

Servant of India

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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

The Viceroy in
Kathiawar.

THE visit of the Viceroy is a rare event in the history of Kathiawar. Only two Viceroys have visited it—Lord Curzon in 1900, when the peninsula was just emerging from a devastating famine, and Lord Reading within this week for inaugurating a new and direct relationship between the States of Kathiawar, Cutch and Palanpur and the Government of India. This new relationship has been necessitated, according to its sponsors, by the introduction of popular government in the provinces. The authors of the reforms have not been able to contemplate with equanimity the subordination of States ruled by scions of ancient dynasties to provincial governments bossed by plebian Ministers—whatever may be their relationship with plebian foreigners placed in authority over them. We need not, however, on this occasion discuss the necessity of the new relationship. Lord Reading gave some very useful and much-needed advice to the Chiefs, when he asked them not to fight too stubbornly legal battles with each other over complicated inter-State disputes. He also did well to advise talukdars and girassias to be liberal in treating their tenants, not to take away too much from the fruits of their tenants' labour or oppress them, and to supplement their own income by seeking careers in the army. All this was no doubt to the point. But one would have expected him to address a few words on this weighty occasion regarding the need for raising the level of administration of the States approximately to that of British India and of introducing constitutional reforms in them. It is indeed inconceivable how so great a friend of the late Mr. Montagu, speaking on an occasion which arose

out of the reforms introduced by him, could have abstained from stressing the need of Indian States keeping pace with British India in the march of the country towards responsible government. Lord Reading thought only of the Princes and hardly of the States.

* * *

LORD CURZON, at any rate, made no such omission, though the occasion of his visit had no constitutional importance. He told the Kathiawar Princes that their States must keep pace with the age. He said: "They cannot dawdle behind and act as a drag upon an inevitable progress. They are links in a chain of Imperial administration. It would never do for the British links to be strong and the native links weak, or *vice versa*. As the chain goes on lengthening, and the strain put upon every part of it increases, so is uniformity of quality and fibre essential. Otherwise the unsound links will snap. I, therefore, think, and I lose no opportunity of impressing upon the Indian Chiefs, that a very clear and positive duty devolves upon them. It is not limited to a perpetuation of their dynasties or the maintenance of their *raj*. They must not rest content with keeping things going in their time. Their duty is one, not of passive acceptance of an established place in the Imperial system, but of active and vigorous co-operation in the discharge of its onerous responsibilities. When wrong things go on in British India the light of public criticism beats fiercely upon the offending person or spot. Native States have no right to claim immunity from the same process. It is no defence to say that the standards there are lower, and that, as censors, we must be less exacting. That would be an admission of the inferiority of the part played by the States in the Imperial scheme, whereas the whole of my contention rests upon its equality, and the whole of my desire is to make it endure." We make no apology for the length of the quotation. It bears repetition on a hundred occasions from a hundred platforms. These sentiments would have been particularly appropriate, if Lord Reading had chosen to repeat them in his Durbar at Rajkot. It is most a regrettable omission.

* * *

Futile Propaganda. LORD LYTTON'S recent utterances on the Bengal Ordinance, however earnestly conceived, are not likely to make any converts to his views. It was unnecessary for him to dwell so much on the need for suppressing terrorism. Everyone with the least sense of responsibility

will agree to it. The real objections to the Ordinance are that it is no remedy against terrorism and that in the hands of the agency available to Government it is sure to be very much abused. Lord Lytton and his advisers naturally believe in the efficacy of the Ordinance, but the mere iteration of their faith will not convince others. Regarding abuse of the measure Lord Lytton gives an earnest assurance that there will be none of it. This assurance has little value, because where the public fear abuse is not in the head of the administration but in the subordinate ranks. When they are unscrupulous, the good intentions of the higher authorities are easily defeated. Lord Lytton can give no guarantee, and there can indeed be none, against the unscrupulousness of the subordinate police whose ways are recorded in the judgments of the Calcutta High Court. In his propagandist zeal Lord Lytton even permitted himself to be ridiculous. Thus at St. Andrews Dinner he said :

"I came to India in the hope that I might render some small service to the land of my birth. I did not know when I came that it would be my lot to give it the most precious gift which any country can possess, namely freedom for its citizens, living within the law, to speak and act in conformity with their conscience. I did not know that during my term of office Bengal would be deprived of this freedom and that it would be my privilege to restore it."

This is too bad even for post-prandial standards. How brazen to claim to have given liberty when the whole charge against him is that he has taken it away!

* * *

Mr. Das becomes Constructive. MR. C. R. DAS has decided that it is time to proceed from destructive to constructive work : from the destruction of the legislative council to the "economic, educational and spiritual" construction of rural Bengal. His constructive genius (we are told he has one) has evolved a most wonderful scheme of village organisation, bits of which he exposed in the course of impassioned speeches in different places in connection with the Swaraj Week campaign, but a connected idea of which is not yet available. We are told, however, that the villages will be organised on co-operative lines and that the immediate object is to stop the exploitation of rice, jute and other country produce by foreign merchants. Industrial banks &c. are to be started in course of time. And for all this funds are to be collected from house to house in the Swaraj Week. Mind you, this time he is not begging—he is "demanding the national rent." If Mr. Das was investing his own money in export business in competition with foreign agencies, everyone would have wished him hearty success. But if he means to experiment in business at the expense of the public—then those who are inclined to respond to his appeal had better pause and think of his qualifications. He has been an eminently successful lawyer and very free with his money. But what experience has he of business organisation—capitalistic or co-operative—to deserve confidence? But we have a worse fear. What is described as constructive may be only his destruc-

tive programme with a false name. He may mean only bringing about the boycott of foreign export agencies by working upon the credulity and passions of the villagers, much to their economic detriment, however otherwise be his intention. It may also mean that he will try to capture the existing co-operative societies for his own political movement. Nothing can be more disastrous to them than that he should do so. In the days of Gandhian non-co-operation a good many societies in the Telugu districts and elsewhere, some of them intended for Panchamas, were victimised. The Swarajists are welcome to start their constructive work in their own way. But let them not interfere with existing organisations. Out of about a lakh and half villages in Bengal less than ten thousand have registered co-operative societies. The field is thus wide enough for the exercise of Swarajist constructive energy without its encroaching on the work of others.

* * *

SIR M. VISVESVARAYA'S administration and his Critics. SIR M. VISVESVARAYA'S administration of Mysore was high-souled service of the country to which there are few parallels in India. But his very patriotism and nobility of character created for him enemies in and outside the State, who are still carrying on, off and on, an insidious propaganda against him, though it is now nearly six years since he laid down office. He was no friend of the exploiter and concessionaire and was bent on developing the resources of the State for the exclusive benefit of its people. Hence the Anglo-Indian press has been particularly ready to run him down; but sectional journals and journalists have not been wanting in Mysore for misguiding the uncritical public. A favourite trick of these propagandists is to belittle the achievements and forebode the failure of his large economic schemes and to attribute to him all the financial ills from which his less capable successor's administration suffered. On one or two former occasions he warned the public against this malicious propaganda, but as it has been persisting, he has now issued a statement to the press which fully vindicates the financial soundness of the State when he laid down office and of the largest of his economic schemes, viz., the Krishnarajasagara project for irrigation and electric power. He is rightly indignant that after his time a system of accounting has been introduced which, by merging part of the revenue derived from the project with other revenue misleads the public regarding its real financial results. If the irrigation and electric revenue due to the project be separately computed, already—when the irrigation works are yet far from being completed, much less exploited to the full—the State is reaping a direct return of 6·1 per cent. on the net capital outlay. But more important still was the gain in opportunity. "If Mysore had not acted promptly, Madras would have started the Metur Project and placed Mysore on the defence. In that position, the chances of our powerful neighbour consenting to a rival reservoir in Mysore territory would have been slender." No one will doubt the truth of these words who is aware of the agitation of the Tanjore landholders against the project. As he says, there was nothing in the finances of the State when he retired or "in the prospects of the Krishnarajasagara Works for all time, which a patriotic Mysorean cannot contemplate without genuine gratification and pride."

MAHATMA'S CONDITIONS OF UNITY.

THE sincerity of Mahatma Gandhi's desire for a United Congress cannot be questioned, but his earnestness in the cause of unity does not make him any more accommodating in laying down conditions of unity than if he were really eager for a sectional Congress. This unyielding attitude of his certainly does not lighten the task of the Committee appointed by the Bombay Conference, and if, in face of the intransigence of those now in control of the Congress, the Liberals, Independents and non-Brahmans find it impossible to return a favourable answer to the appeal for unity, it is to be hoped that they in their turn will be credited with a real desire to see the present differences ended. Mahatma Gandhi in *Young India* of November 27 notices only a few of the difficulties experienced by non-Congress parties in joining the Congress on his terms. The objection of the Liberals and others to the present Congress creed is not, we are afraid, properly understood. It is not as if Congressmen recognised the attainment by India of the Dominion status as one stage in India's political progress towards independence and as if they objected to the Congress creed being so defined as to prevent India aspiring for independence of the Empire even in the remote future. If this were their objection it could be easily dealt with. In the first place it is not the business of practical statesmen to look so far ahead. Their concern is with the present and the immediate future. It would be a quite noble achievement for the Congress if it won self-government under the British flag for India, leaving the attainment of what is considered higher, viz. independence in the hands of an Independence League formed *ad hoc* for the occasion. No one in the present generation would in such a case be sorry because the Congress did not live till India reached her final political destination, assuming independence is her final destination. But those who object to a precise definition of India's political aim as full freedom in internal affairs such as is enjoyed by self-governing members of the British Commonwealth do not base their objection on this academic ground at all. They do not regard self-government within the Empire as one step towards independence. They look upon it rather as a perpetuation of the humiliating position in which India is placed by association with the British Empire. They would go out of the Empire at all costs, not at some time in the distant future, after self-government under ægis of Great Britain is attained, but now and here.

Mahatma Gandhi does not correctly represent the attitude of such critics when he says that they are for remaining within the British Empire if they can do so on honourable terms and that they will go out if this becomes impossible. That is no doubt his own position and it is also the position of all Liberals and Independents and non-Brahmans. The creed of the latter certainly does not bind them to be within the British Empire on any terms. They will consistently with their creed contemplate a severance of ties with Great Britain, if India has to remain therein a

subject nation for all time. If any doubt is felt on this score, why not make the Congress creed just what the Mahatma interprets it to mean: "Swaraj within the Empire if possible and without it if necessary"? Even without such an elaboration the Liberal creed means this alone, just as their policy of so-called co-operation is recognised to include opposition when Government becomes unreasonable. But if the matter requires to be placed beyond doubt, it may be done by adopting Mahatmaji's own formula. We do not believe, however, that is really the Congressmen's ground of objection to the Liberal creed. The Congress creed is made elastic not for the purpose of permitting India to go out of the British Empire if she could not attain to Swaraj inside it, but for including those who would go out of the British Empire even if self-government was attainable to-day under it. Mahatma Gandhi even discovers moral considerations in favour of maintaining the elasticity of the Congress creed intact. He says, "the admission that, at the present moment at least, we are impotent for independence may be open to the gravest objection from an ethical standpoint." If so, Mahatma Gandhi has laid himself open to a still graver than the "gravest ethical objection." For only the other day he declared himself and the Congress to be quite helpless to put a check to the Government's policy of repression, and the power of controlling repression is, according to him, only a preliminary to Swaraj. If therefore it is open to the gravest objection from the ethical standpoint to admit one's helplessness in attaining independence, how much more so must it be to admit one's helplessness in even reaching a preliminary stage to Swaraj, which again is but a step towards independence! The fact is Mahatma Gandhi has not yet given to this question the careful attention one has a right to expect from him.

The position of supremacy assigned to the Swarajists in the political sphere Mahatmaji seeks to justify by arguments which appear to us wholly untenable. It is true that the Congress as composed at present is divided between Swarajists and No-Changers, and if the latter retire from politics, the former remain the only active participants in it; but does it follow on that account that the Swarajists should be nominated as the representatives of the Congress in the Councils? Before the Congress was captured by non-co-operators, there were persons of many political persuasions in the Congress and yet no one felt then the need for appointing men of any particular school to be the representatives of the Congress. Moderates and Extremists were both there; but neither of them could claim to be the sole representatives of the Congress in the Councils. Why then should that privilege be given now to members of one party? It would be a different matter if the policies of all the different parties were discussed in the Congress and the policy of one party were adopted by the Congress as its policy in the Councils. But the Congress has never debated the Swarajists' policy, nor has it the least control over Mrs. Besant who for this very reason does not accept the Gandhi-Swarajist pact. Mahatma Gandhi is wrong

in thinking that she has agreed to the terms of the pact. On the contrary she has entered her protest against the Congress recognising as its agents members of a party who can regulate their policy independently of the Congress. Even if the Swarajists submitted to the Congress control, is it desirable, we ask, to introduce these party politics in the Congress? This national institution has gone on till now without discriminating in favour of one party or another; it can certainly do so hereafter. At all events it is not the best of all attractions for parties now outside the Congress to come in, if they are to find themselves in the Congress at the mercy of another party whose policy they have no means of influencing. Again, does the Congress accept the obstructionist policy of the Swarajists? And is it right to issue a blank cheque to that party to adopt this or any other unreasonable policy? So far as No-Changers are concerned, they ought to prefer, if they are at all to give any recognition to any party, Liberals and Independents to Swarajists as Congress representatives in the Councils. Mr. George Joseph emphasised this view in an interview given by him to the *Hindu* and his view, we feel confident, will recommend itself to all thoughtful No-Changers.

As to the spinning franchise, we have little to add to what we have said before. One may share Mahatma Gandhi's partiality for labour qualification, but one cannot share his partiality for spinning. It is unreasonable to expect everyone who is anxious to labour in the country's cause to be willing to spin for half an hour. Those who are so willing may come in on that franchise. But those who are prepared to work in other channels should not be shut out. Let spinning be made, if necessary, an alternative franchise, but provision must be made for the admission of others who do not believe in spinning as the most urgent task awaiting the hands of national workers. The insistence upon this sole franchise really betrays a disposition to impose upon millions a view which may be honestly held by just a handful of people and this is surely inconsistent with the desire for unity by which without a doubt Mahatma Gandhi is animated. There seems little prospect of a unity therefore unless Mahatma Gandhi is prepared to surrender some points with a view to bridging over existing difference.

THE FUTURE OF KENYA.

THE European colonization of Africa presents problems which are, of all problems taxing the statesmanship of the world, the most interesting, and yet they are the problems in which the so-called statesmen appear the least interested. At all events public opinion is indifferent to such questions in the extreme, and not altogether without reason, for so little is known of them and so little there exists in the way of literature to educate public opinion. If this is true generally of Africa, it is true with tenfold emphasis of Kenya, which except for the "nasty" Indian agitation of recent years is just a blank even to most of the usually well-informed persons. Official litera-

ture on Kenya is almost next to nothing: if a sedulous search were made in the Government offices in Kenya itself, not more than a half dozen dull and little informing reports could be discovered. Of non-official literature there is not much, and most of what exists is one-sided and utterly untrustworthy. If a true picture is to be gleaned of the conditions obtaining in Kenya Colony, it has to be constructed out of the articles appearing in periodical literature, not the least important of such articles being from the pen of Fulani bin Fulani. What must therefore be the joy of those who wish to know the truth about Kenya that this self-same Fulani bin Fulani has now written a book* embodying the conclusions reached by him after a careful study of the whole subject ranging over seventeen years of his official career in Kenya as a medical officer! This is the only reliable book on Kenya, and in point of exposure of the cruelty inherent in White Capitalism as it is in operation in Black lands, it can well compare with the late Mr. Morel's publications dealing with the Belgian Congo, which means that its value cannot be overrated.

We do not propose to deal here in detail with the startling conclusions arrived at by Dr. Leys. They are starting only to those who are unfamiliar with any but the Settler point of view of Kenya affairs. Our readers are however fairly familiar with the Native side of the question, which happily also coincides with the Indian side. They will find the views expressed in these pages elaborated at great length and supported by irrefragable evidence and we would recommend the study of the book to every Indian who wishes not merely to take a hand in the Indian agitation in Kenya, but to gain a true insight into the whole question. If they do so, they will find that Indian claims are supported not only by a narrow Indian nationalism, but also by large humanitarian considerations, of which Indian publicists are not yet sufficiently conscious. We shall therefore assume that our readers will acquaint themselves with the contents of the book and shall content ourselves on this occasion to draw their attention to our author's view of the Future of Kenya as a European Colony. Labour shortage constitutes the bottom question in Kenya, and this question appears to Dr. Leys absolutely insoluble. The natives of the country no doubt suffer a cruel wrong in the reservation of the Highland, for the whites, which has resulted in the alienation of 10,000 sq. miles to Europeans who number 1893 at present, while two million Africans, the rightful owners of the soil, have less than 5000 sq. miles of arable land "reserved" to them in a very insecure manner. But though the grant of large domains to European capitalists at nominal rents was quite unjustifiable, there was nothing essentially unsound in opening the country to European colonisation. The country contained far more cultivable land than the Africans could ever utilise. It would have done the world no good if the whole of this territory were to lie idle in the hands of the

* "Kenya" by Norman Leys, M. B., P. H. D., (Pub. by the Hogarth Press, London.) 1924. pp. 406. 15s.

indigenous peoples. But the very reason which justifies the throwing open of the country for European occupation demonstrates the futility and mischief of reserving the first rate land in the country exclusively for European occupation. If Europeans can settle in Kenya without detriment to native interests because there are vast empty spaces in the country which the natives can never fill, it follows that the Europeans who settle must be such as work with their own hands and do not depend upon native labour for the cultivation of the soil. For if natives are too few to farm on their own account, they must be too few to hire themselves out for the European farmers as well. And there is not a single European in Kenya who does not depend upon natives for his labour supply.

The result is, that of 10,000 sq. miles alienated to Europeans, 7487 are occupied and only 335 or 6% are cultivated. The remaining 94% remain empty spaces just as the primitive savagery of the Africans had never been disturbed by the vaunted civilization of Europeans. And yet even to bring the 6% of the land in the occupation of Europeans under the plough, it is estimated that about two-thirds of the able-bodied males in the native population have to work as wage-earners away from their homes—with all the moral evils attendant on such transportation and with a chronic famine in the reserves. The whole energy of the white settlers and the Kenya Government is therefore directed to the devising of methods, both in intention and in effort, for forcing natives out of the reserves to work on European farms. But obviously this is an impossible task. If 6% of the White Highlands drain away the energy of two-thirds of the able-bodied males, surely, it will take the entire native population many times over to bring the whole of the Highlands into full use, and it should be noted that the only justification (if at all) of depriving the natives of their land is for those who take their place to develop it themselves. This obvious truth, that there is not enough labour to go round, however unashamed the Administration may be in forcing the natives out of the reserves, is never faced either by the settlers or by the Government. Capt. Watkins, the present Deputy Chief Native Commissioner, did his best to impress this fact upon the Labour Commission in 1912. "There is not enough labour," he said "fully to develop both European and native areas under present conditions." It follows that European colonization of the type that prevails at present in Kenya has no future, and that the present settlers must either make up their minds to work their own farms or must be made to surrender them to those who will develop them without depending upon native labour. The only remedy seems to be to impose a heavy tax on annual unimproved value, thus forcing the undeveloped areas into the market and to exact stringent conditions of development. This means that the reservation of the Highlands for Europeans must be done away with and a beginning must be made in the West African system of leaving the development of the country in the hands of the natives as

independent cultivators. And the preliminary to all such measures must be the rigid exclusion of settlers from all areas in which there is not a surplus supply of local labour. The Germans, for whom no word is considered too harsh to utter, recognised the need for such restrictions in German East Africa. The native population of that country was thrice as large as that of Kenya, and the area alienated to Europeans was far smaller than in Kenya; yet before the war the Germans were restricting the areas in which Europeans were permitted to plant because they foresaw that there were not men enough to cultivate the areas ready planted. The Administration of Kenya does not yet seem to be alive to this need and the settlers will never give up their dream of White Highlands, however unrealisable the dream may be. The levying of a tax on unimproved land value deliberately for the purpose of breaking up the present large aggregations of land is a very mild measure. In the Belgian Congo far more stringent measures were applied at the instance of the British Government itself, which has now allowed another Congo to grow up in the bosom of its own territory when things have been cleaned up in the Belgian Congo. These concessionaires were compelled to restore large areas to the state. In Kenya all that is suggested is the imposition of a graduated land tax which will have the direct effect of forcing the subdivision of unduly large estates, as is done, e. g., in New Zealand. In this country the land tax and the local rates take a toll of at least 5% of unimproved value of land. It is found there that unless the land is highly improved, it is cheaper to sell the land, and it is believed that on account of this and similar other measures the only large holdings that remain in the Dominion are those settled by the earliest pioneers. In Kenya of course the rate must be higher, so as to make it impossible for people to retain in their hand lands which they cannot immediately develop. It is only then that a true scheme of colonization will commence.

S. G. VAZE.

PUBLIC HEALTH IN RURAL AREAS.

IN June 1922, in the regime of Messrs. Chintamani and Jagat Narain, the Government of the United Provinces started as an experimental measure a district health scheme, which has proved an immense success. Admittedly, "it represents, in the history of the province, the first systematic attempt to grapple with the problem of the preservation of the public health in rural areas." The experiment was started in two districts, Gorakhpur and Basti, chosen on account of their being particularly liable to epidemic outbreaks. The essence of the scheme lies in the appointment of a District and an Assistant Medical Officer of Health in each district, with a sanitary inspector for each tahsil. Half the cost of the superior officers is met by Government, while the balance including the cost of the subordinate staff and contingencies is met by the district boards. The success of the scheme was apparent in a few months. In

his report for the calendar year 1922, the Director of Public Health was able to write :

"The staff have made themselves popular, especially in the villages, and their services are in great demand all over the districts. They have increased the efficiency of vaccination. They have stamped out most effectively outbreaks of epidemic disease and have done splendid work in dealing with the present plague epidemic. Owing to their close supervision, the travelling dispensaries in these districts have done good work, and are much more efficient than those in other districts, which are only inspected at long intervals. The work of these district officers, in whose interest it is to popularise themselves with all classes of the community, is in striking contrast to the work of peripatetic and constantly changing special Health officers and sub-assistant surgeons in charge of largely unsupervised travelling dispensaries. It is certain that the District Health Scheme on the present lines will produce far more effective results than any other feasible agency in improving the general public health of the population they have to deal with."

One would have expected, after this enthusiastic report of the head of the department, that the scheme would be introduced at once in a large number of districts. But owing to financial stringency it could be introduced only in one more district in 1923. The Director of Public Health's report for 1923 is as enthusiastic as the previous report was about the good work done under the scheme. The Health staff inspected all the town areas and villages under the Village Sanitation Act and some other villages also, and interested the villagers in the removal of their sanitary defects. They also conducted vigorous health propaganda by means of lectures, magic lantern demonstrations, leaflets, pamphlets &c. "In the district of Basti the villages which were noted last years to be centres of infection and where plague was endemic were closely supervised by the Health staff and every effort was made to improve their sanitary condition. The result was that none of these were infected with plague during the year under report." The significance of this statement will be apparent when it is remembered that mortality from plague was much greater in 1923 than in the previous year in the whole province and that it was rather bad in the other villages of the district. As in the previous report, we are told, "The staff have made themselves popular and the service is being recognised by the public at large as being not only beneficial but also necessary." In all the districts the total death-rates, particularly those from malaria and cholera, were considerably reduced, as also infantile mortality; and inoculations against plague were doubled or trebled. "The local authorities are favourably impressed with the results of the scheme and highly appreciate the work of the staff. The Board of Public Health recommends its extension to other districts as funds permit." A really popular Minister would have boldly faced the question of funds and by retrenchment or taxation would have seen that the scheme was introduced in all districts. But that cannot be expected when the landlords rule the roost. However remiss the U. P. Minister and Government be in the matter, we heartily commend the scheme to other provinces for adoption.

THE PROPER WORK OF THE TAXATION COMMITTEE.

IN an announcement made in the *Gazette Extraordinary* issued from Simla in May last are to be found the terms of reference and the personnel of the Taxation Committee appointed by the Government of India. Some subsequent changes and additions have been made, it is understood, in the personnel of the Committee. We have no official information so far as to any contemplated or actual change in the terms of reference, according to which the Committee is to carry on its work and report in the matter of taxation. It will, therefore, not be quite out of place if we examine the matter a little deeper.

It must be mentioned at the start that the appointment of the Taxation Committee was due to a resolution passed to that effect by the Council of State in the month of February. The resolution was moved by the Hon'ble Mr. Phiroze Sethna. The terms of the resolution, as adopted by the Council of State and accepted by the Government, were that "the local Government may be consulted with regard to the desirability of undertaking an enquiry into the *general economic conditions* of British India, and whether they are prepared to support the proposal to appoint a committee and to co-operate in its labours if appointed." The resolution, as introduced by the Hon. Mr. Sethna, makes the intentions of the mover clearer still. The Committee was to be appointed, said Mr. Sethna, "with special reference to the condition of the agricultural population, with a view to find out the average annual income, per head, of the population, particularly, the agricultural population, and to enquire into and report on the measures that should be adopted to reduce, as far as possible, the existing destitution and poverty in the country, and to raise the average economic level of the masses of the people."

The Taxation Committee appointed by the Government of India and the terms of reference according to which it is asked to carry on its work are not calculated to fulfil the object of the resolution moved in the Council of State and accepted, in its modified form, by the Government of India. Instead of an enquiry into the general economic conditions prevailing in British India the Committee is enjoined to carry on an entirely different and much narrower enquiry—an enquiry into the scientific basis of taxation; its incidence; the manner of its distribution, whether it is equitable or otherwise; as to how it can be made equitable; and the mode of its collection; so on and so forth.

It must be said, at once that no such demand was made by the Council of State. One does not know if an enquiry of the character contemplated in the terms of reference given to the Committee, divorced as it is from a thorough and searching preliminary investigation into the general economic conditions of the people of India can be at all fruitful of the results expected from it by the Government itself. No economist worth the name, from Adam Smith downwards, would propose any scheme of taxation [without first ascertaining the taxable

capacity of a people. Unless and until the latter point is definitely cleared up, it is impossible to say aught to the purpose about the equitable or inequitable burden of taxation; of its right or wrong mode of collection; of its conformity or otherwise to the sound principles of economics; and of its wise or unwise distribution. As has been put in a modern and authoritative book on the subject, "The test of all taxation is that it should be applied in proportion to the ability of the taxpayer to meet it, and also what kind of taxation will pay a nation best from the point of view of its interest on the whole. From this statement it is abundantly clear that to impose any taxation upon those who are struggling on the margin of subsistence is bad policy, from the point of view of the pockets of the other members of the community and of the nation as a whole." (*Vide Withers' The Business of Finance.*)

Now, how are we to ascertain the ability of the taxpayer to pay; how are we to determine what kind of taxation will pay a nation best; how are we to determine what is the margin of subsistence in a country and who are struggling on the margin—if we eschew purposely an enquiry into the economic condition of the people and the nation concerned? Can these factors be known by merely concentrating on the determination of the scientific basis of taxation? Can we at all determine this basis in the absence of the fuller information it demands?

One wonders how either the Finance Member or the Government of India could think of appointing the Committee they have appointed and ask it to work on the terms of reference by which its deliberations are hedged about. The Committee is not to pronounce on expenditure; it is not to enquire into the justice or injustice of the Meston award; it is not to look into the question of the land revenue settlement. It is prevented from diving deep into the origins and causes of every question vital to every scheme of equitable taxation. How can it help itself then to arrive at any conclusion that will bring real good, either to the state or to the people?

Public Finance is a complicated business. It must take note of national capital, national wealth and national income in all their intricate bearings on the welfare of the people. As Sir Joshia Stamp remarks in his book on *Wealth and Taxable Capacity*, "A knowledge of the amount of the national capital and the national income and of the way in which they are distributed are the essential preliminaries of the taxable capacities of the people." To say that an enquiry into these vital matters may very well wait upon the narrower enquiry that is to precede it is to say something preposterous. And to add to it that it is all being done in the very best interests of the people is to cap the folly with an entirely misleading statement. It is to induce them to think that you are giving them bread when the real thing you offer them is a stone.

That India has reached its utmost limit of taxation; that the Indian ryot suffers from chronic poverty; that he has to go half-starved or what practically comes to no better than one meal a day; that

he shows no staying power against the inroads of famine, pestilence or disease; that by far the largest portion of the public revenue is used up in non-productive expenditure; that for want of funds industry, education, sanitation and other matters of vital national interests have to be shelved and are made to suffer; that trade and commerce are both hampered and crippled on account of financial muddling—all these facts are patent to every student of public questions. What is demanded is a thorough investigation into the root causes of all this poverty, waste, and muddle, into the mismanagement of public finance and how it reacts upon the condition of the people, so that some way out of this tangle may be discovered. It must be a way and remedy that will bring relief to the people and not prove a fresh source of burden on their backs. The Finance Minister's plea that such an enquiry is not feasible at the present moment naturally makes people suspicious of the purposes for which the narrow enquiry may be utilised, the assurances of the Government to the contrary notwithstanding.

No one is convinced of the utility of the kind of Committee appointed by the Government and of the nature of the work set for it to accomplish. Even the most ideal committee cannot turn out really beneficial results with the terms of reference by which its work is limited. As it is, the personnel of the Committee is far from being as representative of all interests as it should be. It is too late perhaps to ask the Government to effect any further change for the better in that direction. But the Government should at least try to meet the wishes of the people by widening its terms of reference, so as to turn the enquiry into "an enquiry into the general economic conditions of British India," the object of the resolution moved in the Council of State and accepted by the Government in February last. To conclude with the words of a great authority on the subject:

"Ought we not by taxation to cut off the least useful part of national expenditure? For whether our object be the greatest material wealth or the most perfect life, it matters to us a great deal whether much or little of the national expenditure is spent in ways which make us healthier, wiser and wealthier, or whether it is spent in ways which makes us less healthy, less wise and less wealthy. By improvement in expenditure is meant that a larger proportion of the national revenue is devoted to purposes of permanent utility as distinguished from momentary enjoyment, a larger proportion to needs that are primary as compared with needs that are secondary; a larger proportion would be allocated to the maintenance of health and smaller to indulgences destructive of health; a larger proportion would be laid out on children and a smaller on the adults; a larger appropriated to things of the mind and smaller to things of the body. We ought to think of this when we are invited to consider the beneficence of taxation."

Above all, a statesman must beware, that while he is trying to get in his taxes with the least friction possible, the method adopted will do the least possible harm to the nation. If, while he is successfully "producing" his taxes, the nation is becoming economically impoverished, he is certainly not doing his duty by the country whom he professes to serve.

V. N. NAIK.

A LETTER FROM LONDON.

LONDON, NOVEMBER 13th.

THE new Cabinet has been formed and is already getting into work. It is an experienced Cabinet for very few of its members are new to Cabinet rank and though there is some grumbling heard that new blood is wanted and therefore some younger men should have had a chance, no serious criticism has been offered. Probably the only name in it that has caused universal surprise has been that of Winston Churchill. Yet it may have been a very wise act on the part of Mr. Baldwin to have appointed him Chancellor of the Exchequer. Mr. Churchill is a strong man and knows more departments from the inside than almost any other member, and has a mastery over technical subjects unmatched. Most people seem pleased at his appointment and the adverse critics can be ignored. To say that Winston Churchill will turn to any party in power, does not take away from the man's outstanding capacity to be useful to the party he turns to.

A rather important paragraph appeared in last Sunday's "Observer." Writing of the new Secretary of State for India, Lord Birkenhead, and his statesman-like qualities, it called attention to the fact that it was he who strongly denounced "General Dyer's fatal blunder at Amritsar," and then went on to say that "without assured co-operation the stipulated condition of reform is wanting and there can be no further progress. ... After the hurry and fever of 1917 Dyarchy must be re-examined as dispassionately as if it had never been. The whole structure of reform must be considered anew." Whether this portends anything or not it is difficult to say just now, but Indian affairs are certainly occupying an important part in the new Cabinet's work.

Lord Birkenhead commenced his political life as Mr. T. C. Smith, and amongst other offices he has held, has been that of Attorney General and Lord Chancellor.

Women can be grateful to the lead Labour gave to them when it for the first time in English Parliamentary history chose a woman Minister. The Conservative Government follows Labour's precedent and has elected the Duchess of Atholl to be Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education, a post she seems eminently fitted for. Sir George Lloyd's name was fairly freely mentioned as a likely under-Minister, but it is now said he is being reserved for work outside of Britain.

The first public speech that the new Premier has made and which was rather anxiously awaited for, was at the Lord Mayor's Banquet on Monday. He received a terrific ovation when he arrived at the Guildhall and it was evident he was sincerely welcomed. Mr. Churchill's entrance was also a signal for a tremendous show of good feeling. Few Chancellors of the Exchequer have received such a welcome on their first public appearance in their official capacity. Mr. Baldwin was extremely careful to steer clear of party politics in his speech, and also explained that there had not been an opportunity of

summoning his Cabinet. But it was evident he had talked over many points of his speech with his colleagues. In giving a survey of his plans for the future he paid a tribute to the able way in which Mr. MacDonald had carried through the London Conference, and in paying a tribute to M. Herriot he gave an assurance that the French Premier could rely on the support of the British Government in the execution of the policy which he had so largely facilitated. In Arabia the Government had no intention of departing from a strictly neutral attitude, and in India the Government would support the Government of India in suppressing crime by whomsoever or from whatsoever motives it came.

Mr. J. H. Thomas has once again made a speech that will appeal to all parties except those unduly prejudiced. It is true some of his Labour followers may feel Thomas has been spoilt by office and that he is lost to them, for they may find it difficult to understand his larger outlook. They will probably not like to be told as they were told by Mr. Thomas that it is humbug to talk about any one party or class having a monopoly of virtue or vice. He wanted to say to the workmen first that it was right to have a trade union, but it was illogical if the one and only object was to destroy the other side. "I know" continued Mr. Thomas, "that if you listen to some people, it is impossible to sit down with the wicked capitalist, but all the talk of class war leaves me cold, it gets nowhere." He asked for confidence and trust on both sides and a determination from both to get the best out of industry. For it was useless, he said, for the worker to expect the best from the employer unless he gave the best in return.

Ideas slowly evolve and take shape, and the one that health is not a matter for the individual, but for the community at large is permeating the public mind. It was along this line that Sir Leonard Rogers made an appeal in his lecture before the Royal Institution of Public Health yesterday on leprosy. He gave the official number of lepers who are British citizens at about 300,000 and these he said are a reproach which must be removed in the name of good administration. The Empire he said was entitled to their restoration where that was possible, to their segregation when their condition was a danger to their fellows. Leprosy was a problem demanding the attention of the whole of the commonwealth, and like the malarial problem, awaited an administration armed with a mandate from an enlightened people.

It is evident from such an appeal that health is coming to be more and more an index of a nation's statesmanship and administrative ability, and no longer remains a problem for the medical practitioner only.

REVIEW.

PSYCHOLOGICAL THEORY OF VALUE. By G. B. DIBBLEE. (Constable & Co., London.) 1924. pp. 301. 9 x 5½. 12s. 6d.

THE author tries to justify the title of the book in the

Introduction. But to say that because Economics is connected with psychic ideas, emotions and ideals as operating on economic behaviour, therefore it is predominantly a psychological science : is unphilosophical. Besides, if it be granted that every study in Economics is psychological, then the theory of Value like everything else in Economics becomes psychological and nothing is gained by dubbing the true theory of Value as specifically psychological. When we once recognize that Economics is a sociological study, the prefix psychological can only make matters worse. We do not want any more disputes due to terminological fastidiousness. The survey of definitions of Value in the Introduction is admirable, but here also the word "psychological" is used in a curious way.

In the first two chapters the nature of demand and supply is examined. The third chapter deals with the operation of values, i. e., the way in which in the Exchange Markets values become actual by coming nearest to Price and leading to an actual payment in money. But the chapter does not seem to lead to any dogmatic conclusion. In the next chapter there are very acute remarks about group-values or Demand and the title "group" is justified on the ground of a common psychology and common desires. After classifying the elements of Value as metaphysical, moral and unconscious they are treated in three separate chapters. The history of the metaphysical element is very good and the spiritual tone of the discussion of the moral element of Value is a rare phenomenon in economic literature. It reminds us forcibly of Ruskin. The moral element is defined as "the highest conception of life possible to any definite group of agents." The author believes in educating people to appreciate better kinds of goods and better qualities of commodities. The discussion of the unconscious elements of Value is dominated by the psycho-analysis of Freud and is far-fetched. We do not think that the sub-conscious instincts, although they may throw light on demand, should be discussed in any economic study, which is not a hand-book on commercial advertising.

Chapter 10 deals with disruptive or war-like elements of Value, including the spirit of rivalry or emulation. This may be good Sociology, but from the point of view of Economics it is a needless complication. The next chapter on the external conditions of Value is an admirable summary of the usual matter of text-books.

In the chapter on general values the question of Population and the question of national efficiency are discussed. Here the author has got some apologies for capital and deprecates the tendency of the workers to ignore the services of capital used in Exchange. It is this which keeps the delicate marketing machinery in proper gear and the author advises the workers to maintain and improve this machinery without which they would be nowhere. Under standard values the author discusses various standards of living, especially the lower limits of subsistence. This discussion reveals a careful study of post-war conditions and is full of valuable sugges-

tions for the Anglo-Saxon with regard to the maintenance of a standard of comfort.

Lastly, the main thesis is proved that all the values, excepting those for objects required for elementary needs, depend essentially on co-operation of two or more minds sharing common ideas of well-being. What is specially emphasised is that Value is not a phenomenon of the moral state of a single individual but a phenomenon of group psychology. But this exception makes the theory lose much of its universal character; as the author himself admits, it is in the realms of fashion that the multiple theory of Value is safely established. In part second the theory of Value is applied to economic life in general. By an inductive survey of economic theory the author proves how the modern theory was gradually worked up to. From this survey the conclusion emerges that as all writers have given several species of value and could not explain them in the light of any one concept, Value is essentially multiple. After this follows a survey of economic progress, intended as a deductive verification of the theory and an analysis of the factors of production, viz., capital, labour, land and organization or brains. This displays wide observation of the actual business conditions and a keen appreciation of the good points of all the classes in society. But it is too discursive as a scientific analysis and consequently vague enough to defy pointed criticism. In the chapter on 'the State and the Insurance,' the author opines that the State is not fitted to become an employer and a manager of industry but it is pre-eminently fitted to be an insurance institution. We are inclined, however, to regard this discussion as being beyond the purview of a theory of Value.

In spite of great erudition many of the chapters are made repellent by over-technicality and too much classification, with the result that the clear drift of the chapters is not seen. There is no objection to this, however, if the book is intended for students of economics. Mr. Dibblee clearly belongs to the new school of economists who think that economics ought to be widened by inclusion of sociological studies of economic behaviour. We are thoroughly at one with the school, with this proviso that Economics ought not to be made coextensive with Sociology. The volume is highly suggestive in this respect and will undoubtedly stimulate healthy economic discussion.

V. N. GODBOLE.

MISCELLANEA.

FUTURE OF MEDICINE IN INDIA.

CO-OPERATION OF EASTERN AND WESTERN SYSTEMS.

The following are extracts from an able article in the Indian Medical Gazette.

THE POPULARITY OF THE AYURVEDIC SYSTEM.

Of the many systems of medicine to-day practised in India it is probably true that some nine-tenths of the masses of the Indian population depend on Ayurvedic medicine in some form or another, and that Western medicine to-day only reaches about one-tenth of the population, despite the network of

hospitals and dispensaries with which the land is covered. And of recent years the claims of the Ayurvedic system, which had for so long slumbered, have been brought forward. At least three Provincial Governments have appointed and received reports from specially appointed Ayurvedic committees, reports on which we hope to comment as soon as they come to hand. The practitioner of Western medicine is out to hold the Ayurvedic system in contempt, but that is simply on account of his ignorance of it. It admittedly has tremendous defects; its anatomy and physiology are crude; its practice of midwifery and surgery it has long ago forgotten; it has no pharmacology, as was the case with Western medicine until a few decades ago. Yet its merits are greater than its demerits; it, and not Western medicine, is the medicine of the people; it has age-long traditions; it is deep-rooted in the customs and habits of the people; its dietetics especially are based upon Indian dietaries and meet Indian requirements as to caste, creed, and constitution; whilst many of its leading practitioners are men of great clinical acumen and skill. As yet textbooks of Ayurvedic medicine are few and scanty, and the practitioner of the Western system, ignorantly believing that there is no body of truth with which that system does not deal ignores it. He would do better to study it and take from it what is good.

DEFECTS OF WESTERN SYSTEM AS TAUGHT IN INDIA.

The Western system in India is a painstaking copy of the system of medicine prevalent in Great Britain about twenty years ago. One has only to look through the examination syllabus for any Indian University M. B. Examination to realise the truth of this statement. Thus in pathology great attention is paid to the histology of tumours, very little to the laboratory diagnosis of malaria, and none at all to a knowledge of what anopheline species of mosquitoes transmit malaria; in "pharmacology" the student is expected to be able to identify the leaves of 'Digitalis purpurea'—a piece of information which could be of no possible use to anyone except a botanist or a pharmacist—but he is not shewn in an experimental pharmacological laboratory how digitalis acts on the heart, an experiment which would once and for all teach him the uses, and limitations of the drug. Under such a syllabus, pharmacology which should be a rational science becomes pharmacy, a science which is largely empirical. The result of such a syllabus is to turn out qualified medical men who are usually fairly good on the clinical side, just as were British physicians of twenty years ago, but strangely ignorant concerning the commonest of the many tropical diseases which they will encounter when they enter upon practice. The system is good; in origin it is the product of the work of the Indian Medical Service in India, and that Service has no reason to be ashamed of it, but it has its defects. The average practitioner of the Western system is as a rule a far better man than is his Ayurvedic brother of average merit; but each has something to learn that the other can teach.

THE PECULIAR NATURE OF TROPICAL DISEASES.

Under present day conditions, when the newly qualified English medical man comes to this country, whether as an officer of the I. M. S. or of the R. A. M. C., as a doctor to a group of tea gardens, or as a medical missionary, he soon discovers that he is up against facts and conditions of which he has had no previous experience. To a lesser degree, the newly qualified medical graduate of an Indian University finds the same thing. What the newcomer finds he has to deal with, for instance, are not cases of benign papilloma or of carcinoma of the colon, of scarlet fever or of acute rheumatism; but of plague, of malaria in all its protean manifestations, ophthalmia, vesical calculus, the leishmania infections, kala-azar or oriental sore—neither of which diseases he may ever have seen—leprosy, tropical diseases of the skin, filariasis, guinea-worm infection—to name but a few. Some of the ground is familiar; much of it is entirely new. Thus he has soon to learn that cataract is usually treated, not by needling, but by either the capsulotomy or expression operation; that litholapaxy and not supra-public cystotomy is the favourite operation for vesical calculus; that the microscope is not an unfamiliar

object, but a veritable necessity in the daily practice of medicine in the tropics, and a knowledge of certain essentials of methods of microscopical examination of stools and of blood films is absolutely necessary. In other words, he is up against the fact that, however brilliant a medical student he may have been at his medical school, he is in a world of diseases of which he has but a scanty knowledge.

With regard to the I. M. S. and the R. A. M. C. the "Millbank" course is supposed to remedy this defect. But, in the experience of many such officers, it does not do so. It is unreal and divorced from the actual facts of the situation,—except in its pathology.

And so we come to our first proposition with regard to the future of medicine in India. Medicine is not national, but international; it has no room for narrow sectarian, systemic or national jealousies. And here we would appeal most earnestly to the medical profession in India to form the nucleus of a brotherhood independent of party and sectarian politics. There is ample room in this country for everyone; for the British and Indian service officer, for the private practitioner, for the Ayurvedic, Unani or Tibbi doctor. Both the European and the Indian medical graduate should get to know each other better than they do; medical clubs and societies should be encouraged and each large teaching hospital should be a meeting ground for East and West, socially as well as professionally.

ECLECTICISM, THE RIGHT ATTITUDE.

Secondly, the value of the indigenous Indian systems of medicine should be carefully studied and investigated. Some Ayurvedic physicians demand the immediate subsidising by the State of Ayurvedic hospitals and dispensaries; they will have nothing to do with Western medicine; in their hands rests all truth; and it is the pure and undefiled gospel of Ayurveda that they demand should be subsidised. Such a mental attitude is as illogical as that of the practitioner of the Western system who can see no good in any other. What is desirable is that what is good in both systems should be combined, that the Ayurved shall learn the anatomy, the physiology, the modern midwifery and the present-day experimental pharmacology of the Western system; that the practitioner of the Western system should study the dietaries, the methods of health cultivation, the better known drugs, and the special methods of treatment of the Ayurvedic system. For the hundred and one every day ills of life the Ayurved can prescribe just as successfully as his confrere of the Western system; it is only in the presence of serious illness that the latter excels.

Thirdly, the conditions of medical education in India call for drastic reform. Beginning at the top, it is necessary to gather together the ablest available men in the country for post-graduate teaching; men who will teach from their own knowledge and experience, and not what they themselves learnt out of a text-book twenty years ago. To some extent we have already the beginnings of such a system in the Calcutta School of Tropical Medicine with its ambitious programme of post-graduate teaching and research, with an examination for the Bengal Diploma in Tropical Medicine which is conducted with searching severity and the standard for which is so high that its possession by a medical man is at least a guarantee of a certain degree of efficiency in tropical medical practice. Also the post-graduate teaching movement is extending in other centres in India.

From amongst such trained post-graduates must ultimately come the teaching staffs of the medical schools and colleges scattered throughout India. If the standard at the top is but set high enough the standard of the lower pass examinations is bound to become raised. At present it is very low. The introduction into India of a system of elementary education founded upon the three R's and copied from the English system, without any consideration of the real needs of this country, has led to the creation of an enormous army of the literate unemployed. Similarly the imposition of the Western system of medical education, unmodified to suit the real requirements of India, has led to the creation of an army of doctors who will not go into the mcfussil—where their know-

ledge is badly needed—because they think that they cannot earn a livelihood there, but who congregate in the larger cities and spend lives of out-throat competition. Thus it is probably not untrue to say that Calcutta is about the most highly medicated city in the world, and that most of its shops appear to be divided between motor car repair workshops and doctors' pharmacies, of varying grades of unsuccessfulness.

WANTED: A THOROUGH OVERHAULING OF MEDICAL EDUCATION.

In brief, medical education in India should be thoroughly overhauled and re-organised. There is nothing wrong with "Western" medicine; it is becoming every year more and more rational and less and less empirical, it is always willing to learn; it is both flexible and adaptable to differing countries, climates and problems. The new Union Medical College at Peking, for instance, recently created by the Rockefeller Foundation, illustrates how adaptable it is to Eastern needs. And a minor but very important point is the want of good, reliable but "cheap text-books." The Indian medical student is poor; the large English and American text-books are beyond his purse. Not only so, but they are often quite unsuited to the practice of medicine in the tropics. To give but two examples, the 1923 edition of a well-known English text-book of medicine refers kala-azar to the piroplasmoses, whilst the 1923 edition of a well-known English text-book of public health teaches that malarial oocysts rupture into the mosquito's mid-gut. The Indian medical student asks for something cheap and reliable, written by men with many years' experience of medical practice in the tropics. What is supplied to him is some enormous English or American tome, written by men utterly unfamiliar with the tropics. Even so valuable a book as the 7th, 1921 edition of Manson's "Tropical Diseases" is often beyond his purse. A few publishers in India have done something towards meeting this demand, and in this connection both Messrs. Butterworth and Messrs. Thacker, Spink deserve honourable mention, but only the fringe of the subject has as yet been touched.

To the demand for a real reform of medical education in this country, the politician's reply will be, of course, that there is no money for anything of the sort. He wants cheap doctors and mass production. But one good doctor is worth a dozen quacks, and money spent upon raising the standard of medical education in India would be money wisely and beneficially expended. Even under the present adverse conditions the number of really able Indian doctors is very considerable; many of them indeed possess the highest British qualifications; raise the standard—especially in the practical tests—reform the syllabus; insist upon whole-time teachers and upon only selected men at that; make post-graduate teaching in this country more of a reality and less of a pious hope; and within a decade the status of medicine in India will be as high as in any other civilised country.

THE RIGHT PATH.

To summarise, in what direction are we going to advance? A policy of drift—the favourite policy with every politician in a difficulty—is going to lead us nowhere. It will end in the country being given over to the professors of a dozen different systems, warring with one another, until medicine in India finally reverts to domestic "medication," with disastrous results.

The alternative is to study the conditions present and the systems in vogue; to take from each what is best in it; to build up, gradually, little by little and line upon line, a true universal Indian system of medicine, with its own medical literature, its own indigenous pharmacopoeia, its own teachers moulded and adapted to the real needs of the country and its peoples. It must be based, of course, upon present-day "Western"—but really international—scientific medicine; no other alternative is possible; but it should incorporate all that is valuable in the indigenous systems. And, in the long run, such a policy would pay in cash, in improved public health and in the control of the vast epidemics which sweep this country, in a happier relationship of its peoples—in a word in progress. Also it will be no isolated and segregated

"system" of its own, but part of the international body of medicine of the future, adapted however to the local requirements.

THE VII NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION OF INDIA.

The following circular letter signed by the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Mr. A. P. Sen, and Secretaries is sent to us for publication:—

As you may be already aware, The VII National Liberal Federation of India is going to be held this year at Lucknow. The Reception Committee with the unanimous approval of all the Provincial Liberal Associations has elected our distinguished countryman, Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, to preside over the deliberations of the forthcoming Session on the 26th, 27th and 28th December 1924. Besides such burning topics of the day, as the settlement of Hindu-Moslem discord, the repressive policy of the Government in Bengal, the reports of the Reforms Enquiry Committee and the Lee Commission will seriously engage the attention of our Federation. The Conference will also have to decide as to the advisability or otherwise of the Liberals joining the Indian National Congress. It will be apparent, therefore, that the next session of the Federation will be of very great importance from Party as well as the National point of view.

Therefore, on behalf of the Reception Committee, we invite you to attend the next Session of the Federation even at some inconvenience and sacrifice. We hope and trust that you will readily respond to this call. We need not assure you that the Reception Committee will try its best to look after your conveniences and comforts during your stay at Lucknow.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- KILIMANJARO AND ITS PEOPLE.** By the HON. C. DUNDAS. (H. F. & G. Witherby, London.) 1924. 9 × 5½ pp. 349. 18s.
- THE MALAY STATES.** By P. C. COOTE. (A. & C. Black, London.) 1923. 7¼ × 5. pp. 87. 2s. 6d.
- WEALTH AND TAXABLE CAPACITY OF INDIA.** By K. T. SHAH and K. J. KHAMBATA. (D. B. Taraporewala.) 1924. 10 × 6½. pp. 347.
- INDIAN RAILWAYS.** By K. V. IYER. (Oxford University Press, Madras.) 1924. 7 × 4¾. pp. 131.
- SOME JAPANESE ARTISTS.** By YONE NAGUGHI. (Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar.) 1924. 6½ × 5. pp. 154. Rs. 2-8-0.
- THE WONDER CHILD.** By C. JINABAJADASA. (Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar.) 1924. 5 × 3¼. pp. 78.
- Report of the Royal Commission on LAND and INCOME TAXATION in New Zealand. 1924. pp. 255.
- THE STATE INCOME TAX (in Queensland).** By G. G. McCorkell. (Brisbane.) 1923. pp. 212.
- ANNUAL REPORT OF THE INDIAN MERCHANTS' CHAMBER FOR 1923.**
- REPORT OF THE BOMBAY MILLOWNERS' ASSOCIATION for the year 1923.**

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