

Servant of India

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Office: BUDHWAR PETH, POONA CITY

VOL. VIII, No. 36. }

POONA—THURSDAY, OCTOBER 8, 1923. }

CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
TOPICS OF THE WEEK	419
ARTICLES :—	
The Report of the Economic Enquiry Committee ...	422
Contact of Cultures.—VI, VII. By Professor Walter O. Fitch	423
Irrigation in Mysore. By C. Hayavadana Rao ...	424
REVIEWS :—	
Germany To-day. Professor T. G. P. Spear ...	425
Fiscal Policy. K.	426
Imperial Problems. S. G. V.	428
BOOKS RECEIVED	429

TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

Geneva and the Protocol.

NOW that the official *verba'im* reports of the proceedings of the League of Nations' Assembly are available, it is possible to form a considered opinion on the importance of the various problems raised and ventilated on that occasion. Most newspaper reports, we see, are inclined to dismiss reference to the *Protocol* of last year with some such phrase as "the official shedding of a tear." We cannot on our part agree with that evaluation. The very fact, that the head of the French Government went out of his way to open the Assembly, was in itself surely striking enough; and still more striking his words that the French Government by this gesture meant "to affirm before the whole world its faith in the League's work:" a sentiment reaffirmed, again and again, by the representatives of France. Indeed there can be no doubt about it that, since England, which under Mr. MacDonald was the unquestioned leader of *League* opinion, under Mr. Baldwin had definitely preferred the Empire to the World, France has seen its opportunity (and seized it) of picking up the mantle of coryphee of the nations, which England so superciliously had cast off. Mr. Painlevé indignantly denied that "an idle purpose could call together an assembly such as this" and emphasized that "enterprises which yesterday seemed fantastic have today become feasible". True, he admitted that as for the triple foundation of the *Protocol* (arbitration, security, disarmament), France could not change the sequence—"security, then disarmament": yet he once more nailed the colours of France to the mast of "compulsory arbitration without exceptions." The very next day, again, Mr. Painlevé went out of his way, officially to visit the International Labour Office and on this occasion

stressed that "if peace was to be secure, founded upon a new international morality;" and that "the prestige of a country in the world was in no way diminished if it proclaimed that it was willing if necessity arose, to subordinate its own conception of its rights." That is the strength of France's present position—and the weakness of England's. Mr. Chamberlain cleverly concentrated on the deficiencies of the *Protocol*, that it was more out "to punish war than to prevent it", and evaded the real issue of compulsory arbitration by a lot of claptap about the "logical Latin mind" and the Anglo-Saxon habit of "reconciling conflicting interests by taking illogical decisions"—tirades a trifle overdone by this time, one should have thought. As the Swiss Nestor of the League, Mr. Motta, bluntly pointed out, "it is impossible to conceive within a State a tribunal not possessing compulsory jurisdiction: a truth, which already holding good for each State will be seen to hold good in international relations also."

Geneva and Locarno.

AT a time then, when increasing numbers of countries were represented at the Assembly by their Prime Ministers or Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Baldwin went out of his way to "take the cure" a few miles away from Geneva and actually to summon a carload of assorted statesmen to Aix-les-Bains, instead of talking to them across the border at Geneva—so as to make it quite clear that he must not be thought to countenance the League and all its works, though of course he may think it quite alright for Mr. Chamberlain as Foreign Secretary to go there, seeking whom he may do. And so Mr. Baldwin once more has firmly put the *Protocol* away and once more is proceeding on the tortuous path of separate pacts with Germany. Well, the Locarno Conference has only just begun and we wish it all success, although we must say many years of Georgian perambulations round the spas of Europe have left us somewhat suspicious of the virtue of these resorts to heal the broken wings of Peace. Ingenuity is no substitute for justice and you cannot finesse true peace as if it were a game of cards. If international justice is the aim, the yoke of compulsory arbitration must be passed under, whether the nation concerned be little or big, Anglo-Saxon or Latin. If the British Empire, speaking by the voice of Mr. Baldwin, refuses that condition, Geneva obviously is for it not a congenial *rendez-vous* with the rest of the world. But so much the worse for the British Empire.

A Lesser Growth.

WE see from the *Journal* of the Sixth Assembly of the League, that no fewer than 307 newspapers and news agencies were attending the Assembly. Of them, France was responsible for 44, Germany for 32, Switzerland for 30, the United Kingdom and the United States for 27 each, Poland for 16, etc. etc. Of the Dominions Australia and South Africa boasted of 2 press representatives each, and Canada and New Zealand of one each. And India? Two Indian newspapers were represented (one *sub* England; one *sub* Switzerland!) and their names are: *Abkari* and *Indian Sociologist*. Thus is Indian journalism represented at Geneva—and thus is Indian public opinion interested in Geneva

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Support by the Labour Party.

THE Labour Party's Conference at Liverpool passed the following resolution unanimously on 30th September:

The Conference recognises the right of Indian peoples for full Self-Government and Self-Determination. It welcomes the declarations of representative Indian leaders in favour of free and equal partnership with other members of the British Commonwealth of Nations. It expresses the opinion that the policy of the British Government should be co-operation with the Indian people in this object. It declares its agreement with the conclusions of the Minority of the Reforms Committee, that the defects inherent in the Government of India Act cannot be remedied satisfactorily by amendment of the Act or the Rules thereunder. It is convinced that the Indian political situation makes it imperative that immediate steps should be taken to place the Indian Constitution on a permanent basis, and with a view to a new atmosphere of friendly discussion, that all coercive measures and repressive legislation be withdrawn. It notes the Secretary of State's declaration that the Government would most carefully examine any Constitution framed by Indians, carrying a fair measure of general agreement, but regrets that this invitation, in effect, was delayed until 1929. It asks him to examine the Commonwealth of India Bill and any other proposals submitted, and to call a Conference of representatives of various Indian Parties, with a view to the immediate application of a Constitution in accordance with the wishes of the Indian people.

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Rejection by the Congress.

WHILE, mainly as a result of the strenuous work of Dr. Besant (to whom by the bye we beg to offer our reverent felicitations upon her attaining seventy-nine years), such gratifying support was obtained in England for the Commonwealth of India Bill, in India about the same time the Bill failed to get even a seconder at the All-India Congress Committee's meeting. This is no doubt "a singular phenomenon", as Mr. Jayakar observed at a public meeting held in Bombay to congratulate Mrs. Besant, and many explanations were advanced at the meeting in justification of it. One of them was the feeling of despondency that had come over the country. The public feeling was, it was urged, that, as there was no chance of the Bill meeting with the least amount of response from the authorities, it was no use for the people to give their support to it. But in the same breath the people are urged to hold indignation meetings on Sunday next over the Asiatic Bill

in S. Africa. On the same reasoning, why should we waste our indignation on this affair, when no amount of hot air that we may emit at these meetings is going to have the least effect either upon the Hertzog Government in S. Africa or the Imperial Government in England? Why, at this very meeting of the All-India Congress Committee, which refused even to consider the Commonwealth of India Bill, a resolution was passed expressing on behalf of the Congress its sympathy with the Chinese in their struggle against alien domination of their land. Is such verbal sympathy expressed by one set of slaves with the lot of another set going to be of much tangible help in the liberation of the latter?

Another explanation was—and this was put forth by no less a person than the President-Elect of the Congress—that the resolution in favour of the Commonwealth of India Bill was brought in at a time when none of Mrs. Besant's supporters was there and that the people assembled at the All-India Congress Committee meeting had no knowledge of the introduction of the Bill. One may well ask, is it the duty of Mrs. Besant's followers alone to support the Bill? Why should not all of us, to whatever political persuasion we may belong, regard ourselves as Mrs. Besant's followers so far as this particular Bill is concerned? Again, why should people in India be required to be told of the introduction of the Bill in order to persuade them to support it? Is not their support needed even to induce a party in England to sponsor it in Parliament? Or is the Congress support too precious to be thrown away on anything that is not already introduced in Parliament and is not assured of an easy passage? That is to say, the congress can give its support only when there is no need for it?

Not content with this absurd apologia, Mrs. Naidu went on to express her dissent from the Bill, though she was a signatory to it. She had signed it, we are now informed, "more because of her reverence for Mrs. Besant's great and accumulated record of service in the cause of India than on account of any agreement of views between them." Now that Mrs. Naidu has been called to the high office of Presidentship of the Congress, we may take leave to give her the first lesson in non-feminine politics that support of public measures is given or withheld not because of one's love or aversion for their authors, but because of the intrinsic merits of the measures proposed. Again, what is it that Mrs. Naidu objects to in the Commonwealth of India Bill? Every time she refers to it, she takes care to say that she does not agree with its provisions. Why does she not take the public into her confidence even once and detail her objections to the Bill? If we may give a guess, she objects only because Mahatma Gandhi objects, and she follows Gandhiji again "more because of her reverence (for him) than on account of any agreement of views between them." Whatever may be her objections, the Swarajists at least should have none to offer, for they have already made them-

selves responsible for the Reforms amendment moved in the Legislative Assembly by Pandit Motilal Nehru and the Commonwealth of India Bill, if anything, goes further than it. But still the support of the Swaraj party is not forthcoming for the Bill, and the only reason would seem to be that they place party above country. If any less uncharitable reason can be assigned, we shall gladly believe in it in preference to this, but so far we are sorry we cannot conceive of any other.

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THE following comments of the *Indian Daily Mail* on the one-sided character of the Patna decision are very remarkable, considering the fact that Mr. Natarajan is its present editor: "Mr. Gandhi naively professes to be surprised that any one should think that his turning over the Congress lock, stock and barrel to the Swarajists, has not facilitated the entry of Liberals and Independents to the Congress. All that we can say is that we are surprised at his surprise. We said the other day that the Swaraj party had no hold on the country but that it had a hold on Mr. Gandhi who had a hold on the country. Mr. Gandhi's hold on the country is not, however, due to his political methods, which it has definitely rejected. His hold is entirely due to his simple life and high character, which appeal to the masses as those of a saint. The Swaraj Party, which has no part or lot in the saintly side of his life, wishes nevertheless to make political use of his popularity with the masses and he is, evidently, not averse from their doing so. He is not a Swarajist himself and does not evidently mean to be one in haste. The position of the National Congress is thus an anomalous one."

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THE *Mail* therefore recommends a coalition of the Liberals and Independents to combat the Swarajist policy. There is certainly need to fight the Swarajists if their policy is to be taken at its face value. For at Patna Pandit Motilal Nehru described his party as but a wing of non-co-operators and differentiated them from the Liberals and Independents as having civil disobedience in view. In face of such a declaration it behoves all Constitutionalists to sink their minor differences and present a united front to the—not passive resisters, but preparers for passive resistance. "We ourselves are firmly of the opinion", says the *Indian Daily Mail*, "that the free and open discussion of public questions in the press, the platform and the Legislative Councils is the surest method of political advancement, and that threats of breaking the law or withholding payment of taxes are more apt to retard than to advance the political future of the country. All those who hold to this belief are bound to devise means for acting together to give effect to it. By standing apart from each other, they weaken themselves and incur the blame of doing nothing to manifest the faith which is in them."

One-sided Character of Patna Decision.

Liberal-Independent Coalition.

So far we entirely agree, but the *Mail* goes on to say that "the first move in the direction of co-operation should come from Liberal leaders who represent a party with an organization in the country." Here we differ. It is true that the Liberals have an organization, and that all the Independents are as independent of each other as of other parties. But they have deliberately chosen this course. A party organization involves heavy responsibilities, which the Independents have always refused to assume. Again, a coalition with the Liberal party means sharing in the latter's unpopularity. The Liberals incurred much obloquy because of their outspoken hostility to non-co-operation, and although non-co-operation has now suffered terrific reverses, part of the odium still attaches to them. The Independents have never been more friendly to non-co-operation than the Liberals; but while they are never in evidence where battle is to be given to non-co-operation, they eagerly press forward to reap the advantages of co-operation. We do not say this in complaint, but only with a view to show what the real difficulty in the way of a union between Liberals and Independents is. Attempts at a coalition between these two parties have been made before, and the initiative has always been taken by the Liberals. But the Independents have never responded. With such bitter experience of the past, the Liberals may well be forgiven if they hesitate now to make advances, which are likely to be repulsed as before, although they are fully conscious of the need for the union of all constitutional forces in the country. This much may be promised on behalf of the Liberal party, that they will do all they can to promote, and never hinder, the much desired unity.

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THE *South Seas Weekly* of August 17, gives extracts from the memorandum submitted by the Fiji Indians to the delegates to the Pacific Conference at Honolulu visiting the Islands. Narrating the disabilities of the Indians in Fiji, the memorandum goes on to say, "Although the government has now agreed to a small measure of aid in connection with private enterprise in the matter of education and promised further assistance, these private schools are not inspected, and the curriculum and results are alike unsatisfactory. No Indian, even if the child of a University graduate, may attend a State school." The memorandum further points out that for 14,000 children of school-going age there is only one government lower primary school with 60 boys costing £400 a year. The government spent £8,427 on 425 white pupils; of this sum £2,675 was collected from European residents as an education rate and the balance came from revenue. Rev. A. W. MacMillan addressing the Auckland Rotary Club on July 20 on "Indians in Fiji", said, "However refined an Indian family may be, his children are excluded from public schools on racial grounds" and, as of course in most other colonies, "an Indian is barred from promotion in the Government service beyond a mere clerkship"! He further observed that an Indian has to deposit £150 with the shipping company whenever he has to pass through Auckland Harbour with a through ticket to India. Also while an European earning, say, 30 shillings has to pay no more than £1 as Residential Tax, an Indian labourer receiving only half a crown a day has to pay the same amount. The reasons why the Government of India have withheld publication of the report of the Fiji Deputation can be easily guessed from these facts.

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THE REPORT OF THE ECONOMIC ENQUIRY COMMITTEE.

SINCE Dadabhai wrote his *chef-d'œuvre* on Indian poverty the question of the material well-being of the people has always been to the fore and the Resolution in the Council of State passed in February was only a belated expression of the sentiment of all patriotic Indians in favour of a thorough-going economic scrutiny. The Report of the Economic Enquiry Committee gives ample quotations to show that the desire for an economic survey is keenly felt in all civilized countries and is not a crotchet of Indian economists and politicians. "The problem before the country is how to provide employment for a growing population and avert poverty and distress." Without statistical data it is not possible to determine how the national development is to proceed to the last advantage.

With regard to the material available, the Committee think that the statistics relating to Finance, Population, Trade, Railways, Posts and Telegraphs, and Education are quite up to the mark; at the same time they deplore the discontinuance of Inland Trade returns. In a vast country like India, Inland Trade is almost like the trade between the several European countries and its total volume is so great as to make it indispensable to an economic survey. They recommend therefore that these returns should be revived. Coming to the statistics of production, the Committee think that "in spite of their bulk the agricultural statistics at present do not provide material for deducing either the quantity or value of the total agricultural production." This is quite true and explains the amount of guess-work introduced in estimates of national wealth made by Dadabhai, Digby and recently by Mr. Shirras and Mr. Khambatta. The Committee however think that, instead of employing new agencies for estimates of the area and value of agricultural products the best way is to improve and amplify the present statistics by employing the existing Revenue agency. Regarding manufactures, a regular census of production at the end of every ten years is recommended; this would include all cottage-industries and all minor industries not coming under the Indian Factories Act.

The present statistics of income, wealth, cost of living, indebtedness, are very meagre. The ideal method would be a census of the wealth of each family, which would also supply the information about cost of living and indebtedness. But the very heavy cost of such a procedure, and the unwillingness amongst the illiterate masses to disclose facts about saving and ornaments make it unthinkable. Failing this, the Committee recommend the method of making an inventory of the total wealth of a village or a town. The available statistics of wages and prices are extremely inadequate.

So much for the material. Then follows the actual scheme of Economic Survey. Having regard to the terms of reference, the Committee would divide the population into 13 occupational classes and 7

classes based on income. The wealthy class is defined as having an income of Rs. 24,000 and upwards. We would suggest a lower limit of Rs. 15,000 since to call a family a middle class one, with an income between Rs. 15,000 and Rs. 24,000, is against all established conventions. The method of survey would be a coordination of results obtained by intensive studies of small local areas and the Committee do not agree with the extreme school of economists, who think that we can never generalise about the province as a whole or the country as a whole. The Committee are decidedly of opinion that all statistical work should be centralized and the organization of economic survey should be defined by law by means of a Census and Statistical Act. A central bureau and provincial bureau should be established with advisory boards having a non-official majority. We agree with the Committee in thinking that in a year it will be easy to collect data relating to 2½ p. c. of the rural population and nearly 4 p. c. of the urban population. At this rate within 10 years data relating to 25 p. c. of the population will be ready, and will afford a sufficiently reliable picture of the whole country. One very good suggestion made by the Committee is that important statistics showing production of all kinds should be hung up in a conspicuous place in every village and the revenue officers should draw the attention of the people to the economic aspect of their own life. The Committee are quite conscious that the information supplied by the survey at first will be somewhat imperfect but hope that the data will become more and more accurate from year to year. In any case we have no reason to think that the Committee are unduly optimistic.

It is not easy to reconcile oneself to the cost of the scheme for an economic survey, which according to the estimate in the Report comes to 57 lacs and odd every year as a recurring expenditure. But considering the immense good that it would do, we think that some means will have to be found to meet the cost; in any case we would not oppose an economic survey on the mere ground of expense as some are inclined to do. Civilized government is an expensive business and we cannot have it both ways.

It is unfortunate that an elaborate dissenting minute should be written by the only member of the Committee who was a non-Indian. Prof. Burnett-Hurst says indeed at the beginning of his minute that the opinions and views expressed by his colleagues "provoke my strong dissent." He emphasizes the differences between India and the Dominions in the matter of concentration of population and literacy, which make the task of an economic survey so difficult in India. Besides, industry in India is not organized and it is hopeless in his opinion to extract any information from a scattered population, having no records and not working continuously. Granting however that all this is true, we fail to see how it follows that India ought to renounce an economic survey altogether. Differences between India and

the Dominions do not prevent us from having an expensive army and expensive Civil Service. Next Prof. Burnett-Hurst thinks that reliable data about family income and indebtedness are impossible to arrive at and even if these are obtained "figures of income alone do not serve as the sole criterion of the economic status of a family." But it is better to have some criterion rather than have none. In any case we think the assertion that income is no true criterion of economic condition as an attempt at hyper-subtlety and paradox. It is also clear that Prof. Burnett-Hurst would not like any comparisons to be made between India and European countries on the ground of "differences in the purchasing power of money, differences in custom and standards of living." We cannot follow this position and we adhere to the belief that comparisons of international per capita incomes are the most potent means of revealing the economic differences between country and country. Supposing an Indian can live well on 1 shilling a day while an Englishman requires 3 shillings a day, does this vitiate the conclusion that an Indian with a yearly income of £5 is much poorer than an Englishman with an income of £50? It simply means that statistics are a dangerous weapon unless properly interpreted. But this is a mere truism and is not worth saying.

The dissenting minute states that statistics of minor crops cannot be collected by the subordinate revenue staff. We do not agree with this statement, since a properly trained revenue staff ought to be capable of doing this simple work. We also do not agree with the opinion expressed in the minute that honorary correspondents cannot be trusted to do the work of collecting family budgets in towns. If courteously treated and properly guided, they would willingly do much more important work than even paid assistants. We can understand the spirit of caution that underlies the recommendations of Prof. Burnett-Hurst, but we fail to share his extreme pessimism in the matter of an economic survey. Can it be that he has unconsciously imbibed the prejudice of the Anglo-Indian journals against an economic survey which might reveal a condition of things different from that portrayed in their pet theories?

CONTACT OF CULTURES.

VI.—THE DISAPPEARANCE OF A PEOPLE OR A CULTURE.

HORRIBLE as it seems, not only a culture but even a people may disappear entirely. We have noticed the South African Bushmen: the Tasmanians are extinct, the Australians very nearly so. The American Indians live an artificial life in State Reservations. In Canada a man may become a citizen and a voter by leaving the reservation and adopting a profession or trade; that is, by abandoning his culture. With hunting peoples, this seems to be the wisest course. The continent cannot support their manner of life, but they are allowed to be-

long to one civilization or the other. It will be a matter for grave regret if their arts, and especially their basketry, are lost with their hunting life.

Where people have adopted an agricultural mode of life, as is the case with the Mundas and Oraons of Chota Nagpur, their retreat before an alien culture requires more explanation. In this case, the trouble was economic, and though these cultures were threatened with extinction at the hands of the Hindu and Musalman cultures of India, the arrival of the British, and especially the inception of co-operative banks, has we believe, assured them a new lease of life and an opportunity for peaceful and normal development.

Finally, the culture of India is threatened with a similar extinction, also from economic causes. The urgency of the problem is increased by the fact that it is doubtful whether India can support many people who are living in European style: and the number who wish to do so increases daily. Under such circumstances, it is natural that some of the best and noblest of India should refuse to have any connection with this menacing force; on the other hand, most people, especially young men, are fond of pleasure that is in itself harmless and anxious to widen their experience by trying new ways as well as old.

This, the question uppermost in this connection in the minds of all in India, is too large and complicated to be considered adequately here. It cannot be treated on purely ethnological grounds, but involves economic and political issues.

We may, however, make some attempt to apply general ethnological principles. Some elements of a civilization must be of universal importance. Such was the knowledge of agriculture and canoe-making of the pre-historic culture-bearers. Other things are of no ultimate value; such were their Couvade and mummification. Then we may ask, are there any elements of Western culture the acceptance of which will be necessary for Indian progress?

Many things are obviously valueless: trousers or golf. But a thing has happened in the West which has happened, apparently, nowhere else. Men have determined to find out *why* things happen, by the study of natural causes. The scientific method is the great contribution of Western Civilization to the world.

Let us not be misunderstood. India has made practical scientific discoveries of great importance. Farming has developed by experience, till as far as method goes it could not be bettered. But there is no search for causes, and until that is done further discoveries cannot be made. When you know the principle behind a practical conclusion, you are in a position to adapt it to other purposes.

Similarly in medicine: there is no doubt that the Yunani and Ayurvedic systems contain many excellent drugs, some better for Indian conditions than those of the "Daktri" system. But there is need of the scientific method of the West, to find out why they are effective. The explanations given in

the systems themselves will have to do with the stars, or with an absolutely unfounded classification of diseases and medicines into hot and cold, dry and wet; or even more intricate mental processes. But the discovery of their natural causes makes the principle applicable to other cases.

It cannot be denied that this method has, in point of fact, developed in the West. Equally certainly, it has been adopted in the East. Indian names are already becoming well-known in scientific circles: and (seeing that the progress of science seems to require material prosperity) there is a strong possibility that the future of these cultural elements lies with Japan and India and not with Europe. We cannot enter into the economic probability of the collapse of European Civilization, but if this occurs, it is with the East that the only hope of Western Culture will lie.

Meanwhile, India is adopting many non-essential elements of Western Culture. In the endeavour to stem this tide, there is no reason why methods should not be employed which can be called artificial, such as the appeal to spin cotton. We are not animals, to be ruled by necessity, but men, with the knowledge and power to determine, or at least condition, our fate. We of the twentieth century ought to be able to form our own culture, from our very power of standing outside ourselves and discussing it.

VII.—CONCLUSION.

So we may reasonably hope that a culture may emerge from modern India: inheriting directly from the past of India: including elements from without, possibly the only guardian of their development; adapted to the climate and economic condition of the country; not a slave to tradition nor following blindly another's lead. For it is the function of Cultural Contact not to transplant but to revivify. We have shown that some borrowing is necessary; but the essential awakening has taken place. The future is not without hope, neither is it without anxiety.

It has been our endeavour to show that the situation has precedents and parallels; and yet that the past is not a law for the future, but that it may be determined by energy and goodwill.

WALTER O. FITCH.

IRRIGATION IN MYSORE.

AT the last meeting of the Mysore Legislative Council, a subject that created some little stir was the levy of an increased water rate on lands under the Marikanive Reservoir in the Chitaldrug District. The lands under this Reservoir—now called Vani Vilas Sagara—have until recently borne a water rate of Rs. 5 per acre and in June last Government issued an order by which they sought to increase this rate to Rs. 8 per acre. The order was to take effect from the beginning of the current official year. The levy was, it would appear, followed by requests from certain of the ryots holding lands under the Reservoir and the petitions sent in were under consideration when notice of a non-official Resolution on the subject was given and the whole subject discussed

in the Legislative Council. Mr. D. H. Chandrasekhariah, the mover of the Resolution in question, suggested *inter alia* that the extent of irrigation under the Reservoir be increased from 10,180 acres to 12,000 acres; that the power of including or excluding lands from the irrigation area be vested in the Deputy Commissioner of the District; and that the water rate be reduced from Rs. 8 to Rs. 5 per acre as hitherto. The discussion on this Resolution, which affects but a very small fraction of the raiyats of the State holding a very small tract of land, about 10,000 acres, took a somewhat acrimonious and weary turn. Nearly three hours were spent on it and at the end of it, the mover felt that, despite the strong non-official support he had had, he was not on firm ground and sought leave to withdraw his Resolution.

Though the Resolution was withdrawn as it proved unacceptable to Government in the form in which it was put forward, Government, as the Dewan remarked, are expected to deal with the matter "in a manner that is likely to cause the least hardship." That ought to prove welcome news especially as the Dewan let fall the remark that he is not against the ryots making suitable representations in the matter nay, even asking to "spread out the increase (in the rate) over two or three years" or suspend altogether the levy for some time. That is not the attitude of an "avaricious" Government but of a Government which is anxious to meet half way the people's representatives. There is no doubt that the representations that the soil of the area is poor, that it is incapable of improvement even with the aid of water, that labour is scanty, that the area is not yet developed, that it is sparsely populated, that the increase in the rate is far too heavy, etc., will receive adequate consideration. As regards the increased rate itself, it has been urged that the rate of Rs. 8 per acre now ordered is not at all high in view of the fertility and growing popularity of the tract and the assured water supply both in monsoon and summer. On the other hand, it has been pointed out that the rate of Rs. 8 per acre is a moderate one having regard to all the circumstances of the tract, and that the actual value of the water in it is much more than the rate now fixed for it. The rate was fixed after considerable deliberation lasting over three years, and after a careful examination of the report of a committee specially appointed to go into the whole question. The previous position was irksome to the ryots and they themselves were glad to get rid of it—penalty rate was staring them in the face and surreptitious cultivation could not go on everlastingly without being found out. The inconveniences of the system of cultivation enjoined on them were also felt by them to be equally burdensome. They sought relief from all this and the relief could only come by the regularising of the position by an increased rate. The present suggestion appears to be not so much a reversion to the old inconveniences and burdens but a reversion to the old rate of Rs. 5 per acre *minus* the inconveniences. Every addition to a tax is a burden, especially with the ryot, and the argument for a reduction in the increased levy, its suspension for a time, its distribution over a number of years, or even its absolute cancellation for the time being is, in that sense, a thoroughly intelligible one. If only the Resolution had been restricted to this single suggestion and all attention rivetted on it, the Government would have had to accept it. But that was not to be in view of the specific nature of the suggestions actually made in it and these proved fatal to its passing muster. This is the more to be regretted as the tract affected is really a small fraction of the irrigated area in the State, and there was consequently no need whatever

to complicate matters by making it appear bigger than it actually is.

The proposal that the area under irrigation should be increased from 10,180 acres to 12,000 acres is one beset with some difficulties. The most careful consideration is required in this matter, if difficulties of supply in the future to the area now under irrigation are to be avoided. Under the system of cultivation in force under the Vani Vilas Reservoir, irrigation was until recently confined to a particular area with restrictions to grown particular crops. Under this system it was possible to have a large area under cultivation. Now that Government have ordered the removal of these restrictions and water has to be supplied both during the monsoon season and the summer it will not be possible to bring a larger area under cultivation as has been suggested. The receipts into the Reservoir have been capricious; at any rate the figures are such that they do not afford sufficient data to arrive at good and bad years and average receipts into it. During the past four years, the receipts have been admittedly low. Under these circumstances, the suggestion of an increase in the area cultivated seems plainly negatived. In any case, any increase that might be decided upon should be such as would permit of the present irrigated area being kept up. If an increase is, on reconsideration, found altogether impossible now, the question may be re-opened at the end of 3 or 5 years, if in the meantime the supply in the Reservoir has improved. We should be glad if this suggestion is borne in mind. As regards the other proposal that the Deputy Commissioner of the District should be invested with the power of including or excluding lands under the Reservoir, it is difficult to see why this change is desired. The inclusion or exclusion of lands has been decided hitherto by the Executive Engineer on the recommendation of the Revenue Department. The Irrigation Department is primarily the Department concerned in the matter and it decides the point after ascertaining whether it is possible to irrigate to that extent or not. *Firma facie* the Executive Engineer must be presumed to know well enough which of the lands could be irrigated and which could not. If there are any special inconveniences actually felt in the existing procedure, these must doubtless be removed, but the decision should rest with the technical official rather than with the Revenue Department which cannot be presumed to know whether a particular piece of land could be irrigated or not. There can be little objection to the Engineer controlling the situation in this respect, especially as he has to consult the Revenue authorities in the matter before he gives his opinion on it. It certainly cannot matter much whether it is X or Y who decides a question like this, as long as the decision itself is a sound one and arrived at after a fair and judicial consideration of all the relevant facts of the case. Among the other suggestions put forward is the one that as the Reservoir is a protective and not a paying or rather productive work, the question of increasing the water rate under it should not be raised for some decades to come. Suggestions of this kind will not bear close examination. Every irrigation work is "productive" in one sense, and ought to be "productive" if ways and means are to be provided for works of a similar nature or for extensions, repairs and so forth. To raise side-issues of this kind and cloud the main point in dispute is not, in our opinion, wise. Government have virtually agreed to reconsider the matter whether the increase ordered should take effect at once and if so with what limitations. Every suggestion that might enable Government to come to a fair and equitable

decision ought now to be put forward in a spirit of friendliness, if not exactly of compromise, if the best results are to be achieved.

C. HAYAVADANA RAO.

REVIEWS.

GERMANY TO-DAY.

GERMANY. By G. P. GOOCH. (The Modern World Series, ed. by H. A. L. FISHER.) (Ernest Benn, London.) 1925. 9 x 5½. pp. 358 7s. 6d.

THE series of which this book forms a part contains two surprises—first that it is written by scholars for the ordinary reader, second that the ordinary man can read it. It may perhaps be regarded as the historian's reply to the more journalistic and commercial outlook of Mr. John Buchan's series, and it certainly succeeds in depicting the present without despising the past or being overwhelmed by the surface currents of political metamorphoses and party personalities.

Mr. Gooch's book is a model of its kind. It is an example of learning carried lightly and made subservient to breadth of view, of impartiality in a controversial subject, of judgment and sympathy in a bitter and rancorous atmosphere. If he occasionally drops into democratic jargon as when he remarks that "the German people won their liberty" by the revolution whereas he shows elsewhere that it came like a thief in the night almost without the knowledge and certainly without the volition of the leaders, it only serves to throw into greater relief his general impartiality and good sense. In particular his quotations from the speeches of Count Brockdorff-Rantzau, head of the German peace delegation, show how the embittered war mentality of the Allies could mistake the dignified protest of despair for the sullen complaints of an unrepentant foe. Specially valuable are his two chapters on the German Mind. The book is written for the general reader and should be widely read. It should be of special value to the Indian public, as tracing the essential features of German development; the world-signifying portions of German history. For Germany is not dead but stunned, and when she arises she may dominate Europe by the mere force of economics, and further enrich the world with the intellect of her philosophers and the harmonies of her musicians.

"All premeditated revolutions are unsuccessful," said Goethe, "for they are without God who stands aloof from such bungling. But if there exists an actual necessity for such a reform, God is with it and it prospers." The Revolution of Germany was of the latter kind, a resistless force like the renewal of life in spring or the creeping decay of autumn which comes unheralded and triumphs without effort. The Revolution was not so much the conscious "winning of freedom", as the collapse of the military machine; for the German Empire like the Napoleonic before it rested on the army and when the spirit which animated it was destroyed, the corpse of Imperialism shrivelled up of itself.

The Revolution started as a naval mutiny at Kiel, spread unresisted to Berlin, and was completed when Ebert, the Socialist leader, one day walked into the cabinet chamber of Prince Maximilian, conferred with him and forthwith took over the reins of power. Equally peaceful and German was the revolution elsewhere, and the deposed kings and dukes everywhere continue to live in their States as unmolested and respected private gentlemen.

The German Revolution was carried out by Socialists for the benefit of Liberals. The Socialists were never the largest separate party, and soon the schism of Majority and Minority, and the revolt of Liebknecht and the Spartacists further weakened their ranks. Noske suppressed the revolt by Bismarckian "blood and iron" methods, but his failure to prevent the Kapp *putsch* of 1920 deprived the Socialists of their most resolute leader. Henceforth coalitions ruled, with the bourgeois parties ever more strongly represented.

The Constitution of 1919 has been called the most democratic in the world. It represents perhaps the completest expression of Liberalism, and it has both the strength and weakness of the Liberal school. There is a single Chamber and responsible government and also a universally elected President. Thus the co-operation of both President and Ministers is necessary as in France, but unlike France both have equal popular mandates, and the chances of friction are correspondingly increased. The most interesting experiment is the establishment of an advisory Economic Council, and Proportional Representation has also been introduced. As Naumann said of it, "it is the most just of systems, but you will have a miserable time of changing coalitions" as eleven chancellors in seven years have amply proved. P. R. perfects the division of votes but forgets that a man cannot cut up his feelings into arithmetical fragments. A vote has an emotional value as an expression of will as well as a purely numerical value, and it is the emotional value which really counts. Thus it is that the old rough and ready system with its injustice and its fallacious majorities has on the whole continued to function and give satisfaction, while the "just" system of Germany and Belgium has produced perpetual irritation and perpetual instability. Proportional Representation is mathematically a phantasy and politically a monstrosity.

The tragedy of post-war Germany is that the Government had changed its heart and the Allies would not believe it. The Germans would admit everything except their exclusive responsibility for the war, and for this were denied membership of the League of Nations. Not even yet are they members, and can it be wondered that enthusiasm is not great when it is remembered, as Mr. Gooch says, that "the League of Nations was embedded in the hated Treaty of Versailles, its doors were originally closed to the powers who had suffered defeat, it was tarred with the partition of Upper Silesia, it had betrayed its trust in the Saar, it averted its eyes from the Ruhr"? Reparations were not fixed until 1931

and then at the ridiculous figure of £6,600 millions. When the size of the indemnity caused the mark to fall, and the fall of the mark prevented the payment of reparations, France occupied the Ruhr, encouraged Separatism in the Rhineland and Royalism in Bavaria, and by secret alliances with Poland and Czecho-slovakia fenced Germany with a ring of hostile States. 1923 was the darkest hour of the Reich.

The first of the European Allies to cease her hatred was England, and she has reaped a rich harvest of gratitude, and never has the existence of moral laws in politics been more clearly proved by the negative method than by the France of Clemenceau and Poincaré. "Never shall hatred cease by hating;" said Gautama, "by not hating shall it cease; this is the ancient law." By her action France has stored up such a legacy of bitterness, that with the position and resources of Germany her ultimate doom is virtually sealed.

But dawn, "that bright beacon of the Lord," is breaking over Germany. The Renten-mark has re-established the currency, the Dawes Report, made possible by the friendliness of the Labour Government and the fall of Poincaré, has arranged for the payment of £2,500,000 while discreetly saying nothing of the remainder, and the French have now evacuated the Ruhr. The future depends on two things—the resurgence of Russia and the financial and colonial embarrassments of France. Russia and Germany united could dominate; apart they might both remain powerless. The position of France is the most unenviable. She has strained her resources by the Moroccan and Syrian wars, Italy threatens her position in the Mediterranean, at home her desperate finances and dwindling population afford no hope for the future. Her policy is that of the decaying gentleman who precipitates ruin by trying to live up to his old level of life, and, to quote Gautama again, she already "like those who have not lived purely nor stored up riches in their youth, ruefully ponders like an old heron by a lake without fish." Whatever the future may bring, two things seem certain: there can never be a permanent French supremacy of Europe, nor a united European supremacy of the world.

T. G. P. SPEAR.

FISCAL POLICY.

HISTORY OF INDIAN TARIFFS. By N. J. SHAH, B. A., Ph. D., (Econ.), F. S. S. (Thacker & Co., Ltd., Bombay.) 1924. 10 × 6½. pp. 433. Rs. 7-8-0.

THE "History of Indian Tariffs" by Dr. N. J. Shah of the Department of Economics, Benares Hindu University, is the result of the research work done by the author for the Ph. D. degree of the London University in the Faculty of Economics. Within the compass of 428 pages the author has surveyed the Customs and tariff systems of India from they ear 1556 right up to the time when the Fiscal Commission of 1921-22 submitted their Report. The first four Chapters contain a brief review of the "Customs systems of the pre-British period," the "period of reconstruction and provincial

economy," the "period of reforms 1833-1857," and the "general consideration and circumstances that influenced the broad changes in and the formation of the Customs policy of British India" during the closing years of the Company's régime. This historical résumé throws into relief the more interesting part of the story which opens with Chapter V. The 150 pages that follow indicate how the policy of protection for England, designed mainly for the benefit of England, gradually passed into that of *laissez faire* to the detriment of India. High tariff walls were raised in England against India, while British products were freely imported into India with little or no import duty. By 1830 the process of India's industrial strangulation was almost complete. When Indian manufactures were then supplanted by the British, the policy of commercial colonization and capitalistic exploitation of Indian agricultural and other resources was introduced and encouraged by the Government of India. This commercial outlook towards India continued in spite of the transfer of the Government from the Company to the Crown in 1858. Every facility was afforded to the British manufacturers to compete in the Indian markets. Customs duties in India, as a source of revenue, were never developed. For the distinct purpose of facilitating British Trade with India, the Indian import duties were either reduced or abolished without any revenue considerations.

Chapter VI deals with the most interesting period in the History of Tariffs in India. It furnishes a glaring instance of how the Lancashire manufacturers were the virtual masters of the destinies of industrial India, the so-called Government of India only playing the second fiddle. The *Times of India* recently protested, while commenting on Dr. Shah's book, that the East India Company cannot be blamed for whatever it did or omitted to do, because its outlook on India was purely commercial and not administrative. When, however, the British outlook on India admittedly became 'administrative' at the time of the 'Cotton Duties Controversy' of 1874-82, the special pleading of the *Times of India* is that neither the Government of India nor the Secretary of State could be blamed, because they were guided by the dictates of the British democracy! The 5th century Sophists of Athens could not have argued better. Whether the injustice done to India goes by the name of "commercial outlook" or by that of the "power of British democracy," the fact remains that owing to an adverse tariff policy adopted both in England and in India the industrial life of India has suffered incalculably, first at the hands of a Trading Corporation and then at the hands of a recalcitrant bureaucracy.

The Chapter on "Cotton Duties Controversy" is an example of ease and clearness in writing. We may here review the controversy in brief with reference to the attitude of *non possumus* adopted by Government over the burning question of cotton excise. This was how the old "Cotton Duties Controversy" began:—

In 1874, the Manchester Chamber of Commerce memorialised the Secretary of State for India for the abolition of the cotton import duty in India which, they represented, adversely affected them. The Government of India appointed a Tariff Committee to examine the question. The Committee unanimously recommended rejection of the Manchester demand. The Government of Lord Northbrook agreed with the Committee that the 5% import duty on cotton goods and the 3½% duty on yarn were for revenue purposes only and were in no sense protective. Financial considerations did not justify partial or total abolition.

After the General election of 1874, in which the

abolition of the cotton duty was one of the issues, Lord Salisbury succeeded the Duke of Argyll as Secretary of State for India. Lord Salisbury dictated to the Government of India a policy aiming at the removal of the cotton duty which formed the subject of "dangerous contention". Unpleasant correspondence passed between the Secretary of State and the Viceroy, three members of the Secretary of State's Council siding with the Indian Government. Lord Northbrook had ultimately to resign owing to differences between him and the Home Government on certain questions, including the Cotton Duty. Lord Northbrook's resignation cleared the way for Lord Salisbury; Lord Lytton, who had previously declared his views in favour of the abolition of the cotton duty in India, was chosen for the Viceroyalty of India. Addresses were presented to the Secretary of State again by the Manchester Chamber. Sir John Strachey, with whom free trade in India was a "life-long conviction", was selected as Finance Member. On assuming charge, the Finance Member took immediate preliminary steps to abolish the duty, because he thought he owed at least that much to his "own country". There was a prolonged and heated controversy in the Viceroy's Executive Council. Ultimately, in the exercise of the discretionary and emergency powers vested in him by Act 33 Victoria, Chapter 3 Section 5, for "safeguarding the safety, tranquillity and interests of British India", Lord Lytton overruled his Council, and passed the measure of 1879 which was the beginning of the end of the cotton import duty. The end was secured by the Act of 1882. The duties were taken off *against the opinion of a solid half of the members of the Executive Council*. The Hon. Mr. Stokes, the then Law Member, wrote in his dissenting minute: "The proposed exemption of cotton, if made by an executive order, will thus resemble what lawyers call a fraud on the power; and there is unfortunately no court of equity to relieve the people of India against it." Contrast this with the present attitude of the Government towards the agitation for the abolition or at least suspension of the cotton excise duty in so far as it relates to courser counts!

Dr. Shah has, at the end of his book, given two useful chapters on the advantages of the economic union with Natives States and the problem of Fiscal Autonomy. They furnish the reader with a good deal of general information, and may be read with advantage. Judging from the manner in which the subjects are dealt with, we are tempted to suggest that a separate treatise on the intricate problem of Imperial Preference would be much appreciated by the interested public.

We may, in passing, refer to one observation which the author has made on p. xv of the Introduction, while briefly indicating the contents of Chapter IV. We have particularly in mind the following:—

On the one hand, Dutt... contends that the decline of Indian manufactures, and especially textiles, early in the nineteenth century was due to the selfish commercial policy of the British Parliament, which discouraged them in order to encourage similar rising manufactures of Great Britain, and that the invention of the mechanical methods of production in the West only completed this decline. On the other hand Prof. Hamilton maintains that it must be explained by reference to the Industrial Revolution in Europe, and not to the hostile devices of the British commercial policy. ... *Both these views are one-sided and inaccurate interpretations of history. The truth lies midway between the two.* (The italics are ours.)

Our reading of history does not incline us to agree with the author. Passages can be quoted from well-known historians like Taylor, Lecky, Wilson and

Green—not to speak of Digby—which conclusively show that Dutt's observations are substantially correct. We here recite a few leading events in their chronological order:—

1700 and 1724—Acts were passed by Parliament absolutely prohibiting, with a very few specified exceptions, the employment of printed or dyed calicoes (from India) either in dress or in furniture, and the use of any printed or dyed goods, of which cotton formed any part.

1764—Spinning Jenny invented by weaver Hargraves.

1766—The "Mule" invented by Crompton.

1768—James Watt perfected the steam engine.

1769—Spinning machine patented by Arkwright.

1760-80.—The fly shuttle was introduced in weaving sheds, and coal began to replace wood in smelting.

1785—Power loom patented by Cartwright.

1803—Invention of the dressing frame.

Although these inventions were made, the conditions in Britain were considerably disturbed by the Napoleonic Wars, and it was not until after the exile of Napoleon to St. Helena in 1815 that Britain had time to bring about the Industrial Revolution. The prohibitive and protective duties did not follow, but actually preceded, the Industrial Revolution. Wilson observes in this connection:—

Had this not been the case, had not such prohibitory duties and decrees existed, the mills of Paisley and Manchester would have stopped in their outset, and could scarcely again have been set in motion, even by the power of steam. They were created at the sacrifice of the Indian manufacturer.

We recognise that Dr. Shah has been anxious to be scrupulously impartial in his judgment even to the extent of straining a point on the side of the British exploiter. And yet it has not saved him from the cheap sneers: "faulty historical perspective," "false standards of historical comment," etc., etc.—a peculiarly Anglo-Indian type of criticism.

Being the result of a serious and scientific investigation into old records, the treatise is singularly free from the characteristics of a sensational or propagandist publication. Nowhere has he tried to embellish history. He gives the facts as they are, and lets them speak for themselves. The passion for writing a varnished history is so general that it is almost an art to be able to write with detachment; and in this Dr. Shah has eminently succeeded. The book should form a valuable aid to journalists and politicians.

K.

IMPERIAL PROBLEMS.

THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH AND ITS UNSOLVED PROBLEMS. By C. M. MAC-INNES. (Longmans, Green & Co., London.) 1925. 7½ × 4¾. pp. 176. 5s.

THIS is a good handbook for those who wish to study some of the vexed problems of the British Empire treated within small compass. The author has stated the problems lucidly, but has made no attempt to find solutions for any of them. He is sparing in expressing views, and where they are expressed they are in the usual imperialist line, though here and there, in matters of detail, one finds him sounding a note of warning and even venting a timid dissent.

Indian readers will take particular interest in the recent developments, set out in this volume at some length, in the conception of the status of the

Dominions. It is now universally recognised that this status carries with it the constitutional right of withdrawing from the British Empire at will. If the Dominions still choose to remain in, it is not without strong reasons. For one thing, they would, by declaring their independence, be subject as Sovereign Powers to many burdens from which they are now exempt. They would have to bear the full cost of their own defence, "and since each of them would probably have its own defence policy, there would undoubtedly be a great deal of duplication which is now avoided." They would also be obliged to develop and maintain costly Diplomatic Services. Even so their international influence would be less, for they would no longer be able to speak with the weight of the whole British Commonwealth behind them. Independence would thus mean for the Dominions "an increase in their burdens and a loss of prestige" (p. 35). The appointment by Canada of a Minister Plenipotentiary at Washington, the Halibut treaty, the Jhanak telegram of Mr. Churchill as Colonial Secretary and other important landmarks in recent Colonial history receive adequate treatment in this book.

Mr. MacInnes considers it a great tribute to the Colonial policy of England that the principle of trusteeship which, he claims is being consistently followed out in England's dealings with Crown colonies has won acceptance from the League of Nations and is embodied in Art. 22 of its covenant. The writer does not claim that the Empire is built on altruism; on the contrary he admits that it grew up, and still exists, because it pays, but there is nothing incompatible in this, he maintains, with the assertion that "it has been a great humanising and civilizing force" (p. 7). "The tropical Colonies and Protectorates are held to a considerable extent because in the last resort they are of economic advantage to the Empire. The fact that the people of the Empire profit by their connection with these tropical countries is no reason for holding that the natives do not benefit also" (p. 67). The writer never seems to have heard of such authors as E. D. Morel and L. Woolfe; if he had, he would perhaps not have written in a spirit of smug self-satisfaction as he has. Treating of Kenya, he justifies the conclusions of the White Paper of 1922 and invokes parrot-wise the principle of trusteeship, but never once does it occur to him to ask as to how the disabilities imposed upon Indian settlers benefit the natives. The reservation of the highlands for the whites is as much disability upon the blacks as upon the browns; the segregation policy, though turned down in respect of Indians, is still enforced against the natives. The plea of native trusteeship, so far as the Kenya decision goes, is a blatant falsehood. Towards the end of the book our author himself begins to be assailed by doubt as to whether the trusteeship idea really holds good in Kenya. In a footnote on p. 171 he says: "There appears to be good evidence for believing that Kenya is in some respects an exception to this general rule." The evidence of course is the thoroughly reliable one of Dr. Norman Leys in his momentous book recently published, and our author, taking courage in both his hands, writes further, "If the interests of the white settlers in Kenya are incompatible with our obligations as trustees for the natives, then for the good name of the Empire, no matter what promises have been made by Colonial Secretaries in the past, interests of this handful of white settlers must be subordinated to those of the natives." The words I have taken leave to italicise here are of the utmost importance. For it is now admitted that the white highlands policy of the Imperial Government is a great wrong to the natives, but it is maintained out-

of regard for the so-called solemn pledges made by former Colonial Secretaries to the white settlers. It is only to be hoped that Mr. MacInnes fully realises the implications of what he writes. An application of the native trusteeship principle to Kenya involves nothing less than the abandonment of the plantation system in Kenya. In fact he would seem to desire it himself, for in another place he says: "As far as possible the same principles which have worked such happy results in West Africa should be applied to Kenya" (p. 115). Well, Mr. Ormsby-Gore went to East Africa with the determination to apply West African principles to countries in East Africa, but returned with the conviction that they were inapplicable for no other reason than that he discovered that on those principles the European colony could not exist in Kenya. It would be well to quote here Mr. MacInnes' criticism of the Imperial Government's decision in regard to Kenya Indians: "The reservation of the highlands for white settlers is undoubtedly open to criticism as was suggested by the Indian Government; since apparently it reduced itself to a question of climate, the climate should be left to decide. Further, as the official majority is still to be retained there seems to be no obvious reason for allotting to the Europeans almost twice the number of elected members given to the Indians on the Legislative Council (really, more than twice, for European members are 11 and Indian 5)" (p. 143).

The problem of Indians in South Africa seems to our author a desperate one. All that he can suggest in this connexion is: "It may be that the suggestion contained in the *Round Table* for December 1922 may offer a way out. The proposal is that a special Government for Indians might be set up, which would bear the same relation to the Union Government as the Crown Colonies Governments bear to the Imperial Government. If however, the Indians at home persist in their demands and agitations, this scheme for full political rights will never be put into force" (p. 165). A scheme for "full political rights" indeed! There is, however, one suggestion of his which deserves to be fully explored. He says, "The self-governing Dominions and India are new partner-nations with Great Britain in the Empire, enjoying a quasi-international personality. In a sense, then, the problem of Dominion and Indian relations has already emerged from the purely domestic stage" (p. 146). This shows that India can yet use the position which she has earned as an independent member of the League of Nations to obtain redress against South Africa. The possibilities in this line have not yet been explored. The Government of India, which is apparently afraid of seeking the League's intervention even in mandated territories, will not do so in the case of a self-governing country, but the Legislative Assembly may well try to force this remedy on the Government of India. The withholding of the municipal, provincial or Dominion franchise from Canadian Indians is thus commented on by our author: "The argument which has been frequently put forward, that in a country where political parties are so nicely balanced, admission of Indians to the franchise would mean that the government would be handed over to the Indians needs only to be stated to be rejected. If the argument urged by the members from British Columbia in the debate in the Canadian House of Commons on June 23, 1923, is a fair statement of their case, then there is no obvious reason why complete rights of citizenship should not be extended to the Indians at once. They are in any case no less fit for the franchise than many of those strange communities from Eastern and Central Europe scattered over the prairie, and as British subjects, they

have a right to expect, if anything, a more favourable treatment" (p. 164).

Mr. MacInnes entertains grave doubts as to the wisdom of introducing representative institutions in Oriental countries and thus holds that Mr. Montagu's declaration of August 20, 1917, which formed the basis of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms "may turn out to have been the greatest blunder we have ever made;" for apparently responsible government is suited only "to the people of British stock" (p. 92). Even so, the author has formed a very high estimate of the work achieved by the first Legislative Assembly and the local Councils and observes: "The very fact that Indian Moderates, in the face of almost incredible vilification, were able to achieve this record, is no small tribute to their ability and to their courage" (p. 121). "The work of the Liberals shows that there is a common-sense group in India and that Indians can work representative institutions"; but "in India, even more than in other countries, the monotonous recital of sound legislative work proves far less effective in capturing votes than fiery and emotional appeals to windy abstractions." At the elections, therefore, in 1923 the Liberals suffered "for their sanity" (p. 122). A true enough observation! The author compares the "steady work of the Liberals" in the first Legislative bodies with the "political incompetence" of the Swarajists in the second, and comes to the conclusion that "the motto of 'Hasten slowly' would seem to be peculiarly *à propos* for India at the present time."

S. G. V.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- TOWARDS MORAL BANKRUPTCY. By PAUL BUREAU. (Constable & Co., Ltd., London.) 1925. 9 x 5½. pp. 546. 16s.
- MY PILGRIMAGES TO AJANTA AND BAGH. By MUKUL CHANDRA DEY. (Thornton Butterworth, Ltd., London.) 1925. 9½ x 6. pp. 245.
- NIGERIAN DAYS. By A. C. G. HASTINGS. (The Bodley Head, Ltd., London.) 1925. 9 x 5½. pp. 255. 12s. 6d.
- WHAT THEN MUST WE DO? By LEO TOLSTOY. Translated with an Introduction by AYLMER MAUDE. (Oxford University Press, London.) 1925. 6 x 3½. pp. 403. 2s.
- EXCHANGE FALLACIES EXPOSED. Part II. By B. F. MADON. Bombay. 1925. 9½ x 6½. pp. 155.
- WORSHIP IN ISLAM. By REV. EDWIN ELLIOT CALVERLEY. (Christian Literature Society for India, Madras.) 1925. 7½ x 5. pp. 242. R. 2-8.
- ADULT EDUCATION IN DENMARK. (The World Association for Adult Education, London.) 8½ x 5½. pp. 31. 1s.
- GOLD COAST REPORT ON THE BLUE BOOK for 1923-24. 1925. 9½ x 6½. pp. 62. 3s.
- SYSTEM OF CLASSIFICATION AND OCCUPATIONS. Report prepared for the International Conference of Labour Statisticians. (International Labour Office, Geneva.) 9½ x 6½. pp. 79. 1s. 3d.
- BARODA ADMINISTRATION REPORT. 1923-24. 1925. 9½ x 6½. pp. xxi & 366.
- STATISTICAL ABSTRACT OF THE BARODA STATE for 1914-15 to 1923-24. 1925. 9½ x 6½. pp. 127. Re. 1.
- REPORT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, ALBERTA, for 1924-25. 10 x 6½. pp. 148.
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- REPORT OF THE LANDS DEPARTMENT, FIJI, for 1924-25.

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