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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

A Truce. IT is always the unexpected that happens in the Swaraj party. The differences between the pro-change and no-change sections of the party came to a head with such an abnormal rapidity that the subsequent truce strikes one as all the more sudden. The truce was apparently made "in view of the approaching session of the Congress at Cawnpore." The one thing that was imperatively necessary "in view of the approaching Congress session" was the education of the public in regard to those differences, so that when the Congress met, it would be in a position to pronounce on them. Now, however, the Congress is in a peculiar case. It is no longer a non-political body as in the hands of Mahatma Gandhi. It is, on the contrary, a predominantly political organization and must lay down a definite policy of work. In this task the orthodox non-co-operators, among whom must be reckoned the President herself, cannot render any help. The Swarajists must solve it by themselves. But they are a divided body. The general public are yet unfamiliar with the main issues in the controversy. Therefore what the Swaraj party does by the truce brought about "in view of the Congress session" is virtually to make it impossible for the Congress to take a reasoned view of the matter. If it is called upon to decide between Pandit Motilal Nehru and Messrs. Kelkar and Jayakar, its verdict will surely go in favour of the former's policy of the stiffening of obstruction and civil disobedience. We, therefore, cannot accept the view that the Pandit has lost by the truce and that his opponents have gained. On the contrary we feel that the Pandit has gained. Seeing that the doctrine of responsive co-operation was making rapid headway in

Maharashtra, the Pandit was naturally anxious to arrest the advance responsive co-operation was making. This he has secured, though no doubt it must have been a great humiliation to him to drop his hectoring tactics and sue for peace. But Messrs. Jayakar and Kelkar have not employed the best of tactics in agreeing to the terms. If the Congress decision goes against them, it will be a none too easy task for them to go out into the country and preach against the Congress decision.

* * *

A HINDU Conference, under the auspices of the Hindu Maha Sabha, took place for the first time in the

Bombay Presidency on Saturday last. The Hindus of this province do not complain of Muslim aggression in the way in which the Punjab Hindus do, and yet the introduction of the Hindu Mahasabha movement into this province has been considered necessary because of the need for a concerted effort to fight the vicious principle of communal representation thrust upon every province. Such a campaign against communal representation is urgently necessary, but it would best achieve its object if launched, not by Hindus alone, but by Hindus, Christians Parsees, and all other communities together. The Hindu Mahasabha's object, however, seems to be to organise the Hindu forces in self-defence against the hostile activities of the Mahomedans. Lala Lajpat Rai is personally against all communal organizations, but the communal organization of the Muslims makes it incumbent, in his opinion, upon the Hindus also to organise themselves communally and this seems to be the principal work to which he intends to devote himself. It is true that when one country makes warlike preparations against another, the latter must make similar preparations against the former, however evil it may consider war to be. No nation can abolish its army without a general disarmament. But military preparations very often provoke war and the present Hindu movement also runs the same risk of exacerbating a communal war. It is for the public of the Bombay Presidency to determine whether they should run this risk. It is at any rate a matter for rejoicing that the Hindu movement is no longer in the hands of the orthodox people but in the hands of such a seasoned social reformer as Lala Lajpat Rai. The removal of untouchability, abolition of castes, promotion of late marriages, etc., on which Lalaji laid so much stress, are all of course desirable reforms, and they are needed whether the

Muhammadans enjoy communal electorates or not. The Brahmanas in the Deccan and in the South would do well to listen to the Lala's advice that if they were to concede to the non-Brahmanas "the rights of the Dwijas, which are theirs under the Hindu Shastras, their separatist tendencies will disappear" and the Maharashtra politicians will profit much if they will lay to heart the Lala's observation that "social reform on an extensive scale is the greatest need of the community, and no political advance of a substantial nature can be secured without it."

* * *

A Criticism.

IN the valuable article published elsewhere, Mr. Sen-Gupta emphasises the need for each party drawing up a detailed programme of work and deciding on its attitude to Government with reference to such a programme. The present party cries of "co-operation" or "responsive co-operation" or "non-co-operation" or "obstruction" seem to him to be meaningless in the absence of a mention of definite items of work in respect of which co-operation with Government is either to be offered or withheld. He is unable to understand why any group of people should declare themselves to be for co-operation, when probably what they have at heart, e. g. tenant's rights, can only be secured by opposing Government. He thus sees no solid basis for unity in the proposal of Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal or Mr. Jinnah to bring together into one party the so-called co-operationists, i. e. all politicians who are neither non-co-operators nor obstructionists. We are afraid the word "co-operation" has proved a snare to our correspondent. As used in Indian politics at present, the word does not mean, "working with the executive Government to bring about a certain result which the latter aim at. Co-operation is used in contradistinction from "non-co-operation," which is to stand aside from all legislative and executive machinery, and co-operation, therefore, means making use of this machinery to whatever end. A co-operationist's attitude is not necessarily friendly to Government. On any particular question he may deem it his duty to oppose Government measures tooth and nail. He is still a co-operationist, because he avails himself of the Legislature to air his views, as a non-co-operator will not do, and because he is not pledged to oppose all Government measures, as an obstructionist is. What, therefore, Messrs. Jinnah and Pal intend to do by forming a Constitutionalist party is not to bring together all those who would propose measures likely to be favoured by Government and who would be particularly tender in dealing with Government, but all those who have no objection to making use of the legislative bodies for constructive work irrespectively of whether in doing this work they have to oppose or support Government.

* * *

—and an Answer.

BUT Mr. Sen Gupta has a further difficulty. How can a party be formed of people who are agreed on nothing else than making use of the Legislature? If, e. g., on a ques-

tion like the tenancy laws, one member goes into the Government lobby and another into the opposition; if one is pro-landlord and another pro-tenant, how can they at all act together? This, of course, is a valid objection, and the only answer to it is that the party that is now intended to be formed can only serve a temporary purpose till non-co-operation and obstruction are out of the way. This is precisely the reason why we said in our last article that the need for such a party will be felt for a short period. But in this intervening period the need for a Constitutional party is supreme. It is true that landlords and tenants, employers and labourers, social reformers and anti-social reformers cannot well combine in one party, but they must all combine against those who preach the boycott of legislatures or undiluted obstruction. For the moment the common enemy of all of them is the non-co operator or obstructionist, for he blocks all legislative changes whether in the interest of landlord or tenant, employer or labour. When the non-co-operationist or obstructionist becomes impotent for harm, the need for re-shaping the present parties will be immediately felt and an attempt will be made to formulate a concrete programme such as Mr. Sen-Gupta desires. We have always believed that a re-shuffling of the present parties is inevitable. The process would certainly have commenced by now if, on the eve of the reforms, non-co-operation had not been started and continued even at the present day in the shape of obstruction. Though a regrouping will thus necessarily come, all the conflicting interests in the Legislatures must in the existing circumstances consider it their first duty to meet the evil of obstructionism.

* * *

"Paper Prohibition." THE Excise Minister of Bombay made a speech in the last session of the local Legislative Council on excise policy, of which we have been kindly supplied with an official report. The speech, instead of modifying, only confirms our unfavourable opinion of his regime to which we gave expression in supporting the trenchant criticisms made by the Deccan Sabha in a recent memorandum. Mr. Dehlavi repeats in this speech the claim that in continuing the policy of rationing, he had made an advance on the recommendations of the Excise Committee, a claim which the Deccan Sabha memorandum has shown to be utterly devoid of foundation. That such a disingenuous statement should have been allowed to be twice made on the floor of the House without being challenged shows the utter incompetence and weakness of the present Bombay Council. The Minister is very much distressed at the loss of revenue consequent on the gradual adoption of the policy of prohibition and asks for the Legislature's support in making good the loss. So far there has been no loss in revenue, as the Minister himself stated in February last, but the ultimate loss is certain, and he is no doubt entitled to the co-operation of the Legislative Council. But he does not go about it the right way.

If he is keen on prohibition as he professes to be, it is his duty to formulate a practical policy both of the reduction of alcoholic consumption and of the replacement of the excise revenue, and having placed his proposals before the Legislature to ask the latter's support of them. The Minister, however, lacks both ability to frame such proposals and courage to stake his Ministerial tenure on the Council's acceptance of them. He only warns the public against the attainment of prohibition by "a rapid or even an easy pace" without himself telling them what he considers to be a

reasonable pace in reaching prohibition. In the last session, Mr. Dehlavi said: "In that statement of mine (made in February) I have already briefly and sufficiently pointed out to this Hon'ble House as to how far Government is prepared towards prohibition and how far Government rightly expect people to go with them in the matter of facing and meeting the great difficulties of prohibition." Well, this is exactly what the Minister has *not* done in the February speech or the October speech or any other speech he has made so far. He does not yet realise that it is his job to make proposals which it will not do for him to shift on to poor Mr. Pradhan or any other member of Council. Mr. Pradhan is a critic quite out of the ordinary: he offers his help and the help of an expert committee in devising ways and means which it is no part of his business to do. But such an offer is met by the Minister by alarming statements in which no indication is yet given that he is alive to the duty incumbent upon him as Minister to frame a policy. We are afraid that Mr. Dehlavi's prohibition is destined to remain, so far as he is concerned, a "paper policy"—a description which in his February speech he so hotly repudiated.

* * *

WE are sincerely glad that the storm raging in the Fergusson College for the whole of last week has now completely blown over. Into the many incidents of this affair it is not our desire to enter. It will be sufficient to say that the disciplinary action which the Principal had felt constrained to take against the students at first, the Governing Council of the Deccan Education Society has, with the cordial sanction of the Principal and his staff, revoked altogether. This has closed the affair satisfactorily for the students who, on their part, were not behindhand in expressing regret for the unseemly acts which they had in the heat of the moment committed. The most commendable part in the whole affair consists of course in the two students who had assaulted three Europeans going privately to the latter and making an unreserved confession of their guilt. These students are all the more to be praised because the suspicion of the authorities had fallen upon other students and they ran no apparent risk of being discovered. The Europeans concerned too accepted the students' apology given in private and considered the matter as closed, undertaking very considerably not to disclose the identity of the students. Thus happily order and friendliness of spirit once again reign in every part of the College after a very short though deplorable break.

* * *

IN the late Mr. S. G. Deodhar, who died on Saturday last at Satara, Maharashtra loses a very prominent social reformer, who, as successor to the late Mr. Agarkar in the editorship of the *Sudhakar*, played a conspicuous part in popularising the principles of social reform throughout the Deccan. He was a life-member of the Deccan Education Society and after serving for several years in the Fergusson College as Professor, he shifted to Satara and founded the Society's High School. The institution has grown from small beginnings to a wonderful extent and it will be a standing memorial to the self-devotion of Mr. Deodhar. Simple, humble, unostentatious, but a hard and a clean fighter for noble causes, Mr. Deodhar has left behind him traditions which will be highly cherished by a large public who can appreciate great work done in the midst of difficulties.

HAND TO MOUTH POLITICS.

By V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI.

LAWYERS arguing in court may often be caught enunciating one proposition in a certain case and exactly the opposite proposition in another. It is inevitable in the profession of a paid advocate, who is not a judge and is not called upon to lay down the law for all people to follow. The habit, when brought into the sphere of politics, leads sometimes to glaring incongruities. An instance may be found in two familiar lines of reasoning, each plausible when considered by itself, but not compatible with the other. The desire to maintain certain representative offices on a high level of independence is proper. We cannot afford to have our Ministers and Presidents of Legislatures looking up for promotion to the bureaucracy or the bureaucracy-ridden Governor of a province. The same is true of the position of a judge of the High Court in whose fearlessness and independence is wrapped up the essence of a citizen's freedom. A few years ago the public of Madras had occasion to protest, when Sir Sankaran Nair was made a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council. The Secretary of State admitted at the time the soundness of the popular contention and vaguely promised that no further lapses from principle would be made. The promise, however, has been broken again and again. The mischief is not less but more when a Minister is translated to the office of Executive Councillor. By the duality in our constitution, a Minister stands for the principle of responsible government, the growth of which ought to be his special study, and is, therefore, often pitted against the Executive half of the administration. The climax of inappropriateness and danger to the cause of democracy is reached when the President of a Legislature, whose eyes, ears and voice are to be at the entire disposal of the chosen representatives of the people, is encouraged or tempted to view as promotion a seat in the local cabinet. Progressive politicians of all shades were scandalised at the occurrence of these anti-democratic transfers, and rightly so. We are all alike anxious to prevent the degeneration of representative offices at the very start. And yet what are we doing on a closely related matter of public interest? When salaries and emoluments are in question, economy in public finance becomes the dominating motive, and a sense of importance to touch the non-votable salaries of the bureaucracy finds vent in a highly stimulated desire to cut down those which the Legislature can fix. The fashion is to make impossible drafts on the patriotism and self-sacrifice of individuals in public life. It is forgotten that these virtues, even when they are of the genuine type, do not lead to asceticism in the normal course of things. In social and sumptuary matters men are guided by the standards in their particular circles and immediate surroundings, and not by those prevalent in remote countries. A universal lowering of standards is a great desideratum among the public servants of a poor country like

India, and ceaseless endeavours must be made to keep the subject alive in the public consciousness, so that as soon as the opportunity arrives, the shears may be applied all round and impartially. A piecemeal and haphazard diminution of salaries must have the inevitable effect of creating different levels of attractiveness in the services; and wise statesmen must be prepared for a constant movement from lower to higher levels. How disastrous must the evil be when such a difference of level is created among situations of trust and power through the action of popular opinion, and the disadvantage is all against the representatives of the popular element! It was a consideration of this nature, and not a disregard for economy in public expenditure, which prompted some of us to discountenance the general tendency to reduce the salaries of Ministers and Presidents of Legislative Councils at the time when the first appointments were made. We felt that if we could not exalt them, we should at least not depress them unduly in comparison with jobs in the gift of the Executive. A Minister has a briefer tenure than his colleague on the reserved side, and he has besides the daily hazard and worry of Parliamentary office. To reward him on a lower scale would in many cases be to make him wish that he had chosen the other side and in an occasional case, to expose him to serious temptation. In the Central Provinces, the general disposition was to blame the bureaucracy for drawing Mr. Tambe away from the service of the people. The blame must rather rest on those who pitched the salary of the President unduly low. In the unedifying squabbles of recent origin in the Swarajist camp, some advocates of the policy of acceptance of office have gone so far as actually to propose that when a Swarajist does take office, he should refuse the salary. Of course this is intended to make the change go down with the party; but if it be seriously meant, it must be combatted at all costs, for it will surely bring the office sooner or later into disrepute. It is a hand to mouth style of promoting an idea to advance the plea which seems most convenient and effectual at the time without considering how it would affect the other issues involved. As far as possible public policy must be viewed as a whole, not as a chance jumble of disconnected fragments.

PATHWAY TO UNITY.

WITH all respect to the eminent and intensely patriotic gentlemen who met at the Indian Association at Calcutta the other day, I venture to say that if the resolutions they arrived at in the conference represent the sum-total of their programme, they are hunting for a chimera.

Unity in patriotic endeavour is a very desirable thing, but not mere talk of unity. The unity which is worth seeking is the unity of thought and action. That can only come from agreement about a common concrete programme. Responsive co-operation, like mere non-co-operation, is a vague and

empty abstraction, which may be a cover for want of thought or a device for hushing up differences, but which can never produce community of action.

What does it come to, apart from all context? It only means that we are to help Government, with the sole proviso that the Government helps us. But help in what? In crushing the peasantry in the interest of the landlords? In expropriating landlords for the benefit of the peasants? In fattening the services to the detriment of the people? In promoting agriculture and industries on capitalistic lines? In protecting cottage industries? In removing social inequalities? In playing classes against classes? Unless you can answer questions like these, responsive co-operation is a vague and inane word which means nothing. If ever it is possible to bring together people on such a mere word, the unity will be broken to pieces so soon as you come up against a live political issue like that of Capitalism vs. Labour.

Non-co-operation has proved to be a purely negative programme and has produced nothing. The answer to that does not lie in harping upon the blessed word 'co-operation' but in developing an active political faith—a concrete programme, in pursuing which, responsive co-operation can only be a means, a purely secondary item in a party slogan.

The first things to settle, therefore, are: what are the things which the party wants to do and to what end? When this is settled, it would follow as an additional clause that these ends and objects would be promoted by co-operation with the Government if its aims are identical. That is what I understand by a concrete programme of responsive co-operation, which involves, as a corollary, a determination to oppose and even obstruct the Government by all lawful means if it acts contrary to these purposes.

Swaraj—even colonial self-government—is not good enough as a statement of the end. Because people who may be quite agreed upon ending British rule would entirely disagree on the concrete form of government, not with reference to its relation to the Government of England but with reference to its internal constitution. What is this swaraj to be? Would it be true democratic swaraj based on manhood suffrage and a government thoroughly responsible to the electorate? Is the humble labourer to be on the same footing as the proudest plutocrat? This is a fundamental question and cannot be brushed aside for future settlement. What we want as the basis for agreement is not a mere word but a constitution like Mrs. Besant's Bill.

And then, how is this swaraj to be achieved? Co-operation is meaningless in answer. And it is futile also. For, as the threat of non-co-operation has dismally failed, and the Government is going on merrily despite all talk of non-co-operation, a mere conditional promise of co-operation is not likely to prove an attractive bait to draw the Government towards swaraj. It is time that the country realised that swaraj will not, on the one hand, be

tain the high character of the administration of justice in British India. The law clearly lays down that where a foreigner initiates in a foreign territory an offence which is completed within British territory, he is liable to be tried by the British court within whose jurisdiction the offence is completed. If the Maharaja is really involved, we fail to see any reason why he should not be tried in British Indian courts. The law is no respecter of persons and if really there are *prima facie* grounds for believing that an offence has been committed, we fail to see why the Political Department should hesitate to start an immediate enquiry in this connection. If necessary, the procedure of a special tribunal may be resorted to in this case. This case involves a very great principle. The liberties of British Indian subjects have been dangerously and defiantly attacked. The life of a British Indian subject has been destroyed; and an attempt has been made to commit the murder of another British subject in British India. If this violent action remains unpunished, it will menace the liberty of all law-abiding subjects of His Majesty's Government in British India. If a tyrant of an Indian State with unlimited resources at his disposal can wreak his vengeance with impunity on subjects residing in British India, the protection of the mighty British Government would not be worth a day's purchase. The Government of Lord Reading is therefore under a great responsibility to the people in British India to vindicate their honour, to protect their persons and to safeguard their liberty. No statecraft, no diplomacy, no political considerations should deter the Government from pursuing this inquiry to its logical consequence. The dignity, position and status of the persons involved should on no account weigh with the Political Department. I cannot say whether the Maharaja is guilty or innocent. But circumstantial evidence leads to dangerous insinuations against him, and he must be put on his trial. If he is really anxious for his reputation and good name, he should *suo motu* solicit a public inquiry and have his character cleared and his good name and honour vindicated. If he comes triumphantly out of this ordeal, every lover of Indian States would immensely rejoice and would honour the Maharaja all the more for his courage, his manliness and his keen sense of justice. He will have for this sake voluntarily to abdicate his throne and seek an open trial before a tribunal. If he shirks doing this, it will leave room for people to suspect that conscience has made a coward of him.

There are some people who have a soft corner in their hearts for the Indian States and their rulers. However diabolical their deeds, however tyrannical their acts, they will observe reticence about them and try to shelter them from public criticisms for fear that the State may be in danger and may be annexed to the British territory. But there is absolutely no reason to entertain any apprehension on this score. The policy of the British Government has undergone a radical change since 1858. Annexation, lapse or forfeiture is no longer the policy

of the Government. For the misdeeds of a tyrannical ruler, the State is not vicariously punished and is not confiscated and escheated to the British Crown. The State will remain intact, whether the ruler abdicates willingly or is deposed by a higher authority. The instance of Nabha is in point. It is therefore not right to entertain any doubt on the score of the safety of the State of Indore and the Maharaja may safely be left to his destiny. If the Maharaja is really guilty he should be deposed and be awarded such other punishment as he deserves. The State in this event too would remain intact and the claims of the legitimate heirs would be duly considered by the paramount power. But on no account would the State lapse even in this eventuality. If the Maharaja comes out unscathed from the trial, he certainly deserves to rule over the State. And every one will honour him for his glorious and courageous conduct. The clouds of insinuations are thickening over his head and he must be prepared to stand his trial.

It is pertinent to note the difference between a voluntary abdication and a forced dethronement. A voluntary abdication may ensure the succession of the legitimate heirs of a ruling Prince; but if in the open inquiry and trial, a Prince who is forcibly dethroned is found guilty of misdemeanour or of any offence, not only would he lose his *gadi* but his heirs also would be deprived of their otherwise legitimate rights. The instance of Aundh is very significant. For the misdeeds of the late ruler of Aundh the legitimate heirs were divested of their rights and a protege of Government was placed on the *gadi* in spite of the protests of the rightful claimants.

The Maharaja of Indore has been making frantic efforts to enlist public sympathy on his side during these troublous times. The selection of Mr. Sen Gupta, the leader of the Swaraj party in Bengal, to conduct the defence of Shafi Ahmad seems to have been a move in this direction. The strenuous efforts which Mr. Sen Gupta made during the course of the trial to protest against any reference to the Maharaja were hardly edifying. And he made the damaging admission that his client was a mere hireling! Like a Rip Van Winkle the Maharaja awoke one day from the sleepy hollow of his palace and issued his annual administration report after nearly a decade. He seems to have developed suddenly an instinct for representative institutions and has created a pompous legislative council with hardly an iota of responsibility given to the people. He issued an edict for free primary education as though he was unaware of the utility of this measure for over twenty years since Mr. Gokhale made his supreme effort in its favour in the Imperial Council. The idea of celebrating the anniversary of the founder of his dynasty, the great Malharrao Holkar seems to have dawned upon the Maharaja during the anxious time of this great trial. His munificence and his philanthropy are paraded world-wide with a view to elicit public admiration. However dexterously these tactics may be engineered, they are

too thin to disguise the real character of the present régime at Indore, when it is remembered that most disgraceful scandals about women reported in influential newspapers were allowed to go unchallenged and unheeded before the Bawla tragedy. It is not therefore possible to beguile the credulous public by the overdoings of the supporters of the Indore *Raj* of the present day. It is to be regretted that there has been a sudden somersault in the attitude of a certain section of the press which was virulent in the beginning when the case was *sub judice*. Some of the newspapers went the length of publishing the photos of the present Maharaja of Indore in juxtaposition to that of the unhappy victim, Mr. Bawla. A feeble protest against this had been made after the trial was over. As the case has now been decided and when the press should insist in the interests of justice to find out the real offender, it is amazing to find an influential daily giving a long surmon on the moral side of the late Mr. Bawla's conduct. The graver issues involved in this case have been studiously blinked over. The reason of this apathy and deliberate omission are too obvious to need any mention. Whatever the attitude of the press and whatever the causes of the same, it is the bounden duty of the Government and especially of the Political Department to pursue this inquiry seriously and to unearth the hidden hand.

G. R. ABHYANKAR.

REVIEWS.

THE HERESY OF NATIONALISM.

LE SAINT-SIEGE, L'EGLISE CATHOLIQUE ET LA POLITIQUE MONDIALE. By MAURICE PERNOT. Paris, 1924. 7 × 4½. pp. 215. (Armand Colin, 6 frs.)

CATHOLICS AND THE PROBLEM OF PEACE. By JOSEPH KEATING, S. J. OXFORD, 1925. 7 × 4½. pp. 110. (Catholic Social Guild, 9d.)

It is a commonplace of Protestants and through them, of the world at large today, that a vital distinction must be made between the religion of Roman Catholicism and the worldly power which the *Curia*, the collective body of officials of the papal government, is exercising under the guise of that religion. Since Indians however are mostly neither Protestants nor Catholics, some at least may like to probe this facile judgment a little deeper and to them one would wholeheartedly recommend a close study of the little books which form the subject of this review.

The reader who approaches the whole matter without prejudice will soon recognize with Mr. Pernot (who by the way has just visited India, as he has Afghanistan, Persia etc., in the interests of the *Journal des Debats* of which he is a distinguished correspondent) that as a matter of fact "the Pope, in virtue of the *magisterium* which he exercises in matters of faith and morals, cannot separate politics from it" (p. 21). "Church and State can only be allies or enemies: a non-political Christianity is non-sense; a non-religious Catholic State, a contradiction." (p. 22). For *qua* Pope he claims—rightly or wrongly—the right of intervention "in the defence of all that pertains to religion, not merely for his Church and his Catholics", but on the principle that from him as the Vicar of Christ "all churches, all re-

ligious bodies may claim consideration and protection"; for which reason it was a Pope of Rome who asked Lenin to spare Tikhon, the head of the (non-papal) Russian Church and who protested against the spoliation of the Churches by the Soviet government (I. 210). The greatest blow which was aimed at these interventionist "pretensions", was the annexation of the Papal States by Italy in 1870 and Pius IX, the then resigning Pope, by way of protest withdrew in effect into some sort of political "non-co-operation". His successor, however, Pope Leo XIII (1878-1903) recognised that such silent protest merely played into the hands of the Church's enemies and hastened to "reconquer for the Church her rightful place in the world and in modern society", (I, 12) and he ever emphasized the truth that it was the business of the Church, "not to dominate but to penetrate all the politics of the world" (I, 16)—the reasonableness of which attitude, once the Papalist premiss is granted, seems incontestable.

There is another point to remember in this connection. "The Pope without doubt is of all sovereigns of the modern world the most absolute: governing without a parliament, he is not subject to any control nor accountable for his acts to any person—yet how narrow are the limits within which he can act! For such is the powerful influence of traditions and institutions in the government of the Roman Church, that even the most original and energetic popes have never succeeded in leaving more than a faint imprint of their personality on it." (I, 42). In that surprising system the "effort of the individual becomes on the one hand neutralized, but on the other also completed and sublimated by the continuous efforts of all who have preceded him" and the final result is "not immobility, but continuity." (I, 205). In line with this characteristic "the organs of the Catholic Church multiply in accordance with new needs and those called into existence are never quite eliminated but ever ready to perform the functions peculiar to them, even during periods of actual inactivity." (I, 51). And what a matchless body of officials the papacy has at its disposal! Long before Geneva was dreamt of, "the Holy See was ever able to attach to its service men of every nationality; to put every individual into the place where he would be most useful, irrespective of his seniority, class or other considerations; to have incomparable archives to draw upon; to have sources of information, unrivalled in their universality and reliability; and finally for the transmission of orders—an admirable machinery in its delicately graded hierarchy." (I, 47). 2000 bishops dispersed throughout the whole world are in constant correspondence with the Holy See and are bound to report themselves in person at headquarters every few years. Since the 16th century there is added to all this the purely political branch of *Nuncios*, papal ambassadors accredited to the governments of individual countries; whilst the growth of the Friars and other modern religious orders has provided the central government of the Church with additional intelligence officers, through whom to check information obtained through ordinary channels.

To the outsider so much efficiency seems uncanny, not to say sinister. He cannot believe that it is meant to serve a good purpose. Yet the men who compose this wonderful government are all celibates—they cannot serve their own families, nor can they amass fortunes for themselves. Lust of power? But even the highest, as we have already seen, is so subject to the discipline and pressure of the whole, that singularly little scope is given to indulgence in individual tyrannies. Yet the suspi-

won by the mere charity of British people, nor, on the other, by the determination of a handful of disorganised people by idle threats without an organised nation behind them. There is but one sure way and that is the thorough organisation of national life and the development of the highest type of manhood among the people. It is time that our people gave up idle dreams of winning swaraj by magical short cuts and set themselves with determination to organise the nation. It is true that liberty has often been secured in history by flukes, but it is not statesmanship to gamble on the chance of a fluke coming our way.

This means an elaborate programme. Some of it will have to be done by utilising Government agencies and some by the independent efforts of the people. The end of these efforts should be to improve the health, wealth and strength of the people, develop units of local self-government in villages, knit together in a great organisation embracing the whole country and in the development of sound political and economic knowledge.

So far, I do not expect there will be any disagreement. When it comes to drawing up the details of the programme, however, there is likely to be considerable disagreement. The sound way to secure unity of action is not to hush up these disagreements where they really exist, but to let them have free play. The true way is for each party to draw up its own programme in detail. Then, if it is found that there is no substantial difference between two programmes, coalescence would be easy. If, on the other hand, there is disagreement in important points and yet a considerable body of points of agreement, these would form a basis of common action by an understanding or coalition without a fusion of the parties.

This seems to be the only way to secure a unity worth having. Unity will not come from merely crying for it. It would not be achieved so long as parties are meaningless expressions and are mere covers for naked personal interests. It can only come as the result of a genuine effort to work concrete programmes.

NARIS C. SEN-GUPTA.

REORGANIZATION OF THE TELEGRAPH SERVICE.

DURING the last few weeks, the various branches of the Indian Telegraph Association such as at Calcutta, Bombay, Nagpur, Madras and Delhi adopted resolutions vehemently protesting against the Government of India carrying out certain recommendations of the Ryan Committee relating to the conversion of Departmental offices into Combined offices, fixation of a higher outturn of work and the expansion of Station service as against General service. The association threatened to "down tools" if it did not receive a reply within three days. Recently, however, the Association has withdrawn its thinly veiled threat of a strike in view of a letter of explanation from the Government of India

to the effect that the interests of the existing staff of Telegraphists will not be prejudicially affected. In spite of this reply, the Association has characterized the explanation as misleading, inaccurate and unconvincing and the public is made aware more of the Association's resolutions than the measures protested against. Let us examine their contentions in brief.

CONVERSION OF DEPARTMENTAL OFFICES.

Firstly, the Telegraphists complain of the proposed conversion of the Departmental into Combined Offices on the ground that efficiency and reputation of the services would immensely suffer thereby. This contention, however, is ill-founded. It is contrary to past experience and expert opinion. It ignores the benefit that would accrue from the adoption of the measure. For the average monthly pay of a Postal Clerk is Rs. 80, while that of a General Service Departmental Telegraphist is Rs. 168 plus the free use of residential quarters or a house rent allowance of Rs. 35 per month in lieu thereof. Thus there is a difference of Rs. 122 per month or Rs. 1,476 per year in the pay of a Postal signaller and that of a General Service Telegraphist. It is, therefore, obvious that considerable savings would result if the latter can be replaced by the former without detriment to efficiency. The only question therefore is whether the Postal signallers are so inferior in efficiency that such enormous gains must be forgone. The only possible answer to this question is an emphatic negative. The Ryan Committee Report itself states that "it is the opinion of a large number of witnesses examined by the Committee that Postal signallers are sufficiently efficient for the class of Telegraph Signalling upon which they are employed." This statement is further corroborated by facts and figures which show that the percentage of mutations which occur in messages signalled by Combined offices does not differ appreciably from the percentage of mutations in messages signalled by Departmental offices. In these circumstances, it follows that the costly Departmental Telegraph offices should be maintained at those places only where the traffic is very heavy. But we find that out of 150 Departmental offices, there are not less than 83 offices where the total staff of Telegraphists (including clerical and supervisory) is ten or less. It is thus a sheer waste of public money to maintain these Departmental offices as such when Postal signallers can perform the same work with equal efficiency but at only half the expenditure at present incurred. It is further to be noted that the policy embodied in the Ryan Committee's recommendation is not a new one. As far back as 1907, the Telegraphs Committee presided over by Sir Louis Tupper enunciated the principle and observed that "the Telegraph service should meet the commercial and public interests. . . . The point for consideration is whether reasonably efficient and reliable service can be offered to the public by the Combined office and when this condition is satisfied. There is no reason for having the office Departmental. It is a waste of force and money to keep a small office in

charge of a well-paid Departmental signaller, if the work can be done efficiently by a cheaper Postal signaller." This principle here recommended for adoption is already being given effect to by the Government, for in the year 1923-24 they converted twelve Departmental Telegraph offices into Combined offices, which resulted in an annual saving of Rs. 33,696. It is therefore idle and preposterous for any Association to urge upon Government to depart from a long-established and consistently pursued policy which has proved so successful in combining efficiency with economy.

OUTTURN OF WORK.

The second point of contention is regarding the increase in the output of work to be performed by a Telegraphist. The strength of the operative staff is at present calculated on the basis of 42,000 messages per operator per year. As an operator works 2,275 hours in the year, the above basis gives an outturn of 18.46 messages per operator hour which is equivalent to 20 messages per operator hour, allowing for wastages caused by unavoidable overlapping of duties (vide para. 13 of the Report of the Telegraphs Committee, 1920). Be it remembered, however, that this standard is applicable to Morse, while much more efficient and high speed instruments are in actual use and hence the standard ought to be revised. The Ryan Committee found that 40 % of the traffic in large offices is dealt with on circuits equipped with Baudot apparatus, which has more traffic-carrying capacity. The annual outturn per operator on the new apparatus is expected to be 47,000 (instead of 42,000) messages and hence there is no reason why the basis for determining the strength of the operative staff should not be revised. The Telegraph Association was perhaps afraid that on this calculation, there would be surplus Telegraphists who would be driven out and extra work would be exacted from individual operators under surveillance as a result of the adoption of the Committee's recommendations. But no such step was ever contemplated and the Government have declared in no uncertain tones that the standard is used *solely* for the purpose of fixing the number of recruits to be obtained each year and not for determining the output to be demanded from each individual operator. Hence it is needless for the Association to entertain any apprehensions and it ought not to intermeddle in an affair, which will not harm its interests but will effect considerable savings of public money.

SUBSTITUTION OF STATION FOR GENERAL SERVICE.

Another point of contention is the ratio to be retained between the General service and the Station Service of the Telegraphists. The average monthly pay of a General service Telegraphist is Rs. 203 (i. e. Rs. 168 as pay plus Rs. 35 for house rent allowance) while that of the station service Telegraphist is Rs. 117. The difference is so appreciable that " any inflation of the General service beyond the limits strictly required for the efficient working of the department seems to be an unwarrantable extravagance. " The General service

is costly, because the signaller therein is liable to transfer to any place in India or Burma ; while the Station service is comparatively cheaper because the signaller can enjoy a life-long residence at home and complete immunity from transfer. But the working capacity and knowledge of men of both the services are virtually identical. The present ratio of the General service to the Station service is 80 to 20. But the Committee are of opinion that the frequent transfers of Telegraphists can be safely minimised to such an extent that the two services may have 50% each as the ultimate ratio. The final attainment of this proportion will yield an annual saving of Rs. 7 lakhs in pay and 43 lakhs in house rent allowance. And this saving is so considerable that no pains should be spared for the ultimate realisation of the proportion of half and half of the two services in the near future.

TAX-PAYER'S INTERESTS.

The public has a very definite interest in this controversy, for they will gain immensely if the Committee's schemes for re-organisation in the Telegraph Department are accepted. At page 67 of the Report, the Committee observe that by revising the ratio of General to Station service Telegraphists and by substituting clerical for Telegraphist staff for execution of certain duties, Rs. 12,70,000 would be saved per year, and by the conversion of Departmental into Combined offices there would be a further saving of 8 lakhs of rupees. We have pointed out that the efficiency and reliability of the service will not in any way be endangered. The pay and prospects of the existing staff will not be jeopardized. The services of the extra telegraphists will not be dispensed with and yet there will be a very considerable saving. Under these circumstances there is no reason why an Association should resist innocent changes in the administration of a department recommended by a Committee of experts. We are glad that the Telegraphists have withdrawn their thinly veiled threat of a strike and hope that they will not press for the appointment of a fresh Committee to reconsider proposals which have been the result of mature deliberation.

N. V. BHONDE.

PUT HIM ON HIS TRIAL.

WHILE whole-heartedly agreeing with the leader in the SERVANT OF INDIA of 26th November on *What Justice Demands*, there are some further points which I think arise out of the journal's demand for an enquiry. One of course quite agrees that in the interests of justice, with a view to safeguard the liberty and safety of British Indian subjects, and in order to vindicate the good name of the Maharaja of Indore, the matter must be probed to its utmost depth, a thorough investigation must be conducted, and the real offender must be brought to book. But as the person or persons behind the curtain is or are in the Indian State of Indore, it is imperative that the Political Department must take the initiative boldly in this matter and try to main-

cion of the papal government of the Church and of its influence on the world persists. Why? The reason seems to me patent: the hostility which the Papacy at all times and in all places meets with, is in the last instance due to the fact that Catholicism is a force deliberately wielded to counteract the baneful effects of Nationalism.

According to Catholic doctrine, "God does not give all His authority to the civil power." For man is meant for eternity: hence "under no circumstances can a being of such vast and lasting interest be wholly subordinated to an institution which is but temporary." (II, 29.) But the fact that man precedes and survives the State, and that even, when a citizen, he retains rights and duties which the State cannot interfere with (e. g. those of the family,) shows that "devotion to the State can never rightly be unlimited or unqualified." (II, 35.) "Patriotism is family affection extended to the tribe and nation" and therefore quite right; but emancipated from reference to our higher citizenship, it tends to be sadly perverted." Hence the Catholic believes that it is "God's plan for controlling the national spirit to band all nations together in a universal Church, reminding their rulers and citizens of bonds which transcend national differences." (II 36/7.) It is for this reason that the appointment of bishops has ever been an occasion of strife between Prince and Pope: the national government naturally always striving to make sure the national dependability of the bishops by arrogating to itself the sole privilege of their choice, whilst the Pope, for that very reason, must ever more see to it that the bishops appointed will be endued with the necessary supra-national spirit, which will not make them hesitate in divided loyalty, if occasion arises. Nationalism of course brands this as treason and has invented the opprobrious term *Ultramontanism* to stigmatize the wickedness of those who dare to put the claims of Catholicism first and those of Nationalism second. Out of the same mentality are born the so-called "National Churches," which either identify the Church with the State, as was the case in Russia under the Tsars and in England under Henry VIII, or else which admit of only so shadowy and indefinite a universal Church, transcending their own in theory, as in practice to leave each country free to pursue its nationalistic policies.

It is only when one bears these main facts in mind, that one can understand the political role played by the Holy See in various countries. This role differs according to the national characteristics. In Italy the papacy, to exist, must ensure the benevolent neutrality of the State, in which it now finds itself: yet on the other hand, it cannot become Italian, without committing suicide, and therefore the hostility of the Italian State is a real asset to it. Between these two apparent contradictions the Holy See skilfully navigates the papal barque and nobody can gainsay that it has so far been highly successful. The charge, so frequently heard, that Italians monopolize positions at Rome is ill-founded really; for the men thus chosen, though Italians by race and language, are in fact those who pre-eminently are imbued with what has been called the Roman spirit as contrasted with the Italian spirit of the Italian patriots, from d'Annunzio and Mussolini upwards—the "Roman spirit", being fostered just in Italians, by nothing so much as by a sense of the injury inflicted upon the Church by the newly constituted Kingdom of Italy. In France the Papacy is confronted by a violent spirit of nationalism, i. e. the spirit of Gallicanism, which it has ever to curb: and the persecution of the Church at the hands of succes-

sive atheistic governments has for the last quarter of a century been a good opportunity for purging the French episcopate of its nationalistic elements. Paradoxically enough, the "radical" character of the French government has thrown together into one apparent opposition both the Nationalists and Catholics. In Germany the Catholics have formed themselves into a party, the *Centre*, which however to-day is open to non-Catholics also and professes to be both Christian and National, its main plank being opposition to all subversive and materialistic tendencies. As a consequence the Papal policy in Germany is directed towards a Christian democracy and bases itself frankly on all modern learning against the reaction of Prussian militarism and the gross materialism of Big Business. In Czechoslovakia on the other hand learning means "enlightenment" in the sense in which the 18th century used it, and the national spirit is anti-clerical, because the clergy are suspected of Austrian proclivities. Hence the admiration for the Hussite heresy and the attempt of forming a "National Church." Again in the U. S. A. the Catholic Church is actually promoting Americanization—and why? Because otherwise the immigrants would form nationally divided churches and the Catholic Church would be promoting, instead of counteracting, nationalism. Poland is interesting for another reason: since there Roman Catholicism has always been the badge of hostility to Russian oppression, but since there are also Uniat, i. e. Papal, Slavic Churches, Polish Nationalism indulges, not in a violent devotion to Roman Catholicism, but in one to *Latinism*, the Latin rite of that Church! As for Russia the policy must naturally be to bring about a reunion of that, as of all Oriental Churches, with the Papacy, for so only can the unbalanced emphasis on nationalism, which expresses itself in these "National Churches," be counteracted. It is for this reason also, that England stands in the forefront of Papal policy just now—not only because the Anglican is a National Church, but because its alliance with the Eastern Churches helps to bolster up their otherwise tottering fortunes and influence.

What for us in Asia however is of supreme interest, is to know what attitude the Papal Government takes towards the Colonial imperialisms of Western powers. Now in this respect, says Mr. Pernot, "the political views of the Holy See are considerably in advance of the principal European countries. The latter still talk of trusteeship: it is a long time since Rome has foreseen the end of the colonial empires, both great and small." (I, 53.) This, of course, is not surprising: for the Church has ever proclaimed, without evasion and prevarication of any kind, that all men are of one blood and that existing differences are due, not to difference in nature, but in nurture. (II, 39) Hence "all people in the Catholic view possess equal rights to independence and self-government" (I, 199): and we in India particularly have an ocular demonstration of the far-sightedness of the Holy See, which far from looking upon this country as a British close preserve, has insisted on interesting in its missionary efforts here all the Nations of the West. The recent consecration of an Indian bishop (of Tuticorin) is a further indication of the same tendency, as is the creation of a Romo-Syrian hierarchy directly under Rome independent of all other ecclesiastical authority in India. A recent Council of all the bishops of China (of whom two are Chinese) similarly was intended to prepare the way for a union of all Catholic Missions in China in a Church of China. Again, as Madagascar is becoming a Christian country, the Holy See is introducing Dutch and German missions with the obvious inten-

tion of breaking what hitherto has been a French monopoly and of emphasizing that the Church is a world-affair and not that of this or that one nation.

Such in brief outlines is the political aspect of the Roman Catholic Church. As will be seen, it is definitely opposed to all one-sided Nationalism: but it likewise condemns the modern idea of Internationalism, which on the one hand "affects to ignore country altogether and, in a denial of charity, would rank strangers as on equal terms with one's family" (II, 83), and on the other hand is really only the fallacy of the *contract social* theory applied to nations instead of to individuals. Internationalism thinks that it can by convention create a world-wide human citizenship: Catholicism maintains that the unity of humanity is God-given and therefore subject to God-made laws of morality, whatever human groups may agree to do or not to do. Obviously the Catholic Church, "under its unique sovereign, its hierarchy, its discipline, its canon law, its tribunals, its schools, is marvellously well organized to extend its world-wide, powerful and uniform sway, without distinction of nations or States." (I, 191). That sway, exercised for nearly two millenia, must constitute a leaven which, as nothing else could, is changing and correcting the particularistic mentality which would divide humanity into watertight national and racial compartments. "It is currently held that nationalism will be the next heresy condemned by the Church" (II, 36), and, if few thoughtful people to-day would deny that Nationalism has proved itself to be a most poisonous and destructive growth, in all fairness one ought to admit that the one great power that has consciously waged an age-long war against it, is that "Roman" and "Ultramontane" policy of supra-nationalism, which, through good report and bad, has ever inspired the politics of the Holy See.

H. C. E. ZACHARIAS.

INTERNATIONAL LAW.

INTERNATIONAL LAW IN ANCIENT INDIA.

By S. V. VISWANATHA. (Longmans, Green & Co., Madras). 1925. 7½ × 5. pp. x, 214.

MANY modern writers on international law have expressed the opinion that international law is a product of modern civilisation and that the ancient peoples had no clear conception of a law of nations. But modern researches have brought to light facts which conclusively prove that the ancient civilised peoples of Asia, Africa or Europe, e. g. the Egyptians, the Chinese, the Hindus, the Babylonians, the Greeks, the Romans, knew very well the meaning of international relations and made use of an elaborate system of institutions, well developed and firmly established. True it is that there are important differences between the ancient and modern systems of international law. For example, while modern international law is based upon the tacit or express consent of states, ancient law drew its sanction from religion. Such differences, however, in no way impair the value of international institutions of early civilisations, they being due to "differences in the character of times, in the general outlook on life, in the ideals entertained, in the notions of the relationship between the individual and the state."

The volume under review offers to the students of international law a systematic account of the principles of international law prevailing in ancient India from the Vedic period up to A. D. 500. The first two chapters are introductory. The first chapter is concerned with a discussion of the general feature and sources of Hindu international law. The au-

thor points out that, as in all early civilisations, international law in ancient India was based upon and found its sanction in religion. Rules of international conduct are to be found in the religious books—the Vedas and the Smritis—in the Epics and the Puranas, in the writings of secular writers like Kautilya, Sukra and Kamandaka, and in the inscriptions and foreign travellers' accounts. The second chapter is given over to a description of the various classes of states which were the subjects of international law in ancient India and to a consideration of the question whether the accepted divisions of international law, viz. war, peace and neutrality, hold good in India also. The author quotes Kautilya who in his Arthashastra mentions three divisions of international relations: (1) Vighraha (war), (2) Sandhi (peace), (3) Asana (neutrality). It must, however, be noted that Asana in Kautilya implies a policy of non-intervention which is to be pursued by one state towards another, either in peace or in war, while in modern international law neutrality means "the condition of those states which in time of war take no part in the contest, but continue pacific intercourse with the belligerents".

The fourth chapter deals with espionage, the history of diplomacy in ancient India, functions, grades, qualifications, immunities and privileges of diplomatic ministers, beginning and termination of diplomatic mission, and foreign embassies in India. "Diplomacy," the author says, "appears as a distinct and indispensable feature of international conduct from the historic period". "In Kautilya's time diplomacy had made enough advance to be recognized as a subject of international conduct worthy of detailed consideration." The inviolability of envoys was recognised in ancient India. "To put to death an envoy was opposed to the general conduct of kings and condemnable by the whole world". The treatment of diplomacy and espionage is well done and leaves nothing more to be desired. In the fifth chapter the author has traced the history of alliances and considered "the various causes, characteristics and kinds of alliances and treaties." Particularly interesting is the section on the political significance of matrimonial alliances in which the author has given instances of political marriages in ancient India.

The sixth chapter treats of the nature and ideal of Indian warfare. Fighting spirit was idealised in the epics. "A warrior was never to desist from battle and his death in bed was a sin." But war was not to be declared "unless all other means of maintaining peace had proved of no avail." There was recognition of chivalrous usage and there was a code of warfare which imposed restrictions upon the use of barbarous methods. According to the methods of fighting, warfare was classified "into *prakasa* (open), *Kuta* (treacherous) and *Tushni* (silent warfare i. e. winning over of the army and officers of the enemy by diplomatic means). The last two methods were not, however, recognised as right and honourable. Chapter VII discusses the causes of wars, declaration of war, and enemy character of persons and property. There were four classes of warriors: "the *Chaturanga*—the infantry, the cavalry, the chariots and the elephants." Humane methods of warfare were recommended, and there were humane regulations regarding the sick and the wounded. Chapter IX deals with the termination of war, and duration and kinds of treaties. Chapter X is devoted to neutrality. Neutrality, says the author, "was not a common attitude, and hence the regulations about neutrality are rare." The section on contraband is particularly interesting in this chapter.

There are certain generalisations of the author:

as to the accuracy of which there may be differences of opinion. For example, the reviewer cannot follow him in his contention that "unnecessary and aggressive wars were rare in ancient India" (p. 119). This statement cannot, moreover, be reconciled with his statement on page 127 that "many of the wars appear to have been caused by lust of territory". Likewise the reviewer is unable to accept his generalisation that "there were assemblies of kings who met to decide questions of common policy in war and peace." The statement is not well substantiated, the author giving only one instance of such assembly.

The book contains a list of references and two indices, one of names and the other of references. In his preface, the author has announced his intention of publishing a history of Mediaeval Indian Diplomacy "which will be a companion volume to this book". Let us hope that the author will ere long present us with that book.

S. C. CHAKRABARTI.

THE GOVERNMENT OF FRANCE. By M. JOSEPH BARTHELEMY. Translated into English by J. B. MORRIS. (George Allen & Unwin, London.) 1924. 6 x 5. pp. 222. 6s.

THIS is a very readable account, by a well-known French publicist, of the political institutions of his country, central and local. The author does not enter into much discussion: and indeed, he seems very well-satisfied with French political institutions as they are. English and American writers, from Bodley to Bryce, have considered the instability of French ministries as an evil; our author thinks that "these criticisms are for the most part greatly exaggerated," and that "a certain instability of ministers is more advantageous than not." He joins with these writers, however, in deploring another evil in the French administrative system—an evil which is summed up in the phrase "His Majesty the Deputy". In France the minister personifies all real power, but the deputy controls the very existence of the ministry. Hence the mutual barter, *do ut des*: "I will see to it that you keep your portfolio; make me certain of my seat; reserve administrative offices and favours for those who vote or promise to vote for me". And it is the prefect (corresponding, we may say, to our Collector) who disposes of petty bribes in this matter, for in every department (corresponding to our 'district') the prefect appoints hundreds of inferior officials. What is the remedy? Our author's proposal is that "the Government should be strengthened in order to support prefects against the claims of members of Parliament." He does not tell us how this is to be done, and it is strange that he does not see that the instability of French governments and the undue predominance of the deputy have their roots in a common source—the absence of great organised parties.

The original French work was published in 1919, and this accounts for the fact that bare mention is made of the introduction of Proportional Representation in France. In a second edition we hope to see a more detailed account of the working of the new system. One may suggest, too, that in a second edition care should be taken to avoid the few orthographical errors which we notice in this.

R. P. P.

SHORT NOTICES.

THE SOCIALIST ANNUAL, 1925 (I. L. P. INFORMATION COMMITTEE, LONDON). 7½ x 5. pp. 287. 2s. 6d.

To all interested in the British Socialist Movement,

this publication is indispensable. The present issue contains an interesting account of the Socialist party in office. An ideal party Annual.

THE INTERNATIONAL YEAR BOOK OF CHILD CARE AND PROTECTION, 1925. (Longmans, London.) 8 x 5. pp. 565 7s. 6d.

THIS Year Book comprises the life of a child from its ante-natal stage to adolescence. It contains information on everything that affects child life all over the world. A comprehensive and very valuable book of reference for all social workers and legislators.

THE JAPAN YEAR BOOK, 1924-25. Earthquake Edition. 8 x 6. pp. 718 + 270. (Agents in Bombay: Messrs. TARAPORWALLA & Son.)

WITH this number this useful publication enters on its eighteenth year. It contains full information on social, political and economic life in Japan. A very handy reference book.

THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN YEAR BOOK, 1924-25. (Manchester Guardian Office, Manchester) 7½ x 5. pp. 320. 1s.

THIS year book, though it contains much that is of immediate interest only to the citizens of Manchester, will be of use and interest to all engaged in textile trade and manufacture.

THE AMERICAN LABOUR YEAR BOOK, 1925. (Rand School of Social Science, New York.) 8 x 6. pp. 488. 3s.

ALTHOUGH America refuses admission to Saklatwala and prohibits Henderson from speaking in a public meeting, it will be wrong to conclude that there is no Labour activity in America. If some State declares Minimum Wage law, Weekly Rest Day law or Old Age Pension law unconstitutional and occasionally a Socialist meeting is disrupted, still the Socialist Party of America continues to function. This Year Book contains an account of American Labour activities and also of the international labour movement. A useful publication.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

RUSSIA. By NICHOLAS MAKEEV & VALENTINE O'HARA. (Ernest Benn, Ltd., London.) 1925. 8½ x 5½. pp. 345. 15s.

INDO-ARYAN POLITY. 2nd Edition. By PRAPHULLACHANDRA BASU. (P. S. King & Son, Ltd. London.) 1925. 8½ x 5½. pp. 146. 7s. 6d.

THE INDIAN PROBLEM IN SOUTH AFRICA. By P. SUBRAMANIA AIYAR. (The African Chronicle Printing Works, Natal, S. A.) 1925. 8½ x 5½. pp. 143.

JAHANGIR'S INDIA. By PELSERT FRANCOISCO. Translated from the Dutch by W. H. MORELAND and P. GEYL. (Heffer & Sons, Cambridge.) 1925. 8½ x 5½. pp. 88. 8s. 6d.

THE RUPEE AND THE GOLD STANDARD. By P. B. JUNNARKAR. (P. B. Junnarkar, Dacca.) 1925. 9½ x 6½. pp. 108. Rs. 3.

STUDIES IN EUROPEAN CO-OPERATION, Vol. II. By C. F. TRICKLAND. (Government Printing, Punjab, Lahore.) 1925. 10 x 6½. pp. 482. Rs. 2-14.

WOMEN OF BENGAL. By MARGARET M. URQUHART. (Association Press, Calcutta.) 1925. 8 x 5½. pp. 158. Re. 1. 18 as.

LES ORIGINES ET L'ŒUVRE DE LA SOCIÉTÉ DES NATIONS, TOME II. By P. MUNCH. (Rask Orsted-fonden, Copenhagen.) 1924. 7½ x 10. pp. 500.

THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE: ITS CONSTITUTION, PROCEDURE AND WORK. By P. ALEXANDER FAHRIE. (Oxford University Press) 1925. 8½ x 5½. pp. 342. 15s.

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