

THE Servant of India

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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

Mexico. FROM the English papers to hand last mail we see that England is resuming diplomatic relations with Mexico. The fact is of importance in several ways, certainly more so than an American train smash or an English golf tournament about which *Reuter* regales us with columns of detailed description: yet, as far as India is concerned, this fact only leaks out, so to say. Mexico of course is not in good odour. For one thing, its government is in the hands of Socialists; for another, its President Calles during his recent visit to Europe singled out Germany as the one European country linked as with his own by bonds of genuine friendship. England obediently followed the lead of the United States eight years ago, in refusing to recognize the government of President Obregon, the predecessor of President Calles, who had been put into power by a revolution of the industrial workers and agricultural peons against the big landowners and the even bigger foreign oil magnates. The United States since then have realized that nothing is gained by a purely negative attitude and resumed diplomatic relations with President Obregon: but England, whether by inertia or for some other reason, continued aloof, and not a few followers of Mr. MacDonald were grievously disappointed in him last year, when they found, that not only was no official recognition of the Mexican Labour Government forthcoming, but that relations between the two countries had become even worse under the first English Labour Premier. It certainly is curious, to say the least, that M-

Chamberlain should recognize Mexico and Mr. MacDonald have refused to do so. President Calles also visited Geneva the other day and declared himself ready to consider Mexico's entry into the International Labour Organization, if not into the League of Nations; but he let it be understood, that these questions were not practical politics as long as a permanent Council member like England treated the Mexican government as non-existent. Has, one wonders, pressure been brought to bear on Mr. Chamberlain by Geneva, not to spoil the League's chances in Mexico?

* * *

THE *African World* which made its "Africa for the Africans." appearance on May 23 claims to be the only weekly national organ printed in the English and Bantu languages. It is edited by Professor Jas. Thaele, a Negro, and published at 115, Waterkant Street, Cape Town (12s. 6d. per annum). The publication of this paper is significant, for it indicates a definite turn which race arrogance is giving to the attitude of Africans towards Europeans. "Africa for the Africans: Europe for the Europeans," is the motto which the paper bears. Its policy is thus outlined: "Programme and the method of the Irish Leader Eamon de Valera, the adamant stand of Hindu politicals Mr. C. Das and Mohondas Mahtma Ghandi will be brought home. Garveyan philosophy will form a part and parcel of its theme." The way in which the names of persons are strung together, even ignoring their incorrectness, does not disclose any great knowledge of the fundamental difference in policies pursued by them. But the implication is unmistakable: it is deep resentment against racial injustice and tyranny, a resentment which may even break out in widespread violence. It is the inevitable result of 'I prefer the land to the native' policy of the whites. White civilization, particularly that variety of it which is festering in South and East Africa, is not worth saving at any cost, not even at the cost of a few millions of mere natives.

* * *

SINCE the position of Mr. N. M. Joshi, M. L. A., in regard to the cotton-mill crisis has been deliberately misrepresented in interested quarters, we quote the following from the interview he accorded recently to the Bombay correspondent of the *Leader*. He told this correspondent that "he was opposed to the penalising of the workmen as a result of the depression. If the millowners have reserve funds, out of profits made during good years, for equalising dividends, it is their duty to utilise the same source for equalising wages. He added that he was a believer in industrial progress in this country, that he was not one of those who held that India's role was to produce agricultural wealth and raw mate-

rials and ship them to foreign lands and to get in return finished commodities, but he maintained that he had no sympathy with unregulated industrial progress. He further maintained that the interests of workmen and taxpayers were as supreme as those of manufacturers and if the latter were given protection, there ought to be some public control over them and they must also guarantee proper treatment to workmen. Industrial progress in Western countries has often converged on revolutionary agitations, and Mr. Joshi did not want that to happen in his country. He was a firm believer in evolution and, therefore, he would see to it that all parties were treated fairly." In conclusion, he said: "These are views for which I am being cried down as an enemy of industrial progress in India." Speaking about the strike he remarked "that he could not say that it would bring redress to workmen; in fact it may increase their difficulties. But he felt that if the workmen kept quiet, the millowners would go on reducing wages from time to time, always pleading some patriotic excuses." Is this so wildly irresponsible after all?

* * *

The Mill Industry. AT a time when almost the whole Press is controlled by capitalists and is inundating the country with literature in the interests of the employers, it reflects much credit on the All-India Trade Unions Congress that it has issued, out of its slender resources, two leaflets giving the workmen's version of the whole affair. One leaflet reprints the admirable articles that appeared in the *Bombay Chronicle* some time ago and the other embodies the representations made by the Textile Workers' Deputation to the Governor. Both are indispensable for a proper understanding of the view of the champions of labour. Our readers are familiar with the reasoning contained therein, but a wider public must be made aware of the fact that throughout the negotiations labour leaders have taken up a most reasonable attitude and shown an accommodating spirit and that both the millowners and authorities have been unresponsive. The mill-industry has practically come to a standstill, all but one mill being closed. If this is grave injury to the millowners, it involves the workers in utter ruin. All but a handful have been deprived of work and every train leaving Bombay is crammed full of the unemployed. As the *Bombay Chronicle* said, it is in times of depression that any industry can be properly overhauled, and the mill industry now requires a thorough investigation. This modest demand of the workers ought to meet with ready response from the general public and in the meanwhile the Government must take measure to alleviate the distress of the workpeople. We hope that something will be immediately done.

* * *

Changed out of Recognition. THE false step which the leader of the Swarajist party took in the Legislative Assembly in supporting the reference of the Contempt of Courts Bill to the Select Committee is apparently too bitter a pill for even the camp-followers of Pandit Nehru to swallow. For Mr. Satyamurti raised the matter once again at Patna, but the explanation he received was as void of justification as any so far vouchsafed. The changes which the Government of India agreed to introduce were so momentous, the Pandit pleaded, that they rendered necessary a revision of the position of blank opposition originally decided upon by the Party. The only important change was that the Bill does not seek to define contempt but leaves it to the Court to decide. It is worthy of remark in this connection that so eminent a lawyer as Sir

Harisingh Gour regards this alteration as a serious retrogression instead of an improvement. Whether the definition of contempt is widely or narrowly drawn, it is much better, Sir Harisingh maintains, that the law itself should lay it down in precise terms instead of leaving its interpretation to the individual whims of judges. Even granting that the deletion of the definition is an unmixed good, its incorporation still leaves the cardinal features of the Bill intact. But compare the attitude of the Swarajist Party to this Bill with that to the Maternity Benefits Bill, which too that Party helped to defeat. Asked why Pandit Nehru and his followers did not support Mr. Joshi's Bill, the Swarajist leader explained that the Bill was so clumsy that they could not give it their support. The Bill was clumsy only in the sense that certain provisions were purposely left over to be discussed in the Select Committee. Mr. Joshi evinced every desire to meet the objections that may be urged against any particular provision. But Pandit Nehru would not go near this private Bill, though a Government Bill riddled with objections by Liberals and Independents he went out of his way to support in the hope, as he says, that it would be amended out of recognition in the Select Committee. What has changed, however, past identification, is not the Contempt of Courts Bill, as a result of Pandit Nehru working on it, but the Swarajist policy of "uniform, consistent and continuous obstruction."

* * *

Prohibition in Bombay.

WE commend to the serious attention of our readers the rejoinder, quoted elsewhere, which the Deccan Sabha has returned to the Bombay Government's defence of its policy against the original criticisms of the Sabha. The present Minister of Excise in Bombay has achieved cheap fame by declaring Prohibition to be the ultimate goal of excise policy. His readiness to commit the Government to a definition of the final objective is excelled only by his unwillingness to bind himself to any kind of immediate action that will lead to an appreciable reduction of drink. Here he takes shelter behind the supposed hostility of the Legislative Council to the proposals of taxation that will of course be necessary to replace the excise revenue. Let this be put to the test. He can absolve himself from blame only if he makes such proposals to the Council and the Council rejects them. It will then be his duty to give up office and to promote the measures, which he wishes to introduce but cannot because the Council would not let him, as the leader of the Opposition. From the personal point of view it is no doubt unfortunate that he can exculpate himself only by throwing up office, and that he falls a victim to the unreasonable attitude of the Legislative Council. But it is the lot of all responsible Ministers, and he too like them must take the hard and the soft together. If he is not willing to take the risk of loss of office, he has no right to cast the blame upon the Legislative Council for his inaction. He will then lay himself open to the jibe which Sir Basil Blackett levelled against the Bombay Government in the Legislative Assembly. Sir Basil felt sure that not even in a century or two would the Bombay Government do anything to bring the goal of Prohibition nearer. If the present Minister's policy continues, the taunt of the Finance Member may well come true. The Deccan Sabha has done well to expose in stinging terms the deliberate distortion of the Excise Committee's recommendations contained in the Government's reply.

SEEDS OF DISUNION.

WHATEVER else the Patna decisions may do, they certainly will not conduce to unity. In fact the Congress will henceforth become, as a result of the proceedings of the All-India Congress Committee, a palpably one-party affair as it never was before. Mahatma Gandhi and his no-changer followers have practically withdrawn from the Congress. They will no doubt be in it for some time, but will not be of it. The Congress is now to become (once again) a predominantly political body, but in its politics the orthodox non-co-operators will have no part or lot. They will concern themselves with the constructive programme, which is non-political, and as a separate organisation has been set up for the promotion of this programme it will in effect drop out of the Congress agenda, and the no-changers will be left without any functions to perform in the Congress. It is the law of nature that a functionless organ becomes effete, and it will not be long before the no-changers will tire of giving implied consent to policies in the shaping of which they have no share and in which they do not believe, and will cease to become members of the Congress merely for the sake of form.

If the Patna arrangement cannot achieve unity even between the two sections of non-co-operators, who alone have been left in the Congress, it is too much to hope, as indeed it was never expected, that it will help to bring back into the Congress those other elements who had felt constrained to abstain from the past few sessions on account of their political convictions. The Patna compact entrusts all politics into the hands of the Swarajist party, and thus practically bars the door to all but Swarajists. Gandhian non-co-operators, having abjured all politics, can remain in an organization whose politics are being run by others; but other parties, who take part in politics but whose politics are different from those of Swarajists, cannot come in only to give their imprimatur to what they believe to be a wrong policy. It does not answer the objection to say that they can join the Congress and, by putting the Swarajists in a minority, change the politics of the Congress. The policy of the Swarajists has never been discussed in the Congress, except in reference to Council entry, and it is therefore wrong to give the name and prestige of the Congress to the policy which the Swarajists are pursuing in the Councils, and then to invite other parties to enter the Congress and upset the policy. It is not fair play. The objection, however, cuts deeper. It is not necessary, either, to divide parties in the Congress on the same lines on which they run in the Councils. If the quarrels that are being fought almost every day in the Councils all over the country are to be rehearsed in the Congress in the Christmas week, what need will the Congress serve in the national economy? There must be a separation of functions between the Congress and the Legislative Councils if the former is not to be overshadowed and ultimately superseded by the latter. The working of the present constitution may be left to the Councils and the winning of the balance of Swaraj may be left to the

Congress. Unless some such separation is effected, it is vain to hope that the Congress will retain its old vigour.

There is another consideration which must not be lost sight of, and it is this, that all parties are not nation-wide. Take, for instance, the Justice party of the Madras Presidency. It will be admitted by all that several of its members are progressive in national politics (apart from their inability to give up communal electorates just yet). Surely they ought to be able to join the Congress and take a hand in fashioning its politics. But the mere fact that the party is restricted to one Province will make it impossible to do so. For the Patna decision presents only two alternatives to it. It must either outvote the Swarajists (which of course cannot happen, the Swarajist party being spread over all the Provinces and the Justice party being confined to one) or it must submit to a policy of obstruction, to which it is uncompromisingly opposed. Again, its differences with the Swarajist party in Madras are on local subjects which will never come up for discussion in the Congress, and yet it must accept, in a large majority as it is in Madras Presidency, a position of subordination to a minority party. The non-Brahmans of the Deccan, the Sikhs of the Punjab, and other communal groups are in similar case. The Independents too, though they extend to all the Provinces, not being organised in an all-India body, cannot fight the Swarajists on equal terms. It is no wonder therefore that Independents like Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Mr. Mahomed Ali Jinnah are even more emphatic than the Liberals in repudiating the pact of Patna as being unacceptable to them. The non-Brahmans and other communal groups are perhaps not in a mood to join the Congress at present, but such is not the case with Independents who are anxious to join; the Patna decision, however, places them under a disability. The Congress also backs the candidates of the majority party for election to the Legislative Councils with its money and authority. In doing so the Congress is sowing the seeds of disunion. We remember Mahatma Gandhi gave a hard name to the British Parliament—he called it a harlot—because at one time one party and at another time another was in control. But the Congress now goes one further: it allows its funds to be used by the majority party to consolidate its position. And this is being done for no reason whatever. The British Parliament wields authority; the Congress, however, without holding any power, merely subjects itself to all the disadvantages of a party system. The evil will of course cure itself in the end. For if the Congress does not assign to itself a separate sphere of work from the Councils it will cease to command the allegiance of the people.

FOR THE INDIAN SANDHURST
COMMITTEE.

THE Royal Military College of Canada was founded in 1876 at Kingston "for the purpose of imparting

a complete education in all branches of military tactics, fortifications, engineering and general scientific knowledge in the subjects connected with and necessary to a thorough knowledge of the military profession, and for qualifying officers for command and staff appointments." In addition to the foregoing, the course of instruction is such as to afford a thorough, practical and scientific training in civil engineering, surveying, physics and chemistry, English and French. The College is under the supervision of Militia Headquarters, who annually appoint an advisory board composed of leading Canadian citizens both civil and military. A four years' course leads to a "Diploma with Honours" or "Diploma" and "Certificate of Discharge." To graduates are annually offered a number of commissions in the Canadian Permanent Force, as well as commissions in the Royal Artillery, Royal Engineers and other branches of the regular Britannic Army. To those graduates joining the Britannic Army, the privilege of one year's seniority is granted in the Britannic or Indian Armies. This has been arranged in order to equalise the seniority of graduates of the Royal Military College of Canada with those of Woolwich or Sandhurst, since the course at the latter institutions is shorter than the Canadian. Positions in the Public Works Department, Hydrographic Surveys, &c., may also be obtained by graduates. Several Canadian universities admit graduates to the third years of arts and science courses. The strength of the College was 171 in September 1923. Since its foundation, 1,710 gentlemen cadets have been enrolled. The strength of the Permanent Force is nearly 3,500. \$345,000 were voted by Parliament for the College last year, the vote for defence being \$10,798,918 (defence expenditure itself being 2.99% of the total expenditure of Canada, which was \$332,293,732 in 1924)

In *Australia* the Royal Military College was established at Duntroon in June 1911 for the purpose of providing trained officers for the permanent forces. Admission is by open competitive examination, a definite number of vacancies being allotted to each state of the Commonwealth on a population basis. Between 20 and 25 staff-cadets are thus admitted annually, and, in addition to these, ten staff-cadets from New Zealand are nominated yearly by the Dominion Government, which pays £377 10s. per annum for each. The age for admission is between 16 and 19 years, though there is a provision in the regulations by which members of the forces over 19 years of age who pass the prescribed examination and are approved by the Governor-General-in-Council may be admitted. The normal College course lasts for four years, and is followed by a tour of duty in England or India, after which graduates are appointed to staffs or permanent troops in Australia and New Zealand. During the late war the course was temporarily modified. Over 158 staff-cadets were (June, 1918) specially graduated, and appointed to units serving at the front with the Australian and New Zealand forces. No fees are charged for maintenance and instruction, each staff

cadet being credited with an allowance of 5s. 6d. per diem to meet expenses of necessary uniform, books, instruments, &c. The full establishment of cadets is 150. The course of instruction comprises both educational and military work, the former being mainly completed in the first two years. Cadets are prepared for light horse, artillery, engineer, and infantry duties.

The *South African* Military College was organised in 1912 for the training and instruction of officers and other ranks of the Permanent Force, Citizen Force and Cadets. It was originally stationed at Tempe, but was transferred in recent years to Roberts Heights. The College consists of three branches, the General Branch, Musketry and Signaling Branches. The first permanent officer cadet course for the training of candidates for appointment to commissioned rank in the South African Permanent Force terminated in October, 1923. All the candidates who attended the course were members of the South African Permanent Force and were in possession of the necessary educational qualifications to admit of their appointment to commissioned rank. As the result of the course, 6 received permanent commissions and 4 failed to qualify. In order to provide for future vacancies it has been decided to commence a further course and to provide for the training of 20 selected candidates. The regulations provide that no candidate shall be eligible for appointment to commissioned rank unless he shall have passed the matriculation examination or its equivalent, or have passed the Permanent Force Officers' Entrance Examination, the syllabus for which shall be approved by the Minister and the standard of which shall not be lower than matriculation. Candidates from the Permanent Force must be below the age of 28 years. Applications from members of the Permanent Force to attend the course were called for. Of the 20 candidates required for the course, only 11 who were educationally and otherwise qualified for admission to the course at the South African Military College, could be obtained from applicants from the South African Permanent Force in 1924. To complete the class it became necessary to seek further afield for qualified candidates and it was decided to invite applications from students attending universities who fulfilled the necessary requirements in respect of age, education, and general fitness for appointment. The students undergoing instruction at the South African Military College for appointment to commissioned rank, therefore, numbered, on June 30, 1924, 18. At the conclusion of the course a qualifying and competitive examination will be held and vacancies to the extent of the number then available will be offered to the successful candidates in the order of their passing. Arrangements have been made with the Public Service Commission to accept, for appointment in the Public Service, candidates other than members of the Permanent Force who qualify for appointment to commissioned rank but for whom no vacancy at the time is available. Such candidates will be considered for

transfer and appointment to commissioned rank in the Force on suitable vacancies occurring later. The strength of the South African Permanent Force was in June, 1924, 184 officers and 1,701 other ranks and of the Active Citizen Force 400 officers and 7,316 other ranks.

In *Japan* military education is organised as follows:— (1) The Military Preparatory Schools located at Tokyo and Hiroshima are the lowest ladder in the scale of education for candidates aspiring to become officers. (2) The Military Cadets' School situated at Tokyo receives the graduates of the Preparatory Schools and other candidates. (3) The Staff College gives the finishing polish to lieutenants and captains of promising ability and gives necessary training so as to qualify them to become staff officers.

A brief account of the early beginnings of military education in *Japan* will be interesting. In October 1870 a corps of 423 students, from different clans, was organized after the French system, and the Government sent ten officers a year, for several years, to study military science in France. In 1871 a training school for non-commissioned officers was established, where bondsmen were also instructed. In that year the Military School sent out seventeen graduates with honours, who were at once appointed acting sub-lieutenants. In 1873 a branch of the Military School was established at Toyama, Tokyo, for the purpose of instructing officers, both commissioned and otherwise, from different garrisons and regiments. The Military School was abolished in 1875. The Military Academy then became a regular training school for officers. By 1876 the military schools had got into thorough working order, and their students numbered no less than 2131. Staff officers who had been sent abroad, coming back one after another from 1873 onwards, were now instructing the Army in European tactics and discipline in co-operation with foreign teachers, and in fact, the Government was so eager for the introduction and diffusion of foreign learning that in 1880, twenty-two new students were sent abroad, making forty-four Japanese officers who were studying in Europe at the expense of the state. The Imperial edict of 1882 led to a large expansion of the Japanese Army. As the officers who had been abroad came home, Japan found itself able to manage its military education without any help from foreign instruction, and the Government established a Staff College in 1883 for the purpose of giving the highest grade of military education to staff officers. The expansion of the Army made it necessary for the Military Academy, which at first took in only 70 students every year, to increase its numbers to 200 in order to meet the increasing need for officers. The demand for officers was now so great that, in 1883, non-commissioned officers of promise were selected to be trained for lieutenants. The Government took the greatest possible care in the education of young officers, encouraged them in the study of foreign languages, and particularly

trained them in skeleton drill, in staff riding, and in the practice of tactics.

CONTACT OF CULTURES.

IV.—THE POSSIBILITY OF CULTURAL DEGENERATION.

THE evolutionary school of ethnologists ignored the possibility that people now in a primitive state of culture might have once known a higher one. It was assumed that peoples like the Australians had not only never known any parts that they did not possess, but also represented a stage through which all human groups had passed. They allowed neither for degeneration nor for specialization at a low level.

It is quite clearly established that cultural degeneration has occurred. Not only are the people of Easter Island and of Central America unable to erect the monuments which a past age has left to them; for that matter, the modern Greek cannot carve like Pheidias nor can the modern Bushman paint as his fathers did a generation ago. But we find a complete loss of useful arts, with no evidence of upheaval or social disintegration.

This can fairly easily be accounted for. In the first place, immigrants who bring an art or an implement will bring it in a completed form. They may not even know how to make it themselves. If they do, they will find it more profitable to make the thing and trade it, than to diffuse their knowledge. In the second place, this tendency will be strengthened by magical ideas. The newcomers will form a close guild, and it will be regarded as dangerous for anyone not in the mystic confraternity to attempt to usurp its function. The mysterious nature of the new product—metal to those who have only known stone, or pottery to those who have used only leaves or skulls—will strengthen this mystic dread. Then, if the invaders die out (having arrived perhaps with no women, and being unused to the climate), the art will be lost.

There is absolutely no doubt that such a process has taken place. Throughout Africa, and again in Assam, the art of the blacksmith is regarded with an extreme superstitious dread. Something of the same mentality, affected in its orientation by Hindu ideas of cleanliness, may be seen in the conception of the Dharma of a caste. The work of a Lohar or Chamar or Kumbhar is not, in this case, dangerous, it is defiling. As regards the material side of the process, the post-Mutiny regulations about Indian enlistment in the Artillery will spring to the mind at once.

At a higher level, this danger seems to take a different form. Whatever happens in India, it appears probable that cinemas, motors, locomotives, rifles and such things will remain, also possibly Western medical science and sanitation. Whether they will spread is another question. But there is a great disadvantage in receiving a culture at second-hand. The West has achieved its culture through pain and travail. Noble lives have been spent in the search, controversy has raged, men have spent and been

spent unsparingly. The result, it may be said, is not encouraging. Invention does not seem to better the lot of the poor. But those who make such objections will often be found very ready to avail themselves of the fruits of this effort and suffering. And, in point of fact, the culture of Europe has its bright as well as its dark side. India receives the fruits without having shared the toil; and intellectual life is produced, which is entirely out of connection with the background. Even in language, a difference is made between the home life and the wider interests that are promoted by contact with other cultures.

That this is unhealthy can hardly be doubted: the product of English education in schools and colleges does not, so far, promise well for the future. Professor Zimmern, in discussing this very problem of the acquisition of a culture that does not strike down into the roots of being—childhood and the family—traces the superficiality and the materialism of such people to this very cause. He instances the American* and the Indian Christian as examples: but what he says of the Indian Christian will apply equally well to nearly all college students. We would therefore urge all who adopt Western education not to surrender their own background; to meet those of another culture on the basis of their own original culture, as possessing a heritage equally noble and fundamental; and at the same time, to try to get to the back of Western culture: not accepting facile conclusions, but striving to share the labour that has gone to the result.

As regards the Christians, they have acquired a heritage that is not purely Indian. Neither, on the other hand, should it be purely British. It is only the insularity of the Indian Christian—and, frequently, of the missionary—outlook that makes the structure of Christianity an apparently ill-matched addition to the foundation of Indian life. Just as the Western culture has in it two strains, which intermingle and enrich one another—to wit, Hellenism and Christianity; so an Indian, living as an Indian, may consistently and proudly claim a further inheritance derived from "every kingdom and tongue and people."

V.—SOME CONSIDERATIONS AFFECTING SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS.

What we call Race Prejudice is a very exceptional phenomenon. Peoples in general seem to have intermingled and intermarried without any difficulty. It usually happens that the invading people are superior in weapons of war: and after the first attempt at resistance, prompted by the dislike of the unfamiliar (a potent and permanent element in human character), more or less friendly relations are set up.

Certain conditions, however, affect this law. The bearers of the Archaic Civilization appear to have imposed their culture without difficulty on the hunting and collecting peoples with whom they

*This does not, of course, apply to the old Colonial frontiers of America, but to the more recent arrivals.

came in contact; but many cases occur in which peoples who have not attained agriculture become the inveterate foes of the invading farmer.

Hunting is a pleasant mode of attaining a livelihood; so pleasant that people do it when they have no need to. It is not surprising, therefore, that men should be unwilling to abandon it, in spite of its uncertainty and lack of provision for the future. But it requires plenty of room; and when land is reclaimed by agricultural peoples, the room becomes narrower. The land need not have been forcibly acquired: both in America and Africa the native chiefs have sold land with no conception of what was involved in such a bargain. So the Bushman, who once ranged over the whole of South Africa, now ekes out a miserable existence in the arid Kalihari desert.

But the hunter has his methods of vengeance. He knows his country, and he is a woodsman: he can lurk behind trees and deal destruction with bow or blowpipe. In the case of the Bushman, this is what happened, and they would probably have arrived at a working compromise with the Bantu-speaking peoples,† but when the Boers came with firearms their days were numbered.

This is what gives rise to the reported ferocity of many primitive peoples. Thus the American Indians were regarded as monsters of cruelty and barbarity by the early settlers. This shows us one channel in which "Race Prejudice" may arise.

But this does not explain the more important facts. For instance, the Latin peoples are completely different in this respect from the Anglo-Saxons. In Mexico, contact with the Anglo-Saxons has meant extinction for the Indian. South of the Rio Grande, where the contact was with the Spaniard, a flourishing mixed people exists, and indeed thrives. Again, the Nordic invaders of Britain settled down and intermarried; the Aryan-speaking invaders of India describe the natives of the country as noseless and unclean, and elaborated the caste system to preserve themselves from mixture, and they have embodied them in their literature as Rakshasas.

The causes of these phenomena are not easy to trace. Two psychological factors probably enter in very largely: one is, semi-conscious or unconscious fear. It is worth remark that the feeling was greatly intensified in India by the Mutiny and in America by the liberation of the slaves. The other is, an exclusive conception of Religion. The Vedic Fathers seem already to have had the seeds of what became the Hindu system. Many of the early settlers in America were Puritans: and the classes from which the officials of India are recruited have been strongly influenced in the past by Puritanism. It is not difficult to see in their attitude a secularization of their belief that there was a Chosen People, namely themselves. At least, the Spaniards persecuted the heathen and married the convert. The Anglo-

†A large group of agricultural Negro peoples.

Saxons, at least in America, have been far crueler in ignoring them.*

WALTER O FITCH.

A LETTER FROM LONDON.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

LONDON, September 10th.

WHAT NEXT?

THE latest report from East Africa relates to the forthcoming conference to be held, on Oct. 10, between Lord Delamere and other non-officials with officials at Itimbi, near Tukuyu, in Tanganyika Territory, close to the borders of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia. Three unofficial members of the Legislative Council of Northern Rhodesia, one commercial representative and two unofficial members of the Nyasaland Council, three elected representatives from Kenya, and three Tanganyika planters, one from the Southern Highlands, are attending. It is stated that the subjects for discussion are likely to include white settlement, labour questions, native policy, Asiatics, means of strengthening non-official influence, machinery for joint action, and the development of constitutional control. We are led to understand that it is hoped that such conferences will be held annually. Now the first thing that strikes the reader is that the conference takes place in Tanganyika, a mandated territory, where already steps are being taken to grant the occupancy rights to whites, in certain areas, to the exclusion of others. It does not require a very great stretch of the imagination to suppose that the real object of the discussions is how to strengthen white control over all the East African territories, exploit native labour, exclude Indian influence and competition, and generally develop the thesis of the innate superiority of right of the lordly Nordic race in that vast area. That is how Empires are made. But is not the Government of India prepared to take a hand, and make at least some inquiry as to the nature of the policy that the Colonial Office intends to carry into operation in East Africa? Are there no Indian rights to protect?

FROM SOUTH AFRICA.

By this mail there is leaving for South Africa Mr. H. W. Sampson, M.L.A., who was a colleague of Mr. N. M. Joshi, M.L.A., both at the International Labour Conference at Geneva and at the British Commonwealth Labour Conference here recently. Mr. Sampson is a man of broader sympathies and riper experience than the present writer knew him to be many years ago in South Africa, and he is, I have reason to believe, returning to the Union with a better understanding of the difficulties and dangers of the Race-problem, in so far as it affects inter-Imperial relations. That is one advantage of conferences and gatherings such as those to

*This example is complicated by the fact that broadly the Latin peoples have encountered agricultural peoples in America, and the Anglo-Saxons, hunting peoples. But this is not true in every case, and we think that the comparison will stand.

which I have referred above, and which sometimes become the subject of criticism and perhaps abuse. They enable men and women, often opponents in public life, to come into close personal contact, in such circumstances as to meet upon a footing of warmer human associations and thus agree to discuss problems, apparently insoluble, with some degree of detachment and in the absence of provocative surroundings and mass suggestions and prejudices. That they may not afterwards be able to go, with their colleagues as far as they have been willing to advance in private conversation is not to their discredit, for it is so difficult to convey to others, especially when swayed by local passions, the impressions that have been made upon the individual. Mr. Sampson is in the running for membership of the Union Cabinet, since General Hertzog has to make up his mind which of the Labour leaders he will select for the eleventh Ministership. Mr. A. G. Barlow is the more likely choice, but Mr. Sampson is one of the men to be counted with in South Africa. I am reminded that there are strong signs of friction within the Cabinet. General Hertzog is not going to have matters all his own way. His own comparative moderation in racial matters is not shared by some of his colleagues. Notably, Mr. Tielman Roos, who has been acting Prime Minister during the General's tour of the native territories, holds reactionary views on native affairs strongly opposed to those which General Hertzog has been recently announcing. There are strong dissensions between the Labour and the Nationalist members of the Cabinet, and there are also similar dissensions between the Labour Ministers themselves and Nationalist Ministers themselves. Altogether, the political situation in South Africa would seem to be one of unstable equilibrium, and it is far from certain that the Hertzog Government, as at present constituted, will endure for long. How that will affect the Indian situation cannot be easily foretold, but any reconstitution of the Cabinet would certainly, I think, involve at least a postponement of the present crisis.

REVIEWS.

SOCIAL POLICY.

SOCIAL POLICY IN THE CZECHO-SLOVAK REPUBLIC. Edited by the Social Institute of the Czecho-slovak Republic. (The Orbis Publishing Co., Prague.) 7 x 5. pp. 260.

SOCIAL welfare has now been permanently installed as one of the primary duties of a body-politic, which the state as the organ of society cannot be allowed to neglect. The volume before us is an interesting analysis of the social activities of what promises to be one of the most progressive of modern democracies, viz. the Czecho-slovak Republic. The book has also an abiding value as showing so many avenues to progress in which India will have to traverse in coming years as the industrial advance continues.

The first important reform was introduced by the law of 1919, making an eight hours' day compulsory in all industrial and commercial establishments. The importance of this law lies in the spare time it allows to workpeople for living as human beings instead of as machines, and for taking part in municipal and national affairs. In order that the leisure supplied to the workers by the law may not be misused, laws are passed to regulate and keep in bounds the evils of alcoholism and prostitution. A national organization is set up to provide physical training for all workers who care to obtain it and to organize annual holidays and school courses. The expenses of school courses are largely paid by the state and there is a separate ministry of schools and national education. According to the law of July 1919 every village has the duty of establishing and maintaining a public library. Free evening courses are held in all the state industrial schools.

In all industries Industrial Councils and Committees are formed for superintending production and to mediate in disputes and members are elected to them by direct vote. These Councils and Committees have succeeded in bridging the chasm between labour and capital and by means of these "this young state has avoided passionate and social conflicts without having weakened the influence of the working class." Why could we not try these in Bombay and Ahmedabad? The State in Czecho-slovakia is very keen on preventing unemployment. Financial support in case of unemployment is given out of public funds for six months. Even the unemployment of brain-workers is not neglected. Advisory boards for the choice of a vocation are established, which facilitate the proper distribution of the intelligentsia in the proper way. In India people flock into secondary schools and Arts Colleges without any guidance from anybody as to their goal. This matter needs serious consideration at the hands of the state as well educational experts in India.

The Emigration problem was tackled by providing correct information on the prospects of the emigrant in the place for which he is bound and making sure that he has sufficient money till such time as he settles down in the new country. But the important corrective of steady employment in the home industries is now being applied and the problem of increasing exports is carefully studied. With regard to Social Insurance, Czecho-slovakia has ratified the Washington Convention stipulating that sickness benefit shall be given to a woman during confinement and an 'extra premium for the suckling' for three months. For the mass of workers the state is preparing a draft scheme for old age and total disability insurance, which is very comprehensive.

Agriculture is an important industry of the Republic as it employs nearly 40 per cent. of the total population. There are very few medium holdings: the majority of the holdings are very small, while 35 per cent. of the holdings are vast estates of over 1000 acres. This unjust distribution has necessitated drastic laws about land

reform as in Ireland. By the law of April 1919 the dispositions by the owner were made subject to the consent of the state authorities and large estates were secured for purposes of land reform by being marked out for redistribution among a large number of small peasants. By another law a small tenant was allowed to purchase the land he had rented or to keep it by a long-term lease. As a temporary relief the state ordered the owners of large estates to rent land to persons named first in the scheme for appointment if they offered a guarantee for its proper management. Part of the land was apportioned for building purposes with a view to relieve the scarcity of houses and small business premises.

From the first the Czecho-slovak Republic has supported the efforts of the International Labour Bureau. With a few exceptions it has loyally carried out all the Conventions of the Washington Conference of 1919 and most of the Conventions adopted by later Conferences. It is thus able to say with pride that its social legislation is highly progressive and that it helps to preserve the comity of nations by pinning its faith to the idea of justice.

A remarkable development of the social spirit in Czecho-slovakia is the Social Institute. This Institute organizes the scientific work of the Republic in the sphere of sociology. It is a centre for social and political study circles. It has a record department and a museum will shortly be established. It organizes lectures and debates and lends the weight of the opinion of its specialists to social measures. By means of these lectures the people are kept in touch with all international movements. It also issues pamphlets and publishes its own journal. We think this is a good model for social institutes in India, which might do immense useful work if properly organised. Even the Government of India ought not to be above organizing a social institute of this description.

The volume, although merely descriptive, is a plain unvarnished tale of valuable social work done by a new democracy which, in spite of the shock given to society by the world war, has slowly recuperated its energies and has built up what promises to be a lasting fabric. We recommend it as a valuable guide to social workers.

V. N. GODBOLE.

APPARATUS OF DEMOCRACY.

DEMANDS OF DEMOCRACY. By BALKRISHNA, M. A., Ph. D. (D. B. Taraporewala Sons & Co., Bombay.) 1925. 7½ × 5 pp. xiv + 174. Rs. 2. THE adumbration of political questions in the country at the present moment has induced different writers to approach that topic from different points of view. Some have delved into antiquity to ascertain the nature of the self-governing institutions of the Hindus; others have traced the history of such institutions under the British régime; still others have entered upon an elaborate study of such institutions in modern European countries, with parti-

ular reference to those obtaining in various parts of the British Empire; not a few, finally, have inquired into the philosophy of democratic institutions in general. Dr. Balkrishna discusses in the present book not so much the central idea of democracy as its external apparatus. His is a book on the mechanics and dynamics of democracy.

The fundamental difference between ancient and modern democracies lies in this that the former were confined to the *polis* or 'City-State', and consequently all citizens could take a direct part in the legislative, administrative, and judicial affairs of their city. A modern state is more extensive, more populous, with a complicated administrative machinery and system of international obligations. It is not an isolated thing like the ancient City-State. It is physically impossible for all citizens of a modern state to take continuous or direct part in their political institutions. The problem of problems before modern democracies is simply this: how to enlarge this sphere of direct political participation on the part of all citizens? One way is to make local government in the town, canton or country a reality. Even then, however, the sphere left to the central government is very important. It is to enable the citizens to have an effective control over these central affairs that representative or parliamentary institutions have been brought into existence. Dr. Balkrishna deals with the mechanical defects in the working of such institutions and examines the remedies suggested for their improvements.

His first chapter thus naturally deals with electoral reform. He passes under review the latest and most refined methods of election, e.g. the cumulative vote, single vote, limited vote, proportional representation, &c. The object of all these improved methods of election is to make Parliament a microcosm of the nation at large.

But modern democracy would be incomplete even if there was a perfect system of election. People now want to pronounce upon important political issues personally and directly, rather than through their representatives; and they would confine themselves not merely to political issues, but would initiate legislative measures, interfere with specific acts of the executive, or even dismiss delinquent officers. Hence arises the necessity of the Referendum, the Initiative, the Plebiscite, and the Recall. Dr. Balkrishna examines the case for and against each of these forms of direct political action.

Considering the wide field over which the author ranges, the treatment was bound to be inadequate in places. He himself says that the volume is the result of a few lectures delivered to the Honours classes in the Rajaram College. Nor is the discussion likely to be of immediate practical use to the people of this land, for it may be long before the Referendum and the Initiative become subjects of practical politics. Nevertheless Dr. Balkrishna has done a distinct service in calling popular attention to the working of democratic institutions or to what he calls the Demands of Democracy, and his book will be particularly useful to students.

B. G. SAPRE.

STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS.

SYLLABUS ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. By P. T. MOON. Issued by the Institute of International Education. (The Macmillan Co.) New York. 1925. 8½ x 5½. pp. xix & 276.

AS explained in the Foreword and the Preface, this book is primarily designed for a one-year course in international relations, to be covered in 185 classroom hours. It deals in ten sections with Nationa-

lism, Imperialism, Militarism, History of 19th century and since, Economics, Diplomatic Problems, League of Nations, etc. Each part begins with a bibliography and then proceeds to treat of its subject in points arranged as a syllabus. The subject-matter is immense and naturally a selection must be made. That no two people would make the same selection is also obvious: still, where tested, as *sub voce* India, the selection I think would fairly generally be pronounced rather poor. Horne and Tyne's books might well have been dispensed with and the curiously short list (half the size of that of Central Africa!) been expanded by including Dadabhai Naoroji's Poverty and un-British Rule in India, Ranade's and Gokhale's Speeches and Writings, Nevinson's New Spirit in India, MacDonald's Government in India and Sir Henry Cotton's New India. Nor is a single book included dealing with Co-operation or the Labour Problem in India. Mr. Rushbrook Williams' India in 1922-23 is quoted, but the author seems unaware that this is an annual.

Touching on another point, the League of Nations, we are surprised to find no reference to Schücking—Wehberg's *Die Satzung des Völkerbundes*, which is absolutely fundamental and indispensable. Other serious omissions are L. Bourgeois' *Oeuvre de la Société des Nations*, Guerreau's *Organisation Permanente du Travail*, and the two volumes of *Les origines et l'oeuvre de la Société des Nations* published by the Danish Orsted Foundation. The brochures published by the Information Section of the League itself would moreover probably be found more useful for students than the profounder literature that exists on the subject.

"F. Sweetenham" (both on p. 52 and in the index p. 27) is by the way Sir Frank Swettenham.

On the whole, one would say, a very useful book within its limitations.

Z.

MISCELLANEA.

BOMBAY GOVERNMENT'S EXCISE POLICY.

DECCAN SABHA'S REJOINER.

On the G. R. outlining the action which the Bombay Government proposed to take on the Excise Committee's Report the Deccan Sabha of Poona submitted a representation, to which the Bombay Government sent a letter defending their policy. The following is the Deccan Sabha's rejoinder, in which they maintain their contentions and expose the weakness of Government's position. This representation is intelligible even without reference to the previous correspondence.

WE are directed by the Council of the Deccan Sabha to acknowledge receipt of your letter No. 982 C 24 dated 12th June 1925 and to express the Sabha's sense of thankfulness for the courtesy which Government have shown therein in serially going over the points in the representation submitted by the Sabha on Government's excise policy. If the Council now wish to pursue a discussion of these points, it is in no polemical spirit, but with the earnest desire to help Government, in however small a measure, in reaching right conclusions on a question which so nearly concerns the material and moral welfare of the masses of this Presidency.

TIME LIMIT.

2. Government express the opinion at the outset that it is impracticable to lay down "an early time limit", in which total prohibition, which is the accepted goal of their excise policy, should be reached. It is not clear from the letter under reference whether Government think it impracticable to fix an early time limit, or any time limit, early or

late. It would seem from a later paragraph in this letter that, in their opinion, it is not practicable to set any limit of time whatever. For the sake of clearness it would be well if Government informed the public what precisely they felt on the matter: whether they believed that it was not feasible to bring about total prohibition at an early date, or whether they believed that no date, near or distant, could be named when prohibition would cease to be an aspiration for the future, but would become an accomplished fact, always assuming that normal conditions prevailed in the interval.

3. Government give two reasons for refusing to mention a period within which they would expect the measures of their excise policy to eventuate in a complete cessation of the drink and drug traffic: (1) the fact that the Excise Committee did not recommend a definite time limit, and (2) the uncertainty of the Legislative Council voting the necessary supplies to replace the excise revenue. As to the first reason, the Council of the Sabha would point out that the Excise Committee did not recommend a specific period for the achievement of total prohibition because they were aware that such a time limit was implicit in their recommendations. "These steps (they say) recommended by the Committee will, in actual operation, lead to (the) extinction (of the liquor traffic) within a definite maximum limit of time and may hasten such extinction, but not delay it, should people and Government combine to bring it about sooner. In fact, our scheme has been so devised as to admit of the whole traffic in liquor being totally abolished as soon as desired by the community, but will not, if once adopted and properly acted upon, delay the closing of the last liquor shop in the Presidency beyond a calculable limit of time". This extract shows that the Committee could calculate the outside limit of time when the whole Presidency would go dry, but did not lay down such a limit because they were sanguine that prohibition would come about much sooner. If the Committee's recommendations were adopted *in toto*, a time limit might be superfluous, but Government do not accept and do not mean to give effect to many important recommendations of the Committee, which fact renders it necessary that Government should declare a period within which, at the latest, total prohibition will, according to their intentions, be enforced throughout the Presidency. At all events Government, having turned down the Excise Committee's recommendation in favour of local option, by which the Committee laid much store, cannot in fairness now quote in their support the authority of the Committee against prescribing a definite time limit for the accomplishment of prohibition. In the absence of local option, it would mainly rest with Government when and how they would take successive steps required for introducing prohibition—a contingency against which the Committee guarded themselves in advance by declaring that they were altogether opposed to "leaving it to Government to carry out the final extinction of consumption according to their wishes and convenience and the fiscal and other exigencies of the state". It is clear from this that the Excise Committee's Report does not afford a justification to Government for their failure to lay down a time limit.

4. The other reason assigned by Government is equally void of justification. It is of course true that Government cannot carry out a policy leading by gradual steps to total prohibition without the co-operation of the Legislative Council; but the Sabha cannot understand how this self-evident truth militates against the laying down of a time limit by Government. What of course Government

mean is that they may desire to introduce prohibition soon enough, but they may be foiled in the attempt to do so if the Council does not manifest a willingness to devise means for raising a revenue equal in amount to what will be lost by prohibition. But the same reason can be advanced with equal validity against adopting any other measure of excise policy. Even such a small matter as the closure of shops in taluka towns on fair days, on which Government have decided, depends for its execution on the co-operation they will receive at the hands of the Legislative Council in replacing the revenue that will thus be lost. This has not, however, deterred Government from adopting this policy in advance. Evidently they anticipate the approval of the Council. This is precisely what the Sabha wishes Government to do in respect of laying down a time limit. Nor have Government any misgiving as to the Council's readiness to vote the necessary money; for they express complete confidence in the attitude of the Council in the following words in their Resolution No. 982-24: "Government have no doubt (they say) that both the Legislative Council and the public would willingly assent to any increased taxation that would be necessary to meet this two-fold drain on their resources" (*viz.* the extinction of the excise revenue and the additional expenditure on a larger preventive staff).

5. In fact, the support of the Legislative Council is necessary not only in making up the loss of revenue, but in adopting any policy whatever, apart from the financial consequences that may ensue therefrom. A policy of checking excessive consumption of alcoholic liquors, *e. g.*, though it may not involve Government in any financial loss, still requires the Council's approval; and if this approval be not forthcoming, if on the contrary the Council be in favour of encouraging consumption, Government will not be able to put its policy into effect, irrespectively of the question of money. A legislature's sanction is no doubt an indispensable pre-requisite for the execution of any policy in all democratic countries, but in no democratic country does the responsible Minister wait on that account for an expression of opinion by the Legislature before he outlines the policy that he will carry out. He first lays down a policy on his own and on the Cabinet's responsibility, anticipating the support of the Legislature; should that support fail, he and the whole Government resign, putting into office those who caused the defeat of the policy in question. When, for instance, the first Excise Minister of the Bombay Government announced his policy of rationing, he had received no kind of guarantee from the Legislative Council that the latter would support him in that policy. There was of course the possibility of the Council demanding a gradual increase, instead of decrease, of consumption, or a larger or a smaller reduction in the total supply of liquor than was actually proposed; but the Minister risked an adverse vote of the Council. Had the Council not approved of the policy, he would have had to resign; but he obtained the Council's consent and could therefore retain his seat in Government and put into operation the policy mapped out by him. It is only in this way that responsible Ministers in popularly governed countries gauge the opinion of their Legislatures: they first decide upon the line of action which approves itself to their individual judgment and then seek a favourable verdict of the Legislature on it, their tenure of office depending upon their winning the support of the Legislature. The uncertainty as to whether the Legislative Council will or will not vote the money required for replacing the excise revenue is thus no reason why the present Minister of Excise should refuse to

declare that it would be his aim to bring about total prohibition within a specified period (provided of course he felt for his own part that prohibition ought to be and could be brought about within that period). When the Council of the Deccan Sabha suggested that Government should undertake to enforce prohibition within a certain period, they did not mean that the Minister should issue a fiat to that effect and give effect to it, no matter whether the Legislative Council agreed to this policy or not. The Legislature's approval is of course the governing condition of all the suggestions made by the Sabha. All that they meant by this particular suggestion was that the present Minister should announce the period within which he individually thought it was practicable to bring about prohibition and then challenge the Legislative Council to throw out Government's proposals for increased taxation that might be necessary to implement his policy. The immediate question, therefore, is not whether the Legislative Council will or will not give him the necessary backing (for their part the Council of the Deccan Sabha do not doubt that it will back him in all reasonable proposals and indeed Government themselves entertain no doubt on this score, as stated above), but whether the Minister himself is or is not willing to propose to the Council a date before which he would aim at introducing prohibition. It is time the Hon'ble Minister of Excise took the public of the Presidency into his confidence and made an unequivocal statement of his own individual views on this important question.

LOCAL OPTION.

6. The paragraph under this head in Government's letter makes it plain that the only difficulty which they anticipate in the way of the adoption of this measure is the financial one. Government fear that, under the exercise of the local option, far more shops will be closed than they can at all cope with by bringing forward taxation proposals. The first remark that it occurs to the Council of the Sabha to make on this is that Government have made a complete *volte face* on this subject. Hitherto Government used to deny stoutly that there was such a predominant feeling in the country in favour of the stoppage of the liquor traffic that the grant of local option would immediately result in the wholesale closure of shops. An admission to this effect would have been tantamount to a confession that Government had forced the present liquor shops on the people against their wishes, and naturally Government were loth to make this confession. Now, however, the present Minister of Excise rests his refusal of local option on the sole ground that it would not give him the breathing space necessary to make the requisite financial re-adjustment; that his taxation proposals could never keep pace with the closure of liquor shops on a large scale that would surely result from the grant of local option. This, in the opinion of the Council of the Deccan Sabha, is a very valuable admission inasmuch as it clears the discussion of this subject of all cant and places the difficulties of Government, which are such as to command the sympathies of all responsible persons, in a clear light. It may be added by the way that the Excise Committee were not unmindful of these difficulties and it was on account of these that they recommended that a reasonable amount of time should be allowed to Government for giving effect to the wishes of a locality, the local option enactment making it clear that "the delay was due to solely financial and no other considerations." The Council of the Deccan Sabha can see no conceivable objection to Government's adopting the policy of local option under such express proviso, unless it be that it would be embarrassing to Government to blazon

it forth that they would not allow a locality to go dry merely because they could mint money out of people's drunkenness and they could not afford to lose it. Appreciating this position of embarrassment, the Council of the Deccan Sabha in their evidence before the Excise Committee, suggested a way out, viz. that Government should grant restricted local option somewhat on the lines followed by the Government of the United Provinces (vide the Sabha's memorandum quoted in the Excise Committee's Report). The Council earnestly hope that Government will still find it possible to see that their Advisory Committees will, after the changes they will undergo, approximate to the position of the Licensing Boards in the United Provinces if local option of a wider character is not thought admissible.

RATIONING.

7. In the letter under reply, Government claim that their orders on rationing do not lag behind, but rather go beyond, the recommendations of the Excise Committee on the subject. In the view of the Council of the Deccan Sabha, however, this claim is unfounded and cannot be substantiated. Government seem to believe that the Committee recommended putting an immediate stop to the system of periodic reduction of the liquor supply in rural areas. They make out therefore that in sanctioning the continuance of rationing in rural areas in the current year and at the same rate as in previous years, Government have left the Excise Committee far behind. The Council, however, regrets to observe that this is not a correct representation of the Committee's attitude. In the first place, the Committee recommended reduction in the quantity of liquor supplied to urban areas year after year. Government have no doubt continued rationing this year but refuse to commit themselves to continue it in successive years. This, it is clear, detracts very much from the Committee's recommendations. As to rural areas, the Committee did not recommend the discontinuance of rationing in them, as Government apparently imagine. All that they said was that, in the case of these areas, Government might not be in a position to give the undertaking which was required of them in urban areas, viz. that an annual reduction by a certain percentage should go on automatically; that, on account of the danger of illicit distillation, Government would be justified in exercising more caution in the application of rationing to the rural areas and even in discontinuing the further reduction where "the danger on this account becomes serious". Even Government do not contend that the danger of illicit distillation has yet become serious and therefore in continuing the rationing system for this year, Government cannot claim to have gone farther than the report of the Excise Committee. Moreover, the Committee's recommendation in this respect must be taken along with, and as conditioned by, the other recommendations they have made in regard to rural areas. They say that, "although rationing may cease in these (rural) areas (when and if illicit distillation is practised on a dangerously large scale therein), we believe local option will be brought into force in many of them." And, again, "reliance might in their case (i.e., in the case of rural areas) be placed on local option and other educative and preventive factors." It is grossly unjust first to adopt the Committee's recommendations in a truncated form by turning down their proposal for local option and then to over-emphasise the need for caution, which they merely say would be warranted in certain contingencies, so as to draw from such a perversion of facts the con-

clusion that Government's action is actually in advance of the Committee's recommendations. This is a conclusion not borne out by facts. On the contrary the conclusion becomes irresistible to an unbiassed reader of the Excise Committee's report that in the form in which Government have decided to act upon them, the Committee's recommendations in this behalf are divested of much of their value.

8. In conclusion, the Council of the Deccan Sabha would respectfully invite Government to define their excise policy in greater detail than they have done in their recent resolution. They have earned the gratitude of the public by enunciating prohibition to be the goal of their policy, but the means to be adopted in reaching the goal lack precision. A hand-to-mouth policy such as Government are now pursuing cannot satisfy the public mind which is intent on seeing an end of alcoholism as soon as possible. A more comprehensive policy ranging over the next few years, till prohibition is accomplished, requires to be set out in broad outline. It is to be hoped that the Hon'ble Minister will take early occasion to expound the policy which he intends to pursue in order to attain its final objective, viz. Prohibition.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

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- THE YOUNG DELINQUENT. By CYRIL BURT. (University of London Press, Ltd., London.) 1925. 3½ x 5½. pp. 643. 17s. 6d.
- THE GENESIS AND BIRTH OF THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION. By J. A. C. CHANDLER. (The Macmillan Company, New York.) 1924. 7½ x 6. pp. 397. \$ 2.50.
- THE FOUNDATIONS OF EDUCATION. By J. J. FINDLAY. (University of London Press, Ltd., London.) 1925. 9 x 5½. pp. 274. 8s. 6d.
- LEBEN UND ANPASSUNG. By Dr. WILH. GEMUND. (Verlag Friedrich Cohen.) Bonn. 1925. 9½ x 6½. pp. 160. 5s.
- EDUCATION FOR SELF-REALISATION AND SOCIAL SERVICE. By FRANK WATTAS. (University of London Press, Ltd., London.) 1925. 7½ x 4½. pp. 275. 7s. 6d.
- SOUTH INDIAN GILDS. By K. R. R. SASTRY. (The Indian Publishing House, Ltd., Madras.) 1925. 8½ x 5½. pp. 48. Re. 1.
- THE CHANGING SCHOOL. By PHILIP BOSWOOD BALLARD. (Hodder & Stoughton, Ltd., London.) 1925. 1½ x 4½. pp. 332. 5s.
- THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE, 1922-25. (A. W. SINTHOFF, Leyden.) 1925. 9½ x 6. pp. 440.
- MODERN ENGLISH. By J. HUBERT JAGGER (University of London Press, Ltd., London.) 1925. 7½ x 4¾. pp. 236. 5s.
- INDIAN IDEALS IN EDUCATION, PHILOSOPHY AND ART. By ANNIE BESANT. (Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.) 1925. 9½ x 6½. pp. 70. Re. 1.
- CONFIDENTIAL TALKS TO YOUNG MEN. By SATYA VRATA SIDDHANTALANKAR. (Sharma Trading Co., Bombay.) 1925. 7½ x 5. pp. 220.
- ISLAM AND OTHER FAITHS. By C. JINARAJADASA. (Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.) 1925. 9½ x 6½. pp. 15. 2 as.
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- REPORT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR, BRITISH COLUMBIA, FOR 1924-25. 9½ x 7½. pp. 76.

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