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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

LORD OLIVIER'S estimate of the Majority and Minority Reports of the Muddiman Committee agrees generally with Indian opinion regarding them. Writing in *The New Statesman*, he says :

"The former (Majority Report) discreetly shuns criticism of the Dyarchical Constitution, and is, indeed, doubtless in consequence of these inhibitions, somewhat laborious in style and obscure as to the intention of some passages, especially for readers not already familiar with the complexities of the constitutional situation and with the meaning to be attached to the ambiguous technical phrases employed. The Minority Report, with much advantage to the lucidity and cogency of its utterances, is really concerned to make clear what the difficulties of the situation are, and looks definitely towards the possibilities of consideration of further relief of them. It is, therefore, much the more enlightening and effective document of the two."

Being an ex-Secretary of State for India, special interest and importance attaches to his opinion on the recommendation, concurred in by both sections of the Committee, that the control of the Secretary of State over the Government of India in cases affecting purely Indian interests should be relaxed. Lord Olivier admits that the India Office is "much less disciplined by Liberal traditions and confrontation of evolving democracies" than the Colonial Office and that it occasionally manifests a "very highly evolved bureaucratic susceptibility" which is irritating; he believes, however, that "a good deal more fuss is made in India about the control of the Secretary of State than the positive exercises of his power give ground for." All the same, he is not opposed to the curtailment of control; on the other hand, he thinks that in view of the importance

attached to it in India, "such relaxation would be a cheap trick to give away" and that the interests of good government would not in any way suffer on account of such "considered devolution of the Secretary of State's powers and authority to the Governor-General or Provincial Governors."

* * *

THE presidential address of Pandit Hirdaynath Kunzru—of whose services and worth Mr. Chintamani

Pandit Kunzru's address. spoke in the most glowing terms in proposing him to the chair—at the U. P. Liberal Conference, which assembled last week at Cawnpore, was devoted, as was to be expected, almost exclusively to an examination of the Muddiman Committee reports. He has strongly supported and usefully supplemented the views of the Minority. A very interesting part of the address tears to pieces the assertion of the U. P. Government that under the reforms there has been a deterioration in the administration of the transferred subjects, particularly municipalities, university and primary education and the Medical Department. Pandit Kunzru points out that local bodies, whether municipalities or district boards, are more severely judged now under non-official management than they used to be under official management. "Government make allowances for the P. W. D. by pointing out that there has been a considerable rise in wages and the cost of material during last few years and that the roads deteriorate faster on account of the rapid development which motor traffic has recently undergone, but fail to take these extenuating circumstances into account in the case of municipal boards." As a striking example of this tendency to judge harshly non-official management, Pandit Kunzru mentions the fact that "in Allahabad the non-official chairman was told within a week of the transference of district roads to the board that a deplorable deterioration in their condition had taken place." The charge made by the U. P. Government against the universities is very serious: "Under the stress of financial pressure the universities have begun to compete for students, and the easier they make their courses the more likely are they to be successful." In repudiating this charge, Pandit Kunzru points out that both the Allahabad and Lucknow Universities are financed almost entirely by Government and are consequently subject to its close control; that they are modelled on the Sadler Commission's recommendations and that "the Agra University is to be established, not because the Allahabad University has gone down, but because

the Associated Colleges are afraid lest the rising pressure of efficiency in the reorganised university should crush them out of existence."

* * *

Incredible Misrepresentation.

IN connection with primary education the charge of the U. P. Government is that despite a great increase in expenditure there has been little progress and that "in the report for the year 1922-23 the Director of Public Instruction observes that 40 lakhs are being wasted annually to little purpose." Pandit Kunzru rightly points out that the increase in expenditure was due to raising the salaries of teachers and not to expansion. As to the statement regarding 40 lakhs, it is really "an incredible misrepresentation of facts," as Pandit Kunzru has convincingly shown.

"The remark of the Director of Public Instruction about waste of money to which the Governor in Council has referred occurs in the report for the year 1921-22 and not for 1922-23, and has been distorted to an incredible extent. The Director, after excluding the boys in the upper primary classes from his calculation, and deploring the smallness of their number, says, 'This leaves in lower primary classes nearly 500,000 of children on whom Rs. 40,00,000 were spent to little purpose last year. The country must have education and it cannot afford this waste. There is but one remedy, some form of compulsion.' It is obvious that the Director wanted not that expenditure on education should decrease, but that primary education should be expanded and made more efficient by adopting the principle of compulsion."

The fullest light was thrown on the matter by Mr. Chintamani who made an authoritative statement in reply to a question by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru.

"Doubts having arisen," he said, "in the minds of several members of Government as to what the Director meant, the report was referred back to him and he was asked to explain his meaning. He replied to say that he did not at all mean that the expenditure should be reduced, that all that he meant was to spur on the Government to introduce compulsory education even in rural areas."

That explanation naturally satisfied the then Governor and Ministers. But the most curious part of the story is this: Pandit Kunzru understands that the present Governor and the Finance Member were the members of the Government which considered the reply of the Director referred to in Mr. Chintamani's statement. Such misrepresentation on the part of a Government makes one rub one's eyes in wonderment.

* * *

Medical Department. THE U. P. Government saw deterioration in the Medical Department, because "there is a disposition on the part of the Legislative Council to look askance at the Indian Medical Service, and its dislike of officers of the Indian Subordinate Medical Department is un concealed"! No comment is needed regarding the I. M. S., but some elucidation is necessary regarding the position and qualifications of the officers of the I. S. M. D. They are intended for the service of the British army and are exclusively Europeans and Eurasians. Their general education and professional

qualifications are very much inferior to those of civil assistant surgeons, and yet out of the 20 civil surgeoncies open to men not belonging to the I. M. S., some 12 were reserved for them and only 8 to the civil assistant surgeons. This glaring discrimination was certainly repugnant both to the Council and the Minister, Pandit Jagat Narain, and the latter's decision not to employ military assistant surgeons in civil posts was heartily welcomed by the Council. Another matter relating to medicine which has displeased the U. P. Government is "a tendency in the Council to foster the practice of what western opinion can only regard as unscientific systems of medicine." Not only in the U. P. but elsewhere also Ministers are giving encouragement to the indigenous systems of medicine. In this connection one is glad to know from Sir P. Theogaraya Chetty, who recently opened an Ayurvedic conference and exhibition at Madras, that despite the prejudices of I. M. S. officers and others, there are some European patients who are grateful to Ayurveda for the relief it gave them where allopathy had failed. If this is deterioration in the opinion of the U. P. Government, we do not mind to what extent it proceeds.

* * *

Health on Malayan Estates. THE Government of the Federated States two months ago published a voluminous report, setting forth the findings of an "Estates Health Commission" appointed a year ago to enquire into "(a) Measures to be taken to improve conditions in regard to health, sanitation and prevention of disease on estates; (b) the system of estate hospitals and nursing and medical attendance therein; (c) the system of visiting estates by medical practitioners." The report itself is a good sign of the attention paid by the F. M. S. Government to public health, and although generally speaking the large plantations in Malaya look very satisfactorily after the health of their labourers, it would seem that the report in question was by no means a work of supererogation. In fact it comes quite as a shock to one to find the Senior Health Officer (Dr. Wellington) stating in his evidence that to estates of 100 acres and over visits of fully qualified medical men are arranged in the case of

1.6 %	daily
0.7	biweekly
9.7	weekly
11.0	fortnightly
9.1	monthly

—a total of 32.1 %, whilst in 61.4 % of cases less than monthly or no visits at all are arranged for. The same witness deposed that only 9 % of estates had hospitals of their own, 20 % shared a group hospital with adjoining estates, whilst 71 % sent their sick to Government hospitals, where apparently a charge of 30 s. per day is made for what cost the Government \$ 1. No wonder the Government are setting about to come down on the "black sheep" pretty heavily; no wonder either, that the same 'black' flock is beginning to get seriously alarmed.

* * *

REUNION.

BY THE RT. HON. V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI.

CONSIDERATIONS of prestige, precedence or party loyalty ought not to deter one at this juncture from speaking one's mind freely on the issues involved in a readjustment of the mutual relations of political workers which will enable them to act together for winning Swaraj. If Liberals and Swarajists become reunited, it will be the signal for a general *rapprochement*. It is, therefore, worth while examining the present position of Swarajists in actual practice. In the Central Provinces, where apparently they have scored a characteristic triumph, our information, obtained from the well-informed *Hitavada* newspaper, points to the reality being just the opposite. It is not aversion from a "Satanic" Government, abomination of diarchy or utter scorn of office which resulted in the rejection of the provision made in the budget for the salaries of ministers. The leaders of the various groups seemed on the contrary to have been anxious to take office, but to have been unable to make the necessary adjustments as amongst themselves. It is expected with confidence that this adjustment will be effected before the Government presents a fresh demand to the Legislative Council, and this part of the country will pass under a Swarajist regime stronger and more popular than was possible when only Liberals were available for office. We cannot be equally positive about Bengal where Mr. C. R. Das claims to have killed diarchy for ever. But in computing the chances, one cannot forget that Mr. Fazlul Huq, with whose assistance Mr. Das had the proposals for ministers' salaries thrown out, is by no means a Swarajist or even opposed to the present dual system and that, if the new Governor renews the attempt with a more careful calculation of the personal elements concerned, the probability is largely in his favour. Mr. Das's recent statements too give the hope that he is satisfied with his success in the destructive line and would like some compromise with Government which might give him scope for the constructive work that he had now and then adumbrated. In the Central Government the original aim of all-round obstruction has been definitely abandoned. Only verbal dexterity is able to find a formula distinguishing Swarajist action from Independent or Liberal action. Mr. Jinnah, in his lucid manner, eumerates the various votes and divisions which clearly betoken this mutual approximation of the parties. He adds that the Independents are by no means opposed to obstruction on principle but would approve of it on certain occasions and in certain circumstances. He is wrong, however, in supposing that the Liberal party as a whole holds a different view of obstruction as parliamentary strategy. Speaking for myself I have no hesitation in subscribing to his proposition. We may not agree as to the precise occasion or circumstance, but neither of us would be prepared to cast obstruction aside as a weapon in the constitutional struggle. Speaking broadly, a review of Swarajist practice may justify

the observation that the men of that party are more often and more easily provoked to the use of obstruction than others. But it would be wrong to use the term "obstructionist" to describe the party as a whole. To wreck the Assembly and to bring the Montagu constitution to a standstill cannot be said any more to be the aim, immediate or remote, of the followers of Pandit Motilal Nehru. They object, however, to drop it from their professed creed and refuse to bring their theory into accord with their practice. As soon as they did this, they would find that the main barrier between them and other sections in the Assembly had disappeared. It is this step that one would invite them to take in order to facilitate the coming together once more of the progressives in the country.

It is not merely to gratify the political student's desire for precision that this suggestion is seriously made. An important consequence would flow from the formal recognition that constitution wrecking was no part of the future programme. If the Central Legislature is to be kept functioning, it must be kept functioning for the maximum benefit of the people. This implies necessarily that the majority party should take a direct hand in the conduct of its work, to the extent that present constitution renders it possible. It is as unreasonable as impracticable to expect the large group in the Assembly to maintain in office and support loyally the members of smaller groups. However strange it may sound now, there is no real halting place between unqualified obstruction and the acceptance of office. My contention is that Swarajists have no longer any justification for declining the responsibility of office. What applies to the Central Legislature applies to the provincial legislatures as well. Certain conditions have been put forward in Bengal before Mr. Das would undertake to form a ministry and Mr. Fazlul Huq informs us that, in his judgment, they are alike feasible and reasonable. It is natural that elsewhere too the Governments should be required to meet the majority party half way in the interests of smooth and efficient administration. A frank and full discussion of this and allied subjects would seem to be the next big step to take to terminate a situation that is neither a deadlock nor a stalemate but causes an intolerable degree of clearly avoidable friction and misunderstanding.

An objection has been taken to this straightforward course which merits serious consideration. Is it not inconsistent and even self-stultifying, asks the conscientious Swarajist, to denounce diarchy and at the same time become responsible for its working? It would seem so, considered from an abstract viewpoint. Life is full of such incongruities and the work-a-day politician is more subject to them than a person in any other walk of life. The marriage law among Hindus is notoriously unjust and even inhuman in certain aspects. Still, we cannot postpone marrying till we have rendered it perfect. The conditions of public service in the lower ranks are not only harsh but positively injurious to self-respect. Nevertheless we do not advise our nephews and sons to forswear

Government employment. If criticism of the railway administration and of the operations of the Imperial Bank of India were held to involve as a logical consequence abstention from railway travel or dealings with the most important financial institution in the country, we should all forego as an impossible luxury that which we now regard as our inalienable right, namely, striving to improve continually the agencies of public utility. The fundamental mistake was to call the Government "Satanic" and understand the term in its literal sense. If you denounce anything as monstrous and wicked and pertaining to hell, you must keep aloof from it in every shape and form. No single word has been responsible for more crude political thought and action in the recent history of India. Nobody suggests that we should cease our endeavours to reform the constitution; but unless we are satisfied that it is better to be without a constitution than with this, that it is to say, unless we are convinced revolutionaries, and earnestly set about the business of destruction, we must be content to improve on the good till it becomes better and use existing powers to acquire more. Neither political nor ordinary ethics would impose such extraordinary self-denial on free citizens. Of course it is otherwise with an ascetic or saint who practises self-immolation.

I have been asked whether I am serious in asking the Swarajists to give up wrecking tactics and accept office. Could they do this and still be Swarajists? In the first place, if Swarajists must be Swarajists for ever and Liberals must be Liberals for ever and rigid non-co-operators must be rigid non-co-operators for ever, all talk of political reunion is idle. In the second place, what is asked of them is not a new policy but a restatement of it so as to accord with practice and a whole-hearted following out of the course they have already adopted. There are certain other points on which a settlement would also have to be made when we came to grips with the question, for example, the use of labourers and students in the political campaign and the Congress franchise. These, however, do not make a clear division of principle between the parties; the former is a question largely of temperament and natural sympathy, while the latter is an intrusion into politics recognised by most people as unjustifiable and apparently breaking down under the test of actuality. Propaganda in England remains; but it need not be laboured, once the point regarding the acceptance of office is made good. If even Labour politicians felt a difficulty in negotiating with members of a minority section in India, it is idle to expect a Conservative ministry to pay any attention to representations not preceeding from one united party or from several parties that had arrived at a common understanding on material issues.

THE POLITICAL ASPECT OF INEBRIATION.

II. PRACTICAL CONCLUSIONS.

HAVING tried last week to establish the principle *abusus non tollit usum* (abuse does not invalidate

use) and the criterion that the legitimacy of an inebriant depends on its not superseding the controlling power of the will, we must now consider the respective properties of inebriants in this regard. First of all there is a, fortunately, large class of inebriants, which hardly admits of illegitimate use; secondly there is a small class which hardly admits of any legitimate use; thirdly there is a class which admits both of use and of abuse.

As regards the first class, there is for instance *pansupari* which one might almost rule altogether out of the order of inebriants and class with the condiments, substances which form an accessory of man's food. Indeed it is as an aid to digestion that Prof. Lewin *mainly regards it and it is as such that he says (l. c. p. 253) that as a corrective of our Indian diet it simply could not be bettered. On the other hand it must be admitted that all repletion, whatever the diet, does seem to call for something "to settle the food"—a demand met elsewhere by a glass of wine or liqueur, by the smoking of a cigar or a small, but particularly strong, cup of coffee. And of course even the chewing of betel can become an obsession: but cannot chillies and even salt be similarly overindulged? What is typical of the true inebriant is that it is taken purposely, in order to affect the reasoning faculty—either to becloud or to clear it. Thus the use of strong coffee and tea to keep the student's brain awake, whilst the midnight oil is being burnt, is familiar to all: yet tea (and coffee) taken with a liberal admixture of milk and sugar is primarily a food: still more so is cocoa and chocolate; and even stout has a high nutritive value. The boundary between foods and inebriants therefore is not a hard and fast line, quite a number of substances falling under both heads.

Again, though Nicotine is one of the most powerful poisons, the only manner in which it is made widely use of necessitates such dilution, as to render smoking ordinarily incapable of affecting the will power. Yet it must be admitted that the habit of smoking can become so inveterate as almost to verge on addiction: and it matters nothing whether the inebriant is nicotine or carbonic acid, as many doctors now hold. For all that, one is quite justified I think, in including tobacco in the first class—together with betel and the purin group (coffee, cocoa, tea &c.): for although even in the matter of these inebriants habit in some exceptional cases may become overstrong, yet such it is of a nature that society need take no notice of the habit, at least as far as adults are concerned, though the deleterious effect of precocious smoking may well justify legislative action.

At the opposite pole of this type of inebriant we must place the second class, containing the nightshade poisons, toadstool, aether and such like which can really never be legitimately used as inebriants, but only as drugs in Medicine: a use with which we are here not concerned. About their illegitimacy as inebriants there has never been any

*For whose *Phantasticu* see the review in the issue of Feb. 26th.

question and it is therefore unnecessary to labour the point that in regard to them the only policy possible for society is to prohibit altogether their use, except for medical and scientific purposes.

We can therefore immediately proceed to consider the third class, containing such inebriants as alcohol, opium and hemp, the casuistry of which is undoubtedly difficult. But here also we can narrow the point at issue by distinguishing between the dilute and concentrated forms in which these inebriants are used, as e. g. light wine and beer on the one hand and neat spirits on the other; opium and coca leaves as against morphine and cocaine.

Coca leaf chewing in Peru may be permissible; Indian opiophagy may possibly be winked at: but the moment morphine and cocaine are taken, the quantities of the active alkaloid made available become simply and purely destructive, beyond the possibility of excuse and palliation. Similarly in the case of alcohol, which in primitive usage is only available as a fermented liquor containing, say, 5% of alcohol. Now the habitual use of these beverages has never yet been established by observers, subservient neither to the "drink" nor to the "prohibition" propaganda, to have constituted a crying evil. The latter is created, as soon as "civilization" makes available through distillation concentrated alcoholic liquors of, not 5%, but 50% and 75% strength; or else mixes with the alcohol *datura* seed, as we know of in this country. France to me seems to be the classic example of this curse of alcoholism having befallen a land of mild wine drinkers, as soon as but not until modern capitalism had established its distilleries and made available to all its cheap and nasty and superlatively potent spirits—often intentionally made to contain other brain poisons, such as fusel oil, absinth &c. as well. Alcoholism simply does not exist in countries where only wine as grown in the country is drunk: where even wine drinking leads to alcoholic excess, the wines have been "fortified" by the addition of pure alcohol. Who ever heard of alcoholism amongst a population of cider or perry drinkers, or of the mead and beer drinkers of old? Today the mischief about beer is the same as about wine, viz. that it is so often "fortified"—and the Western countries which have to face the problem of alcoholism preeminently are just those, where neither beer nor wine but spirits have become the popular beverage: to wit Scotland, Scandinavia, Russia, North America. It would therefore seem to me that a radical distinction should be made between alcoholic beverages containing less and those containing more than 5% of alcohol, the latter falling to my mind into the category of morphia and cocaine. My real complaint therefore is not with the famous 18th Amendment of the United States constitution: I quite agree that alcohol is an inebriant that needs controlling. Nor do I quarrel with the Volstead Act, except on the very important point that it prohibits beverages containing more than 1/2% of alcohol, (which is root and branch prohibition of alcohol as an inebriant and therefore, I hold, unwarranted) whilst I would draw the line at 5%, emphasizing at the same time the fundamental

distinction between fermented and distilled liquor. If that line is accepted, one would therefore urge the State to render illegal the production of and traffic in the latter (e. g. "country liquor", whiskey &c.), whilst accepting as perfectly legitimate the former (e. g. toddy, light wines &c.). Really to cope with the evil, the State would certainly have to undertake more than such merely negative measures; for one thing, "toddy shops" *et hoc genus omne* would have to be humanized and turned from mere dens for intoxication into places of refreshment, cafés, whereto self-respecting people may resort, not only to drink, but to eat, to chat and meet people. For another, the sale of toddy, light beer &c. should not be a source of profit to the purveyor who should draw fixed monthly wages, quite irrespective of the quantities sold by him; his employer to be the State.

Then what about opium? Here of course we shall rule out straight away all morphia, heroin, codeine, &c., as being so potent as never to be legitimate as an inebriant. But though it is agreed that the State should make their use illegal—as indeed is already the case throughout the world—the ticklish question remains, as to whether opium eating and/or opium smoking is to make use of a legitimate inebriant or not. Prof. Lewin's book unfortunately is of little use to us in this connection, as he hardly touches the question that interests us so much at this hour in India. But if other experts deal with it, they are not very much more helpful, since they all seem bent on flatly contradicting each other. Taking as typical the already mentioned "Discussion on Drug Addiction in the Tropics," we find on the one side the Royal Commission of 1895 reporting that "moderate indulgence in opium led to no injurious effect and did not shorten life (borne out by the fact that Insurance Companies demand no extra premium from moderate opium eaters), but that, on the contrary, it tended to ward off sickness and lessened the discomfort consequent on poor food and malarial and other diseases." Sir Havelock Charles seems to endorse the prevalent idea that such use "improves the health after mid-life," and he is "strongly of opinion that the moderate use of opium is not worse than the moderate use of alcohol and that, if it came to a question of the prohibition of alcohol and opium, it would be better to prohibit alcohol." Dr. A. Powell reports that "not one of my 4700 cases of insanity were due to either eating or smoking opium; and the Commissioners and Deputy Commissioners of Police, and the Police Surgeons of Bombay, for 50 years, were all in agreement that they knew of no case of insanity due to opium and no case of crime committed under its influence." Dr. H. Harold Scott with reference to his two years' experience in China observed that "there seems no deteriorating mental effect of opium smoking": the well-to-do opium smokers he met were "excellent business men, and moral, and I found no difference due to smoking. They are also men of their word" &c. Dr. J. W. Scharff believe that "the Chinese, as a race, do not smoke to excess, and measures for its prohibition may pave the way for what is, to them, a more deadly

drug viz. alcohol. Sir T. Carey Evans deposes that "during 15 years' experience in India, I have never found moral depravity in association with opium, whilst alcohol produces it in all Orientals." Prof. W. E. Dixon wound up the discussion by saying that "not 1 in 10 people who smoke opium in China are addicts" and that "opium smoking is not difficult to stop."

The solitary voice raised on the other side was that of Dr. G. W. Guinness, a medical missionary in China of 27 years' standing, who controverted the previous opinions that opium smoking was not an anti-social vice, adducing "the fact that the opium smoker will sell wife and family to procure more opium, as indicating sufficiently the anti-social effect of the vice." Difficult as it must be to make up one's mind, where doctors differ, I venture to suggest that what emerges from both sides is the fact that opium is an inebriant which is peculiarly apt to fasten on any psychical weakness that may pre-exist; that therefore, as long as an individual can boast of a very steady mental equilibrium, opium eating and smoking—in strictly moderate doses—is for him legitimate. That does not invalidate the fact that the least psychopathic defect—and after all it is people of this description who will naturally be most likely to take to opium—will give the inebriant a powerful hold on such individual and swiftly gain complete mastery over him. The political difficulty of course in that case would be, how to distinguish between subjects who cannot and those who can safely indulge in opium as an inebriant: a difficulty of such practical magnitude as to amount to an impossibility. Then, why not Prohibition of opium, root and branch, for everybody alike? By all means, if the overwhelming majority of the people are ready for such a measure and genuinely advocate it to assist "the weaker brethren!" Such a mental attitude no doubt exists readily enough in countries where opiophagy is unknown: but I am afraid that in India it is not yet to be found. This is no reason, why mass education on the subject should not be attempted: on the contrary, it seems to me that such is the only method possible. But I do feel that until the better mind in India is created and until the country at large is ready willingly to sacrifice a legitimate comfort, because of its disastrous effects on some other people, that no mechanical "Prohibition" policy is feasible. If the stopping of opium would simply mean addiction to raw distilled spirits, I for one would, with Sir H. Charles, prefer the opium: if however it could mean change to the habitual use of light beer and wine to its equivalent, I for one would consider the improvement great. But is Indian public opinion likely to perform such *volte face* of its traditions? And if not, as seems only too probable, is opium prohibition in India desirable, nay, is it even practical politics? In a continent inhabited by 32 crores, where the poppy can be grown in every back garden, to force administratively such a policy upon people who consider the policy itself unreasonable, seems to me as hopeful as the attempt of bailing out the ocean with

a torn sieve. Ceylon, Burma, Assam seem to be parts of our continent, where public opinion is already quite ready to endorse a policy of total Prohibition: what is possible there, should ultimately not be impossible elsewhere in India. But I repeat, that whilst it is of the utmost importance that public opinion should be educated in that direction, the policy must not be attempted, until you carry the people with you and until you have made quite sure that the substitute of the banished opium is not something far worse.

What then should be the policy of a Government like that of India? A vigorous anti-opium campaign in press, schools, villages &c. certainly. But hand in hand with that, what better policy can there be than "minimum consumption and maximum revenue" and making the whole traffic a State monopoly, as efficiently run as ours admittedly is? The United States bewail the havoc wrought by illicit morphia &c.: are they prepared to get nationalized the whole of the manufacture of morphia and cocaine, both in their own country and throughout the world? After all, morphia cannot be produced from opium in a back parlour, and if only the U. S. Government were ready to lay hands on the hitherto sacrosanct "private interests," the morphia mischief could be materially reduced in the States even if acting alone and certainly be altogether eliminated if all the world were acting together. But as long as Society is based on profits it is of course impossible to eradicate vices the promotion of which is highly profitable to third parties. And this inherent viciousness of the Capitalist system acts not only directly but it crops up everywhere. Notably in such cases as the administration of opium to children. Does anybody think that our mill *bais* of Bombay administer *balgoli* to their babies just for the fun of the thing? Were there creches attached to every mill, where the infants could be left, while the mother was at work, the whole question of *balgoli* would disappear. But again I ask, is it humane, is it reasonable, to abolish opium for infants, without at the same time otherwise providing for these infants? Normally anaesthetics may not be needed: but nobody can deny that the lot of the toiler in town and country, in East or West, is emphatically not "normal" in the sense of needing no anaesthetics.

And what I have ventured to say regarding opium, seems to me to apply equally to Indian Hemp. There again, a Royal Commission in 1894 reported "that the moderate use of Indian hemp produces no moral injury whatever" and that excess in the indulgence "is the result of a mind already diseased." Prof. W. E. Dixon similarly considers it "right for the Home Office not to include hemp in the Dangerous Drugs Act." Dr. A. Powell's contrary opinion, against "the amazing Indian Hemp Commission of 1893-94," I have already quoted. Without multiplying quotations, I think I may say that the conclusions I have arrived at regarding opium, hold good regarding hemp too: only that I would certainly rate hemp as even less desirable than opium. Only a stolid, not easily disequibrated system can legiti-

imately take the risk of hemp as an inebriant and, if less dangerous substitutes could be made available, hemp had certainly best be eliminated altogether. But since in India there is not the slightest immediate prospect of toddy becoming here what wine is say, in Italy, the practical politician is reduced to the task of making the best of a bad job and of consoling himself that probably the ills we know are less evil than others we might be tempted in fancy to fly to.—

In thus concluding these articles on Inebriation which I have attempted to place before my readers these last few weeks, may I once more emphasize that the problem of inebriation is not simply that of prohibiting inebriants, but that it is one touching the innermost core of the far deeper problem of the correlation of the physical and spiritual in the highest activities of the human mind; and that the political aspect of the matter is not merely, how to compel man to desist from evil, but quite as much how to persuade him to advance from the good to the better.

H. C. E. ZACHARIAS.

THE PRESENT PROBLEM IN INDIAN CURRENCY.

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SO far for the first question. Now I turn to the other question arising out of this controversy—namely, at what rate should we stabilize our currency? Interpreted in terms of purchasing power, the question reduces itself to this: Shall we bring about a fall in the existing price level, i. e., raise the purchasing power and thereby the exchange value of the rupee? Now, changes in the value of money, if they affected all transactions and all classes equally, would be of no consequence and such questions as the above would not be worth any discussion. But as we all know, when the value of money changes it does not change in a uniform proportion for all purposes so as to affect a man's incomings and outgoings to the same extent. Consequently before we fix upon the direction in which to move our price level we must make sure whether the incidence on the welfare of the different classes of our society would be such as would be just and proper.

In the present organization of society a triple classification into the Investing Class, the Business Class and the Earning Class corresponds to a real social cleavage and an actual divergence of interest. As it is, the business class is the centre of all economic activity; on the one hand it borrows money from the investing class and on the other it employs the earning class. There are money contracts, agreements to pay so much money. If after these money contracts have been entered into, the value of money changes one way or the other, it is obvious that the contracts will be falsified. If the value of money decreases, i. e., if prices rise then the investing and the earning classes are injured and the business class is benefited. The investing class and the earning class, it is true, do get from the business

class the same amount of money contracted for. But it will be seen that, when owing to the rise of prices the business man is getting more money for his product than he would have got if the value of money had remained stable, he is not only paying to the other classes the same amount of money but he also is paying them in money of smaller worth. In the same way if the value of money increases, i. e., if prices fall then the business class is injured and the investing and the earning classes are benefited. As before the business man no doubt pays to the investing and earning classes the same amount of money contracted with them. But it will be seen that when owing to the fall of prices the businessman is getting less money for his product than he would have got if the value of money had remained stable, he is not only paying to the other two classes the same amount of money but he is also paying them in money of greater worth.

Clearly then if we move down towards 2s. ratio, i. e., bring about a fall in our prices we shall be favouring the investing and the earning classes of our society. On the other hand if we move up towards 1s. 4d. ratio we shall be favouring the business class of our society. To be just, an exhaustive estimate ought therefore to be made of the volume of outstanding money contracts entered into by the business class including the Governments with the investing and earning classes classified according to their age. It will then be found that the contracts outstanding at any given time include those made at any and every stage of proceeding depreciations and appreciations for the past 100 years. To do justice to each and every one of them it would be necessary to fix upon different standards according to the value of money prevailing at the time when they were made. But it would be a physical impossibility to make separate standards for separate contracts. If all contracts now existing had been entered into in 1914, then ideal justice would clearly require us to restore the pre-war par of currencies by such deflations as would reduce the general level of prices to exactly that of 1914. If, on the other hand, it was found that all contracts now existing happened to have been entered into in 1924, justice would require that we should retain the level of 1924. Undoubtedly the best we can do is to move between these two extremes. Now the two extremes of the exchange value of our rupee during the period are 1s. 3½d. and 1s. 6d. This may be surprising to some. For it is well-known that at one time the rupee had gone to 3 shillings and our statute recognizes the rupee as equivalent to 2s. gold. But in my opinion we must disregard that altogether. It may at once be said that among the reports published by the various committees that were appointed from time to time to investigate into Indian currency none was so stupid as the report of the Babington Smith Committee on whose recommendations the statute was framed. It was such an ignorant Committee that it could not understand the problem it was appointed to investigate and consequently it ended by making a mess of things. As is well-known the

Committee reported that the value of the rupee should be raised to 2s. gold. That was tantamount to saying that the rupee had appreciated: that in other words prices in India had fallen. How did the facts stand? The following table conveniently sums up the whole story.

Date.	Price of Bar Gold in India (Bombay) for tola of 180 gr.	Price of silver in India (Bombay) per 100 tolas.	Index number for prices in India 1913=100
1914	Rs. 24 10	Rs. 65 11	...
1915	Rs. 24 14	Rs. 61 2	112
1916	Rs. 27 2	Rs. 78 10	125
1917	Rs. 27 11	Rs. 94 10	142
1918	(July) 34 0	Rs. 117 2	178
"	(Aug.) 30 0
"	(Sept.) 32 4
1919	(March) 32 3	Rs. 113 0	200

From the table it is evident that, far from having appreciated, the rupee had tremendously depreciated. The price of silver had no doubt risen beyond conception and the Committee adopted without much ado the conclusion that the rupee had therefore risen in value. As a matter of fact this very circumstance was proof positive that the rupee had gone down in value: in terms of silver as well as in terms of commodities in general. If in 1920 more rupees were wanted to purchase the same amount of silver than in 1913 it meant that the rupee had fallen in value. The Committee blundered because it failed to separate the rupee as a currency and measure of value from the rupee as an ingot of silver. The 2s. gold exchange value of the rupee as a measure of value was never a fact and we are therefore perfectly justified in not taking that limit into account in the solution of our present problem. The only justification, if it can be held to be a valid justification, that could be urged in favour of 2s. gold ratio consists in this. Some of those who ask for 1s. 4d. ratio do so because in their opinion it means a return to the pre-war conditions. Now if it is a return to the pre-war conditions that is desired then Government may well say that measured in terms of prices 1s. 4d. in 1924 is not the same thing as 1s. 4d. in 1914. Many people do not seem to realize this. But it is an incontrovertible fact. Both in 1924 as well as in 1914 exchange was 1s. 4d. But the index number of sale prices in India was 176 in December 1924 while in July 1914 it was only 100. It therefore follows that if we want a return to the pre-war conditions then it will not do to have 1s. 4d. as the exchange value of the rupee. For a return to the pre-war conditions, meaning thereby pre-war price, we must reduce our existing prices by 76%, i. e., raising the value of the rupee by 76%. This of course ultimately means a ratio of 2s. But it may well be asked why should we return to the pre-war conditions? There is no necessity to do that. It must be remembered that old contracts are no longer in force. Most of them have been executed and whatever wrong was done to them in their execution cannot now be remedied. Besides, it must not be forgotten that though the monetary contracts outstanding at any given time are of various ages,—some are a day

old, some a month old, some a few years old, some a decade old and some even a century old—yet most are of a very recent date. That being so, we must choose our starting point for a new standard from the level of current business and not from the levels operative before the war. To do otherwise simply because it would give us a low level of prices is to dislocate our trade and industry and thereby jeopardise our prosperity. To raise the value of our money by 76% above its present value will mean to every merchant and every manufacturer not only that his product will fetch 76% less, but that he will have to give 76% more to the investing class from whom he borrowed and to the earning class whom he employed. The burden thus imposed upon the active and working elements of society would be intolerable. I must however guard against a possible misunderstanding. No one should imagine that because I am against lower prices I am for higher prices. All I insist upon is that we must not complain against high prices once that level is established. For things having adjusted themselves they are our normal level. A pre-war level would be abnormal and must therefore be rejected.

We must therefore choose between 1s. 3 $\frac{3}{8}$ d. and 1s. 6d. As for choosing one or the other of the two we should be guided by what is fair and just. We want that enterprise be helped against accumulation and we probably wish that the rich should go richer. But I am sure none of us wants that the instinct of having, which is the foundation of capital, should be discounted or that poor should go poorer. But this would exactly be the result of a swing towards 1s. 3 $\frac{3}{8}$ d. On the other hand, though we want capital to grow and the poor to fare better yet none of us wants that industry be set at naught. And yet this would be the result of keeping to 1s. 6d.

I for myself would choose 1s. 6d. as the ratio at which we should stabilize if we can and for the following reasons. (1) It will conserve the position of the investing and the earning classes; (2) it does not jeopardize our trade and prosperity by putting any extra burden upon the business class; and (3) being the most recent in point of time, it is likely to give greater justice to the greatest number of monetary contracts most of which must be recent in time.

Fortunately for us we are not dependent upon other countries for the stabilization of our price level, as we must necessarily be for the stabilization of our exchange. In exchange stabilization we could not even if we would. But in the stabilization of our prices we could if we would. It would indeed be better if we can stabilize our prices as well as our exchange. But because other countries cannot stabilize their price levels there is no reason why we should not adopt measures that will give us stable prices at home which is really the most that is to be got out of a currency medium. In my opinion we should stabilize our prices forthwith by linking the rupee to gold at 1s. 6d. sterling. European countries will soon realize that it is insane to reach back to pre-war parities with gold and will learn that in matters of currency the real at any given time is

the natural and normal. If they learn this earlier than we expect, we would find them stabilizing their currencies in terms of gold at the existing levels. In that case gold will again begin to function as an international standard of value and we shall have a stable exchange. But if before that we have stable prices in terms of gold it certainly cannot do us any harm.

During the course of this controversy there has arisen a new standpoint which would want us to do nothing in the matter of rehabilitation of our currency until we first took measures which would substitute the prevalent system of managed currency by a new system of automatic currency. I have great sympathy with this standpoint, not because I am sure that an automatic currency will always be more stable than a managed currency but because it reminds us that the question 'how can we most nearly maintain stability after we have attained it' is more worthy of our consideration than the question of attaining stability. But to suggest that we must do nothing to stabilize our price level till we have decided between a managed system and an automatic one, is to make hell of the earth because the angels do not consent to make a heaven of it. That was the reason why I thought it was a different matter altogether. Some comments on that might be useful at another time. But not now.

B. R. AMBEDKAR.

REVIEWS.

FASCISM.

FOUR YEARS OF FASCISM. By GUGLIELMO FERRERO. Translated by E. W. DICKES. (P. S. King & Son, Ltd., London) 1924. 7½ × 5 pp. 138. 7s. 6d.

THE FASCISTI EXPOSED. By the late GIACOMO MATTEOTTI. Translated by E. W. DICKES. (Independent Labour Party, Publication Department, London) 1924. 7 × 4¾. pp. 128-2s. 6d.

FASCISM is a political movement much spoken of and little understood. It is viewed either with half-concealed envy by those prosperous and timid dwellers in Western Europe who vaguely fear the approach of Bolshevism, or with aversion by believers in democracy who dislike the tyranny either of Bolshevism or of conservatism. The two books under review shed a flood of light upon the origin and nature of Italian Fascism. Signor Ferrero has produced a book which, in spite of its extraordinary egoism (for he is considerably interested in showing the remarkable accuracy of his own prophecies), analyses with both power and insight the political development which has led to enthronement of Signor Mussolini as Dictator. The book consists of a historical account of the development of the 19th Century Italian Liberalism followed by an exhibition of the political upheaval caused by the Great War and the subsequent drift of parties into a chaos, out of which Signor Mussolini's despotism presented itself as a release. Signor Ferrero has interspersed his histori-

cal study and his analysis of the present situation with long excerpts from leading articles and journalistic writings of his own which are written in a highly rhetorical style, different from the lucidity with which the rest of the book is written. The standpoint of the writer is that of the Liberal who believes in representative government as the only solution of the problems of human society. He shows how the so-called Liberalism of the 19th Century Italy was really the government of the country by a group of families and interests who used the forms of popular government, profited by the general European peace to avoid disaster and quiet the grumblings of socialist feeling, and by judicious gifts of office, power and honour succeeded in including all important interests in the body of those who sought to maintain the *status quo*. The veiled personal government, that is government by individuals using parties and interests as their tools, is to Signor Ferrero exhibited at its most typical by Signor Giolitti, who preceded and again succeeded the luckless Nitti and whose attempt to ride the storm after 1919 led more or less directly to the emergence of Mussolini.

War left Italy impoverished, and like other European nations filled with nationalist fervour and the desire to rule. There had been shameless profiteering, and great suffering among the common people. The Fiume incident showed the strength of militarist and aristocratic forces, and their complete disregard of the authority of constituted government. The tremendous bulwark of the three great European empires of the Hohenzollerns, Habsburgs, and the Romanoffs, under the shelter of which the Italian monarchy and parliamentary system had lived, was dissolved. The 1919 parliament saw for the first time a large socialist party and a large party of *Popolari*, (a party of Catholic democrats) to whom clearly the author looks as the potential saviours of the Liberal regime. In this view Signor Giolitti might have allied the *Popolari* with the various elements of his own personal following scattered among the various responsible parties. This would have given Italy a Liberal-Constitutionalist party and a Socialist party, by the interplay of which representative government might have been carried on. Giolitti however allied himself and his groups with the growing but small Fascist party, went to the country again only to find in the result Socialism stronger, the Catholic centre (the *Popolari*) strong and estranged, and his own personal following weakened. His own best action, in the attempt at taxing the profiteers, recoiled against him and he fell. He was succeeded by impotent governments, until Mussolini at the head of the Black Shirts entered Rome.

The reasons for the growth of Fascism according to Signor Ferrero are various. The movement is a combination of patriotic feeling, outraged by the exaggerated internationalism of the Socialists; the terror of the rich at threats to property; the hatred on the part of the middle-class of workers and peasants; the hunger for conquest which not even the European War could satisfy; the instinct for order which feared the play-acting revolution, shown in

such things as the capture of the factories in Milan; the instinct for disorder in the hearts of desperate men who wanted a real revolution; the loss of faith in parliamentarism caused by the impotence of parliament in the face of the strange new post-War problems, and the general political inexperience of the Italian people, without training in real democracy.

The contrast between Russia and Italy is significant. In Russia the Socialists had gone through hell, their leaders had languished in Siberian jails, their lot had been the mines and the knout. Bolshevism in Russia was led by men and supported by men who had literally nothing to lose and nothing to fear for they had tasted the depths of human misery. The tyranny they set up had therefore a certain fundamental hardness and stability born of contact with reality. In Italy Socialism had been less serious, hardly oppressed at all, courted and played with. It had used fine words and frightened the respectable people, but it had neither the depth nor the passion of Russia. The tyranny set up in Italy by Mussolini represents therefore the emergence of a powerful personality, borne up by a general impatience of weakness and dilettantism in government, but having itself no secure foundation whether of principle or of that utter despair which can still create. Signor Ferrero ends his book by suggesting that Mussolini's 1924 elections, 'rigged' as they were, resulted simply in a return under disguise to the old system of personal government through a personal party. For him the problem still remains for Italy: Can the people create a representative government, founded on love for justice and freedom?

Signor Matteotti has produced a very different book. It is a scathing exposure of the first year of the Fascist domination. Signor Matteotti was kidnaped on June 10th 1924 in a Roman street, taken away in a car and cruelly murdered. Two months later dogs found his martyred body. He was the Secretary of the Italian Socialist Party and the intellectual leader of the Opposition in the Italian Parliament. One of his murderers confessed that Matteotti's last words were: "You may kill me. You will not kill the ideal. My children will be proud of their father. The workers will bless my dead body." Obviously he was a leader and a man of unbounded resolution and self-sacrifice. His murder when once it became known caused in England a shudder of horror and to many people the inwardness of the Mussolini régime first became known. So far as we are aware the Dictator always claimed to have had no complicity whatever in the death of Signor Matteotti, but investigation has shown clearly that Fascist organisation had marked him down as its leading opponent.

His book contains little argument and no political philosophy. It is simply a long array of facts composing a startling indictment of the Fascist rule. The writer deals with the economic and the financial situation, with unemployment and strikes, with the budget and taxation, with the abuse of law, with customs and economic policy, with working conditions in factories, with the public services, the railways, justice and education, with the Corfu

outrage, and with the terrorism exercised by the Fascist militia. The last part of the book contains a long list, with places and dates given, of physical outrages, which it makes one sick to read. This is the chronicle of the first year of Fascism. At every point, leaving aside the question of organised brutality and terrorism, the author shows the Fascist Government to be either corrupt or ineffective, or (very frequently) false to its promises.

To students of politics these two books contain much matter for thought. It is fashionable in certain circles to regard democracy as an outworn idea, proved futile by the course of recent events and soon to be superseded by some more vigorous form of government. Russia and Italy may well give such armchair philosophers pause, for Bolshevism and Fascism are two forms which the denial of democracy takes. In the case of Russia the proletariat, scorning the parliamentary system as a deceit and delusion, proceeds to the establishment of direct authority. In Italy the dilettante democracy, unable to face the problem bequeathed by the War, is displaced by personal Government. It is as certain as anything can be that neither of these two forms of tyranny can last. The Russian form is already changing under pressure of facts. In Italy the personal tyrant, like all personal tyrants, will have either to keep up an impossible sequence of dazzling exploits or fall to relying on groups and parties, among which he will in the end be torn into pieces.

Dwellers in England and America have little personal knowledge of the precarious state of European civilization. They do not realize how far a country like Italy is from solving the problem of government in the modern world. To us it appears manifest that to despair of Democracy is to despair of society. Modern Europe has no longer the great thrones as the bulwark of oligarchical authority, and the Church, whether Roman or more widely Catholic, is not able effectively to supply the authority which was once associated with the monarchs. It is however with the Church (using the word to include the whole family of Christians) that the future lies. The principles of democracy, which depends on an appreciation of the value of the human soul and a love for justice and freedom, are powerfully reinforced by, if indeed they are not the creation of, the Spirit of Christ. We believe that the next century in Europe will be order or chaos, largely as Christians are able to refresh themselves at the springs from which their own life is drawn and to bring into the torn and agonized fabric of society the virtues of faith, hope and love.

WILLIAM PATON.

A JUNGLE TRIBE

THE BIRHORS. By Rai Bahadur SARAT CHANDRA ROY. (Man in India Office, Ranchi) 1925. 7 x 4 $\frac{3}{4}$. pp. 608. Rs. 10.

Ethnologists throughout the world will be glad to see a successor to Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra's previous monographs on the Mundas and Oraons. As is to be expected, the book is first-class and deserves a place in every library where such subjects are encouraged at all. It will be found very interesting and pleasant reading by the non-expert, and for those to whom ethnography is business or hobby, it is only necessary to say that the author is one of the very few Indian scholars whose writings are read outside India.

In the Mundas and Oraons we were introduced to peoples at an agricultural stage of culture who

have been very badly treated by the later comers. In the Birhors, we have people at a lower stage. Whether they have degenerated or have never known how to cultivate, they trust to hunting and fishing to provide their food. This means that the Hindu money lender cannot engulf them as he has their land-tilling neighbours. But at the same time, as cultivation increases, their hunting-grounds are curtailed, and it is perhaps a good thing that they are tending to adopt a slightly more settled life. They have not, however, maintained a Tolstoyan independence of the human medium of exchange. Though they use barter amongst themselves, they have discovered that money will procure their necessities when the Spirits prevent successful hunting, and they regularly make rope of "chop" fibre for sale. This and wild honey form their money crops, with which they are able to make provision against the very heavy rains, when hunting is impossible and collecting wild fruits very difficult.

Like most of the aboriginals of this area, this tribe speak a Mundari language, belonging to the Austro-nesian group of the great Austric Family of languages, which extends through further India to Melanesia, Polynesia, and to the American continent. It is possible that these despised people, who for all their taboos and mystic fears are freer in their way from irrational prohibitions than many of the so-called civilized, form part of a great Culture that once spoke these languages over half the earth's surface, and that it is successive invasions of peoples, more war-like and more skilled in offensive weapons but on the whole less civilized, that has caused their degeneration. If this is so, it is remarkable that the English rule, which their oppressors find an unjust oppression, has set these unhappy tribes upon their feet again. Those who, being agriculturalists, had lost their land and their very crops to the money-lender, have been restored to some measure of prosperity by the co-operative banks introduced by the Christian Missions and encouraged by the Government. In the case of the Birhors, the problem is more difficult. They are living an uneconomic life, and hunting peoples are always unwilling to give up this style of living. We have the terrible example of the Tasmanians, the Bushmen and the American Indians to warn us how such a people may be wiped out by sheer economic pressure. We should have sufficient experience now to save this tribe from a similar fate. In a tentative way, we may suggest that as soon as their jungle becomes too small for their needs, a Reservation should be provided; but that the people should be encouraged to leave it and take to cultivation, and *only allowed a Franchise if they do so*. This treatment of the problem is showing good results in Canada. The Reservation is an unfortunate necessity if they are not to starve, and their vote, logically withheld when they live under artificial conditions, can also be a reward for adopting a more useful means of livelihood. By this means, they will become much less interesting but much more useful.

WALTER O. FITCH

PUBLIC FINANCE.

PRINCIPLES OF PUBLIC FINANCE. By HUGH DALTON. (George Routledge & Sons, London.) 1924. 7½ x 5. pp. 206. 5s.

THIS is an admirable book and it deserves to be specially studied by our legislators, both central and provincial, so that they may get the right viewpoint from which to judge the financial issues that come before them. Within the short compass of a couple of hundred pages, Dr. Dalton has put forward in a convincing manner the fundamental principles which

ought to govern a proper system of public taxation public expenditure and public debts. The principles of minimum sacrifice and maximum social advantage are the tests applied to public income and expenditure and the economic effects, both as regards production and distribution, of various methods of taxation and expenditure are closely studied. There is similarly a fresh outlook in the discussion of the problem of the payment of internal and external public debts.

The author's emphasis is on the subject of taxation which takes up 140 out of the 206 pages. Public expenditure is treated in 36 pages and public debts in 30. The latter two subjects do not, therefore, receive adequate attention. The author himself complains at the end of his book that "the theory of public expenditure has been greatly neglected" by English economists and yet he himself has not been able to break from that evil tradition. Again, in public finance, public expenditure must come before public income because the problem is to determine the amount of desirable expenditure first and then to decide upon the best mode of raising that amount from amongst the citizens. Dr. Dalton, however, quietly ignores this and follows the English tradition of discussing taxation at great length. There is probably another reason for his doing so and it is the evident desire to utilise taxation to reduce the inequality of incomes. But in spite of this maladjustment of emphasis, the right mode of approach in the discussion of public expenditure is clearly indicated.

Though short, the book is far from being a mere introduction to the subject. It is not easy reading. It is meant to be studied and assimilated. But it is well worth while bestowing on it the necessary pains

R. M. J.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- KING EDWARD VII. A BIOGRAPHY. By SIR SIDNEY LEE. (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London.) 1925. 9 x 6. pp. 831. £1. 11s. 6d.
- J. RAMSAY MACDONALD, 1923-25. By ICONOCLAST. (Leonard Parsons Ltd. London.) 1925. 7¼ x 5. pp. 191. 3s. 6d.
- LOUIS PASTEUR. By S. J. HOLMES. (Chapman & Hall Ltd. London.) 1925. 7½ x 5½. pp. 246. 7s. 6d.
- PRINCIPES D'ECONOMIE SOCIALE (3rd Edition). By VALERE S. J. FALLON. (Wesmael Charlier, Namur.) 1924. 9½ x 6. pp. 445. fr. 10.
- NEW ZEALAND OFFICIAL YEAR BOOK 1925. (Government, New Zealand.) 1924. 9½ x 6. pp. 896. 7s. 6d.
- THE STORY OF THE LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL. By A. EMIL DAVIES. (The Labour Publishing Co. Ltd., London.) 1925. 6 x 4½. pp. 95. 1s.
- THE SOCIAL IDEAL OF THE BIBLE. By GILBERT CLIVE BINYON. (G. W. Wardman, Common Wealth Press, Letchworth Garden City, Herts.) 1924. 7¼ x 5. pp. 57 + xix. 1s. 6d.
- HISTORY OF THE WHITE AUSTRALIA POLICY (Publication No. 1.) By MYRA WILLARD. (University of Melbourne.) 1923. 9¼ x 6. pp. 217. 10s. 6d.
- LE CHEMIN QUI MONTE. By ERNEST BOVET. (Orell Fussli, Zurich.) 1925. 9 x 6. pp. 43. fr. 1-50.
- REPORT OF THE INDIAN BAR COMMITTEE. 1923-24. (Government, Delhi.) 1924. 9½ x 6½. pp. 58. as. 5.
- REPORT OF THE POSTS & TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT COMMITTEE, 1924-25. (Government of India, Central Publication Branch, Calcutta.) 1925. 9½ x 6½. pp. 77. Re. 1-2.
- REPORT OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION OF INQUIRY INTO THE RAILWAY & TRAMWAY SERVICES together with Evidence and Appendices. (Government, New South Wales.) 1924. 13 x 8. pp. 204. 12s. 6d.

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