

THE Servant of India

Editor: S. G. VAZE.

Office: BUDHWAR PETH, POONA CITY

VOL. VIII, No. 34. }

POONA—THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 24, 1925.

INDIAN SUBSN. Rs. 6.
FOREIGN 10 s.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
TOPICS OF THE WEEK	335
ARTICLES :—	
To Resign or Not? By V. S. Srinivasa Sastri ...	397
Indian Stores Department	397
Contact of Cultures.—I, II and III. By Professor Walter O. Fitch	398
Prohibition. By R. G. Pradhan, M.L.O. ...	400
THE WORLD OUTSIDE	401
REVIEWS :—	
Provincial Finance. S. G. V.	403
Co-operation in Italy. C. F. Strickland, I.C.S. ...	404
Short Notice. Z.	405
MISCELLANEOUS :—	
Social Democratic Party	405
BOOKS RECEIVED	405

TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

AN attempt was made by a Swarajist member, Pandit Shamlal Nehru, by means of a resolution in the Assembly to relax the rigour of the rule disqualifying persons sentenced to imprisonment for a term of six months or more from becoming members of the Legislatures for a period of five years from the expiration of the sentence. The Government of India is willing to raise the period of sentence constituting the bar from six months to a year. This is, however, a very small relaxation. What is really required is that persons such as those who went to prison in 1921 for political offences should not be debarred from membership of legislative bodies, and therefore it is demanded that convictions for offences not involving moral turpitude should be specifically excluded from the scope of the rule in question. The Government of India stoutly resist this proposal on the plea that any such discrimination in favour of offences not involving moral turpitude was, in the words of the Majority Report of the Muddiman Committee, "unsound in theory and almost impossible in practice." That it is neither morally wrong nor actually impracticable is proved by the fact that this distinction is already in force in several British Colonies. The Home Member quoted the instance of South Africa which follows the rule as it is proposed to be amended in India in this matter, but if members of the Assembly were conversant with similar provisions in other colonies, they could have at once retorted by quoting the instances of Canada, New Zealand and Newfoundland, where convictions for "an infamous crime"

form a bar to election, and "an infamous crime," we believe, means a grave offence involving moral turpitude. Some of the speeches made by non-official Europeans hold out the hope that the discretion proposed to be vested in the local Governments to remove the disqualification is intended to meet popular wishes to some extent, but the public is naturally unwilling to trust local Governments in this matter and insists on a rule by which political offenders will automatically be accorded privileged treatment

* * *

Excise Duty. THE Legislative Assembly last week carried by an overwhelming majority

a resolution in favour of suspending the cotton excise duty for the rest of the year as a temporary measure of relief to the mill industry in its present desperate straits. The industrial situation is daily growing more acute; the number of workers already out of employment is 80,000. As Sir Darcy Lindsay said, desperate situations require desperate remedies, and the Government of India ought to help the industry even if it be in the middle of the year. It is, we believe, generally admitted that the remission of the excise duty will afford but small assistance; the disease from which the industry is suffering is really deeper-seated than the mill-owners are willing to acknowledge. If the employers had taken a far-sighted view of the matter they would have welcomed an inquiry into the management of mills if only to rebut the charges that are being freely levelled against the mill-owners as a class. If the public were fully satisfied that the industry was undergoing a crisis at this time for no fault of theirs, and, what is more important, that the workmen to whose intense misery appeal is being made in asking for the suspension of the duty would receive their due not only for the present but in future, enough pressure would be brought to bear on Government to make them yield, but the public are not fully satisfied. And the more the industry would avoid the inquiry the deeper would be the suspicion in the public mind that the labourer would continue to be neglected when again better times arrive. There is a good deal in what the Finance Member said, that if the duty is now suspended it is as good as repealed. Not that we are at all opposed to repeal; we are all in favour of it. But the public would certainly like to be assured before the industry reaps such a permanent advantage that the labourer will be given his share in it. Sir Purshotamdas Thakoredas may say that the suspension of duty has nothing to do with the question of labour and capital, but however earnestly he may desire to keep these two matters apart, the general public can legitimately use one as a lever to the satisfactory settlement of the other. But on this point the mill-owners are as adamant as the Government of India are on the suspension of the duty.

Local Option Bill Disallowed. MR. R. G. PRADHAN, M.L.C., has now been informed that the Governor finds himself unable to give his previous sanction to the introduction of the Local Option Bill of which Mr. Pradhan had given notice. Such sanction is required under Sec. 80 C of the Government of India Act for all measures affecting the public revenues before they are even brought up for discussion in the legislature; and as a Local Option Bill, if passed into law, will, by abolishing most of the liquor shops almost in the twinkling of an eye, cause a serious dislocation of revenues, we concede that this was an appropriate occasion for the exercise of the power provided for in the statute. But Mr. Pradhan is no obstructionist taking malicious joy in bringing the administration into confusion. He is an earnest social reformer of a constructive bent of mind and quite alive to the responsibility which attaches to one intent upon introducing costly reforms. He was therefore prepared to amend his Bill in such a way as to ensure that no more progress would be made with local option than was warranted by *ad hoc* financial arrangements, and in fact Mr. Pradhan volunteered to introduce provisions in his own Bill for the replacement of the excise revenue.

This offer would perhaps be regarded by some as more generous than prudent, but it is at any rate a perfect guarantee of the honesty and sense of responsibility of the mover. Even so, however, Sir Leslie Wilson felt constrained to disallow the Bill. The Governor quotes a passage from the Bombay Excise Committee's Report in support of his decision; Sir Leslie would have more correctly represented the Committee's position if he had quoted the sentence immediately following: "We suggest that any necessary legislation be introduced at once..." Indeed in para. 129, where they have dealt with the financial aspect of local option at great length, the Excise Committee have recommended the very same provisions which Mr. Pradhan offered to incorporate in his Bill.

It is possible (they say) that too large a number of localities may at once decide to go dry from the very beginning of our scheme, before the taxes by which we have proposed to replace the excise are fully realised, and Government may not be in a position to meet the combined financial obligation. We suggest, therefore, that our scheme of local option should provide a reasonable time for Government to take action to carry out the intention of a locality. *The local option enactment should make it clear that the delay was due solely to financial and no other considerations.* (Our italics.)

Mr. Pradhan also says in effect: first pass a local option bill with financial provisions, if you please, and give effect to it as funds permit. Sir Leslie Wilson should have at least allowed the Bill to be discussed and then have vetoed it if it had not been suitably amended. He says, "No such amendment has been found practicable"; but if he is so sure about its impracticability, why does he not give a chance to the Council to find it out for themselves?

* *

Intellectual Contortions.

IT will be remembered that at the very end of the last session of the Bombay Legislative Council the Swarajist members became sullen and determined to abstain from participating either in the discussion or decision of matters before the legislature. It was not so very long ago after all that this momentous resolution was announced by the Swarajists and everybody must have expected that they would continue to be in the sulks

at least for one whole session. We have always held that this was an unnecessary outburst of ill-temper on their part, but having decided to non-co-operate for what they regarded to be cogent and indeed compelling reasons, we feel that for mere decency's sake they ought to have kept up this attitude for some time. But a month has barely elapsed since members of the Swaraj party dispersed after making a brave show of non-co-operation, when we find them again confabulating in all solemnity with members of Government in select committee on bills—and in doing what? Turning down bad measures? No, but only receiving thumping defeats at the hands of Government. We do not pretend to know if the Swaraj party cannot put forward some new code of ethics which taboos participation in open Council but permits of participation in secret committees. This of course is quite possible. Do not we know that the acceptance of a place on the Skeen Committee, the only avenue to which is Government nomination, is in Swarajist reasoning an admissible form of non-co-operation, while the acceptance of office, to which the only passport is the command of an elected majority in the legislature, is hateful co-operation to be shunned at all costs?

* * *

Unity. THE Labour Party at its annual conference which commences at

Liverpool on the 29th inst. will consider two resolutions relating to India, both accepting the main conclusion of the Minority Report of the Muddiman Committee that the hybrid constitution now in operation in the provinces as a transitional stage be forthwith rescinded and that the Indian constitution be placed on a permanent basis. The Party will also be asked to give its imprimatur to the Commonwealth of India Bill. Dr. Besant will thus have achieved the immediate object of her mission to England if the Party will generally bless the Bill. At a time when she was making an attempt to obtain the Labour Party's support to a Bill which really embodies the aspirations of the most go-ahead people in this country, what is the obvious duty of Indian public men? Surely to stand by Mrs. Besant and the main principles of her Bill. That is not, however, the Swaraj party's conception of its duty. Apparently Swarajists think that national interests are best served by repudiating the Bill and telling Labour leaders that it is only Dr. Besant's Scheme. For Pandit Motilal Nehru saw fit just as the annual conference was being talked about to send a special cablegram to the Party intimating his dissociation from the Bill. He evidently thought that by so doing he would clip the Bill of its wings. Nothing of the kind has, however, resulted. The Labour Party does not think the worse of the Bill because Pandit Nehru swayed by party considerations is withholding his support from a measure which should recommend itself to every one intent on swaraj. On the contrary the Party tells him in effect that if he has not yet given his support, it is time he should do so. For the resolution to be adopted by the Labour Conference goes on to "urge the Swaraj party to co-operate on similar lines," i. e. to accept the Bill as has already been done by "individual leaders of every section of political opinion in India." The plain meaning of the Labour Party resolution is that the Swarajists are adopting obstructionist tactics in a matter in which whole-hearted support is the only course for all well-wishers of the country. It shows by the way who are putting obstacles in the way of unity.

TO RESIGN OR NOT?

BY V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI.

GOVERNMENT has gone and done it. In taking advantage of our inability to try conclusions it is hastening a catastrophe. The popular representatives in the Assembly, both Swarajists and Independents, have been put upon their mettle and desire to prove that the country is behind them. From his own point of view it was no doubt just and courteous on the part of the Viceroy to express the obligations of his Government to the Council of State on the eve of its dissolution. But it has had the effect only to be expected in the circumstances, of aggravating the situation. Like other bodies of a similar character the Council has done well in some respects and ill in others, and unfortunately whenever it went against the Assembly, it could not avoid the odium of doing so under the influence of an anti-national Government. I cannot lend any countenance to a movement, supposing one to be started for the abolition of the second chamber. But it is necessary to recognise that by force of circumstances the Government and the Council have greatly added to each other's unpopularity. The desire is natural to show that the members of the Assembly are the country's real representatives. But the question is: is it necessary to prove it at all? Who questions the fact? Even those who for polemical purposes may attach importance to the resolution of the Council will hesitate to claim for it the character of the country's wish. Where nobody is deceived nobody need be undeceived; and it seems absurd to go to the expense and trouble of a general election merely to establish the obvious. But those who are in favour of this course have doubtless another end in view or will soon have it. The young bloods will demand that in going to the country they should seek its authority for "sanctions." And when we remember that several leaders—among them Mr. Sen Gupta—have already pronounced themselves in their favour, it is impossible to put much faith in the resisting power of the wiser and more cautious elements in the Swarajist party. We must take it, therefore, that if a series of bye-elections be now precipitated, the new Assembly will feel bound to hasten a crisis, and non-payment of taxes and civil disobedience will come within the range of actualities. The Independents, who seem to be dallying with the idea of resignation may have to signify their approval of the "sanctions" policy if they are to have any chance at the polls. This is only another way of saying that the Swarajists will have it all their own way. It may be asked, is there any hope of matters improving before December 1926? Shall we not be faced with the same difficulty then? One does not look for any wisdom and statesmanship from the Government side. Still, before a drastic step is taken, we cannot forget the findings of the Committee which reported some time ago that the country was not prepared for any form of civil disobedience or the judgment of Gandhiji repeated quite recently to

the same effect. We cannot reconcile ourselves to a reversal of that judgment on a mere side-issue. The turmoil and excitement of election time will render it impossible to investigate in a calm spirit the question whether the people are morally and materially prepared for a strenuous and protracted campaign. And yet this question must be determined in an atmosphere favourable to the discovery of the truth. I have no hesitation in declaring my opinion that civil disobedience and non-payment of taxes, whether begun now or next year, will land the country in serious difficulty without any corresponding advantage. And this opinion is doubtless shared by many outside the Liberal Party. The Home Member's jibe at many diverse interpretations of Pandit Motilal's amendment betrays the serious discomposure of the bureaucratic mind at the unanimity of non-officials over the question of reforms. This unanimity will be at once destroyed by an appeal to the country and it would only be the beginning of greater evil to follow.

INDIAN STORES DEPARTMENT.

ADMINISTRATION REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1924-25.

IT was only on the 28th of May last that we had occasion to comment on the inexcusable delay in the publication of the Administration Report of the Indian Stores Department for 1923-24. This was also the subject of one or two interpellations in the session of the Legislative Assembly just over, and in the House of Commons during the last session. The comments in the Press and the interpellations in the Legislatures appear to have quickened the slow-going machinery of the Government of India into—for it—remarkable activity so that the Administration Report for the year ending the 31st March 1925 was published last week, just when members of the Assembly were dispersing. The Administration Report of the Railway Board for the last financial year has yet to come out. Is it, we seriously ask, too much to expect that an Administration Report for a financial year be published not later than three or four months after its close? Such Reports ought to be available in good time for consideration during the following Autumn Session of the Legislature.

Coming now to the Administration Report of the Indian Stores Department, we find it covers 65 pages of royal octavo size and furnishes a good deal of statistical data with an Organization Chart, which is a new feature of this year's Report. As a result of the expansion of the Department during the year under review and the somewhat progressive character of the Stores Purchase Rules, the aggregate value of the purchases made by the Department rose from Rs. 164½ lakhs in 1923-24 to over Rs. 259½ lakhs, 126 lakhs representing engineering purchases and 133 odd lakhs textiles. It is gratifying to note that Indian textiles were substituted for those of foreign manufacture to the extent of 98%. The figures of purchase on behalf of Railways rose from about 9½ lakhs during 1923-24 to about Rs. 46½ lakhs during the year under review. These

figures read well so far as they go, and they indicate a growing appreciation of the services of the Indian Stores Department. They represent, however, only a very small fraction of the total requirements of the State. There is reason to believe that the Central Department have not yet learnt to co-operate in the policy of the Government of India, and the Chief Controller of Stores has made no secret of this. On p. 7 of the Report he says :—

Although the foregoing analyses indicates a marked extension of the Department's functions as a purchasing and inspection agency, the quantity of business so far entrusted to it represents only a portion of the total volume of work of this character which devolves annually on the State and the large quasi-Governmental institutions in India.

How the whole business is handicapped by want of co-operation can be judged by the results of the scrutiny of indents placed by different departments on the Indian Stores Department in London. "As a result of the examination of the English indents, it was brought to the notice of the departments concerned that a large number of items aggregating in value £156,000 approximately were either manufactured or stocked in India."!!! We desire to bring this state of affairs to the special attention of the Government of India in order that they may take early steps to enforce the provisions of the Stores Rules and to make the Departments place their indents on the Indian Stores Department. The worst sinners in this respect, however are again the Railways and the Railway Board. They purchase over 9 to 10 crores of rupees' worth of stores every year. The share that the Indian Stores Department got out of this huge figure was only 46½ lakhs, which barely represents 5%! The Railway Board is the spoilt child of the Government of India. Cannot something be done to bring round this refractory urchin?

The Stores Purchase Rules are intended to apply only to the central departments and the minor administrations. The Governors' provinces enjoy full provincial autonomy in this respect if in nothing else!! They are left absolutely unfettered by any of the restrictions of the Stores Rules. We wonder what the Secretary of State intends doing with them. It is common knowledge that Stores Rules for Governors' Provinces are in hatching for much longer than the usual gestation period. We want to know when the chickens will be running about!

Mention was made in last year's report about the steps proposed to be taken by the Government of India on the resolution of the Assembly recommending the purchase of stores on the basis of Rupee Tender. The Report under review has not even a bare mention. The reason is obvious. The Government of India have failed so far to make any advance in that direction, although the Resolution was passed by the Assembly as long ago as February 1924, over a year and a half by now! Interpellations in the Assembly during the last session did not elicit a very hopeful reply from Sir Bhu-

pendra Nath Mitra. A system, the advantages of which are so obvious, should not have taken as long as a year and a half to adopt if only the Government was in earnest. "Procrastination" they say, "is the thief of time," and, we may add, "a chosen companion of Governments." We confess to a feeling of suspicion of the *bona fides* of the Government in this respect.

As regards Indianization, we cannot congratulate the Government on having made any encouraging advance. The report says:—

Altogether eighteen gazetted officers were appointed during the course of the year, of whom nine were Indians and nine non-Indians. The recruitment of certain of the European officers was rendered unavoidable by the fact that the applications received in response to advertisements in the press did not reveal the existence of Indians possessing the special qualifications in metallurgy required on the part of the incumbent of the post of Metallurgical Inspector, and the special knowledge and experience of the structural steel and wagon building industries.

We suggest, however, that, in fairness, two or three elected members of the Legislature be appointed on the selection committee. Otherwise the public will always remain in the dark as to what is actually happening inside the Imperial Secretariat! The Report goes on to say further that "the numbers of Europeans and Indians holding gazetted posts in the Department at the end of 1924-25 were 26 and 15 respectively." But why is the proportion of Indians so low? The comment we made on the Report for 1923-24 still holds good. "It may be noted in passing that while the maximum salary of the highest post in the Department is Rs. 3,500, no Indian has yet been appointed to a post carrying a salary of more than Rs. 1,200." Is this Indianization worth the name?

As regards the overhead charges for working the Department, the Treasury was again faced with a deficit of Rs. 2,73,600 on the working of the Department during the year of the Report. Against this must of course be set the savings which the indenting departments might have effected owing to their purchase work having been entrusted to the Indian Stores Department. There is, however, room for considerable improvement which can only be made if the different departments co-operate wholeheartedly in carrying out the policy of the Government of India as laid down in the Stores Purchase Rules.

The success of the Indian Stores Department, judged by the standards laid down by the Stores Rules, is the measure of Government's desire to assist Indian industries, and we hope that in fairness to the taxpayer the Indian Stores Department will be enabled to show a more hopeful record in its Administration Report for the current financial year.

CONTACT OF CULTURES.

I.—THE NATURE AND ORIGIN OF CULTURES.

THE division of the Human Race into Nations or Peoples, determined as it is by political considerations frequently artificial, provides an

unsatisfactory and indeed impossible basis for the fundamental consideration of human institutions. Whether such a consideration be merely historical, or whether we seek to do what History must always hope to do, to analyse the present and predict and determine the future, we must seek a more fundamental basis than that which is furnished by the organization of the modern world. This is not to say that our enquiry will not have political consequences; perhaps it is not too much to claim that any deductions that we can make should have more weight from the very fact that they are based on the solid foundations of Geography and Psychology.

We demand, then, a more fundamental division. We see men, almost invariably of mixed racial ancestry, gaining their livelihood in different ways and organizing their society in different ways. For sociological purposes, Race is a worse division than Nationality; for Nationality frequently follows geographical lines, whereas Race hardly ever does. We accordingly take one division from one subject matter and classify men by Culture. A group of men, having the same or similar social organization, and using the same or similar means of livelihood, and usually but not necessarily occupying a continuous territory, constitutes a Culture.*

This definition requires certain safeguards. We shall consider later the problem of whether Culture has been evolved independently in different areas, or invariably diffused. Meanwhile, if we imagine the possibility of two areas widely separated, each producing the same social and economic institutions, we would speak of them as similar, not identical, cultures. Where, however, we find in Assam, Borneo and New Guinea such an identity as to leave no doubt that these peoples once lived in association with each other and developed their culture together, we regard them as one Culture.

It will be seen that Culture is thus a relative term. We may speak of the Hindu Culture, comprising endogamous castes, certain broad rules of ceremonial cleanliness, the sanctity of the cow, and other things: but if we analyse more closely, we discover that there is a Bengal Culture, a Madras Culture, a Punjab Culture and so on. As we are working on broad and general lines, we may leave the word indefinite and relative. Were we to analyse one area like India, it would be necessary to classify into sub-cultures and even divide them further.

A Culture is produced by two main factors—geography and transmission of Culture from without. It is obvious that the nature of a territory will determine the character of the life of its inhabitants. A high steppe country, unfit for agriculture, will produce the pastoral life. We are not surprised to find no well in the Himalayas and few or no water-mills in the plains of India. Where there is no clay, there can be no pottery. The other factor, the Transmission of Culture, is of more importance, and

*We shall continue to use the word Culture, without an article as a general term for human institutions or achievements.

is very much to the forefront among Anthropologists at the present time.

II.—THE PRE-HISTORIC TRANSMISSION OF CULTURE.

The rise of the systematic study and classification of human institutions coincided roughly with the acceptance of the theory of Biological Evolution. It was natural, therefore, that the progress of Human Culture should be considered to correspond. The analogy was carried to such lengths, that it was considered possible to arrange the works of man in a series, into which any particular institution or object could be fitted. For example, because among some peoples, descent, inheritance and succession are derived through the female and not the male line, Morgan assumed that all humanity had once derived them thus, and built up a theory of human marriage on that basis.

This conception has been weakening for some time. In the first place, investigation has shown that a people may have a part of their culture highly developed, while in other respects they are at a most primitive level. The Australians know—apart from European influence—only flint and wood as weapons and implements: nearly all of them go naked, a few tribes putting a skin over their shoulders when it is cold: but the social organization by which marriage is arranged is a marvel of complexity.

Again the connections of primitive people among themselves began to be noticed. Dr. Haddon has analysed the Cultures of New Guinea and the Torres Straits: and has shown how very small differences, such as the way in which an outrigger is attached to a canoe, are signs of cultural influence from outside.

But now the Evolutionary Theory (orly, of course, in this particular application) is faced not by its contradictory but by its contrary. There is a school of thought, centering around Prof. Elliott-Smith, claiming the support of the late Dr. Rivers, and ably popularised by Mr. Perry, which regards all similarity of culture as the result of contact. The human race, according to this view, has never invented the same thing twice. In very distant times, the Mediterranean, India, Oceania, China, America, and even Northern Europe were affected by bands of courageous seafarers, who diffused from Egypt their implements, customs and beliefs.

It becomes necessary briefly to examine the data upon which this theory rests. It has long been known that certain elements of Culture have a very wide distribution. Such are, the erection of stone monuments, the worship of the sun, the practice of tattooing and mummification, belief in a special sanctity attaching to the head, and a practice called Couvade, by which, when a woman is confined, her husband also must behave as though he were ill.

Each one of these things, taken by itself, is very natural, and might easily be supposed to have arisen independently. (The last may appear grotesque,

but an acquaintance with primitive beliefs will show it to be a natural piece of sympathetic magic. But it is now shown that these and other elements appear, on the whole, together. There are cases, it is true, when one or the other is left out, but that is quite explicable. Dr. Rivers has shown undoubted cases where things as useful as archery and pottery have been known and subsequently become lost. The general agreement compels the conclusion that this "Culture-Complex" came from one centre, and was carried all over the world.

It is further shown that in Egypt, from pre-dynastic times to the Sixth Dynasty, all these elements of Culture developed successively and the conclusion is irresistible that this culture-complex (*i. e.* the joining of several elements of Culture) was spread, directly or mediately, over a very wide area. The extreme position, that all Primitive Culture, including all religious and magical beliefs, has spread from this centre, will probably not be generally accepted: in particular, the contention that the Culture-bearers were in search of pearls, and placed their stations where they could find pearls, has recently received vigorous criticism. But the main contention stands, and we may draw several important conclusions from it.

III.—UNINVENTIVENESS OF THE HUMAN RACE.

If Mr. Perry's theory is accepted in its entirety it involves the belief that invention is a very rare thing, man having learnt his lessons from other men. This is the point at which the theory has been most criticised, as it appears derogatory to the dignity of the Human Race. There are, in point of fact, certain inventions which appear in such widely separated areas that they do seem to have been invented twice. To examine them, looking always for the possibility of contact, is to furnish a just criticism of the theory. It is entirely useless, as well as foolish, to talk in a broad and airy way about the triumphant ascent of the Human Spirit. We must be prepared to survive attacks on our self-esteem by admitting our weakness and by meeting logic with logic and not with "hot air." Our grand-fathers did not like the notion that they were descended from apes: people are used to that now; but our pride may have many other shocks to sustain.

Whether this contention can be proved in its entirety or not, it is safe to conclude that cultural isolation is a very dangerous thing. Alike individually and as a group, we require the stimulus of intercourse with others, if we are not to stagnate. This needs to be borne in mind, when we try to prevent the disappearance of Indian Culture. We shall have more to say about the dangers and disabilities of a culture received from outside; but we must first clearly understand that to a certain extent such borrowing is absolutely essential.

There can be no doubt that the feebleness of the Indian Culture, on the arrival of the British, is grossly exaggerated. Many of the present-day factors adduced in support of this view, are themselves the direct result of a bureaucracy backed by vast

military resources. But it remains probable that had she remained self-contained and never opened up to Western influences, India would have had no more to offer to the civilization of the world.

WALTER O. FITCH.

PROHIBITION.

MORE than one provincial Government, under the Reformed Constitution, have declared that the goal of their Excise policy is total prohibition, that is, "the total extinction of the traffic in alcoholic drink and drugs." And the Legislative Assembly has, recently, by a large majority, adopted a resolution in favour of prohibition and of local option as the best means of reaching the goal. Thus, Indian public opinion is becoming more and more insistent, that the Government, as is their wont in dealing with such vital and far-reaching questions, should not tinker with this serious and growing Drink evil, but adopt every effective means that will succeed in uprooting it from the country. There seems to be a general consensus of opinion that without prohibition the Drink problem cannot be satisfactorily solved, and that it should be left to the people themselves to attain the ideal of prohibition by means of local option.

It need not be denied that prohibition is not a simple matter, that its *complete* realization will take a good many years and meet with not a few administrative and practical difficulties. The cause of prohibition does not require, either for its success or commendation, that these difficulties should be denied, ignored or underrated. On the other hand, there is an inveterate tendency among some people, so to exaggerate these difficulties as to exalt them into a decisive argument against prohibition ever attaining even a fair measure of success. Prohibition is not a practicable proposition; any measure directed towards it will be a remedy worse than the disease; at all events it will prove, in the long run, ineffective and abortive;—such is the burthen of their oft-repeated anti-prohibition song. In India, this latter view is, for the most part, represented by European officials and other Europeans connected with industry and commerce. The only European community that is really serious about prohibition and is anxious to give the method of local option a fair trial consists of various Missionary bodies.

Both those who are in favour of and against prohibition point to the working of prohibition in America. The opponents of prohibition in this country are never weary of reiterating that prohibition in the United States of America is a huge fraud, that it is a colossal failure, that the sooner the *Vols-tead* law is either repealed, or at least substantially amended, the better will it be both for America and other countries which are being, or are likely to be, misled by her so-called successful experiment in prohibition. On the other hand, as soon as a testimony hostile to prohibition in America is published in the Press, someone, no less qualified to give his opinion on the question, turns up, condemns the

testimony as the result of bias, preconceived notions or vested interests, and draws a glowing picture of the manifold benefits that the operation of the Prohibition law, even during the short period of its existence on the statute-book, has conferred upon the American people. There is dogmatism, perhaps, on both sides; and dogmatism is ever the foe of patient and thorough investigation. In the midst of this serious conflict of opinion as regards the success or failure of Prohibition in America, those—unfortunately their number is always so small—who are anxious to find out the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, are naturally bewildered, and find it difficult to form any decided opinion on the question, on the mere strength of the various views which are expressed one way or the other, by partisans on both the sides. An independent, thorough and impartial inquiry alone can enable any such opinion to be formed, and an inquiry conducted with such a scientific passion for truth can only be made on the spot. Now that the Legislative Assembly has passed a resolution in favour of prohibition, it might well pass another resolution urging that a small Commission of three numbers elected by the Assembly should be deputed to America to study and report on the working of prohibition in that country.

But in the absence of any such first-hand investigation, and until such investigation is made, a book published in America in "The Hand-book Series", entitled "Prohibition: Modification of the Volstead Law"* cannot fail to be of much interest and value. The merit of the book is that it gives the *pros* and *cons* of the whole question. It contains articles, both for and against prohibition, written by those whose opinions are entitled to consideration and respect. The compiler of the book points out that there has been such a constant barrage of propaganda, by both the protagonists and the opponents of prohibition, that all truth is lost in the mists of misrepresentation, one-sided statements and deliberate distortion of facts and figures, of which propaganda, in the very essence of its nature, is bound to consist, particularly when feelings are aroused. "What should occupy our attention", he rightly says, "is a calm and careful study of the facts so far as they are available, in an effort to determine what have been the results of the national Prohibition Act upon public health, poverty, crime, wages, divorce, insanity, earning power, industrial accidents, politics, social relations, and the welfare, happiness and contentment of the people." It is these facts, which attempts are made, in these articles, to marshal, so that the reader may, if satisfied with their truth and accuracy, decide for himself whether prohibition is a blessing or curse. Whatever view one may ultimately take, very few will be inclined to differ from the compiler when he says "that in national prohibition our country is trying out one of the greatest and most far-reaching legislative experiments that

any portion of the human race has ever undertaken". And we strongly recommend the book to all those who feel keenly interested in the question of prohibition and in studying the working of the great experiment in America.

We shall conclude with a note of reservation. The results of the American experiment will, of course, be instructive and valuable. But even if, unfortunately for the human race, they prove that prohibition in America has neither been a success nor a blessing, that will be no conclusive argument against its success in this country. The conditions in India with regard to this question are so different from those in America, that failure of prohibition in the latter country will not necessarily mean that it is bound to fail in this country also.

R. G. PRADHAN.

WORLD OUTSIDE.

Slavery. THE League of Nations Assembly is sitting at Geneva, but as usual,

Reuter does not send more than occasional scraps of news about its doings: and until the daily reports issued by the Secretariat of the League begin to arrive, we in this country therefore can form but the vaguest ideas as to what is actually going on at the League Assembly. On the 9th for instance we were told that Lord Cecil had submitted a proposal for a new Anti-Slavery Convention, described as "the most important since the Brussels Convention of 1890"—but no further details were vouchsafed, nor have we been kept informed as to the further fate of the proposal. Does it include, one wonders, the forced labour, indistinguishable from slavery in Portuguese West Africa, yet rampant in one form or another throughout Africa? What about the *Mui-Tsai*—that revolting system under which young Chinese girls are sold at so many dollars apiece, at the best to become household drudges of, at the worst to become inmates of brothels kept by, their purchasers? Only a few years ago an officer in the British Navy, stationed at Hongkong, was forced to resign from the service, because his wife—what? Had brought a maid-servant under this *mui-tsai* system? O dear no—because the said lady, nauseated at finding that system countenanced by the British government of Hongkong, was carrying on a spirited agitation for its suppression in British territory! Good old British trusteeship again. Anyhow having ruined a gallant officer's career, the British government's prestige seems to have been sufficiently propitiated now and we see that in the adjoining Colony of the Straits Settlements the Attorney General actually introduced on the 31st ult. a "Female Domestic Servants Bill" which, as from January 1st next, "absolutely prohibits the purchase of women and girls for service as domestic servants"; abolishes all "supposed right of control or disposition of their persons"; prohibits "the employment of a female domestic servant under the age of ten years"; binds "every employer to supply to an adult female ser-

* Compiled by Lamar T. Beman. (The E. W. Wilson Company, New York.) 1924. 8 x 4. pp. 380. \$ 2.40.

want above 18 "not only food, &c., but wages; and empowers "the Colonial Secretary to fix a minimum wage for such persons." All very nice of course: but what an admission and what a revelation of existing conditions!

State Regulation. AS a matter of fact, the English Government in such matters is always far more liberally inclined, than the proconsular bureaucrats in the Colonies, and still more so is public opinion in England than English opinion abroad. A good example comes to hand from the same proceedings of the Straits Settlements Legislative Council upon the table of which there was laid a report from "The Colonial Office Advisory Committee on Social Hygiene". The said report was made at the instance of the Colonial Office, which had asked the Committee's opinions on a Draft Ordinance on venereal disease promoted by the Straits Settlements government to re-introduce the system of State Regulation. The Committee, under the chairmanship of Mr. Ormsby-Gore, consisted of 13 members, one of whom was a high Army doctor, one a Naval ditto, and one each from the Ministry of Health and from the Colonial Office, besides Dr. E. B. Turner of the British Social Hygiene Council and Dr. J. W. White of the Association for Moral and Social Hygiene—six medical men in all, the six non-medical members including two women, three officials from the Home, Health and Colonial Offices and Mr. John H. Harris. We should call that a pretty strong Committee and one that certainly does not err on the side of emotionalism and faddism: yet the *Straits Times* brushes them aside as "the good gentlemen and ladies who sit together in a Western capital discussing the moral situation of an Eastern town" "not daring to take the strong line, even if they had the knowledge and the will, and dreading the popular outcry against C. D. Acts", and asking "God to help their ignorance." And why all this outburst? Because the said Committee have very soberly stated in their report that *unanimously* (pray, mark that!) they have come to the conclusion "that, apart from any moral considerations, the draft Ordinance would not provide an effective remedy for the evils which exist in Singapore, and they strongly recommend that it should not be passed into law", adding explicitly that "the failure of the system of State Regulation is explained on medical principles which are equally valid in any part of the world". But no such language for the "strong silent" men on the spot—"we who have lived amongst the people." When, we wonder, did the editor of our contemporary (not to mention Mrs. Still and the other members of the dynasty) live "amongst the people" of Singapore? We always thought, he—as all his ilk—had lived all his life in what we in India call the Cantonments; further removed from the people of the land than if he had lived in London—or in Peebles, for the matter of that. Yet he and our proverbial Anglo-Indian Colonel who has "lived 40 years, Sir, 40 years in the d—d country" and therefore flays down the law in his London Club and says the

Empire is going to the bow-wows, because, as Mr. Still expresses it, "the British Empire is in the hands of men who know nothing of the great masses alien in custom and sentiment", and who wish "to thrust ideas of an alien religion down the throats of people whose daily life from infancy upwards has been sexuality and senility." And so on and so on. Truly, the greatest enemy of England is the average Britisher in the East, just as the greatest enemy of Christianity is the average Christian in the East.

The Rights of Majorities.

IT is so very seldom that we have found anything to praise in the Government of South Africa, that we hasten to congratulate it on its Co-operative Societies Act Amendment Bill, or at least on that clause of the Bill (enacted last July) which provides that, if 75 % of the producers of any kind of agricultural produce (which producers must also produce 75 % of such products in a given district, area or province and be members of a recognised co-operative society) agree to the collective sale of their said products, each grower of such product in such area will in future be legally bound to sell it only through the said collective selling agency, quite irrespective of the fact whether or not he belongs to the said Co-operative Society. The clause settles the question of the obstreperous minority, which can spoil any scheme for the collective good, by refusing to join the action taken by the majority, however large; or also get the benefit of what the majority do for the whole industry, without bearing their share in the cost of the collective undertaking. This is a weakness of all voluntary associations and though we would not go so far as to say that the new South African rule ought to apply without discrimination to all cases of voluntary association, we certainly think that its enactment in the case of producers' co-operatives is most salutary and called for. In fact, in this instance, the Union government has merely gone back to the old medieval Guild principles; and having given the Guild the power of coercing all the members of its "mystery" (or craft), it will soon have to follow the old system still further, by fixing a "Just Price." All of which is entirely to the good and the only sure way out of our present-day capitalistic chaos. But why stop at farmers' produce? Why not make also membership in a Trade Union compulsory and legislate "scab" labour and blacklegs out of the world?

A Great Misleader.

THE name of Stephen Radic is not likely to be a household word in India. For all that, the recent history of this great Croatian party leader is really worth knowing and pondering. A great Serb patriot, as long as Croatia was part of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, he from the moment Croatia was incorporated into a unitary Serb Kingdom of "Yugoslavia" became the implacable enemy of Serbia, of the central government at Belgrade and of the Karageorgevic King. He stood for Croatian autonomy and asked for a republi-

can federation of all the culturally rather heterogeneous parts now forming the so-called "Serb-Croat-Slovene Kingdom". He was the leader of the Croat Peasant Party, but practically had the whole of Croatia at his back. The most remarkable thing about him, was that he (a son of the Balkans! was an out-and-out pacifist and that he expected to gain his political ends by non-violent means of non-co-operation. His party, as a consequence, though sweeping Croatia at every election, was never represented in the Belgrade parliament, as he and his followers persistently refused to take their seats. Stephen Radic travelled abroad a good deal and created a great impression as a sort of second "Gandhi"; notably in London. But his implacable antagonist Pasic remained safely Premier, though only; disposing of a minority in parliament, and continued his policy of reaction, militarism and centralism, his withers quite unwrung by the assiduous Radic' *démarches* in the chancelleries of the Great Powers.

Last year Stephen Radic made a pilgrimage to Moscow, which seemed a very curious thing already for a devout Catholic and Tolstoyan Pacifist like him. Soon one read that Radic had been converted to Communism and meant to turn his peasant party into a branch of the Communist International. Mr. Pasic's reply was simple: the moment Radic returned to Croatia, he was clapped into prison and kept there *sine die*. But a few months ago a new complete *volte face* began: Paul Radic, nephew of Stephen Radic, suddenly began to give out, on behalf of his uncle, the *quondam* idol of Croatia, that his uncle had seen the error of his previous ways and that (1) he was no longer a republican at all, but wished to be a most loyal subject of His Karageorgevic Majesty; (2) that he had given up all idea of *swaraj* for Croatia and was most happy that it should continue to be ruled from Belgrade as part of a unitary, centralized kingdom; (3) that the true enemy were the Catholic clergy and that the best thing Croatsians could now do was to foreswear the Catholic religion and set up a "National" religion and church of their own after the Serb pattern. As a reward for the heroic swallowing of so many principles all at once, Mr. Pasic released Mr. Radic from prison—and did so dramatically, on June 25th, when the birth, one thousand years previously, of the Croatian nation was about to be celebrated. This of all days Mr. Radic chose on emerging from prison on which to endorse publicly all that his nephew Paul had already pledged him to and as a further reward Mr. Turncoat Radic was immediately called to Belgrade and installed as one of three Croatian ministers in the Pasic cabinet. But the most distressing part of all this ignoble spectacle is that Radic seems to have carried the whole of his party with him, like so many sheep, from wholesale negation to wholesale affirmation of every single principle which men are wont to hold dearest. To crown all, the new Radic reviles in unmeasured terms the leaders of parties formerly allied to his own, for refusing, at

his instance, to turn coats like him and with him and for daring to cling still to such now-outworn shibboleths as home rule, republicanism and catholicism! Truly, it is never safe to call any one great until he is safely—dead.

HANSRAJ.

REVIEWS.

PROVINCIAL FINANCE.

EVOLUTION OF PROVINCIAL FINANCE IN BRITISH INDIA. By B. R. AMBEDKAR, D. Sc. (Econ.) (P. S. King & Son, Ltd., London.) 8½ × 5½. pp. 285. 15s.

IN this admirable study Mr. Ambedkar has surveyed the history of provincial finance in India from the very early times to the Meston settlement. It is a painstaking and conscientious account of fiscal arrangements and will not lose its value because of the favourable verdict the author passes upon the system of provincial contributions inaugurated in 1921. It is difficult in these days to get any one to say a good word in favour of these contributions. There is not a single provincial government which has not joined with its non-official colleagues in the Legislative Council to denounce the gross inequity of the recommendations of the Financial Relations Committee, and a debate on this subject in the Legislative Assembly has always been the occasion for a scramble between representatives of various provinces to obtain a remission or at least reduction of the contribution levied upon their particular province. It is therefore very courageous on Mr. Ambedkar's part to plead, as he has done in the final chapter of the book which purports to be a critique of the Meston settlement, that there is nothing inherently wrong in the system in force and that, in fact, it is essentially more equitable than any other substitute that can be thought of.

In the first place, provincial contributions are avowedly temporary; in the second place "the ratio of the contributions to the standard revenue or expenditure of any of the provinces is not so great as to place a heavy incubus on their financial system"; and in the third place, "the contributions are so regulated as to leave to the provinces, rich as well as poor, a reserve of spending power in order to enable them to meet such of their pressing needs as may not have been covered by the figure for standard expenditure." That is to say, it is the Government of India's aim to eliminate these contributions as soon as possible; and while they last, the Government has taken care to keep them at a reasonable figure and to leave a surplus at the disposal of provinces for expenditure on urgent needs. On this last point Mr. Ambedkar takes too rosy a view, but there is no doubt about the validity of his main conclusion that the basis of the apportionment of the burden is sound at bottom, the real trouble being that there is not enough money to go round. The impatience of Ministers and non-official members of the Legislative Councils with insufficiency of funds can be easily understood and sympathised with, but it is

vain to hope that any other system will yield more satisfactory results or will be more just in its working.

To say this, however, is not to absolve the Central Government from all blame. And indeed Mr. Ambedkar subjects the Government of India in the present volume to a very severe criticism (i) for having settled land revenue assessment permanently in some provinces and thus denied to itself a legitimate share in the unearned increment of land and (ii) for not developing the customs revenue to anything like a full extent. Criticism on the second head is made without advocating a protectionist policy, the complaint being that even for strictly revenue purposes this fruitful source has not been sufficiently tapped. Mr. Ambedkar, however, recognises that the mere abolition of provincial contributions, were it immediately feasible, would not put provincial finances on a satisfactory footing, but this is due not to any error in the calculations of standard revenue and standard expenditure which formed the basis of the Meston settlement, but to "an extraordinary rise" in the scale of provincial expenditure consequent upon the reforms. He therefore wholly concurs in the view held by the Secretary of State that reduction of expenditure and increase of taxation are the only remedies for removing the financial stringency of provinces. But, according to Mr. Ambedkar, neither of these remedies can be utilised to any large extent so long as the present system of divided responsibility continues in force in the provinces, under which the non-responsible executive, being assured of enough resources, has no incentive for effecting economy, and the responsible executive, being unable to enforce economy on the other half of government, cannot propose measures for a large expansion of revenues. It is only when the whole executive will become amenable to popular control that either of the two remedies mentioned above can be applied to full advantage.

In justifying this conclusion, however, Mr. Ambedkar has used arguments which betray a lack of knowledge of the present constitution, which stands in glaring contrast with the evident mastery he wields over economic facts and the great care he exercises in handling them. He seems to be under the impression that the Ministers in the first term of the reformed Legislatures were not responsible, i.e. were not removable on an adverse vote of the Legislatures. Such a half-way house was no doubt suggested by the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms Report, but it was ultimately rejected and Ministers were made responsible from the outset. Mr. Ambedkar also makes it a matter of grievance that the Ministers are appointed by the Governor instead of being elected by the Legislature, little realising that the appointment of Ministers by a constitutional sovereign is in all essentials tantamount to their election by the Legislature. Mr. Ambedkar rightly attaches much importance to a provision in the original Joint Scheme, which was later turned down, giving the power of initiating taxation proposals to Ministers alone. That would have given

the Ministers far greater control over reserved expenditure than they now have. In defending the scheme from the unjust attacks of certain politicians the Liberals naturally showed how efficacious this weapon would be in the hands of Ministers in compelling the non-popular part of government to exercise economy. Mr. Ambedkar characterizes this as a "tactless" proceeding on the part of the Liberals. He of course fully shares their opinion of the value of such a provision; only he seems to think that they should not have enlarged on it at the time but allowed the attacks of the detractors of the scheme to go unchallenged. He forgets that instead of this particular provision, the whole reforms scheme would then have been in danger. If the provision is now deleted because of the underlining of its usefulness by the Liberals, surely they are not responsible for the result who advanced correct arguments in defence, but those who by their extravagant denunciation made such defence necessary.

After arguing elaborately for full autonomy as the only remedy for financial solvency of the provinces Mr. Ambedkar on the last page justifies the withholding of political power on the ground of the "harsh, cruel and inhuman treatment which the classes in India have accorded to the masses" and the book thus propounds an almost insoluble puzzle to the reader. In an essay on economics Mr. Ambedkar naturally did not find much scope for a comparison of the bureaucratic administration in the past with a popular government in the immediate future from the point of view of the welfare of the masses. Many would like to have his views on this all-important question, coming as they would from one who is not only a competent critic in economic matters but is himself a leader of the masses.

S. G. V.

CO-OPERATION IN ITALY.

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN ITALY.

BY E. A. LLOYD. (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London.) pp. 136. 4s. 6d.

CO-OPERATION is a delicate plant. It must be nurtured in an atmosphere of tolerance and good-will. It cannot maintain a healthy growth if it is perverted by political or religious prejudices or bruised by an ungenerous dictator. The recent story of co-operation in Italy is therefore full of sadness. The enthusiasm natural to a Latin race inspired the creation and supported the early struggles of co-operative production, labour, and agriculture, but the purity of co-operative ideals has for many years been stained by the misdeeds of conflicting Italian parties. The reforming zeal of the Socialists carried them to a point which antagonized the Catholics and the more moderate Liberals, until shortly after the war the two latter schools of thought broke away from the National League, which had until that time been the central organ of all Italian co-operators, and formed the Catholic Confederation in 1919 and the National Syndicate (Liberal) in 1920. The Syndicate was formed in the early months of 1920 (not as Mr. Lloyd is led to believe, in 1921), and had already a following of 2000 societies by the end of that year, when it entered into an alliance with the Association (Opera) of ex-soldiers, from which developed finally the Fascist Organization. The latter, aided by party violence and official discrimination, has now reduced the Socialist League to a position of comparative weakness, while the Catholics who were never the greatest enemy, stand aside from the struggle. If, as Mr. Lloyd suggests, the now dominant organ can so broaden its ideas and widen its membership as to

embrace all denominations of co-operators, there may yet be a hope for a strong and impartial national movement. The omens however are not favourable, so long as political dictatorship is maintained.

Mr. Lloyd's account of the growth of Labour Societies and Agricultural Societies is interesting; he points out the difficulties which they had to overcome and the assistance which was given to them by legislation or by executive order. I myself, when examining co-operation in Italy in 1920, felt that the successes of Italy upon these lines should inspire India, which has so many climatic and temperamental points of similarity to Italy, to an emulation of her efforts. We cannot however in this country expect any Government, British or Indian, to throw its weight so fully on the side of co-operation as did the Italian Government during and shortly after the war. Nor is it desirable. The criticism passed by the Fascists on the State-aided co-operation which they overthrew, is that it was not a natural growth, and that the removal of State help would reveal its weakness. In this they were perhaps right, and if I have interpreted Mr Lloyd correctly, he also agrees with this view. It should be noted however in passing that the argument has equal force against the Fascist Organisation, which though less dependent upon the State for financial bounties is undoubtedly propped up by official favour in a position which it could not otherwise sustain. It may also be argued that a country, which was so grossly remiss in paying the bills of co-operative societies for work done, should in return finance them as a partial compensation.

An attractive description is given of the "University of Co-operation" founded in Rome in 1921. The university, which should not be understood as a grandiose institution such as the term conveys in an English-speaking country, conducts a six-months' course of co-operative study, and examines the students upon its conclusion. It should prove to be an organ of the highest value to Italy, where a theoretical study of the subject has hitherto been rarer than a genuine but erratic enthusiasm.

The lessons which an Indian student will learn from this excellent little book are three:

1. Co-operators must above all things avoid the contamination of politics.
2. It is desirable ultimately to unite all forms of co-operation in a single body.
3. The study of theory and of practice, both at home and in foreign countries, is essential to a healthy and progressive co-operative movement.

The book is recommended to all in India who are interested in Co-operation.

C. F. STRICKLAND.

SHORT NOTICE.

PHILOSOPHISCHER ANZEIGER. Zeitschrift für die Zusammenarbeit von Philosophie und Einzelwissenschaft. 1. Jahrgang, 1. Halbband. 1925. Verlag von Friedr. Cohen in Bonn. 9 x 7. pp. 200. Mk. 10.

WE welcome the above new magazine, which made its first appearance last spring. At present published twice a year, it is hoped in 1926 to turn it into a quarterly. The magazine is planned, as regards philosophy, much on the lines of the late "Constructive Quarterly"—viz. to provide representatives of all the different schools and points of view with a common platform from which to preach the truth as it is in them to a public interested, but not specialists, in theology. The *Anzeiger* attempts

the same as regards philosophy and there is therefore no apparatus of reviews, editorial notes, correspondence &c. The number before us consists *tout simplement* of six articles from the pens of seven philosophers, of whom two are Dutch, one Swiss and the rest German—one article on the notion of "space" and one each on language, formal logic, law, æsthetics and history. What more varied or skillfully composed bill of fare could anyone with the least interest in philosophy desire? We wish the publishers every success in this latest venture of theirs, which not only as regards contents but even paper, typography and what the Germans call "Ausstattung" generally is right up to their standard. No higher praise is possible.

Z.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION. A CALL TO CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIALISTS.

As the manifesto issued by me last year regarding the formation of a Constitutional Socialist party (to be called the Social Democratic Federation of India, Burma and Ceylon) has elicited a sympathetic and favourable response from several prominent public workers (including Messrs. C. F. Andrews and N. M. Joshi) it is proposed to convene a preliminary meeting at Madras at an early date to concert measures for inaugurating the Federation. Its main objects are (1) nationalisation of the essential instruments of economic production and of all means of public transport and communication, (2) equitable distribution of wealth and equality of opportunities, and (3) abolition of war and establishment of a Commonwealth of Nations. It will endeavour to achieve these ideals by constitutional means. I appeal to all those who believe that in the timely organisation of a constitutional socialist party lies India's only hope of escape from the horrors of Bolshevism to communicate at once with,

Organising Secretary,

Social Democratic Federation,

Royapetta, Madras.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- GROUNDWORK OF ECONOMICS.** By RADHAKAMAL MUKERJEE. (Longmans Green & Co., Bombay.) 1925. 7½ x 4½. pp. 215. Rs. 2.
- CONTEMPORARY POLITICAL THOUGHT IN ENGLAND** By L. ROCKOW. (Leonard Parsons, London.) 1925. 9 x 5½. pp. 336. 15s.
- GERMANY.** By G. P. GOOCH. (Ernest Benn, London.) 1925. 9 x 5½. pp. 360. 15s.
- A DISCOURSE UPON USURY.** By THOMAS WILSON. Edited by R. H. TAWNEY. (G. Bell, London.) 1925. 9 x 5½. pp. 392. 15s.
- SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.** By W. H. RIVERS. (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd. London.) 1924. 9½ x 6. pp. 226. 10s. 6d.
- UM INDIENS FREIHEIT.** By H. WARBURG. (Dr. Franz A. Pfeiffer & Co., München.) 9½ x 6. pp. 148.
- HEALTH PROBLEMS OF THE EMPIRE.** By BALFOUR & SCOTT. (Collins, London.) 1925. 9 x 6. pp. 413. 16s.
- RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN INTERNATIONAL LAW.** By J. W. GARNER. (Calcutta University.) 1925. 9½ x 6. pp. 840.
- INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF SOCIOLOGY.** By EDWARD CARY HAYES. (D. Appleton & Co., London.) 8½ x 5½. pp. 718.
- THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS—A SURVEY.** January 1920 to June 1925. (League of Nations, Geneva.) 1925. 6 x 5. pp. 95. 20 cents.
- THE AMERICAN LABOUR YEAR BOOK.** 1925. (Rand School of Social Science, New York.) 1925. 7½ x 4½. pp. 484.

VEGETARIANISM.

	Rs.	A.
Best Vegetarian Dishes I Know, The. By Jeanne Jardine. ...	1	5
Cruelties of the Flesh Traffic, The. By Josiah Oldfield. ...	0	3
Essays on "Evils of Animal Diet." By Dr. S. C. Chatterji, Dr. (Miss) K. Gomes, Dr. Paras Ram Sharma, Dr. Anil Krishna Mukerjee. ...	0	2
Logic of Vegetarianism, The. Essays and Dialogues. By Henry S. Salt. ...	0	14
Meatless Recipes, 160. Arranged and Compiled by Albert Broadbent. With recipes for seven dinners by the Hon. Mrs. F. J. Bruce. ...	0	4
Rationale of Vegetarianism. By B. N. Motiwala B. A., LL. B., J. P., and R. S. Gokhale, B. A., LL. B. ...	0	15
Talks on Hygiene. By Dr. Jules Grand, President of the Vegetarian Society in France. Authorised translation by Fred. Rothwell. ...	0	8

The Theosophical Publishing House,

Adyar

Madras

THE INDIAN BOOK SHOP

NEW INDIA OFFICE.

George Town,

Madras.

Hon'ble Prof. V. G. Kale's Works.

	Rs.	A.
1. Indian Economics— (4th edition). Featherweight paper Demi. 8 vo. pp. 700. Cloth Bound. Revised & enlarge.	8-0-	0-
2. Gokhale and Economic Reforms— Crown 16 mo. pp. 250. Cloth Bound.	2-0-	0-
3. Indian Industrial and Economic Problems— (2nd edition). Crown 16 mo. pp. 340.	1-8-	0-
4. India's War Finance and Post-War Problems— Crown 16 mo. pp. 164. Cloth Bound.	2-0-	0-
5. Currency Reform in India— Crown 16 mo. pp. 120.	1-0-	0-

These books can be had of—

The Aryabhushan Press, Poona City.

KARNATAKA

AND

INDIAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

Published Monthly

An Independent Organ for the People of
Indian States

AND

A Register of the Progress of Indian Nationalism
Annual Subscription Rs. 4, (Post free.)

D. V. GUNDAPPA
Editor

BASAVANGUDI P. O.
Bangalore City (S. India).

THE LUCKNOW UNIVERSITY JOURNAL.

A high class University Journal for the promotion of original research.

Four issues will be published during each academic year—*vis.*, in September, December, February and May.

Editor—W. Burrige, M. A., M. B., B. Ch., L. M. S., S. A., and N. K. Siddhanta, M. A.—supported by a strong Consultative Board representative of all the Departments in the University.

Special Features.

The Journal will contain original contributions from members of the Lucknow University and will also publish Vernacular contributions in Hindi or Urdu of a suitable character. It will contain portraits and illustrations from time to time. It will also publish Reviews and Notices of all important Books and Reports coming out in the educational world. Another important feature of the Journal will be the publication of the latest news about University affairs and other interesting informations about educational matters.

Annual Subscription

	Town.	Mofussil.	Foreign
For Students of the University, Rs.	2 0	2 8	} 10s.
For all others ...	Rs. 4 0	4 8	

Matters for publication should be sent to the EDITOR. All business communications relating to subscriptions and advertisements should be sent to the Business Manager.

The Journal is an excellent medium for advertisement. For advertisement rates and other particulars apply to—

M. B. REHMAN,

LUCKNOW UNIVERSITY, }
LUCKNOW, }

Business Manager.
Lucknow University Journal.

LUCKNOW : UPPER INDIA PUBLISHING HOUSE, Ltd., 41 Aminabad Park,

LONDON : P. S. KING & SONS, Orchard House, 2 & 4 Great Smith Street, Westminster, Lond., S. W.

THE KENYA PROBLEM.

A Selection from the Speeches and Writings of

The Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, P. C.

A vigorous and lucid exposition of the Indian point of view. Contains also the full text of the Cabinet decision.

Pages 147. Price As. 12.

Apply to:

The Aryabhushan Press,

Budhwar Peth, POONA CITY

HINDU LAW.

(3rd Edition)

BY

J. R. GHARPURE. Esq., B. A., LL. B., (Hons.)

High Court Vakil, Bombay.

Price Rupees Ten, Postage Extra.

The Aryabhushan Press, Poona City.