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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

The only Chance. THAT the All-India Congress Committee had to break up after an unusually protracted sitting without coming to any conclusion on the most important question which it was called upon to decide will occasion no surprise. The result has justified the contention of the "no charge" party that it was no use submitting this question to a Committee whose term will expire in a month's time and which will be superseded by the newly-elected body, which will come into office in time to prepare the agenda for the Gaya Congress. It was no doubt a valid contention, but it was pressed by the party only because they felt that the outgoing Committee would be less favourable to their policy of maintaining the Congress programme intact than the incoming one and still less than the Congress at large. They had therefore asked that the Civil Disobedience Committee's report should be taken in hand by the Congress itself, and that if it was necessary for the All-India Committee to consider it, the newly-elected Committee should do so in the place of the old one. This means that the pro-Council party has less chance in the new Committee and much less in the Congress than it had at Calcutta. This is not a very bright prospect for the party with which the Congress President has identified himself. If there is anything that can save them now, it is a clear and frank enunciation of the manner in which they wish to utilise the Councils after they get there. If they continue their present tactics of trying to please all parties who call for a change by expressing the change in a formula covering

widely different and indeed self-contradictory policies, they will only end by pleasing no party and thus strengthening the "no change" party.

* * *

Capital Levy. IF the Election programme of the Conservatives was to have no programme, the Labour Party on the contrary was all programme. Of all its items none of course was so much scrutinized, as the proposal of a Capital Levy, and none lent itself so much to wild talk about "confiscation", "Bolshevik Danger," &c. What, by the way, English people really think of the latter comes out unmistakably in the loud laughter with which the new House greeted the frothy exuberance of one of its Communist members. All that sort of high-falutin', doctrinaire sentiment meets simply with ridicule at the hands of English commonsense, and to confound this Communism with the extremely steady, not to say ponderous, i. e. typically English, Labour Party, may be electioneering, but is certainly not truthful. The Capital Levy, however, lent itself to "stunts" in the capitalist press and was exploited to the full accordingly. The echo has now reached India and we regret to see the *Times of India* perpetuating the "object lesson of Switzerland", where the mere submission of a capital levy proposal to a referendum of the people is said to have resulted in "panic and loss" and in a "chaos of the exchanges". One regrets our contemporary's reference all the more, as it quotes from two weighty articles on the subject in the last *Nation* and *New Statesman* (of November 4th). If only it had gone on quoting (from Mr. Emil Davies' "City Letter" in the *New Statesman*), it could have informed its readers, that so far from there having been a "chaos" in the exchange, the Swiss franc (nominally 25'25 to the £) actually improved from 24'70 to 24'43! It could also have placed its readers in possession of the fact that the capital which was so frightened at the prospect of a Swiss levy on capital was not Swiss, but foreign capital (including English), which had fled to Switzerland, in order to escape income tax—patriots that they all are, these great financiers. Finally, its readers might have learnt, that Czecho-Slovakia actually has saved its currency and financial stability by a capital levy which has been "completely successful" in the words of Dr. Rasin the Finance Minister in charge. Why all this *suppressio veri*?

Vested Interests. THE tenderness of our Bombay contemporary for all vested interests comes to further prominence in its comments on Mr. C. F. Andrews' presidential address at the Second All-India Railwaymen's Conference. Mr. Andrews, *inter alia*, advocated "The entire abolition of all vested interests." The *Times of India* makes fun of "the abolition of capital, the millions sterling of capital that English investors have subscribed for the construction"—as if abolition of vested interests was synonymous with abolition of capital. "Vested" however in law means "subject to no contingency;" vested interests therefore are interests which are an end in themselves. This claim of property rights—as if they were something sacrosanct, absolute—is however a misconception of the Victorian era, which nowadays neither in theory nor in practice can be upheld. During the war for instance it came home to everybody that there were no property rights which were "subject to no contingency" and that all were subject to the common weal and only respected, as long as they did not militate against the winning of the war. Again, there is universal agreement—at least by way of lip service—that the proper maintenance of the labourer should be the *first* charge upon all industry; though the rub comes in, when the logical conclusion is drawn that interest and profits can only claim consideration, after wages ensuring the proper maintenance of the labourer have been met in full. The abolition of vested interests therefore means the denial that the holders of Indian Railway Stock have any rights which are not subject to contingency. It means therefore that these rights must be made subject, and therefore second, to the proper maintenance of all railway employees and to the interests of all railway users; that Indian Railways must not be run for the prime benefit of stockholders, but for the prime benefit of India. Abolition of vested interests means further that the appointment to posts, hitherto the preserve of Europeans and Anglo-Indians, must not be made any longer a birth-right, but must be "subject to contingency"—in this case subject to the efficiency of the Indian railway service: "equal pay for equal work", as one of the railwaymen's resolutions had it. Does the *Times of India* really stand for maintaining vested interests?

The Economics of Tranquillity. THE Unemployment question which is so unpleasantly staring Mr. Bonar Law and his friends in the face, goes to the very core of the present situation in post-war Europe and, frankly, it is insoluble on capitalistic lines. That is why the only nostrum to which non-Labour is reduced, is Emigration. But emigration whereto? Australia and Canada have got their own unemployment problem already and where else should the at-home-no-longer-wanted "heroes" of England go? Are there really too many inhabitants in England? It is true that the land cannot support them all: but under war stress agriculture was more productive and could again be made more productive in Britain than it has been. And for the balance—are there no manufactures which English operatives produce and could exchange for the food which foreign farmers produce and want to exchange? Of course there are, but that exchange does not "pay" at present. And so one is back at the capitalistic stone-wall, that things are not produced for consumption, but for profit. And as long as profits, not production, are the basis of the English economic structure, unemployment will

remain insoluble. The only thing to do with "hands" no longer wanted, is to sack them, ship them off somewhere, anyhow get rid of them. That way lies "tranquillity." But does it?

Broken Idols. A VERY interesting sidelight on the desertion of the Liberal Party by Liberals is furnished by a letter of Lord Loreburn to *Foreign Affairs* of this month. Lord Loreburn was Lord Chancellor in the Liberal Government of 1906 and even now, in the letter mentioned, he admits that he does "not agree with some of the Labour Party's opinions, notably their views about nationalisation": yet in this letter he asks all voters to vote "Labour" for "the resolute attitude [on foreign affairs] taken up by its spokesmen", rather than for "the gentlemen who still call themselves Liberal leaders", who "began the system of secrecy, without which the war of 1914 would never have come." Lord Loreburn truly says that the greatest danger to-day is our foreign policy: for until the nationalist madness is internationally curbed, all nations will go on wasting their resources until there will be nothing left to waste. Clear-sighted Liberals therefore, though perhaps lukewarm on Socialist policies, will rather support Labour which can be trusted not to tolerate any more militarist adventures and commitments, than their own party whose leaders have proved themselves as utterly untrustworthy, as have Mr. Asquith, Sir Edward Grey, *et hoc genus omne*. As the election returns of the votes polled show, not a few voters must have heeded Lord Loreburn's appeal; and one certainly can heave a sigh of relief that with the Election the last of the three leading figures thrown up by the war psychosis have disappeared from English life: Horatio Bottomley in jail, Lord Northcliffe dead, Lloyd George in Coventry.

Mr. Chintamani's Record. IN the matter of taking practical measures to promote temperance, the United Provinces Government has displayed the greatest energy of all provincial Governments. During last year the consumption of country spirit decreased 49.3 per cent., and though the general economic depression and the picketing movement contributed to this fall, there is no doubt that the unprecedented increase of duty on country spirits—which was as great as 44 per cent. in most districts—was the most important factor in reduced consumption. Most of the far-reaching reforms recommended by the Pim Committee of last year have been carried into practice since April of this year. Licensing Boards with large powers to restrict consumption have been constituted in sixteen cities, and though this year's settlement took place before these Boards came into being, it was arranged to give the Boards the opportunity of considering this settlement made by the district officers, and "effect was given, in practically every case, to the advice tendered." The Boards will exercise their full powers over next settlement. Since April 972 country spirit shops, 506 drug shops, and 50 opium shops have been closed. The auction system has been replaced by the Bengal system under which the surcharge is graduated according to actual monthly sales of each shop. Many other reforms, like the limitation of the sale of excisable commodities to the hours between noon and 7 p. m., which were recommended by Pim Committee, are now in full operation in the United Provinces. It is certainly a record which other provinces may well envy.

SHIVERING ON THE BRINK.

IN the All-India Committee of the Congress it has no more been possible to reach unanimity than in the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee. After six long days' threshing out of the first principles of co-operation and non-co-operation, it was discovered in the former body at Calcutta that those whose faith in the non-co-operation policy is undimmed and those who are in a hurry to abjure that policy, cannot come to any agreement as to the united policy of both parties in the Congress. Even the internal differences between the various sections of those who are at one in condemning the present Congress policy of abstaining from Council elections were found impossible of adjustment: they could only be concealed behind a vague formula susceptible of various and conflicting interpretations. Pandit Motilal Nehru did not propose to the All-India Committee the course recommended by him in the Civil Disobedience Committee—that non-co-operationists should try to capture the Councils and destroy them from within by exercising obstructionist tactics. He merely proposed that they should contest the elections, without surrounding this proposal with any conditions as to how they should comport themselves in the Councils when elected or whether they should take seats at all. This vital matter was to be left undecided till after the next elections had actually taken place, when the Congress of that year was to settle it. The omission from this proposal of the integral and outstanding part of his recommendation in the C. D. Committee, viz. that if non-co-operators entered the Councils, they should practise there on all occasions the method of indiscriminate opposition, naturally attracted attention. It was criticised as being inspired by "diplomatic honesty," which soon received its intended interpretation of "insincerity" at the hands of Mr. Sen-Gupta.

It was surely a grotesque proposal to have made to any body of people endowed with even a slight political intelligence. Candidates in the Congress interest are to go to the electors, whom only two years ago they tried to dissuade from casting their votes, and now to say to them, "We have changed our mind and expect you to have changed yours. We now hold that you should exercise your franchise. If you vote for us, we shall either leave the seats empty or occupy them for the purpose of following the policy of co-operation or non-co-operation in any of its possible forms. In fact we want you to tell us what we should do if returned. We shall implicitly carry out whatever you prescribe." No sensible elector will think much of a man who has no policy of his own but wishes the man whose suffrages he seeks to give him *some* sort of policy, which he binds himself in advance loyally to pursue. But this is exactly what Pandit Nehru proposed. That from the possible shapes which the final policy may assume even co-operation was not excluded is clear from the following instruction of

Pandit Motilal Nehru as to how a Congressman was to woo his constituency. He was to say, "(when you have elected me) it will then be for you and you alone, having regard to the result of the election, to give me a further mandate as to what you want me to do: whether I should demolish these Councils from outside or from inside or take *some step between these two extremes.*" It would thus be seen that Pandit Nehru had in mind when he made the proposal not only the two classes of non-co-operators consisting of those who would refuse to take the oath of allegiance and those who would try incessantly to bring about deadlocks, but also those "co-operators" who would utilise the constitutional machinery for the *bona fide* purpose of forwarding any useful measure of Government. In the report of this Civil Disobedience Committee even those members who favour entry into the Councils insist that it would be contrary to the principle of non-co-operation if any Congressman followed in the Councils any but an obstructionist policy, and yet Pandit Nehru spoke in the All-India Committee as if it was open to Congressmen to pursue a constructive, as opposed to a destructive, policy. This was done presumably because he has now come to realise that among those who seek to modify the present policy, a substantial, if not a preponderating, proportion wishes the bar on elections removed only if it affords them a scope for constructive work. It is all to the good that Pandit Nehru should have been obliged to abandon the rigorous conditions laid down by him in the C. D. Committee's report and to adopt a formula elastic enough to admit of even "co-operation"; but what is really required is not a formula which covers policies mutually exclusive, but the enunciation of one clear policy and that the right policy. Although the differences among themselves were thus covered up by those who are for contesting the elections, their united strength did not seem sufficient to defeat the other party which is for maintaining the boycott. When differences are so serious and fundamental, it is useless to expect anything like unanimity, and one can only hope that instead of stifling a divergence of view or forcing a uniformity of conduct, the Gaya Congress will give perfect freedom, in name and in fact, to all Congressmen to follow the policy that recommends itself to their judgment.

To the resolution moved by Pandit Motilal Nehru a long preamble is attached giving the reasons which call for a change in the Congress policy. The change is represented as being required by the misery which "co-operation" has brought in its wake. Exception was taken to the preamble by Messrs. Stokes, Jayakar and Malaviya. Mr. Stokes said that the condemnation implied in it was based on "highly controversial assumptions." Similar aspersions have been made in the C. D. Committee's report itself. We never took notice of them as, in view of the constant distortion of facts that one meets with in the newspaper press

of the non-co-operators, one takes it as a matter of course that such imputations should be made against the opponents of non-co-operation. Indeed, "co-operators" will not mind this vilification and more if it should enable those who have wearied of non-co-operation to give up that policy and revert to constitutional methods. The trouble is that this abuse and misrepresentation do not help Pandit Nehru and others who advocate a change in the policy of the Congress. Pandit Nehru rested this advocacy on the fact, which seemed to give him a shock of surprise, that non-operators wanted to boycott the Councils, but only succeeded in boycotting themselves. Is there anything surprising in this? Was any other result possible? Do the other two boycotts have any other result? If you boycott a school, you shut yourself out from the instruction imparted in Government schools. If you ban law-courts, you deny yourself the remedy which these courts supply. Of set purpose to abstain from contesting the elections and then to complain that the Councils are filled by people other than themselves or that a policy is in force different from that which they would approve is sheer childishness. The very success which Mr. Gandhi promised for the Council boycott item of non-co-operation was that the Councils, being filled by the dregs of society, would bring themselves into utter disrepute. The worse the Councils are manned and the greater the misery they produce, the more successful is the boycott. Those who ask for permission to go into the Councils on the ground that the present incumbents are unpatriotic and have done harm to the country show thereby either that they are ignorant of the elementary fact that renunciation and infliction of suffering upon oneself is the basic principle of the non-co-operation movement or that they lack in their composition the stern stuff required for conducting the movement. If the very result that was looked for has come about, why is Mr. Nehru so painfully surprised, and why does he plead for a change? The fact is, that the actual result is the reverse of what was looked for. The Councils have suffered little moral damage and are doing solid work, which will surely redound to a substantial advancement of the country. In fact, as Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal says, a modification of the Congress programme cannot be justified except by an unreserved confession of the failure of non-co-operation. It is just because they lack the candour—in this complaint Mr. Pal agrees with us—to acknowledge failure they are compelled to assign a wrong reason for a change in the Congress policy, and we regret the line taken by Pandit Motilal Nehru either in the C. D. Committee or in the All-India Committee not so much because "co-operators" are made the butt of undeserved attack, as because the misery said to be wrought by the co-operators, instead of weakening, really strengthens the case of the "no change" section of non-co-operationists. It is not of much use, as things stand at present, for us to plead even

with so conspicuous a figure in the Congress as Pandit Nehru for the common decencies of public life.

AMELIORATION OF THE MINERS' CONDITION.

IT seems to me that for the amelioration of conditions in the Jharia Coalfield, a well thought-out and comprehensive scheme is desirable, and once that has been agreed upon, to urge it with steady insistence until each item in the scheme becomes an accomplished fact. It is almost inevitable that when an industry is in its infancy, the first struggle should be a struggle for existence. The business has first of all to be got to pay; otherwise it cannot be continued, and in this pioneer stage the more spiritual side of labour conditions is apt to be obscured. That crucial pioneer stage is passing, and in the evolving of a better state of affairs, I am sure that the majority of the colliery managers will be only too glad to co-operate. Many of them have started on the bottom rung of the ladder themselves, and know all there is to be known about the difficulties and hardships of a miner's life. Further with the definite establishment of the mining industry, it is in the coal-owner's interest to encourage the growth of a hereditary class of miner. The present system by which the great human flotsam and jetsam finds its way in and out of the mines is a benefit to nobody but the devil. Creatures of the nearest need, they easily give way to temptations that in the present condition of the coalfields are never far to seek. Were they able to articulate themselves spiritually, it is to be feared that they would re-echo the ancient, bitter cry, "No man cared for my soul."

Whatever scheme of amelioration is suggested should include four cardinal points, *viz.* Housing, the Elimination of Women and Children from the Mines, Temperance and Education. Let me touch on each in turn.

1. *Housing.*—Largely through the energy and foresight of Dr. G. W. Thompson, Medical Officer of Health to the Jharia Mines Board of Health, a comprehensive scheme of housing is in process of fulfilment. So much is expected of the companies year by year in the way of building and repairing and at the end of five years a certain cubic capacity per room is demanded as the minimum. A reasonable time is thus given to effect the necessary improvements. Having seen miners' houses in Scotland and India, and remembering the scale of living in either country, I should say that when this new scheme is complete, *mutatis mutandis*, the housing conditions in India will be better in many cases than they are at home. As for the sanitary conditions so closely attached to the housing question, these may be safely left to the Jharia Mines Board of Health, which has already "cleaned up" Jharia in a way that even the most lukewarm must commend.

2. *Elimination of Women and Children from the Mines.*—I think a gradual process as in the Housing proposals is desirable here. If there is opposition on the part of the mineowners at present, I do not think in most cases it is due to opposition to the principle, but to the immediate practical difficulty which it involves. The present bill to prevent children of a certain age from going down the mine is a small thing, but we have to be thankful for small mercies. But it is not much use keeping children from going down unless we keep the mothers from going down too, and towards their complete elimination from the actual work underground, every effort of reason and persuasion must be directed. It is objected that if the women are forbidden to work underground, the men will refuse to work too. There is an element of truth in this. A man who sits lightly to one place and is accustomed to take his wife with him wherever he goes will not want to work alone underground without knowing where his wife may have gone off to, but once the new Housing Scheme is completed and the miners know that they have a home at the pithead, their prejudices will gradually be overcome. It is not the complete truth to say that a man will not work below without his wife, as very many of them do so at present, leaving their wives to look after their interests in the villages to which they belong. Further the present scale of pay being above the scale of the miner's present scale of living, it will take a good deal to keep the miner from going down the mine. To eliminate women from the mines a gradual change in the present methods in mining is necessary. It means the introduction of coal-cutting machines, the laying of rails and the providing of trucks on a much bigger scale than at present and that means money. If a colliery manager is thinking only of his immediate raisings and of his own immediate responsibility for them he may object, but if he takes a long view, remembering that a comprehensive if expensive scheme just now will result in increased output, increased efficiency on the part of the miner, increased length of life of each miner as a miner, and above all, in the establishment of a strong, healthy, hereditary class of miners, his co-operation should readily be secured. How the actual elimination is to take place should be a matter of amicable arrangement. The method adopted in the Housing Scheme offers a fair parallel. A stated time limit could be given after which no woman would be allowed into the mines—say a period of five years. New companies starting would know from the beginning to arrange their work so that women need not be employed. The other mineowners, being given a definite limit of reasonable duration and fixed in consultation with them, would be able to dispense with female labour in convenient stages, and the completion of the Housing Scheme in the near future makes the plan of the elimination of female labour easier of fulfilment.

3. *Temperance.*—This question is closely linked up with the elimination of women and children from the mines. The present deplorable system is only too well-known. A man and his wife go down the mine and do a hard day's work. On coming up again the wife has to prepare a meal, so the husband goes off in his tired state to the nearest grog shop. When he comes back, instead of feeling like eating he feels like quarrelling, and that does not help the next day's output. Further the good wage earned is swallowed up in country spirit, and to get more he must perforce go down the mine again. Some may think this a good thing, but surely it is a most short-sighted policy. A man who leads such a life will not maintain his efficiency long and apart altogether from the miner's own spiritual welfare, much good labour is in the long run lost to the company. Country spirit is not the Santals' natural drink. Their natural drink is *pachwai*, which they brew largely themselves in their own villages especially about the marriage season, and is comparatively harmless. But to force country spirit on them because it provides a large revenue seems to me to be indefensible. I think 65 lakhs of rupees are secured in revenue in this way, and Government naturally wants to know how that loss is to be made good should prohibition be enforced. I think the loss must just be faced in the meantime, and gradually the increased standard of life resulting from the whole policy of housing, elimination of female labour and education will more than compensate for the loss of liquor revenue. It is said at present that the miners go where there is a grog shop and that therefore a company that is anxious to keep its labour and increase its raisings need a grog shop to compete with its neighbours. My own opinion is that the country spirit shops should be cleared out altogether, and if drinking is necessary, let these shops be replaced by rice-beer shops. Thus the miner will get his natural beverage, without degrading himself and those who are responsible for selling him the country spirit as at present. It is anything but pleasant in this quiet part of the jungle to see miners come rolling home drunk as they occasionally do. At present in many cases the miner who leaves his village to work in Jharia is no better off than his brother who stays in his village getting only a third or a half of the wage of the miner. His good wages avail him little when the grog shop is only too available to deprive him of the wages that should have gone towards the building of a good home. In his careless happy-go-lucky style, he need not work more than three days in the week in the mine. With no proper outlet for his big wage, many a miner seems to be either working or drinking, so that from the economic point of view alone, the present method is very wasteful, and only decreases his working efficiency and days considerably. If the supply of labour were limitless, it would be bad enough, but in the keen competition for labour, it is in the interests of the

companies to preserve the working efficiency of their men as long as possible.

4. *Education*:—This brings me to what I consider the greatest need of the coalfield, and that is the establishment of a compulsory system of primary education. Supposing the miner has a good house, supposing his wife and children are not allowed down the mines, supposing all grog shops are closed, what is to be the line of the miner's development? With his wage he is in a position to see that his family is provided with good food and good clothing, and his wife can get those little extras that help to turn a house into a home. Something then must be done for the children, for "Satan finds some mischief still for idle hands to do." Here is the opportunity for establishing schools in the colliery. It is not pleasant to think of the present deplorable state of affairs, in which education does not even have a secondary place, and it would be easy to say hard things. But I am sure we are on the eve of a much better day. A large number of the managers in Jharia are Scotch, and they would be the last to despise education, knowing how much they owe to it themselves. Only this week I was asked by one manager how to set about starting a school, as he was prepared to build the school and pay the teacher provided the school were under adequate supervision. Nothing elaborate is needed to begin with. I am convinced that much of the prevailing unrest grows largely by what it feeds on, namely the great ignorance and superstition of the common people. One has only to watch the ordinary labourers on pay day or on rent day to see how great is their need of training in the three Rs. How laboriously they have to count out their money and confer with their neighbours before they can be assured that they have received the right amount. How much does the labourer actually receive after his pay has run the whole gamut from the time it leaves the manager till it reaches the man himself? Again, how carefully he unwraps a receipt and has to have it read and explained to him over and over again before he will go away. How much of one's time is taken up simply reading simple slips of paper which with a little education a man could read himself. Speaking for the Santals among whom I live and of whom so many work partly in the mines, I would say that their greatest enemy is the moneylender, and his greatest enemy would be the education of his victims in the three Rs. I do not think there is much in the argument, which I am sorry to say I have heard advanced, that if you educate the miner, he will cease to be a miner. Such a view does not take account of the great difficulty in giving the people even a *primary* education. It is heartbreaking enough to get the people themselves to see the value of any education, and for every one that passes beyond the primary stage of the three Rs. for long it seems as if there will be ninety-nine who won't. But it is every man's birthright to have given him the means of protecting himself

against petty oppression, and that a system of primary education would seek to ensure. It is simply not the case that to educate miners is to educate them to leave mining. As already indicated, there is no reason why a strong, hereditary class of miner should not grow in this country as in other countries, and the scheme outlined would tend towards that end. The oldest library in Scotland is in a small mining village, where the miners are very intelligent and where until comparatively recently there was no railway. In the neighbouring mining village, before night schools were available, the village lads petitioned the local minister to help them on. For many years he turned his manse into a night school, teaching mathematics in one room, English in another, and Latin in another. A few years ago his health broke down under the strain, but he has his reward in the hearts of those village lads. After a very short time in India among the Santals, I can confidently say that I should not consider my life to be in vain, if I were able to teach all those under my care three things: to read a receipt, to write a letter, and to count up to hundred.

WILLIAM HAMILTON.

INDIA AND WHITEHALL.

THE elections to the Parliament in England are proceeding apace,* and in the next few days the new Government will have been formed and be grappling with the problems of the Empire. The political bigot in India, especially in these days of violent propaganda, might ask, "what is that to us?"; but it will be apparent to the meanest understanding that the elections in England cannot but have their repercussions on the politics and the Government of this country. Though the cynic might be disposed to hold up his hand in protest and say that, Tory or Liberal, India would fare the same under both, yet the student of modern Indian history can safely affirm that it is to the Liberal Government of Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Montagu that we owe the new constitution, just as it was in the days of Mr. Asquith and Lord Morley that India saw the first glimmerings of the light of Western Parliamentary institutions.

However this may be, the fact cannot be gainsaid that this country stands to gain nothing from the Tory Die-hards in England represented by Lord Sydenham and the *Morning Post* school of politicians. There is little doubt of the success of the Conservatives at the polls, and while Mr. Bonar Law's reference to India in the enunciation of the policy of his Government that they stand for orderly development and progress in this country is wholly unobjectionable, yet it is not at all impossible that the Die-hard elements in England will gain the ascendancy and reaction will set in again in Whitehall. Indeed, there are already some Indians like Mr. K. C. Roy of the Associated Press, who profess to see in certain recent actions of the India Office since Mr. Mon-

* This article was written on the 16th November.

Tagu's retirement signs of a decided change for the worse in the British angle of vision towards India.

This may gladden the hearts of the reactionary elements in India; nay, the Die-hards among the non-co-operators may even hail it as a blessing in disguise, as indeed a leading extremist Congress leader confessed to the present writer. The duty however of those who believe in constitutional progress and who rely on the provisions of the Indian constitution itself for the remedying of India's wrongs, is quite clear. Happily, the situation is not so dark as it is painted, and there are elements in it, the due appraisal and conservation of which cannot but result in advantaging India. The greatest of these is the fact that the present Government of India, thanks very largely to His Excellency Lord Reading, has identified itself with the Indian Legislature in most of its vital demands for the Indianisation of the Services (O'Donnell Circular); the abolition of the Press Act; the reduction of military expenditure (Recommendations of the Military Requirements Committee); and many others I could mention.

But the outstanding fact of His Excellency's Government is undoubtedly the tactful and non-violent yet firm way in which they dealt with the forces of disruption and disorder which threatened to overwhelm the country. It would have been very easy to be carried away by panic and to have resorted to force promiscuously, with most disastrous consequences both to India and England. But His Excellency preserved a cool head, and though the law of the land ran its uninterrupted course, yet His Excellency, it must be admitted, tempered justice with mercy. Above all, we owe it to His Excellency's patience and statesmanship, that to-day in India there is an absence of the virulent race hatred that was widely prevalent at the time His Excellency assumed the reins of office. As to the correctness of the policy of His Excellency's Government, the recent report of the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee bears eloquent testimony!

It is thus apparent that if reaction is indeed rampant in Whitehall, the best and wisest move to counter it would be for the Indian leaders, especially members of both the Houses of the Central Legislature, to lose no time in strengthening the hands of the present Government of India. And one of the quickest and easiest ways of doing it is to defeat the intrigues of the Die-hards in England who are plotting a change in the Viceroyalty of India, so as to put in a crusty Tory of their choice in the place. Indeed, Lord Birkenhead's name has been already suggested, and it is bolstered up by such patent falsehoods as the existence of an undertaking by the present incumbent that he would lay down office at the end of two years. It is up to the leading men of India to nip the mischief in the bud, not only by insisting that there should be no change in the Viceroyalty but by calling meetings of protest to

convey to His Majesty's Government that they will not brook meddlesome interference by Whitehall, at all events where the Indian Government and the Indian Legislature are agreed. Especially is it the duty of the Indian Mohammadans to strengthen the hands of the strongest champion of their Khilafat claim.

It is also necessary that a vigorous agitation should be set on foot to secure that an Indian should be appointed to succeed the late Sir William Meyer as High Commissioner for India in London. A sympathetic Indian Government and a capable Indian to represent India in London—this would be a very good combination indeed. As to the justice of our case, let the Editor of *Overseas*, a British journal, speak. Here is what he wrote in a recent issue of his paper:—

"When the time comes for the appointment of a successor to Sir William Meyer, his successor should undoubtedly be an Indian. There must be many Indians of the type of Lord Sinha and Mr. Sastri. If we wish to make easy the task of the Moderates in India, it will only be by making India realise that the position of a self-governing Dominion awaits her as soon as she is ready for it. The Dominions are all represented by their own nationals, as are China, Japan, Siam, Persia, and now even Afghanistan. So why not India?"

Why, indeed?

I need only add that the names of several other Indians will readily occur to any one who knows India, men not less competent than Mr. Sastri or Lord Sinha for the High Commissionership of India, as for example, Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru and Sir M. Visveswarayya. If the principle is conceded, no difficulty need be experienced in the selection of a suitable man.

P. V. IYER.

RAILWAYS AND THE BUDGET.—V.

CATERING EXPERIMENT.

THE B. N. Railway Company is apparently the only railway company which has a Catering Department managed by itself. We take it that this Department is not run for profit since hotel-keeping is not a legitimate business of carriers, but we must at least know how much it spends and how much it earns; we must also know how much of this business is done in the interest of Indian passengers. In fact, until this new institution is established in the public confidence, there must be some place where an account of the working of this department can be found. We believe that the department has now been in existence for some years, and in so far as none of the other Railway companies has adopted this system of catering by itself, the experiment is yet either incomplete or a failure. The public is entitled to full information. But one looks in vain for any really useful information in that railway miscellany called the Administration Report on the Railways in India, which this year has been written up in a manner more in accordance with the traditions of a Publicity Bureau than with a view to setting out the results

both bad and good, and drawing legitimate conclusions therefrom.

STATE ENTERPRISE IN COLLIERY OWNERSHIP AND WORKING.

Page 36 of Appendix B to the Statements of Demands shows the provision of a manager on Rs. 1200 per mensem, or Rs. 14,400 per annum, for the working of the Mohpani Colliery. We notice from Appendix 15 to the Railway Administration Report for 1920-21 that the State has been persistently losing on this enterprise anything from about Rs. 1¾ lakhs to Rs. 4½ lakhs a year during the past 5 years, and possibly ever since its purchase in July 1904. We take it that this recurring loss is exclusive of the loss in interest charges on the capital sunk in the colliery. Out of the 7 collieries acquired by railways no less than 5 appear to be losing concerns, and there is no reason why some steps should not be taken to get rid of the properties which throw a recurring liability on the taxpayer of anything from Rs. 2 lakhs to Rs. 7 lakhs a year exclusive of interest charges. We gather from the preface to the Railway Administration Report for 1920-21 that the report in question has undergone "an important change from the procedure hitherto adopted" with a view to "conveying to the public a true appreciation of the railway position in India and the important significance attaching to the statistical results of working" by including in it "a short explanation or survey of the existing position supplemented by a summary bringing together in a convenient form the main or more important facts to be deduced from the figures" from the volume full of statistics appended to the Report.

In the light of this preface we turned up the pages of the main Report, but all the illuminating information we find is contained in paras. 12 and 13 which merely give the amount of capital outlay on the railway collieries and of their output, but do not say a word about the losses incurred from year to year in the working of these collieries.

SIDE LINES.

A large number of private owned lines is worked by the State Railway Administrations or by companies working State railways. A large number of lines owned by branch line companies, subsidized companies, District Boards, Indian States, Colonial (French) Government, etc. are worked and stocked by the State Railway Administration or by Companies working State railways, (col. 4 of Appendix 2, and col. 10 of Appendix 4 to the Railway Administration Report for 1920-21). There are no less than 1850 miles on the 5'-6" gauge and 620 miles on the 3'-3¾" gauge of such lines which are equipped with engines and rolling stock out of Government funds, the owners of the lines paying a small percentage of their gross earnings for the use of the engines and the rolling stock. We have grave doubts of the adequacy of the percentage realized, but we have graver doubts still of the soundness of the policy under which the State finds rolling stock for these lines out of

its limited supply of funds. The capital cost of equipping lines aggregating 1150 miles on the 5'-6" gauge, and 600 miles on the 3'-3¾" gauge may be taken at Rs. 8 crores. On this interest charges amount to over Rs. 30 lakhs a year, depreciation charges to Rs. 25 lakhs a year, and maintenance and repairs to Rs. 20 lakhs a year—making an aggregate of Rs. 75 lakhs a year, against which only about 16 lakhs per annum is realized on account of the use of the rolling stock supplied by the working agency.

STAFF QUARTERS.

The demand for money required for expenditure chargeable to capital in respect of railways includes a provision of Rs. 1½ crores for staff quarters alone during the current year, the total estimate for these quarters amounting approximately to Rs. 6 crores. It therefore follows that the grant of Rs. 1½ crores commits the Assembly to a certain extent to a further expenditure of Rs. 4½ crores in capital expenditure, and Rs. 40 lakhs in interest charges. We believe quarters for railway servants who have to live on railway premises in the interest of work are provided free of rent, while in the case of others the rent realized does not come up to anything like the interest payable on the capital sunk in these piles and piles of buildings. Money is at present so dear to obtain that it is necessary to exercise on capital expenditure a watchfulness with even greater jealousy than it is necessary in connection with revenue expenditure. We must avoid every avenue of capital expenditure which is not likely to yield a return at least equal to the amount of interest charges. The provision of quarters on this enormous scale appears to be one such avenue. It may pay the railways to grant house rent to those employees who are proposed to be provided with houses on considerations other than that of the necessity of their living on railway premises. We are not aware whether the difference between the rents realized and the amounts of interest and maintenance charges on quarters is charged to the legitimate head of operating expenses, but if this is not done it is eminently desirable in the interest of commercial accounting that this should be done.

UPPER CLASS TRAFFIC.

We notice that it is proposed to place on the lines upper class carriages at an estimated cost of Rs. 60 lakhs, and for this purpose provision to the extent of Rs. 30 lakhs has been made in the Budget for 1922-23.

Considering the 1st and 2nd class traffic offering, or actually carried, the railways are already abnormally oversupplied with 1st and 2nd class carriages: and no more carriages of those classes need be added or even renewed for a long time to come. Taking the Great Indian Peninsula Railway, the surplus of 3rd class carriages over the traffic offering or actually carried is 46%, of the 2nd class carriages 80%, and of the 1st class carriages 87% (page 149 Vol. II of the Railway Administration

Report for 1919-20. This useful information has been omitted from the latest report, i. e., for 1920-21. Until, therefore, the surplus of 1st and 2nd class carriages comes down to normal, it is absolutely unnecessary to add to the existing number at heavy capital cost. The supply of coaching stock is in defect to the extent of no less than 8150 coaches (answer given in the Legislative Assembly on Feb. 27 to question No. 221). The whole burden of this huge deficiency falls entirely on the most paying customer, the third class passenger, and all the money that can be made available for vehicle stock should be used in overtaking these arrears.

Another interesting matter revealed by the statistics published last year with the Railway Administration Report is the comparative smallness of the net earnings obtained from the 2nd class traffic. Taking the Great Indian Peninsula Railway the railway wrings a profit of 83 pies per coaching vehicle per mile from 3rd class; the 2nd class passenger traffic gives a profit of only 20 pies per vehicle per mile; while in the case of the 1st class passengers, we charge them below cost price, that is, actually incur a loss to the extent of no less than 19 pies per vehicle per mile (pages 153 Vol. II of the Railway Administration Report for 1919-20). This useful information also has been omitted from the last report, i. e., for 1920-21.

Commercial working demands that no traffic should be catered for, which does not pay even working costs. These losses are due to more carriages being built and hauled than there is traffic for, more accommodation being provided (such as for sleeping) than is actually paid for, and lower rates being charged than are commercially leviable.

In these circumstances, we not only oppose the addition of any more 1st and 2nd class carriages to the existing available supply, but consider that the fares for 1st and 2nd class passengers should be increased to the full extent necessary to make that traffic pay at least as much as the third class traffic pays.

We are fully aware of the theory of fixing rates and fares on the basis of "what the traffic will bear", but we contend that this theory is being worked to the undue preference or advantage of 1st and 2nd class passengers, and to the disadvantage of the overburdened 3rd class passenger. The theory of "what the traffic will bear" applies to the maximum rate to be fixed; but there must, in commercial working, also be a limit to the minimum below which a rate must not be fixed, and Government's own statistics prove that while perhaps appearing to act up to the first condition, the second has been completely ignored at least in the case of the upper class traffic.

First and second class carriages are fitted with electric lights and fans, and passengers who elect to travel in these classes should pay for this and other conveniences in the shape of higher fares

(answer to question No. 220 put in the Legislative Assembly on February 15, 1921).

ECONOMY.

A LETTER FROM LONDON.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

LONDON, NOVEMBER 7.

MR. SASTRI and Mr. Bajpai left England on Sunday en route for India, which they will reach simultaneously with this letter. Mr. N. M. Joshi arrived here on Saturday night from Geneva, which he visited as Indian Labour delegate at the International Labour Conference. He thinks that these International Conferences are of the utmost value to India from the point of view of international education, and he feels acutely that, though the Assembly made adequate provision for a proper delegation, including technical advisers, the Government of India did not realise its responsibility in helping qualified Indian gentlemen to enlarge their experience by coming into contact with their opposite numbers from the various countries represented at the Conference. Upon one thing the Government of India are, however, to be congratulated, namely, the appointment of Mr. J. W. Bhore as Acting High Commissioner for India in London. Mr. Bhore, who is an Indian Christian and a whole-hearted patriot, has won golden opinions from all who know him for his ability, courtesy, and enterprise. If the Government of India would follow up this temporary appointment by appointing as permanent chief at Grosvenor Gardens an Indian, they would do much to redeem themselves in the eyes of those who accuse them of wanting to reserve the highest posts in the service for non-Indians. It is an open secret that Mr. Montagu had hoped and intended that, when Sir William Meyer's term of office expired, his successor should be an Indian. I am afraid, however, that, under the new dispensation, the new High Commissioner will be a member of the Indian Civil Service and a Britisher. Many names are mentioned in connection with the office, but I shall not be surprised if the appointment should fall to Sir William Vincent, who is due here in December.

CORRESPONDENCE.

LEGISLATION RELATING TO THE SIKH SHRINES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR,—The Sikh Gurdwaras Bill has become law and I take this opportunity to impress on my co-religionists all over India the salient features of the new legislation which undoubtedly confers many benefits on my community.

From the standpoint of the reformers among my co-religionists, the law relating to shrines, as it stood before the Gurdwaras Bill was passed, has three drawbacks:—

1. Delays;
2. Expensiveness;
3. The Courts lacked the special knowledge in matters of Sikh religious belief and ritual which is essential to a sympathetic administration of the law.

The new Gurdwaras Bill establishes a purely Sikh Board which will be able to give special and exclusive attention to the shrines, and deal cheaply and quickly and in an understanding spirit with each disputed matter.

I should like it to be carefully noted that the orders passed by the Board will remain in force until they are set aside by the regular Courts or by the consent of parties. Its effect, therefore, is to shift the onus from the aggrieved congregation of worshippers on to the shoulders of the incumbent of the shrine. If a bad Mahant is ousted by the Sikh Board from a disputed shrine, he will only be able to recover his place after a suit in which it will be for him to make out his case to the satisfaction of the Courts.

The Bill, therefore, greatly facilitates the removal of the bad type of Mahant, and also the insistence upon the application of the property of a shrine to the purposes of religion. The Mahants can thus have nothing to say against the Act on any reasonable ground.

There are men among the non-Sikhs who do not desire the reconciliation of my community with Government, because they desire to use it as a cat's-paw in a political struggle, but I feel sure that reasonable and moderate Sikhs will realise and appreciate these great benefits and see through the game of the wire-pullers referred to above.

GOPAL SINGH.

Anarkali,
Lahore, November 11.

SOARING.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR,—In your issue of the 26th Oct., there is an informing article on the subject of that recent development of aeronautics known as 'gliding'. In it Dr. Zacharias recommends the Poona collegians, especially the Fergussonians, to organise and try to secure the help of some German students who have mastered the art to teach it to them. I don't know how the Poona collegians have received this excellent suggestion or whether they have moved at all in that behalf. But if they care to profit by Dr. Zacharias's advice, I am afraid there is one rock on which their scheme might founder. The rock I mean is: Will the Government allow or consent to the scheme being carried out? One cannot but have misgivings on the point when one reads an editorial paragraph like the following from a responsible and veteran quarter:—

"The west, particularly America, is Radio-mad. Even little boys in American schools are making their own little sets of radio apparatus. In China it is coming greatly into vogue for commercial and administrative purposes, and it is needless to add that Japan has been making continually increasing use of wireless telegraphy and wireless telephony, for that is what radio means. India lags behind, as conscience makes the Government here excessively suspicious and fearful. The Calcutta University Science College wanted to set up a radio apparatus, only for educational purposes, i. e. for teaching and experimentation, but Government refused permission." (*Modern Review*, for Nov., p. 652.)

I remember a similar statement made about a year (or two?) ago in the *Indian Social Reformer* regarding a like prohibition at the Bombay University. I fear all the other Indian Universities are likewise offered a Hobson's choice in this matter; mere bookish, theoretical "cram" about wireless or nothing.

And yet I heard an official Scout propagandist the other day complacently explain to his audience that the arts and crafts in which a Boy Scout could be trained ranged from wireless telegraphy down to gardening and cookery! A boy, forsooth, free to learn wireless telegraphy forbidden to College post-graduates!—Yours etc.

S. D. N.

Karwar, November 24th.

MISCELLANEA.

MR. JOSHI AT GENEVA.

INQUIRY INTO LABOUR CONDITIONS IN ASIATIC COUNTRIES.

ON November 2 Mr. N. M. Joshi, Indian Workers' Delegate, submitted the following proposition to the International Labour Conference:—

"This Conference requests the Governing Body to appoint a special Commission to make a full investigation into the conditions of work and life of the labouring classes in Oriental countries and to present a report to be considered at the 1923 Conference relating to this important question."

This proposition was altered by the Commission of Selection into the following form:—

"The Conference decide to ask the Governing Body to institute a preliminary investigation with the means now at the disposal of the International Labour Office, and, having regard to the decisions to be taken, to submit a report for examination by the 1923 Conference."

In moving this resolution Mr. Joshi spoke as follows:—

"Mr. President, to commence with I should like to thank the Commission of Selection very heartily for placing my resolution before this Conference, although they have altered its original terms. In my original resolution, I wanted to request the Conference to appoint a Commission to investigate personally the conditions of life and work among the working classes in Eastern countries.

This Conference knows very well that we here have very little first-hand information about these conditions. The Director of the International Labour Office, in his Report, has admitted the necessity of making such enquiries, so that progress in the improvement of the lot of the working classes in Eastern countries may become more rapid, and so that they may be brought into line with the Western world in this regard.

During the course of the discussions, the Conference has also seen the difficulty of judging matters concerning these countries. When it was a question of judging whether there were organisations of working classes in Japan we could not do it for want of sufficient information. If this is the case as regards Japan, certainly we are not in a position to judge about conditions in China, Malaya, Java, Ceylon, Persia and other Asiatic States which have joined this Organisation, and whatever information we have at present is obtained generally through Governments. I do not want to suggest that the Governments give wrong information, but it will be admitted that the information given by a Government is after all one-sided. There may be another side to the picture which the Governments of the different countries may not have placed before the Conference.

If, therefore, this Conference is to judge of matters regarding the conditions of labour in Eastern countries, it is necessary that they should have first-hand information about these matters. Even the Peace Treaty has admitted that the conditions in the West and in the East are different, and the Peace Treaty has called some of these countries special countries, and the Peace Treaty wants these countries to be treated specially. It is, therefore, a part of the business of this Conference to discuss the conditions of labour in these special countries, and in order that they should be able to do it better, I propose this resolution.

I want the International Labour Organization to collect first-hand information as regards the standard of life of the working classes in these countries, as regards the wages, the hours of work, the housing conditions, the factory legislation and any other labour legislation as well as the organisation of labour. Delegates from the Western countries cannot have any idea of how low the wages in these Eastern countries are. Personally, I do not know much about these countries; but I know about India, and some of the Delegates here were shocked when I told them last year that in certain trades the average wages were about ten shillings a month. In Ceylon

many Indian workers are employed on the the rubber estates. They get there about fifteen shillings a month. I know also many Indian workes go to Malaya, and they get practically the same wages—the wages vary between fifteen and twenty shillings a month. Now, these wages are very much lower than the wages in Western countries.

Then the hours of work also vary a great deal. In India we have a Factory Act, and the workmen generally work sixty hours a week. I do not know whether there is any Factory Act in Ceylon and Malaya and China; but I am sure that the hours worked there are much longer than they are here.

Then as regards the housing conditions, it is necessary that we should have some first-hand information. In some cities in India at least the housing conditions are terrible, and it is necessary that this Conference should know what they are. In the same way this Conference should be in possession of full information regarding the factory legislation in those countries. Moreover in some of these countries there is special legislation which puts the working classes at a disadvantage. I mentioned in one of my previous speeches in the Conference that in India a breach of contract of service is considered a criminal offence, but in the case of other people, the educated classes, the employers and other classes it is only a civil offence. I do not know why those conditions should exist. Moreover in some of these countries there is legislation to compel the working classes under certain contingencies to work while there is no similar compulsion which applies to other classes.

I should like the International Labour Office to make an enquiry into this kind of legislation and then this Conference will be able to pass judgment upon it much better.

I have been speaking before this Conference and urging the Conference not to be indifferent to the teeming millions of the East. The special reason why this Conference should not do that is this. In the West the workers are educated to some extent. I do not say that they get the same education as the other classes; but they get some education. In the East they do not get any education. Among the working classes you will not find even five per cent. of the people who can read and write. I shall be right in saying, I think, that among the unskilled workmen you will not find one per cent. of the people who can read and write. On account of this the working classes of these countries are thoroughly unorganised. The organisations that do exist are not strong enough to influence either the employers or the Government.

I want this Conference, for these two reasons, namely, the illiteracy of the working classes and their unorganised state, to give special attention to the working classes of these countries. Otherwise the improvement in their condition will not be rapid. I am afraid that the improvement will not come for a number of years. My original resolution therefore asks this Conference to collect, by sending out a Commission, information about these matters.

Rightly or wrongly, the Commission of Selection thought fit to ask the Governing Body and the International Labour Office to make a preliminary investigation from Geneva itself and from whatever information they could get from the Governments, to submit a report to the next year's Conference so that the next year's Conference might take whatever steps it thought fit. I do not think this resolution goes too far. Although it is not quite what I should have liked, I was willing to accept it as being a step forward. But unfortunately the Government representative from my country have taken up a very reactionary attitude. They do not want even a preliminary investigation. They do not even want the International Labour Office to collect documents and make a report about the conditions in these countries. But I do not know how the Government Delegates of India and the Government of India itself can prevent the International Labour Office collecting information from Geneva about the conditions of life and work in India and in other countries. I think the amendment moved by Sir Louis Kershaw* is really intended to stop progress: otherwise I do not see any reason for ask-

ing the Governments, including the Government of India, to give permission to the International Labour Office to collect documents and to collect information about the conditions of life and work in India and in other Eastern countries. I think the International Labour Office and the Governing Body never intended sending out a Commission, as I asked them to do. If the Conference had decided to send out a Commission, then it was certainly necessary for the International Labour Office and for this Conference to consult the different Governments. But if the Commission is not to be sent, I see no necessity for consulting the Governments and making a preliminary investigation for one year and then to begin the investigation after another year. I support the original resolution of the Commission of Selection, but I oppose the amendment of Sir Louis Kershaw."

The amendment of Sir L. Kershaw was carried, but the original resolution as amended by the amendment fell to the ground, a fewer number of persons than the quorum having voted for it.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

From Messrs. Tagore & Co., Madras.

- HOWSIN, HILDA M.: INDIA'S CHALLENGE TO CIVILISATION. 1922. 7 × 4½. pp. viii & 99. Rs. 2-8.
 DAS GUPTA, SATIS CHANDRA: CHARKA. With an introduction by Sir Prafulla Chandra Ray. 7 × 4½. pp. 41.
 REDDY, C. R.: DYARCHY AND AFTER. 7½ × 5. pp. 43. Rs. 0-4.
 HAR DAYAL: OUR EDUCATIONAL PROBLEM. With an introduction by Lala Lajpat Rai. 1922. 7 × 4½. pp. xii. & 100. Rs. 1-8.
 [GANDHI, M. K.]: MAHATMA GANDHI'S JAIL EXPERIENCES. Told by himself. 1922. 7 × 5. pp. 81. Rs. 0-12.
 HOUGHTON, BERNARD: THE ISSUE IN INDIA. 7½ × 5. pp. 31. Rs. 0-4.
 RAO, G. V. KRISHNA: THE PLUNDER OF INDIA'S WEALTH. 1922. 7½ × 5. pp. 110. Rs. 1-0.

From Messrs. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.

- BABA BHARATI: LIGHT ON LIFE. Six spiritual discourses and an autobiographical sketch. Second Edition. 6½ × 4. pp. 135. Rs. 1-0.

From the Author.

- S. M. MICHAEL: TRUE LOVE. With an appreciation by Sir Michael Sadler. Madras, 1922. 7½ × 5. pp. 20. Rs. 1-0.
From the "Socialist", 434, Thakurdwar, Bombay.
 LUCIEN: THE COMING OF SOCIALISM 7 × 5. pp. 63. Rs. 0-6.
From H. M.'S Stationery Office, London.
 IRAQ: TREATY WITH KING FEIZAL. Cnd. 1757. 1922. 9½ × 6. pp. 6. Three Pence.
 WEST INDIES: REPORT BY THE HON. E. F. L. WOOD, M. P. (Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies) on his visit to the West Indies and British Guiana. (Dec. 1921-Feb. 1922.) Cnd. 1679. 1922. 9½ × 6. pp. 101. Three Shillings.

From the Canadian Review Co. Ltd., Toronto.

- HOPKINS, J. CASTELL: THE CANADIAN ANNUAL REVIEW OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS. 1921. 21st year of issue. Illustrated. 9 × 6. pp. 975.

From the Russell Sage Foundation, New York.

- HART, HASTINGS H.: PLANS AND ILLUSTRATIONS OF PRISONS AND REFORMATORIES. Presented at the 52nd Congress of the American Prison Association, Detroit, October 1922. 12 × 9. pp. 62. \$ 2-50.

* Sir L. Kershaw's amendment was: "The Conference decide to ask the Governing Body to communicate with the Governments concerned regarding the possibility of the institution of a preliminary investigation," and so on.

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