself, are turned back and a few Asiatics are admitted into the colony. What Australia wants to prevent is the immigration of labourers and artisans who are likely to lower the standard of living in the Commonwealth. The law mentions no race or nation by name but has given power to the immigration officers to compel each immigrant to write out fifty words in any language they choose. This enables the Government to reject any undesirable person or class of persons. An Australian writer says on this subject:

"It (the White Australia policy) is not grounded on race or colour prejudice. No mention of that is made in the definition, for it is certain that if there were white men as radically different in ideals and as far beneath us in the standard of living as Asiatics are, Australians would reject them as immigrants with the same decision. But as it happens that all the races who would flood Australia under free immigration are 'coloured,'"

they will not trouble themselves to earn more than is necessary to meet their absolute needs and are a very merry people.

The present writer has come in personal touch with the Bhils of Gujarat, who live in the Dohad subdivision of the Panch Mahals and the adjoining States of Revakantha and Mahikantha Agencies, while doing relief work amongst them during periods of distress due to bad seasons. He has therefore had some opportunity of observing the weaknesses as well as the potentialities of that race. With regard to the economic condition of the Bhil, it may be said that as a general rule he is completely in the hands of his sowkar or money-lender in good season or bad, unless he has completely lost his credit. In good season he carries all his excess grain to the sowkar, who credits the price thereof to his account. If he wants to buy cloth for himself or his family or to get his son married, he goes to his sowkar, who is ready to oblige him with the necessary amount. In case he wants to have seed or to replace a dead bullock he goes to him, and is charged only 25 % as interest up to the next harvest, i. e. for a period not exceeding six months. The sowkar is his banker who will not give him any interest for his deposit as it is supposed to be idle money, but will charge him quite a high rate when he has a minus balance. A large land bank is a great necessity to assist him to escape the very kind attentions of a class of men who live on the labour of the over-trustful and illiterate Bhil. About twenty-five Co-operative Credit Societies have been recently started for them but this number has to be greatly increased before any appreciable good can come out of them.

The Bhil is in very great fear of the 'Mehtas' (officials) of the all-powerful Government and of the thousand and one regulations of the Sarkar. He will allow himself to be subjected to any zoolum on the part of the petty officials. Though daring and physically powerful, he will not grumble in the least against illegal exactions or corporal punishment inflicted by a peon or a talati. Illiteracy is his great enemy and he does not know how much power lies behind the art of reading and writing. Recently a few day schools and boarding schools are started by Government, the Christian Missions and other organizations in which the children are given primary instruction, but that is a very small beginning. It is not that they are indifferent to learning, but schools are not provided for them and the proper class of teacher, one with a missionary zeal, is not coming forward. The present writer has had the good fortune to supervise a free boarding school and a day school for Bhil boys recently started, and these schools are availed of much beyond his expectation and have filled with students.

An organization exclusively devoted to the service of the Bhils in Gujarat is a great necessity. It would be very effective if it undertook intensive work for their social and economic betterment in a small area. A devoted worker living among them would be able among other things :

(a) By personal contact to inculcate in them the habit of cleanliness and abstinence from drink. To teach the children of both sexes the art of reading and writing in schools to be started and to adults the habits of industry and hard work.

(b) To give them protection from the greed of the sowkar and to start co-operative credit and stores societies. To secure him against the petty tyrannies of the police, forest and land revenue subordinates.

(c) To hold periodical informal meetings and to read to them stories from Ramayana and other religious books and also to give them a certain amount of general information from the newspapers.

(d) To reform their customs in respect of marriage, birth, death and guide their caste meetings.

Steady and disinterested social workers from the educated and advanced classes are needed for carrying on such missionary work for the uplift of a section of our countrymen. It is not asking too much of Gujarat to supply a few such workers to work there for about ten years, if not for life.

A. V. THAKKAR.

OVERSEAS INDIA.

WHEN India, like its modern teacher England, talks of America, it means North America, as if the U. S. A. and the Dominion of Canada was all that mattered in the Western Hemisphere. But as a matter of fact there are two Americas, an Anglo-Saxon and a Latin one; and if the former is actually more important to-day, it cannot be doubted that to-morrow the potentially greater Latin America will have overshadowed it.

Whilst the two Americas extend from 83° north to 56° south, the compact Anglo-Saxon North, though responsible for nearly half the total area, only stretches south to 30° north—the Latin South consequently falling overwhelmingly into the tropics and sub-tropics with only about 15% of its total area in the temperate zone; but even the remaining 85% of Latin America covers an area four times that of the Indian Empire. As for population, out of a total of 20 crores for the whole of both Americas, Canada and the United States account for 12, leaving to Latin America, a population of one-fourth that of India, to inhabit an area four times its size. This population may again be conveniently grouped into three parts: Mexico, West Indies, &c. with nearly three crores; Colombia, Venezuela, Guiana and Brazil over two; and Bolivia, Equador, Peru, Chile, and the La Plata States with the balance of about three. As regards area, the second group equals in size the other two put together and therefore is of all Latin America the most underpopulated, which is only natural since it is an entirely tropical area, least of all suited to immigration from Europe, if one excepts the southern States of Brazil which resemble closely the La Plata States.

The population itself consists of the autochthonous "Red Indian" races, upon which within little more than four centuries two immigrant streams have been superimposed, first from Europe, second from Africa. Whilst the old Aztec population in Mexico and the Inca people of the West Andean region have successfully resisted the invading waves of aliens and there still form an important proportion of the total population, the indigenous races in the rest of Latin America never had any degree of culture and to-day are a rapidly vanishing factor. In the second group of countries, to which I would call special attention, the relative racial composition is as follows :

	Indigen- ous.	European.	African.	Mixed.	Total Mills.
Colombia	600,000	400,000	1,400,000	1,600,000	4
Venezuela	200,000	250,000	500,000	1,050,000	2
Brazil	1,000,000	8,000,000	2,000,000	7,000,000	18

What however to us must be most interesting about these countries, is the fact that during the last century there has been started a third wave of immigration—this time from Asia. The history of the surplus population of Asia trying to find a vent in the empty spaces of the Western hemisphere is best known in the Japanese attempts in California and the Chinese ones in British Columbia. But Latin America too has felt the impact of these two Mongol races. At one time Mexico was seriously alarmed by paper stunts foreshadowing its being swallowed up by Japan, whilst Chinese indentured labour was tried in the West Indies for some time. To-day it is Brazil which is receiving attention from Japan as a potential colonizing field. But whilst so far neither Chinese nor Japanese have "made good" in Latin America, one Asiatic race has done so, and that race happens to be the people of India.

The centre of gravity for India in Latin America lies in British Guiana, where arrived in 1838 the first "East Indian Coolies" for the sugar plantations of Demerara. To-day 45% of the total population of that Colony is East Indian; the next important race being the African, who form 40% of a total population of three lakhs. Mr. V. N. Tivary, fresh from his two months' visit to this Colony, has just been able to give to a Poona audience a graphic account of the Indian community of Guiana and Trinidad and must have whetted the appetite of all his hearers, as he did my own, for the forthcoming report of his Commission. Meanwhile we know already that this part of equatorial America physically might be a part of India, so nearly does it resemble it, and that Indians can and do flourish there exceedingly; indeed far and away more so than the settlers of any other race. Land, we were told, is passing rapidly into exclusive Indian ownership and rice cultivation, a purely Indian industry, is on the high road of

displacing the sugar industry, for which apparently the country is not half as well adapted as for rice—and jute. To hear Mr. Tivary, was to have visions of a second Bengal or Malabar in this far distant continent, and one naturally hopes that as a result of this Commission India as a whole will wake up to its duty of seconding the efforts of its own kith and kin, who are in a fair way of making possible the advent of a New India in the western hemisphere.

But one feels that whatever redress may be necessary in respect of the grievances of our fellow-countrymen in Guiana to-day; whatever rearrangement with the Colonial Office may have to be forced; whatever those Colonial Indians' cultural needs may be, the fulfilment of which they have a legitimate right to expect from their motherland—one feels, I say, that the matter must not rest there, but that, over and above all that occurs to one as needful from the point of Indians there, there are other considerations, more far-reaching and more weighty perhaps, to be kept steadily in mind from the point of view of Indians here. Directly it may only be a question of the Indians of Guiana; indirectly one surely ought boldly to envisage the reflex on India as a whole of a New India in Latin America. Already Indians have spilled over from British and Dutch Guiana into Venezuela, Colombia, Brazil; not to speak of West Indian Islands such as Trinidad. Latin America is of wonderful natural wealth, untouched, untapped for want of people. Those empty spaces are crying out for a population that can deal with its undeveloped riches—and having proved the special worth of the East Indian immigrant, it is not likely that this cry will or can remain unheeded. Sooner or later sons and daughters of India will come into their own there, as they already are coming into their own in British Guiana. If there they form 45% of the population to-day, how long will it take until they form 51%? And if so in British Guiana, why not gradually in the suitable tracts of the adjoining countries? And these countries are not only independent of European tutelage but free of the colour bar already. It is not as intended for perpetual cooliedom under a superior unpigmented race which rules there, that Indians would have colonize these parts. What then can hinder the founding of little (or great!) Indias in South America? Not as if by such peaceful penetration one necessarily expected Indians to add some more Colonies to the British Empire; nor even to establish Indian Overseas "Empire" of their own. United States of North America are Anglo-Saxon right enough without any political connection with either England or Saxony. Colonization does not necessarily mean annexation or domination, and, one hopes, never will mean the displacement of Indians.

What then has India to gain? But dreams came true and if part of what we see in Latin America became an Indian dream, to maintain, that good as such an event

the popular imagination has seized upon the accident and let the essential go, in the name it has given to the policy."

The Right to Restrict.

* * *

THE power to restrict immigration is inherent in every State and we believe no reasonable person would object to its exercise if it were not done in a narrow spirit of exclusiveness. Even thickly populated countries have had to restrict immigration when faced with undue economic competition to their own inhabitants. Japan, for instance, has general laws applicable to all foreigners alike. It easily permits them entry if they are travellers, students, merchants or missionaries from whom no economic evil is feared. But if they should be Chinese labourers it refuses permission. It is relevant to remember in this connection that the Afghan Government prohibited the Indian Mahajarins from entering Afghanistan on economic grounds when they began to appear in thousands, though on political and religious grounds they should have been warmly welcomed. If the Afghans or Chinese found life in India attractive and began to compete with our dock labour in Bombay or Calcutta, our provincial Governments would not feel any hesitation in taking suitable steps to keep them out. The same reasons that induce a Government to adopt a protective tariff should induce it to restrict immigration. Since all that the *Chronicle* wants is that Indians should not be excluded as Indians but only as a result of tests which should apply equally to all, we do not understand why it should attack the immigration policy of Australia, for in that country Asiatics are not excluded as Asiatics but personal tests are applied to the immigrants. This policy can be traversed only if Indians insist upon their unrestricted right of entry into Australia. India has already agreed to surrender that right temporarily and no one who acquiesces in that surrender, as the *Chronicle* does, can object to the line taken by Mr. Sastri in Australia.

Franchise Sentimental!

* * *

WHY Indians in Australia should be so anxious for the franchise is not obvious to the *Englishman*. Thousands in India, possessing the franchise, do not take the trouble to exercise it and in Australia the number of Indians is so small that their vote cannot be effective. Is not therefore their grievance purely sentimental? asks our contemporary. This attitude is a clear illustration of the proverbial lack of imagination of the average Englishman. In every European country there are similarly thousands of people who do not care to exercise their right of voting, but for that reason their nationals are not denied the franchise in Australia. Far from having merely a sentimental value, the vote, in the hands of a small community, is one of the most powerful instruments available to it for the redress of its grievances. Nor need any one be ashamed of being 'sentimental' about the status of his country.

LORD WINTERTON'S SPEECH.

EARL WINTERTON'S review of the Indian situation is not such as to inspire much hope or confidence in the policy, if it can be so called, of those who have acceded to power at the India Office. In respect to political affairs in general, their aim appears to be merely to carry on, to avoid taking any palpably reactionary step but also to refrain from giving any sign of a forward move in the near future. Lord Winterton administered a rebuke equally to those who asked for a whittling away of the present reforms on the ground that they had proved a failure and to those who asked for their expansion on the ground that they had succeeded remarkably well. He admitted that in so far as it was possible to pronounce an opinion on the working of the Reform Act for the past eighteen months, it must be regarded as a great success, redounding to the credit of Indian statesmen, but he thought it was extremely unwise to pull up the young plant by the roots after such a brief interval to see how it was growing. In this respect one feels that there is an entirely different spirit at work at the India Office now from that which prevailed under Mr. Montagu's régime. Probably if Mr. Montagu were asked to define his policy relating to further constitutional advance at the present time, he too would have said something similar, so great is the reaction in English opinion against India, but we know that Mr. Montagu would ever have been on the watch for a propitious moment when the question could be pressed on the attention of England with a chance of success. Although therefore the outward gesture is the same on the part of the Conservative Ministers now in power and the Liberal Minister who fell recently from power, there is no doubt that India has suffered a great deal by the fact that her destinies are now wielded by administrators who have too great a faith in the gradual development of self-government to appreciate at their full worth the requirements of the present situation. India's onward march on the road to home rule cannot be arrested except at grave peril to the Empire. And we only want statesmen far-sighted enough to realise that mere considerations of prudence require that the pace of reform in this country should be accelerated as much as possible. Earl Winterton and Lord Peel have not yet shown themselves to be gifted with such a vision.

The financial survey which the Under-Secretary took in the budget speech also betrays a lack of knowledge of the essential facts. If there is one difficulty from which India suffers more at this hour than from another it is the large budget deficits both in the provinces and at the centre, and what is worse, there is no prospect of these deficits being wiped out in the immediate future, but on the contrary there is every chance of their growing in volume year after year, unless austere economy is practised in every branch of the administration. Earl Winterton does not seem to have

course there could not be any doubt that such claims for demands against a starving country like Russia would never be worth much more than the paper on which they were written. Still, as in the case of Germany, such claims anyhow had a high political value, which was particularly sought in the expectation such claims offered of keeping Russia and Germany permanently separated. For the Russians had filed counter-claims which were to have wiped out the original claims: but the Allies, without questioning these counter-claims, referred Russia to section 116 of the Treaty of Versailles, under which Russia's right of sharing in the German indemnities was safeguarded—hoping thereby to draw Russia into the circle of Germany's creditors. But the Russians refused to swim into this net. On the contrary, they joined the Germans and concluded a treaty under which both parties mutually renounced all war claims.

Now although, politically, the moment chosen for making this treaty was inexpedient, since it was bound to irritate the other delegates, the lines of the treaty itself were absolutely right and really the first practical step towards that international reconciliation and understanding, the mere talk about which on the part of the victor-countries does little to persuade neutral observers of their sincerity. Nevertheless—not to say therefore—this Russo-German Treaty evoked a tremendous indignation on the part of a great many delegates. The French political press, headed by M. Poincaré, turned the purely economic treaty into a political and military one and pounced upon it as the much longed for opportunity of bringing the Conference to a violent and premature end. Lloyd George, however, succeeded in bridging the difficulties caused by their German Treaty and continued negotiations with the Russians. Poincaré's instructions to his representative Barthou to sabotage the Conference could thus under the stress of circumstances only imperfectly be executed.

Still, the demands formulated in the Allies' and Neutrals' Memorandum of May 2nd against Russia implied such material and spiritual sacrifices on the part of the Soviet Government as one cannot understand exactly anybody ready to undertake without gaining any adequate *quid pro quo*. For if Russia needs the money of the Western Powers, the Western Powers need equally the resources of Russia for their own recuperation. But the demands made came to this, that Russia was to recognize and take over all the liabilities of the former tsaristic government and undertake after a delay of ten years to pay a sum calculated at £1,000 million; whilst Russia's urgent request for direct governmental credits was as little met as even its modest desire for *de jure* recognition. As a result the Russians of course declined the suggestions made to them—as clear-headed visitors of the Conference like J.M. Keynes had expected from the beginning—and have offered instead to submit all these financial questions to a special Commission of experts to meet at the

Hague, provided the Soviet is given equal representation thereon.

It is in this way that the monster-orchestra of the Genoa Conference has been reduced to a little bit of chamber-music, the enchanting power of which however is expected to be irresistible through the inclusion of a special Lloyd-Georgian peace flute. All participants shall for the duration of the Commission's activities refrain from all hostile acts and respect all *de facto* frontiers. If, as seems to be the case, these regulations are the final net result of Genoa, one cannot but conclude that the Conference has been completely side-tracked. Not even the question of the rape by Poland of Vilna and East Galicia was considered in connection with the affairs of Russia—thanks to the collaboration of the Little Entente with France. It seems therefore hardly far-fetched to fear that the labours of the new Commission too will from the very start be sabotaged by France and after some time quietly peter out.

At all events the Conference can at least in so far be considered to have been held not altogether in vain, since at least it has shown to the world where are to be found the bitter enemies of the idea of European solidarity and peaceful compromise, and how singlemindedly and regardless of consequences these people work against everything that might lead to a real pacification of the world. They have furthermore helped to reduce the war psychosis amongst the representatives of the other countries and, the feeling of European solidarity has at least to some little extent been strengthened by Russia's and Germany's readmission to the common deliberations. On the other hand the utter impotence of the Neutrals has never been more painfully manifested. The one surprise has been to find that after all Poland and the Little Entente were not being dominated by France to quite the extent which the rest of Europe had expected—a significant indication of the degree of infatuation reached by France, which makes it impossible for even her best friends to go with her through thick and thin. The latter event also proved that Russia—shaken and mutilated though she be—is after all too big to be treated *en quantité négligible* by her neighbour States. Czechoslovakia, for instance, and some other countries have, according to the latest news, concluded economic treaties after the German model with Soviet Russia and in Finland public opinion has just succeeded at the eleventh hour to frustrate the country's adhesion to the Francophil Baltic Entente by forcing the Cabinet to resign. All of which proves that after all Paris has managed to over-draw its bow.

More difficult is it to assess the consequences to the Entente itself of this Genoa Conference. The French press represents Germany as waiting with feverish excitement for the complete disruption of the Entente and working on their own part in that direction. This is hardly correct—for one knows only too well in Germany that, once free of

the English brake, France would rush into the Ruhr Basin and that still more evil days would be Germany's lot. On the other hand it does seem high time that the world should make the French people, who themselves are sensible and industrious, understand that its destinies are being guided by politicians, whose infatuation borders on madness.

LEVIN L. SCHÜCKING.

Breslau, May 15.

WITHOUT COMMENT.

TREATMENT OF POLITICAL PRISONERS.

REPRESENTATION BY THE DECCAN SABHA.

THE following representation on the subject of the Treatment of Political Prisoners has been submitted to the Bombay Government by the Secretaries of the Deccan Sabha:—

We have the honour, on behalf of the Deccan Sabha, to address to you the following representation on the subject of the treatment of political offenders while in gaol. This question has become very urgent now in the Bombay Presidency as in other provinces, as on account of the non-co-operation movement several persons of education and high station in society have elected deliberately to commit offences against the State which entail upon them sentences of imprisonment, with or without hard labour. The information that we have been able to obtain in regard to the treatment which such persons receive in gaol in the Bombay Presidency leads us to conclude that, while in individual cases some amount of leniency is shown, political offenders as a class are not treated differently from ordinary criminals.

2. That political offenders should be accorded special ameliorative treatment is a principle on which, happily, it is unnecessary to expatiate at great length. It is sometimes objected that what are popularly called political offences often involving as their direct consequence an outbreak of lawlessness and the overthrow of public order, have nothing particularly venial about them and persons guilty of them do not deserve less severe punishment or prison treatment than other offenders whose crimes perhaps have less disastrous results from the point of view of the public; also that if a prison, which must always be a place of dread and discomfort, is rendered a place of ease and comfort for political offenders, the State would be putting a premium upon lawlessness. The answer to these objections is that the gravity of an offence is measured as well by the motive which inspired the offence as by the consequences which it entails, and it is now regarded as an axiom of penal discipline that persons guilty of offences which do not involve moral turpitude should receive milder prison treatment than those who commit offences which involve moral turpitude. The *raison d'être* of such a discrimination in favour of political offenders is thus set out by Mr. Frederic Harrison:—

"A political offender should never be regarded and punished in the same way as an ordinary criminal. For the former commits offences not for any private gain but from a sense of public duty; instead of feeling himself humiliated he regards his act as a public service; he is looked upon as a martyr by his own party and above all, though he may be detested by his political opponents, he is not certainly considered by them dishonoured. It is however quite different with an ordinary convict. No one will associate with a thief; the latter himself will hang down his head in shame when he comes across an honest man; in short, even in his own estimate, he is but a degraded creature who has lost his character as a self-respecting human being."

3. The principle was vindicated, though in its more limited form, in the House of Commons on March 27, 1922, by the present Under-Secretary of State for India, Earl Winterton, when it was challenged by Col. Yate. Lord Winterton said, in reply to a question:—

"The general principle underlying the distinctions made is that while a person who deliberately incites to violent crime deserves no less severe treatment than the person who actually commits such crime, there is a large class of cases in which a man who, presumably from honest motives, expresses political views the public expression of which is an offence under the law, should not be subjected to humiliating treatment or classed with criminals whose offences show moral obliquity."

No doubt, it is only in regard to the public expression of political opinions that a differentiation in prison discipline happens to be justified here, but it is a principle capable of more extended application. Indeed, the Government of India have already gone farther in recommending differential treatment for political offenders than the Under-Secretary's reply, strictly interpreted, would seem to warrant. For they have suggested to all Local Governments that "persons recently sentenced to rigorous imprisonment under Act XIV of 1908 or under the Seditious Meetings Act should receive differential treatment in jail in the matter of diet, clothing, labour, etc." (*vide* Legislative Assembly Debates of January 16, 1922, p. 1601). This policy recommends special prison treatment for persons convicted not only of an illegal expression of political views but of a deliberate defiance of law, punishable under the Criminal Law Amendment Act.

4. Now we would earnestly plead that the policy enunciated by the Government of India does not adequately meet the requirements of the situation. Among the political offenders who have been awarded a sentence of imprisonment, there is a considerable proportion of persons who have been convicted under the political sections of the Indian Penal Code and the Criminal Procedure Code and such persons are in similar case with those who are convicted under extraordinary laws like the two Acts mentioned by the Government of India. If the principle of special treatment for *any* class of political offenders is sound, it must comprehend within its scope *all* classes of such offenders who have neither committed nor incited to acts of violence; it must therefore clearly apply to offenders sentenced to imprisonment, e. g., under sections 124 A and 153 A, Indian Penal Code, or for non-compliance with orders made under section 118 read with section 108, and also section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code, as well as to offenders sentenced under the Seditious Meetings Act or the Criminal Law Amendment Act. It is not possible to distinguish between these two classes of offenders on any valid principle.

5. Nor can it be maintained that the policy laid down by the Government of India forbids Local Governments to go beyond the limits there defined. The administration of prisons is a provincial subject, fully within the competence of the Local Governments. All that the Government of India have done is to convey to the Local Governments their wishes as to the treatment in gaol of a certain class of political offenders at a time when the extensive application of the Criminal Law Amendment Act and the Seditious Meetings Act had produced a critical situation. Their silence as to the treatment of other classes of political prisoners is not to be interpreted into a hostility on their part to extending special treatment to any of these classes, and in any case the Local Governments^s have the power, if they have also the will, of giving effect in its entirety to the principle which the Government of India had occasion to recommend to them in a limited sphere. Having acknowledged the principle to be sound, the Local Governments have no alternative but to carry it to its logical conclusion by ordering special treatment to be given to all classes of political prisoners.

6. In the Bombay Presidency there has been no occasion to apply the Seditious Meetings Act or the Criminal Law Amendment Act, and therefore the public have no means of knowing definitely what the Bombay Government's attitude is towards the Government of India's suggestion regarding the treatment of persons convicted under those Acts. But it is to be presumed that the Bombay Government is not opposed to that suggestion, and that if there were any prisoners in this Presidency convicted under the above-mentioned Acts, it would not have been behindhand in carrying the suggestion

the Indo-Americans themselves, it would be incomparably better still for old India. Why has Europe gained her supremacy, if not because she has refused to remain within her original limitations? Spaniard and Portuguese, Dutchman and Frenchman and Englishman have expanded their spiritual no less than their material worlds, by coming out of their shells, by leaving the safe routine of the past and venturing on the improvisation of a novel future. They have learnt to act instead of dreaming; to act on their own, instead of in accordance with mere precedent; to venture gaining a new world by risking to lose both the old and the new; to live dangerously, if only more and more fully. They are as the American slang truly puts it, "live people." On the other hand self-contained, self-centred countries as China, and Japan and India so largely have been for a thousand years, are thereby condemned to stagnation, atrophy, nay even, eventual degeneracy. Asia is so prone to be satisfied with her great past that she has forfeited her right to the present—and unless and until she relinquishes her self-complacent aloofness from the rest of the world, of which after all she only forms a part, she will lose her future too.

That is why Latin America in my opinion offers to India to-day her greatest opportunity. The British Empire cannot complain. South Africa, East Africa, Canada, Australia do not want further Indian immigrants. Very well. Only let that not be taken by India either as if thereby her overseas episode had ended or as if she could do nothing better than go on running her head against a stonewall. If within the British Empire an Indian is not welcome, it is well to remember that outside of it there are not a few countries only too eager to invite his help and co-operation. If to-day Indian enterprise got in touch with some of the equatorial States of Brazil, for instance, there is no doubt that such immigration and colonization by Indians would be most warmly welcomed and would receive whole-hearted support there—without the shadow of any suspicion of unequal status or racial inferiority. The right hand of fellowship would go out to them, as it cannot, alas, to-day go out to a "coloured" man by any "white" government.

Let India then strike out on the new path that Providence seems to be opening before her; let her create new worlds, as she is capable of doing; let her set up free daughter nations of her own culture, untrammelled by white domination—and the quickening stream of new life cannot but surge back upon the land from which it flowed originally, fertilizing its own old civilization into a second and even more fruitful harvest. Here is the opportunity: will India redeem it?

H. C. E. ZACHARIAS.

THE RESULTS OF THE GENOA CONFERENCE.

I.

THOUGH the Genoa Conference has not yet actually terminated, it is rapidly drawing to its close and its balance may well be struck. There is no doubt that Genoa means a simply crushing defeat of the Lloyd George policy. Mr. Lloyd George's adherents are quite right in praising his extraordinary adroitness in dealing with men and in admiring that skill of his—amounting to genius—of sailing against the wind and of restoring equilibrium to almost hopeless situations. But are such qualities indeed all that is needed to direct the policy of a world empire and to decide the fate of millions and millions of human beings? One cannot but admire the tenacity with which Lloyd George is fighting the imperialism of France, but he actually seems more like a driver who, having been hurled from his seat on the coach, tries to run alongside in an effort of picking up the reins again, without as yet being able to check in the least the furious pace of his bolting team. But whose is the fault that the bolting French horses are to-day able to drag the coach of European civilization so irresistibly towards the precipice, no longer controllable by the reins of commonsense? Does no guilt attach to the driver himself?

The English people entered the world war with two objects in view. For one thing they had to frustrate Germany's attempt at gaining a permanent foothold in Belgium: which, if successful, would have constituted an equally permanent menace to England. For another, they had to preserve the principle of the European equilibrium which has been England's policy since the days of Pitt and which undoubtedly was jeopardised by an ever stronger and ever more threatening German militarism. But there came during the progress of the war a moment, when those ends of England had actually been accomplished; and at that moment a truly far-seeing statesman, had there been such a one at the head of the British Empire, would have made peace. Even such an apostle of violence as Bismarck was in 1866 almost timidly careful not to push his huge military advantages against Austria as far as the momentary situation would have permitted him to do, because he was keeping his eye on the future. Not so Lloyd George! Allowing himself to be carried away by the enthusiasm, the jingoism, the political heedlessness of the masses, he became the advocate of a policy of the knock-out blow and refused to stay his hand, until the enemy had actually dropped unconscious on the ground. What was the result for England? For a domination of Europe by Germany was substituted that by France—and thus the principle of the European equilibrium remained not only threatened, but had actually disappeared. As regards Belgium, its neutrality, which had been the object of so much anxiety and of so many sacrifices, was equally destroyed by the

Franco-Belgian Military Convention which delivered Belgium into the hands of France.

All steps that Lloyd George has taken since, including his very latest, have been nothing but vain attempts at repairing or at least mitigating the almost incredibly stupid mistake made by him then. All his otherwise so admirable qualities, however, have availed him nothing; for even the greatest skill, successful though it be in composing a domestic strike of transport workers, is poor substitute for the statesmanship required in world politics. Take the paradox of the premisses on which the Genoa Conference assembled. The Versailles Treaty, Reparations and Disarmament were barred. But what use is there in a consultation of doctors who may not refer to the disease, nor to its etiology, nor to its symptoms? And the disease is gaining ground daily. One calculates that there are in Europe about four, in the whole world about ten million unemployed—which means that, including the families dependent on them, there are at least *twelve million people* in Europe to-day and nearly thirty millions in the whole world who have been deprived of their usual income. Since the Armistice 25,000 million gold francs have been spent, privately and publicly, on the maintenance of these out-of-works; in 1921 alone 10,000 millions. The loss in wages since the termination of the war amounts to about 60,000 million gold francs, whilst the decrease in the amount of goods produced—due to the non-utilization of available labour and plant—represents a further loss of more than 100,000 million gold francs. Everywhere the purchasing power of the people has dropped to a quite terrifying extent. Whilst millions in central and eastern Europe go about in rags and have been forced into involuntary vegetarianism, the great sheep-masters of South America have to kill a large proportion of their flocks, as they cannot find purchasers for their wool nor even enough money to pay the sheep-shearers. Whilst in Russia twenty million people are literally starving to death, wheat is used as fuel in other parts of the world. Germany has been forced to make incessant payments and, to do this, has to buy foreign exchange which it pays for by an issue of paper money, the value of which decreases as its volume increases. Its domestic market being too pauperized to consume, Germany is forced to resort on a huge scale to a policy of dumping abroad and thus obtains by a feverish activity of its industry the means of obtaining money from abroad. These cheap German products on their part result in unemployment in all parts of the world.

This truly insane state of affairs calls for a statesman capable of and willing to deal radically with it: and only a complete revision of the Versailles Treaty can effect this. There is not a political economist in the world who does not agree that the German liabilities have to be reduced from the fantastic figure at which it has pleased France to assess them to the modicum of an

amount which Germany can be reasonably expected to meet. Only thus would it be possible to re-establish German credit, thus enabling Germany to raise a foreign loan; only thus could the economic recovery of the world be restarted. But of course, in that case Germany too would be regaining strength. And, frankly, that would be a menace if Germany was still the old Germany of the Kaiser. But from a democratic and demilitarized Germany the world has got nothing to fear. The world has no interest in keeping Germany for ever on her sick-bed: on the contrary, heavy damage is thereby inflicted on all. Only an imperialistic France has the very greatest interest in keeping Germany for ever in a state of utter impotence: for only thus can she hope to achieve her purpose, which consists in depriving Germany permanently of Saar District and Rhineland, thus perpetuating the military supremacy of France over the whole of Europe,—ends which are quite openly confessed in Paris.

Since, then, the interests of France are diametrically opposed to those of the rest, it would obviously be the first and most urgent task of a real statesman, to get beyond war and after-war-psychozes and at all costs take resolute action in the only possible direction, even though such action meant the end of a friendship, however precious. At all events the world did expect that at least the first few steps towards sanity would be taken at Genoa—did expect it, notwithstanding all that had happened before. But of that expectation, needless to say, not even the least fraction has been fulfilled.

II.

THE cream of Europe's financial and economic experts assembled at Genoa: but all their fine resolutions are not likely in future to have even the slightest practical importance. Already during the Conference they were completely put into the shade by the one great problem, the discussion of which the French *ensor mundi* had kindly permitted—viz. the question of re-establishing relations with Russia. The desperate economic position of Russia compelled representatives of the Soviet to come to Genoa, and Mr. Lloyd George obviously believed that this position would make the Russians ready to give way. But in Moscow these dangers, to which one would have to expose oneself at Genoa, had been quite accurately realised long before the Conference met and the watchword had been openly given out in Moscow that at all costs a Russian Versailles was to be prevented.

When the negotiations with the Russian delegates began, it became manifest that the Russian fears had not been unfounded. According to the financial member of the Russian delegation, M. Rakowski, the allied demands amounted to between 62,000 and 68,000 million gold francs, plus 1500 million interest—i. e. more than $\frac{1}{3}$ the total income of Russia and more than the total expenditure of the Russian budget. Of

into effect. Consequently, we would urge upon the Bombay Government the necessity of giving preferential treatment to those political prisoners whom it has upon its hands.

7. In fact what we have been pressing upon the Bombay Government has already been put in force in a greater or smaller degree by several other Local Governments. In the United Provinces and Bihar and Orissa, to select only two examples, the Governments concerned have already issued orders to the effect that special ameliorative treatment should be given to political prisoners convicted under the ordinary law. It should be observed that in these provinces such prisoners are not given special treatment for reasons of health alone, but in virtue of the fact that they are political offenders as contradistinguished from ordinary criminals. In the United Provinces a large number of prisoners sentenced under the Criminal Law Amendment Act are being treated as first-class misdemeanants used to be treated in England and a large number of political prisoners sentenced under other laws than the Criminal Law Amendment Act are being accorded special treatment as second-class misdemeanants, and a number of the latter class of prisoners, "though sentenced to rigorous imprisonment in the first instance, have not in fact been subjected to ordinary gaol labour and discipline." In Bihar and Orissa the rule in regard to this matter appears to be more satisfactory, inasmuch as (i) prisoners sentenced under the ordinary law as well as those sentenced under the two special Acts are treated as first-class misdemeanants, and (ii) it is not left to the discretion of the gaoler or any other official to sanction or refuse special treatment to any individual prisoner, the gaoler being required to follow general instructions which do not vary in individual cases. The Inspector-General of Prisons in that Province has ordered the gaolers under him to treat all prisoners sentenced under the Criminal Law Amendment Act, section 124 A and 153 A, Indian Penal Code, or section 108 read with section 118 of the Criminal Procedure Code "as if they had been sentenced to simple imprisonment." It is claimed by him that the rules in force in Bihar and Orissa to all intents and purposes prescribe the same level of treatment for political prisoners as is prevalent in England, for in England persons convicted of sedition or seditious libel are treated as offenders of the first division, and this class, he says, corresponds more or less to persons sentenced to simple imprisonment in India. The fact, however, would seem to be that the treatment accorded to first division offenders is equivalent to civil imprisonment, and thus persons convicted of sedition are entitled to better treatment in England than any class of political offenders obtains anywhere in India.

8. It is the desire of the Government of India, as would appear from Earl Winterton's reply to Col. Wedgwood's question in the House of Commons on April 11, 1922, to secure uniformity of practice in all provinces in the treatment of political offenders. The Deccan Sabha begs to suggest that the uniformity should be secured on the best and not on the worst model, and that the Bombay Government should level up its prison treatment instead of the Bihar and Orissa Government leveling down its standard to suit Bombay. Another consideration may be advanced here. In some provinces difficulty is made by the Local Governments on account of the fact that a proportion of the political offenders they have to deal with are ruffians hired for the occasion with the avowed purpose of going to prison, and it is maintained that whatever privileges it may be right to grant to persons who commit offences from a genuine if mistaken sense of public duty, it must be wrong to extend such privileges to mere hirelings. The Bombay Presidency is generally free from this difficulty. Here, presumably, the political offenders act from honest motives and are therefore entitled to the kind of special treatment which is accorded to them, e. g., in Bihar and Orissa.

9. The Bombay Government will perhaps call for a precise definition of "political prisoners" and the ameliorations which it is desired such prisoners should receive in their prison treatment. Fortunately, we are enabled to cite here a statement issued by the Irish Government on April 20, 1920,

which contains such definitions. The Deccan Sabha will be content if the provisions set out therein are made applicable to the Bombay Presidency.

10. We ask for special treatment for political prisoners because we are convinced that it is right in principle to do so. But this argument from abstract principle is also reinforced by consideration of expediency. We have no doubt in our mind that there will be an appreciable reduction in the amount of bitterness which a large portion of the politically-minded sections of the community feel against the British Government because of its pursuit of a policy involving the imprisonment of many persons, if proof is afforded to them of the Government's desire not to be vindictive towards those whom public policy has led it to throw into prison. No more impressive proof of this desire on the part of the Government is possible than an order to relieve the prison treatment of political offenders of all its degrading features and to grant them all such relaxations of prison discipline as similar offenders are granted, for instance in England.

11. An objection is sometimes urged against the framing of rules of the nature indicated above, on the ground of executive interference with judicial discretion. It is said: It may be very well to enact a law that political offenders who are not guilty of acts of violence or of incitement to violence should be sentenced to simple imprisonment. But that is not the law in force at present, it being left to the discretion of the magistracy to impose a sentence of imprisonment, either simple or rigorous. Such being the case, it would offend against the elementary principle of the independence of the judiciary to alter those sentences by executive action and to make them more or less equivalent, in every case, to simple imprisonment. But the objection is more plausible than substantial. The Executive Government have always reserved to themselves, and rightly so, the right of reviewing judicial sentences under § 402 of the Criminal Procedure Code, and when a crisis is produced thousands of political offenders being sent to gaol, it becomes the obvious duty of the Government to ameliorate their prison treatment temporarily by administrative rules till such rules are replaced by legislative provisions. At all events, the objection here taken is no more applicable to political offenders convicted under the ordinary law than to those convicted under special laws, and since the Government has already introduced modifications into the treatment of the latter by means of executive rules, there is no reason why it should not introduce similar modifications into the treatment of the former by the same means.

12. The submission of the Deccan Sabha, therefore, is that the Bombay Government should forthwith issue orders on the lines of the orders of the Irish Government, which we have quoted in full in the appendix subjoined below.

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