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Topics of the Week.

Congress Presidentship.

A VERY large majority of the Provincial Congress Committees having voted for Mahatma Gandhi as President of the Lahore Congress, the Reception Committee has ratified the election; and unless Mahatma Gandhi himself declines the office on the ground of health or for some other reason, he will preside over the next session of the Congress, which will be perhaps the most momentous in its long history. We ourselves went somewhat out of our way to recommend Mahatmajī's name, and we are therefore extremely glad that it has been adopted. We pressed for his election for two reasons. First the country might be called upon next year to negotiate with the Government in power on the question of self-government. At such time the oldest and the largest political organization of the country must have for its official spokesman one who can carry the whole body with him. Secondly, if, instead of taking part in such negotiations, the Congress finds it necessary to resort to mass action, it should be guided by the person on whom the country ultimately relies for supplying the driving power. If Mahatma Gandhi is to carry on the no-tax campaign, he should be allowed to choose the occasion and the instrument. These should not be forced upon him.

But the greatest need of the hour is to bring about a *rapprochement* between the two great communities: Hindus and Moslems. As the leaflet issued by the Secretary of the All Parties Conference and Convention says, the Nehru Report has already

"broken the back of the communal problem by important and far-reaching agreements on fundamental rights of citizenship, universal adult suffrage, abolition of communal electorates. The matters that still remain unadjusted are more or less matters of detail" but these matters of detail have to be settled, and no one is more fitted to undertake their adjustment than Mahatma Gandhi. He has already in an unofficial capacity commenced to have conversations with Mr. Jinnah on the subject, and though the Hindu Mahasabha leaders and particularly Mr. Kelkar have already raised the alarm we feel sure that Messrs. Gandhi and Jinnah will not be deterred by it from carrying the conversation to a fruitful conclusion. There is no doubt that before any formal conference between the representatives of the two communities can be held with any hope of success informal conferences such as are taking place between two leaders must pave the way to it. We earnestly hope that the conversations will be resumed early and be pursued till a settlement is reached. Mahatma Gandhi himself suggested jocularly some time ago that unity could be brought about only by locking up representatives of different communities and keeping them confined till they arrived at an agreement. We have half a mind to subject these two distinguished conferees to that process till they bring about reconciliation. The differences as they revealed themselves at the All Parties Convention are after all so slight that the two leaders will not need to be imprisoned for long. There will of course some Mahasabhites and Muslim Leaguers to challenge the decision, but the country will soon rally behind Messrs. Gandhi and Jinnah and the extreme communalists may well be left to do their worst.

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Lord Peel on Indian Constitutional Changes.

IN a contribution to the *Sunday Times* Lord Peel discusses various constitutional questions that have arisen in view of the impending decision of the Statutory Commission. Lord Peel deplors the periodical examination by a Commission since it concentrates attention too much on political problems to the exclusion of economic and administrative problems. Perhaps this may be true but it is not true that in the absence of such an examination the attention of Indians would be diverted from politics. Lord Peel is annoyed to see that every constitution-monger in the country is stimulated to show his mettle against the orthodoxy of the Commission, but for this he has to thank Lord Birkenhead's famous challenge to produce a constitution. If Lord Peel believes that some accurate and less histrionic method might be adopted for examining the Indian machine, it is for him to suggest one. He praises the India Council as the guardian and protector of Indian finance which keeps an eye on the charges falling on the Indian taxpayer and puts in a plea for its continuation but he

ought to remember that in the new constitution, however truncated it may be, the guardianship will pass on to the representatives of the people who will discharge it better than the India Office. Lord Peel says that if the members of the India Council who have passed thirty or forty years in Indian services chose to study the changes from day to day they will be qualified to give useful advice; but judging from experience it appears as if they do not choose to do so and are invariably found to endorse obscurantist opinions and antiquated shibboleths.

* * *

The Indian Stores Department.

THE examination of Col. Kirkhope, Chief Controller of Stores by the Public Accounts Committee has revealed a marked apathy shown by the Government towards the Stores Department. He admitted that the Department was working at a loss because the Government were not placing an adequate number of orders through it and because the Railways and the Military department were looking upon the Department with some suspicion. Col. Kirkhope said that if only the Railways made half of their purchases through his department and if the Military could also increase their orders slightly, it would be working without a loss. As for the slow progress of the Military department in patronizing the department he attributed it to vested interests. So it is the same old tale again! On the question of assisting Indian industries, he referred to first class engineering work in several workshops for which the department was responsible through its orders; he also said that the department had done its best to patronize the textile industry. Col. Kirkhope pointed out cases in which orders which had been placed abroad had been diverted to India by the department in order to assist Indian industries; the department certainly deserves praise for thus being true to its promise. The Public Accounts Committee finally expressed its opinion that steps should be taken to see that training facilities in mechanical engineering were available for Indians so that they could be recruited in larger numbers for the departments. In view of the good work which the department is carrying out, it is deplorable that the State in India does not make full use of it for supporting Indian products. The fact is that the Government of India has not yet become truly national in outlook; otherwise it would have shown the greatest alacrity in favouring a department formed with the principal object of giving a stimulus to indigenous articles. The enquiry shows that there is no co-ordination between the several departments with regard to a common policy of stores purchase. It is the duty of the Government to issue necessary instructions to the several departments, so that they may not thwart the original purpose for which the Stores Department was created.

* * *

A Retrospect by Mr. Sachchidanand Sinha.

IN an article in the July number of the *Hindustan Review* Mr. Sachchidanand Sinha who has revived the monthly series of that review takes a very interesting retrospect of the last thirty years. In 1900 he tells us there was not a single Indo-English periodical except the *Advocate* of Lucknow, and hence his *Review* was welcomed as an organ of Indian public opinion as then voiced by the Congress. It is interesting to note that Mr. Sinha's *Review* was the only monthly which received an invitation to Lord Curzon's Delhi Durbar along with other journals, showing the high position it occupied as an exponent of progressive Indian opinion. Recalling some of the incidents of the last quarter of a century, he

says that in 1900 the whole of India was represented in the Imperial Council by only four members, who were technically the nominees of the Governor-General. Responsible government was beyond the mental horizon of even the most advanced politicians of that time. 'Swaraj' was taken by the Executive to be synonymous with sedition; what strange tricks the whirligig of time plays in its career! In the Councils of those days the members had to keep on repeating "my Lord", "Your Excellency" since by failing to do so they would incur the displeasure of the head of the Government who was the President ex-officio. It was a common thing, he says, for the Viceroy to thump the table violently when giving point to the manuscript eloquence; but the non-official member was supposed to address the Sovereign's representative with bated breath and in downright whispering humbleness. Lord Curzon, Mr. Sinha tells us, not unoften attempted to hector and even to bully his non-official colleagues into submission. This of course led to scenes when a member was not inclined to take it lying low and Mr. Sinha says that he was present at one of these memorable scenes between Lord Curzon and Mr. Gokhale during the debate on the Universities Bill. Instead of the demoralizing atmosphere of those days we have now our representatives working on equal terms with the members of Government under the guidance of elected Presidents. The mere recalling of these reminiscences will show, he says, the vast and varied changes for the better which have come over our public affairs since the inauguration of the last Reforms.

* * *

Indian Women's University.

THE Annual Report of Professor Karve's Indian Women's University for the year 1928-29 shows steady progress. The number of collegiate students has risen from 40 to 60; the number of students in schools has increased by 210 and become 1560. The grant given at present by the University to all the schools affiliated to it amounts to Rs. 25,900, a truly handsome amount. The University is very anxious to achieve its ideal of having at least one affiliated high school in every district and for this purpose they ask the Government to render liberal financial help. We hope the appeal going to be made on behalf of the Kanyashalas in Poona and Bombay will meet with a proper response by the Education Department. The Report describes the handicap to the graduates of this University owing to the absence of recognition by Government and some means ought to be found to grant such recognition. At the most the Government can lay down certain conditions before recognition is granted but in any case it is ungracious to refuse recognition simply because the courses of the Indian Women's University are different from those in the ordinary pattern. The proper standard for assessing the value of the degrees of this University is the amount of general culture afforded. The debatable question whether there is any justification for separate courses from those of men in order to answer to the distinctive needs of women ought not to come in the way of such a recognition. We back wholeheartedly the appeal made by the Registrar on behalf of the University to the public for rendering assistance to this nation-building institution in all possible ways. The list of the elected Fellows indicates that some of the best talent in the province is requisitioned in the management of the University and the names are a sufficient guarantee for efficient management and for a proper consideration of all the problems presented on their merits.

* * *

Articles

REPORT OF THE PHYSICAL TRAINING COMMITTEE.

THE Report of the Committee appointed by the Bombay Government to inquire into the question of physical training of pupils in primary and secondary schools has just been published. Hardly any one will disagree with the propositions from which the Committee starts that education exists for a child and not the child for education and that education must be an organic whole. The Committee considers physical education in the following five aspects: hygiene, medical inspection, remedial measures, physical training, and propaganda. With regard to hygiene, the Committee attach great importance to the programme of school work as affecting the health of the pupil, and they declare that medical inspection is an unavoidable necessity. The responsibility of physical education in the first and last instance must rest, in their opinion, on teachers. It is very necessary to emphasize this in view of the apathy of the major portion of teachers towards this part of their duty but we doubt whether their suggestions for physical education courses for teachers will be practicable from the financial point of view. The Committee rightly complain that educational authorities do not insist on a proper playground or gymnasium being attached to schools and recommend that the State and the Local Boards should assist schools in acquiring plots for a playground. Referring to the experiment of compulsory physical training for college students in Poona, the Committee note that the interesting part of the experiment is that gymnastics, games, and drill have been co-ordinated, and a touch of military training has been given with a view to create interest. The next step ought to be the introduction of a similar system in the secondary schools. The Committee say that as a result of their survey of the schools they have come to the opinion that there is no compulsion worth the name and that most of the teachers have not come to regard physical education as an integral part of education. If this is so the Department ought to wake up and do something to stimulate this branch of education. The same apathy is observable in primary schools which as a rule have not given any attention to physical training of its pupils. We are glad to note in the report of the Educational Inspector of the Northern Division which is quoted that instructions have been issued to head-masters and Deputy Educational Inspectors to curtail the length of their old-time long periods and thus find time for physical exercises, in which all pupils and teachers are made to join. The paucity of public efforts made for providing physical education is shown by the fact that in the whole province there are hardly a dozen large institutions of such a description; those on Western lines are mainly restricted to the City of Bombay and Karachi. In this connection the Committee bestow well-deserved praise on the Y.M.C.A., which has maintained a physical department.

The Committee opines that a far-reaching aim like an exhaustive system of physical education can only be successfully achieved by the State which has behind it all the indispensable resources. They even go so far as to say that an activity which would ensure the physical well-being of its subjects ought to be a first charge on the resources of the State. They do not agree with those who desire to hand over physical education to private agencies partly aided by Government grants since they feel certain that such agencies would not accept the departmental control which such a system would involve. The Committee recommends a Department of Physical Education under the control of a Director of Physical Education who would be under the guidance of the Director of Public Instruction. In addition a Central Board of Physical Education is proposed, the function of the Board being to advise the Minister of Education as to general policy, to prepare literature and to frame rules for school programmes, medical examination and other activities connected with physical education. In each school one teacher is to be placed in charge of physical training, possessing a diploma to be awarded by the Department; the suggestion however that every teacher should be compelled to acquire such a diploma at the earliest opportunity appears to be too drastic. Much ought to be left to common sense in these matters and it is no use making a fetish of scientific organization and its paraphernalia. It is further proposed that Government should arrange for the services of the Medical Department in order to afford assistance for curing physical defects; and clinics for school-children in hospitals are suggested where they should receive free treatment. One good suggestion is that grants should be given and old grants continued to schools only in the event of their fulfilling the requirements of the Department about physical education. The Report embodies excellent suggestions for school programmes of physical training.

Reviewing the efforts of the Government to train teachers for giving instructions to girls in schools, the Committee say that not much good would have resulted from the training given at the Young Women's Christian Association since a European Directress could not adapt herself to the requirement of physical training in its relation to Indian girls. They think however that the courses of instruction given by Miss Motiwala have proved to be of great value. On the whole the existing conditions in the matter of the physical education of girls is extremely disappointing in the opinion of the Committee. They do not believe that Western systems are suited to the genius of Indian women apart from the objection that they are too costly. They recommend therefore Indian exercises and games and suggest that an Indian Directress should be appointed having the salary and status of the Inspector of a division; they think it necessary that the Government should acquire a playground for each of the secondary schools for girls as cannot afford one.

It is good that the Committee have recommended stages through which the whole scheme is to be

completed since the total cost to Government alone is nearly Rs. 5 lakhs. The first stage will secure a fairly working machinery and will cost only one-tenth of the total cost. The Committee have throughout proceeded on the assumption that the principle of compulsion will be universally agreed to. That may be so; yet they should have made

some attempt to answer the objections of those who demur to the element of compulsion either on speculative grounds or those of conscience. The Report does not stipulate for the minimum period within which the Government should give full effect to the scheme in all the schools of the province and leaves the point to their discretion.

THE REPARATIONS CONFERENCE.

ENERGETIC and heated discussions are going on at the Hague as to the Reparations Settlement plan evolved by the Committee of Experts, over which Mr. Owen Young presided. This was inevitable in view of the fact that the Committee consisted of financial experts who were avowedly independent of their respective Governments and not bound by instructions. It was therefore agreed before the Committee was constituted that the advice which the Committee might tender should not be held binding upon the Governments. In these circumstances it was hardly to be expected that the Young Report would be automatically adopted by the Powers assembled at the Hague Conference. Moreover, the Committee was asked to fix the ultimate total of reparations and a term of years to the annuities, but the Committee went beyond its terms of reference and varied the distribution, of these reparations. The share of England has been reduced considerably and that of France and Italy correspondingly increased, which has naturally evoked indignant protests from England. England does not object to the reduction of Germany's reparation obligations. This reduction she welcomes and indeed she knows that the reparations will later have to be reduced still further. For it is hardly possible that Germany will be able to go on paying year after year the sums demanded of her, though these sums are now very much less than formerly (the average annuity will for the next 37 years be about £100 millions whereas under the Dawes plan the standard annuity was £125 millions).

Germany in fact has not paid one cent of net reparations, for all her payments have been made out of borrowing from the U. S., to whom all the reparations received by the Allies return in repayment of the debts they owe to it. Thus, the Allies are merely conduit pipes, the ultimate giver and receiver being the U. S. The easiest method of solving this question would in these circumstances have obviously been for the U. S. to relinquish her debt to the Allies who would then have been able to forego their claims on Germany. It was thus in the hands of the U. S. to wipe the slate clean. Mr. Lloyd George told the Commons that he had made such a proposal to President Wilson. "We offered to abandon," he said, "our claim to every penny of German reparations provided America was prepared to abandon her claim against us." But throughout these discussions the U. S. was never willing to admit that the reparations debt had any connection with the Allied war debts. Thus this solution proved

impracticable, and it was found necessary to scale down the reparations, and it may be found inevitable to scale them down still further in the future.

England's objection is thus directed not against the reduction of the annuities payable by Germany, but against the alteration in the allocations to the creditor Powers. England was entitled under the Dawes Plan to nearly 23% of the annuity, or about £28,500,000 a year. Under the Young Plan she will get much less, both absolutely and proportionately. From 1st September 1929 to 31st March 1930 Germany is to pay £37 millions and thereafter 36 annuities starting at £85 millions and rising to £120 millions. The average of these varying annuities works out at £99,500,000; of this amount the payment of £33 millions is an unconditional obligation not to be remitted in any circumstances. Germany must pay this in foreign currencies and transfer it across her borders, whatever be the internal trade conditions. The remainder of the annuities are subject in case of economic crisis to postponement of transfer or even of collection for two years. The difference between the postponable and non-postponable portions of the annuities is, as was explained by Mr. Snowden, like the difference between the ordinary shares of a not very sound concern and first-class securities. In the non-postponable part of the annuities England has practically no share. Out of the £33 millions derived from this source £25 millions are allocated to France and £2 millions to Italy. The next charge on this amount is that of the payment towards the service of the Dawes External Loan of 1924, which is £3 millions. This leaves almost nothing to the share of England by way of a guaranteed payment.

All the rest is conditional depending upon the trade conditions of Germany. England can normally expect to receive her share only of this part of the annuity, and this is now reduced under the Young Plan by 2 per cent., which involves her in a loss of £2½ millions. The major portion of what she loses, or £1,840,000, goes to Italy, which explains why Italy is the most unwilling to consider modifications of the Young Plan. Assuming that the full annuities are paid and no difficulties of transfer arise, England may expect to receive, after passing on their share to the Dominions, a net amount of about £17½ millions. She is due to receive annually £12½ millions from France and £4 millions from Italy, or £16½ millions from her former allies. Thus if all goes well, she will be in receipt, from reparations and repayments by European debtors, of £34 millions, which will be just enough to meet her

annual debt payments to the United States. These payments will rise in 1940 to £37 millions, and the increases in future years in the amounts to be paid to America will be met by larger receipts from the debtor countries of Great Britain. Thus in 1930-31, the total amount England should receive rises from £17,500,000 to £17,700,000, in 1931-32 to £17,750,000, and in 1932-33 to £18,250,000, at which figure it remains until 1957. Anyhow England in the best of circumstances will receive amounts barely covering her out-payments, while the other Powers will receive a surplus. In the case of France the surplus will be as much as £21 annually on an average. Nor has any account been taken of the fact that Great Britain has already paid to the U.S.A. approximately £200 millions since the coming into force in 1923 of the Debt Funding agreement with that country.

This arrangement is obviously unjust to Great Britain and must be radically changed. The modification offered by the Powers is, as Mr. Snowden observes, "ridiculously inadequate" and not worthy of consideration. We are sure that the Expert Committee, to whose appointment Mr. Snowden has agreed, will readjust the proportions to the satisfaction of Great Britain. If worst comes to the worst, and if the conference fails, what happens? As Col. Wedgwood remarked in the House of Commons on 26th July, "The Dawes scheme goes on, and the connexion between the payment of reparations and the occupation of the Rhineland ceases to be binding. There is nothing to prevent this country evacuating the Rhineland, although the Dawes scheme continues. The evacuation of the Rhineland can go on whether the Young Scheme for the distribution of reparations is accepted or not." To the evacuation of the Rhineland, however, England must make up her mind, whatever France does. But it would be a great misfortune if the conference fails. In every other respect the Young Plan is an exceedingly good plan and it ought to succeed. The formation of the Bank for International Settlement itself, which abolishes all political controls within Germany, is fraught with tremendous advantages, far transcending in importance a mere machinery for solving the reparations problem. The *New Republic* puts it very well: "It will be to the banking systems of the world what the Federal Reserve Banks are to the banking system of the United States, or the Banks of England or France are to their banking structures. Indeed it may easily be more than this. It can mobilise reserves, provide an elasticity to international credit, act as a clearing house for international payments and thus obviate costly shipments of gold, help to stabilise the exchange value of currencies, and, indeed, support their internal values. It can aid in stabilizing world price levels and thus in flattening out the business cycle. It can exercise guidance over international investments." The International Bank is the pivotal feature of the Young Plan and it ought to succeed if only to preserve this feature. It can yet succeed if France and particularly Italy give up their intransigent attitude.

OPIUM POLICY.

GOVERNMENT'S Opium Policy needs speeding up, and this very necessary work is being commendably done by a group of persons interested in opium reform which includes Dr. H. H. Mann, Mr. Shoran Singha, Mr. Horace Alexander and Mr. Tarini P. Sinha. Recently they asked for information regarding the progress made by Government in carrying out its declared policy and following is the reply which they received from the India Office:—

"(1) *Black Spot Committees*.—Five Provincial Governments agreed to appoint committees to enquire into the high consumption of opium in certain areas and one other Local Government arranged to make a similar enquiry, though not through the medium of a committee. According to our information, the number of enquiries so far completed is four out of the six. Only one of the reports (that for Bengal, which you have already seen) seems to have been published, and I regret, therefore, that I am not in a position to supply you with copies of the others. The reason why no conclusions have yet been formed as a result of any of the enquiries which have been completed is that it is the desire of the Government of India to convene a conference under their auspices for the purpose of collating and comparing the results obtained by the various local investigations before the Local Governments concerned pass orders on their respective reports, a procedure which, as you would evidently agree, has obvious advantages. The question of holding a conference on these lines will be taken up when all the reports have been received.

"(2) *Malwa Opium*.—The Committee which was appointed to examine the position in the States has submitted its report and the very complicated and delicate questions involved are under consideration. You may be assured that the authorities are fully alive to the desirability of getting a satisfactory solution of the problem as soon as possible.

"(3) *Burma*.—There has been no recent development of importance in the position in Burma. There was a suggestion some years ago that the register of Burman opium consumers might be reopened because of the amount of illicit consumption, but the local authorities decided against it. So far as we are aware, there is no proposal under consideration at present for reopening the closed lists. Opium is, however, now being supplied in certain unhealthy districts to Burmans who are not on the register, but are proved to require it for medicinal purposes. As you are aware, the League of Nations has set up a Far Eastern Opium Commission which will be visiting Burma next autumn as well as other Far Eastern territories where opium smoking is still permitted. The object of this Commission is to report on the difficulties which are being encountered by the various Governments in carrying out the obligation to suppress the practice. The work of this Commission will be facilitated by the authorities in Burma in every way and its report will be awaited with interest."

Obviously the information supplied is very unsatisfactory, for the Black Spot Committees were appointed nearly two years ago to inquire into the Black Spots or areas where consumption of opium per head exceeded the index indicated by the League of Nations, and some of the Committees had prepared their reports over a year ago. Things appear almost to be at a standstill since then. If the Government of India is at all serious about holding a conference to discuss the question it ought to expedite reports from other Local Governments and arrange to publish all that have not yet been published. The Government of India can possibly take cover behind the Local Governments in the matter of Black Spot Committees, but it has no excuse for delay in regard to the Malwa Committee. Its report has been in the hands of the Central Government for some months, and yet no action is contemplated in the near future. The question may be complicated and delicate; still we think it is time that Government came to some conclusions on the subject. We are glad that in Burma registers are not to be reopened to consumers of opium and only hope that the League's Commission will make a searching inquiry into the matter and make satisfactory suggestions for a solution. The Governments in India must give up their policy of inaction and take speedy measures of reform.

THE FUTURE OF SAFEGUARDING.

SINCE the amendment to the address in reply to the King's Speech moved by Sir P. Cunliffe Lister regarding the failure of the Ministers to make a plain declaration of their policy about safeguarding and the McKenna duties, the question of the safeguarding of British industries has assumed great prominence. It is very likely that the McKenna duties will be swept off in the next British budget and the policy of safeguarding will be replaced by the policy of free imports. Mr. Snowden during the debate on the Address reminded the protagonists of safeguarding that a warning had been given by Labour members that if their party was returned these duties would be repealed; he further declared that the country had given an emphatic verdict against protection at the recent general election. At this time the appearance of a book* exposing the defects in the armoury of the safeguarders is very opportune; the authors after examining the working of safeguarding during the last few years prove conclusively that the duties have not been efficacious in achieving the main purposes for which they were intended. To begin with the principles of free trade are restated in a clear form, emphasizing in particular the injury to the export trade by the increase in the cost of production of products which use articles and materials made artificially dearer by safeguarding. So far as the balance of trade is concerned, the effect of the restriction of imports is shown to be a restriction of the visible exports and in addition the earnings of shipping and other services in-

cluding banking commissions. The best indication that Great Britain has fared well under Free Trade is that in 1880 she was exporting more per head than the United States did in 1927. As a reply to the dolorous theme of the ruin of British industries the authors point out that the export trade of Britain grew from £291 millions in 1903 to £525 millions in 1913—the very period of the duration of Mr. Chamberlain's tariff reform campaign.

An admirable summary of the latest attempts to introduce protection, the book makes clear to the reader that the safeguarding duties were originally imposed for the purpose of saving shipping space and reducing the consumption of luxuries and simply as a war measure and a pledge was given by Mr. McKenna that they were temporary taxes and would be abolished at its termination. In spite of this pledge they were continued on the plea that they were required for purposes of revenue and that the period of the war finances was not yet over. The Safeguarding of Industries Act, 1921, declared that apart from key industries the object of the duties was simply to safeguard against foreign industries which benefitted by depreciation of currency and which disposed of goods below the cost of production; and the duties under this Act could only be imposed against particular countries which answered to that description. In spite of this and in spite of the decisive rejection of the policy of general protection during the election of 1923—a verdict which Mr. Baldwin announced repeatedly that he loyally accepted—it was intended by the Tories to make the duties general and even to introduce Imperial Preference under the auspices of the new safeguarding scheme. Mr. Carr and Mr. Evans remark pertinently on this that it would have been more straightforward if such a declaration had been made before the general election of 1923. Besides the McKenna duties which were meant only for purposes of revenue have been latterly reimposed for purely protective purposes: this is clear from the fact that they have not been accompanied by countervailing excise duties. As for the bounty paid to the manufacturer of sugar from home-grown beet it is a clear violation of the election pledge.

After examining carefully the effects of the new tariff the authors arrive at the conclusion that the safeguarding policy has had a deleterious effect upon the export trade and the entrepot or re-export trade; the re-export figures show a drop of 100 per cent. in the safeguarded industries comparing 1928 with 1924, while the export figures reveal a reduction of 13.2 per cent. In view of this, the question is asked why safeguarding is to be extended; the answer in their opinion is that the pressure of the protectionist bodies inside and outside Parliament upon the Conservative Government has been very great. The most important point made by the authors is that no change in the fiscal policy of the country should be made except after a decision by the electorate after the issue is frankly stated at a general election; this seems to be unexceptionable from the constitutional point of view and it is

**The Lure of Safeguarding*. By A.S. COMYNS CARR and D. ROWLAND EVANS. (Allen and Unwin). 1929. 19cm. 126p. 3/-.

quite correct to state that the Tory Government had failed to do so at the last election. If safeguarding is to be applied without limit as Mr. Baldwin proposed it will be hardly distinguishable from protection, for which of course he had no mandate in the election of 1924.

With regard to the contention of the safeguarders that safeguarding duties are imposed by Parliament after an industry has applied for it while under protection Government imposes duties without the industries applying for them the authors have shown that it is untrue with regard to the procedure of several protectionist countries. The proposed changes in the safeguarding procedure have made it very easy for applicant industries to prove their case for a duty; the condition that an industry should be of substantial importance has been abolished and the important condition that the foreign imports should be abnormal has given place to the condition that the imports should be a substantial proportion of the consumption of the country. As to the most important of the reasons alleged for the extension of safeguarding, viz., the reduction of unemployment it is pointed out that over two-thirds of the unemployed are in industries to which safeguarding cannot be applied under any conceivable circumstances; besides between June 1925 and June 1928 there was only a reduction of 1.6 per cent. in the number of unemployed in industries which were safeguarded. One additional plea in favour of free trade urged is that the protectionist movement is in flat defiance to the declaration of the International Economic Conference which unanimously declared in favour of the removal of tariff barriers for the restoration of world trade. England by moving away from Free Trade will in the opinion of the authors sow the seed of international friction.

Reviews.

PHILOSOPHY OF INTERNATIONALISM.

THE PROSPECTS OF DEMOCRACY AND OTHER ESSAYS. By ALFRED ZIMMERN. (Chatto & Windus.) 1929. 12s. 6d.

PROFESSOR ALFRED ZIMMERN belongs to a group in which Lord Cecil, Monsieur Henri de Jouvenal, Professor Gilbert Murray, and Señor de Madariaga, naturally fall. None of these is an official of the League of Nations, strictly so called, although all have played a sufficiently large part in its making and are in contact with it to render their advocacy of it authoritative. Professor Zimmern's latest work is made up of essays written at different periods of time. Some of them go back to days when the League was yet only a proposition. Consequently a few of the considerations he raises have only a historical value. That cannot, however, be said of the book as a whole. Each one of the names I have cited here may be associated with a special thesis. Lord Cecil pleads for "peace first" in politics; Monsieur de Jouvenal stands for a full and honest working out of the principle of "open covenants

openly arrived at"; Professor de Madariaga argues for world-control as the basis for world peace; and Professor Gilbert Murray pleads for a broad notion of public good in contrast to the rampant individuality of our time. Likewise, Professor Zimmern has his own idea. Democracy, he thinks, will prevail without question and the task in hand is to invent suitable institutions. In this preoccupation his thought is not dissimilar to that of Mr. H. G. Wells, according to whom the "democracy under remission" must elect a *Samurai* to fulfil its task. "Democracy, is something very different from the simple old doctrine of government of the people, for the people, by the people. It may be described, to adapt another phrase of Abraham Lincoln's, as 'government of all people some of the time and of some of the people all the time.'"

This idea is also the keynote of Prof. Zimmern's philosophy of internationalism.

"Intelligence allied with public spirit is still, and will perhaps always remain, in a small minority among the masses of mankind. But a minority, with the moral forces on its side, can win through. If the democratic system survives and adjusts itself to the new conditions, it will not be because the majority of the world is ripe for it, but because economic forces compelled the world to choose between international government and private tyranny and no alternative political system was available. In that situation a minority of responsible peoples, acting together in association, must preserve the inherited traditions of government and pass them on to the less experienced. That is the task of the League of Nations in the first period of its life; and that is the especial task of the peoples of the British Commonwealth who bring to it their own unique experience of constitutional government and international co-operation."

What are the obstacles in the way of the British Commonwealth wholeheartedly accepting and espousing the League? The author answers it in an interesting chapter entitled "England After the War", which is a good supplement to his "Third British Empire". Other chapters deal with what may be entitled the concrete problems of world peace such as the relations between Europe and America. There is as illuminating an interpretation of American character in these pages as one may hope to find, and all through there are evidences of effort to understand varying types of mind as well as to evolve a political philosophy suited to the new world conditions without being dogmatic. It is ungenerous to criticise a book of loosely strung essays especially when they are so excellent, but those who know the works of Prof. Zimmern and those who have read his analysis of the defects of the British temperament in this book may well be inclined to wonder to what extent he himself is free from them. Freedom from dogma is a real virtue, but frequently it is a result of an unconscious attempt to evade serious intellectualisation. Prof. Zimmern writes as an internationalist. Of his sincerity and seriousness there can be no doubt and yet the number of superlatives attributed to the English in this one book is disheartening. I use the word advisedly because if such spirits as Prof. Zimmern cannot refrain from attributing a monopoly of varied virtues to their nation and cannot realise

that every superlative throws all other peoples into the shade, the whole question of internationalism becomes pretty desperate. Prof. Madariaga's method of treating every national character as a psychological complex of particular virtues and corresponding defects and Keyserling's motto "For all have fallen short of the glory of God" in dealing with the same subject are to be preferred. Another question which arises in connection with all such theses as Prof. Zimmern's is—what exactly is meant by leadership in the domain of world peace? Abstract conceptions of equality, it is true, have little place in practical politics, but the discussion of world peace has sufficiently advanced to have some definiteness about the character of the hierarchy which a civilisation based on pacific principles must bear.

RAGHUNATH ROW.

THE ETHICS OF VIOLENCE.

REFLECTIOS ON VIOLENCE. By GEORGES SOREL. Trans. by T. E. HULME. (George Aller.) 22cm. 299p. 7s. 6d.

As a reviewer in the *New Statesman* has put it, "It is strange that this classic of syndicalism should have had to wait eight years for an English translation. It is one of those rare books which has the supreme merit of forcing the reader to think." This book (reprinted in 1925) is a collection of essays published by the author in a French review called the *Mouvement Socialiste*, prefaced by an Introduction in the form of a letter to M. Daniel Halevy, which is a defence of the principles underlying his general view-point, *inter alia*, of the pessimism for which the writer was so frequently attacked.

"Pessimism," he says, ". . . is a philosophy of conduct rather than a theory of the world; it considers the march towards deliverance as narrowly conditioned, on the one hand, by the experimental knowledge that we have acquired from the obstacles which oppose themselves to the satisfaction of our imaginations . . . , and, on the other, by a profound conviction of our natural weakness. These two aspects of pessimism should never be separated although, as a rule scarcely any attention is paid to their close connection."

He proceeds to make an interesting comparison between his view of pessimism and primitive Christianity. He shows, too, how later in European history Calvinism was enabled to bring about "a real catastrophic revolution" simply through its conception of "the path to deliverance." He then proceeds to attack "natural right", assuring us that "if revolutionary syndicalism triumphs there will be no more brilliant speeches on imminent justice." There follows an interesting and subtle discussion of what he calls "the myth" of the syndicalist general strike, and the general value of "mythology," a discussion which reveals the wide reading of the author in many fields.

"Revolutionary syndicalism," he concludes, "is not then, as many believe, the first confused form of the working-class movement, which is bound, in the end, to free itself from this youthful error (i.e. the cult of violence); it has been, on the contrary, the produce of an improvement brought about by men who had just arrested a threatened deviation towards middle-class ideas. It might be compared to the Reformation

which wished to prevent Christianity, submitting to the influence of the humanists."

After the "Introduction to the First Publication" we reach the main body of the book which, as previously noticed, consists of seven essays originally published separately. Here the author deals at length with the class war, the decadence of the middle classes, and the failures of parliamentary socialism. "Proletarian violence," he does not hesitate to say, "not only makes the future revolution certain, but it seems also to be the only means by which the European nations—at present stupefied by humanitarianism—can recover their former energy."

We are then presented with an examination of the prejudices against violence, and a discussion on strikes, particularly the political General Strike, written of course long before the miserable collapse of the General Strike in England. The last two chapters are devoted to a study of the ethics of violence and the ethics of the producers. In an appendix we have another apology for violence.

This book is a remarkable work by a remarkable man of wide culture and much force. However much we may recoil from the philosophy which underlies it, there is no doubt that it presents a real challenge. Many of the ideas of which this book treats have since been realized on the plane of history in the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, and we are now perhaps better equipped for estimating both their strength and their weakness. The criticism of western capitalist society which those who have been inspired by Karl Marx put forward is penetrating and in many respects undeniably true. On the constructive side sane men will always wonder how an era of bloodshed and fratricidal strife can possibly usher in that state of society which is the goal of revolutionary endeavour. But if sane men wish to keep their reputation for sanity they will endeavour to mingle such acts of repression against individual revolutionaries as may from time to time be necessary, with profound attention to the searching diagnosis which such men have made into the deep-seated diseases of modern industrial civilization.

O. F. CLARKE.

UPLIFT OF RED INDIANS.

THE OFFICE OF INDIAN AFFAIRS. By LAURENCE F. SCHMECKEBIER. (Johns Hopkins Press.) 1927. 22cm. 591p. \$3.00.

THE Red Indian is the pet child of the American Government. There is an elaborate Department of Indian Affairs which overwhelms him with care and attention. Every concern of his comes under its protecting wings and nothing is left to shift hazardously for itself. The Office of Indian Affairs first came into existence in 1775 in obedience to the wishes of Congress. Its objective in the beginning was to keep the Indian pleased and otherwise make him law-abiding. Till the year 1871 the Indian tribes were left more or less to look after themselves and were treated as "domestic dependent nations." At the end of every outbreak of Indian rebellion, Congress entered into treaty with them, and recognised their sovereignty over lands occupied by them.

There are 370 such treaties which bear witness to the fact that at first the attitude of the United States Government was to regard the Indian possession as a state within the state. Slowly the inevitable penetration of the white man into the Indian territory led to the embarrassment of the Government. In 1871 therefore Congress decided upon removing the Indian far beyond the scope of white encroachment and creating exclusive reservations for him. President Jackson resolutely ordered speedy removal of the Indians more and more to the West and he even employed the militia for that purpose. At this time, the control of Indian affairs, which had been indifferently attended to by the Secretary for War, was transferred to the Department of the Interior in order to ensure efficiency of service. The Superintendents of the old order were dispensed with and the President, for some time till Congress replaced them by its own nominees, empowered the missionaries to appoint agents to protect the interests of the Indians and also regulate intercourse between them and the whites. With this departure, the curtain falls on the treaty period and the government assumes full guardianship of the Indians. Now onwards the State created distinct Indian zones for forcibly settling the Indians on them so as to remove all causes of friction between them and the whites. This policy necessitated the issuing of rations to the Indians so as to enable them to live till such time as they were self-supporting. Reservation Boarding Schools were started in addition to the Missionary "Contract" Schools already in existence, so much so that by 1887 an average of 10,520 Indian children were receiving instruction in 227 schools. "In the government schools, the average attendance was 7349 and the cost \$851,555.57, while in the non-government schools, the average attendance was 3171 and the cost \$314,470."

The transfer of the Indian to the reservations did not in any way change his legal position. There was no attempt made to exercise control over his domestic affairs. The Indian land belonged to the tribe and the individual Indian was subject to tribal laws. The question of defining his position in the State as well as in the eye of the law arose when the Indian manifested a desire to break away from tribal life by claiming to hold land in his own right. Congress introduced in 1875 a law providing for ownership of land in severalty by Indians who renounced tribal authority. The Secretary of the Interior with the approval of Government established courts for trying Indians who had broken the rules, laid down by him, regarding offences against the whites. Slowly in place of tribal jurisdiction over even offences committed by Indians against Indians, the authority of the supreme court came to prevail. In 1886 a radical change was introduced which vitally cut at the roots of tribal tradition and that was the Allotment Act. This Act provided for the allotment of land to individual Indians, and the conferring of citizenship on such of them as held private property. For fear the Indian should suffer for his inability to manage his own affairs, at the hands of the self-seeking white, the state extended the period of trusteeship of the personal property to 25 years or till such time as he obtained an official certificate of competence. All these legislative provisions were at last incorporated into the Omnibus Indian Act of 1910 and enforced so as to regulate all matters relating to private property, leasing of the same, property held in trust by the government including such as came under the definition of inheritance, wills, heirs, certificates of competency, management and distribution of Indian money and utilisation of tribal resources in forests and mines. In addition to the comprehensive work

of administering this Act, it also fell to the Office of Indian Affairs to modernise the Indians generally and introduce medical and sanitary requirements, the net result, to take the instance of the Osage Indians only, being that by the end of the century they were fairly prosperous and in the fiscal year 1926 the income per capita mostly from the proceeds of oil leases of persons on the roll amounted \$13,400.

By this time the blood corpuscles of the Indians had undergone a change by infusion of white strains into them and with the increasing numbers of the half-bloods the laws regarding trusteeship had to be entirely revised putting the Indo-American on the same civic footing as the American himself. Thus it turned out that gradually the control of Government did not extend beyond half the number of people who regarded themselves as Indians. These with the other Indians who had escaped being allotted to the reservations acquired the ordinary rights of American citizenship.

Besides the mass of Indians whose feet were firmly set and marching on the high road of civilisation, there were the five civilised tribes who followed their own lines of advancement. In 1906 their territory, which since 1890 had enjoyed tribal self-government, was constituted into the state of Oklahoma.

The whole book is a baffling mine of exhaustive information relating to the activities, administrative, educational, medical and cultural, of the admirable Office of Indian Affairs. It is sure to serve "the double purpose of furnishing an essential tool of efficient legislation, administration and popular control and of laying the basis for critical and constructive work on the part of those upon whom responsibility for such work primarily rests."

There are in India a vast number of people, chiefly the untouchables and the aborigines, who today occupy the same position that the Red Indians of America did a century ago. In effecting their elevation, it is worth the while of our Government, which has criminally neglected that paramount duty, to take lessons from the United States of America.

K. VENUGOPAL RAO.

BRITISH BANKING STATUTES.

SELECT STATUTES, DOCUMENTS AND REPORTS RELATING TO BRITISH BANKING, 1832-1928. Vols. I & II. Selected by T. E. GREGODY. (Oxford University Press.) 1929. 19cm. 147 + 391p.

UNTIL recently when the United States is bidding fair to become the hub of the banking universe, the Bank of England was by common consent a prime regulator of the world's banking and London was the financial centre for clearing the world's account due to trade obligations and other debits. A history of British banking therefore during the last hundred years is immensely interesting as well as replete with lessons for the banking organizations of other countries. The present volumes give all the important documents in connection with the development of British banking since the Charter Act of 1833, bringing it up to date. They give the important evidence given before the Select Committee on the Banks of Issue which prepared the way for the Bank Act of 1844, which Act has been said by the exponents of the Banking principle to have strangled commerce by its quixotic provisions. Another important extract is from the Report of the Secret Committee of the House of Lords which suggested remedies for commercial crises and for the anomalous suspension of the Act of 1844 necessitated by these. The Committee

suggested that a wider discretion should be given to the Bank of England to enlarge the issue of bank notes. The evidence before the Select Committee on the Bank Acts appointed after the crisis of 1857 is also given along with the major portion of the Report of the Committee. The Acts which govern the formation and management of Joint Stock Banks are given in their entirety. Coming to the post-war period the complete Report of the Cunliffe Committee on currency and foreign exchanges is reproduced along with the Treasury Minute which imposed the limit of the maximum fiduciary notes on the Bank of England in accordance with the Report, The Gold Standard Act of 1925 and the Currency Act of 1928 which unified the total note issue and handed it over to the Bank of England have been fully reproduced. Altogether the volumes constitute a very valuable hand-book to all those who are interested in British banking. In the introduction Prof. Gregory reviews the whole of the legislation during the last hundred years and points out the main issues raised at the various dates. With regard to the Bank Charter Act of 1844, Prof. Gregory after an impartial consideration of the conflicting arguments declares in favour of the Act which by forcing a sounder policy on the Bank of England reduced the chances of panics occurring; he does not think that the Act was useless because it had to be suspended in times of crises. As to the War period he admits frankly that the convertibility of the notes was a legal fiction since actually they were inconvertible until April 1925; the artificial support given to the dollar-sterling exchange prevented this fact from being generally realized. It is to be noted however that Prof. Gregory does not pass any judgment on the vexed question whether the restoration of the gold standard in 1925 has justified itself or not. Judging from the impetus it has given to a general currency stabilisation all over the world we believe it was the one of the wisest decisions adopted by Great Britain.

V. N. G.

INDIA DURING AKBAR'S TIME.

AKBAR THE GREAT MOGUL, 1542-1605.

(2nd Edition.) By VINCENT A. SMITH. (Oxford University Press.) 1927. 22cm. 504p. 16/—.

THIS is a fresh impression of the second edition of 1902 which was then revised by the author. Since 1902 there has been no further important research done relating to the period of Akbar. Moreland's *India at the Death of Akbar* is the only important study relating to the economic conditions of that period. Smith's and Moreland's standpoints are the same. Both are interested in the study of Akbar and Akbar's period from a motive not necessarily historical. Their books are no doubt based on historical evidence and give a history of the period in its various aspects. But their underlying note is comparison of that period and its achievements with the modern British period of Indian history and its achievements, to the detriment and depreciation of the former. This is not really a historical method. There is a prejudice and a prepossession behind the whole work. Instead of comparing the period with the past or with contemporary life elsewhere and noting its progress or difference or decay, a number of anachronisms in ideas and principles is introduced, a thing which is very unfair and misleading in history. Different standards distorted from their environment and from the spirit of the age are applied to a different age and a different civilisation. The modern absolutist theories of constituent and ministrant functions of state, and of its educational, economical and cultural rôle are applied to a rôle which was just emerging out of its

mediaeval conception of state and its limited political functions of defence and order. But the defect of these writers and their writings is much more serious.

In spite of the hard work and research of these writers the books lose their really historical character. Modern achievements of the nineteenth or twentieth century are not possible and not necessarily desirable in the sixteenth century. The conceptions of both the ages are different. It is only by stages that an approach could be made to modern standards and conceptions. Vincent Smith has not taken sufficient pains to draw a full picture of the contemporary social or religious conceptions, and economic or political ideas in which the people believed. No one can deny that Akbar was one of the greatest rulers who ruled India. The policy which he followed in religion and administration, art and literature was the only and best policy which could have been followed in that age. He inherited only the title of an Emperor but had himself to create an Empire in a country which was under the political domination of bigoted Muslims intolerant of Hindus. Amidst this environment, to create a territorial state where all classes would be treated equally was Akbar's greatest achievement unattempted by any Muslim or Christian sovereign before him. The only exception was Sher Shah; but his rule was short and his problems were less difficult.

The only serious accusation brought against Akbar by the author is his inordinate political ambition. But he forgets that Akbar had a hereditary right to the throne. No doubt foreign rule in India is unjustified. But in comparing Akbar's position with that of the British the author would have done well to remember that he had a right while the British can claim no such title. In my opinion the British have shown a more inordinate political ambition in Indian history for which there is no parallel. Akbar's period (1556-1605) does not present us with so many instances of unprovoked aggression and annexation as the British period of 1757-1805 or 1805-1857.

All the same there is no doubt that the book is the outcome of hard labour spent on the available sources for Akbar's period. Smith has done well in taking account of the economic, artistic and literary achievements of the age. History is not mere biography nor political annals. The varied life of a people, the part played by the ruler and his ministers in its security and prosperity, and the connection with and influence of the surrounding world require to be studied and noted. Smith has devoted some attention to this, but still it is not a satisfactory picture in some respects.

S. V. PUNTAMBEKAR.

RECONSTRUCTION OF GERMANY.

POST-WAR GERMANY. By K. T. SHAH. (Tara-porewalla.) 1928. 18cm. 228p. Rs. 2/3.

THE present book is a reprint, we suppose an enlarged reprint, of the five lectures that the author delivered at Bombay in the University Extension Lectures series in the monsoon term 1928-1929. The main title of the book is significant enough. The author has presented much useful and interesting information regarding the various aspects of Germany's post-war life. Prof. Shah had the advantage of a personal knowledge of pre-war Germany, and German books and German Consular officers have helped him a good deal in preparing the story of post-war Germany. In addition to the fullness of his material, most of what Prof. Shah has to observe by way of appreciation and criticism is couched in terms calculated to be widely acceptable. In par-

ticular, the tribute paid to the national self-discipline of the Germans is richly deserved. Innumerable internal differences, a host of greedy foreign enemies, the certainty of a continued and a heavy drain for a quarter of a century and more, the unsettlement that inevitably follows in wake of a great defeat and of a greater revolution,—these are evils which may well try to their utmost the vital powers and the constructive capacities of even the most prosperous of nations. If Germany has faced all these difficulties and has practically emerged more successful from its 'defeat' than many of the Allied nations have been able to do from their 'victory,' the explanation in a great measure, is to be sought in the almost super-human discipline of the German race. This phase of the period of German reconstruction is well presented by the author and the book is well worth reading by the educated public.

In commending this book to the attention of readers, it is difficult to refrain from making reference to a peculiarity of the educated mind of India. There have been instances in advanced countries where individual thinkers have had their 'spiritual homes' abroad; but the main body of the thought of every progressive nation has been peculiarly 'national'. It is one of the discouraging features of the modern movements in the world of thought in India, that most of the stuff is imported from abroad. There is nothing to be lost, and everything to be gained by a deep study of foreign thought on every subject, provided the viewpoint from which it is studied is independent and sufficient care is taken to observe the many peculiarities of Indian conditions before outlandish dogmas are incessantly held forth for adoption in India. The recent stir in India's thought world is immensely disquieting in this respect. Till recently the brand of thought imported into India was 'all British', and there were a number of revolts against the free import of this as of many other goods of British manufacture. It seems now that Russian goods are catching the imagination of a number of enthusiastic consumers of fresh thought. No attempt is, however, being made, not at least on a scale on which it is necessary, to undertake independent enquiries into the varied problems of India. Of all commodities thought is the one commodity in respect of which a nation can ill afford to be dependent on foreign supply, be it from Peking, Tokyo, London, Oxford, Cambridge, Moscow or Leningrad.

One of the ways of promoting a discriminating and independent movement of thought is to diversify the field of foreign thought and knowledge that comes within the gaze of the people. From that standpoint also Prof. Shah's book is bound to be very useful. Prof. Shah, independent himself, may be trusted to take his readers through unfamiliar woods without fear of losing the way. As, however, the book is meant for popular reading, its usefulness would undoubtedly have been increased if the style had been less academic and more simple. The subtitle of the book is, 'an object lesson in national reconstruction,' and the lesson in itself is worth its weight in gold. But its utility would have been a thousand times enhanced if the author had proceeded to point out the 'lesson' from the 'object'.

D. G. KARVE

FRANCIS JOSEPH.

EMPEROR FRANCIS JOSEPH OF AUSTRIA.
By JOSEPH REDLICH. (Macmillan.) 1929. 22cm.
547p. 21/-.

DR. JOSEPH REDLICH has all the qualifications for the work he has placed before us. He has personal

knowledge of the subject of his biography; he has been able to collect from surviving relatives and personal friends of Francis Joseph a lot of interesting information about his hero; he has had access to the documents of the period; and what is more important, he has psychological insight and judicial and imaginative gifts which qualify him to weigh evidence and assess its value. But the book before us is more the story of a period than of a man. As a piece of historical composition, Dr. Redlich's work is superb but as a biography it is not so interesting. The fact is that in this work the historian gets the mastery over the biographer. Dr. Redlich tries to relate the personality of Joseph to the events of his reign, but the record of events always obtrudes itself. The result is that we learn more about the history of Europe from 1848 to 1916 than about Francis Joseph.

Dr. Redlich is a distinguished historian. His work is the result both of meditation and study. The practised observer of history is apparent in many places. He sees in the promulgation of the Imperial Constitution of 1849 the opening in Austria of a "régime of conscious fraud such as has no analogue even in the period of bold and skilfully concealed reaction." He rightly draws attention to the "half and half" policy pursued by Francis Joseph during the Crimean War, regards the "historic ingratitude" of Francis Joseph to Russia as a decisive error, and points out how the developments in foreign policy resulting from the Crimean War produced new complications in their turn and shook the centralised despotism at home to its foundations.

The learned author's estimate of Francis Joseph, Prince Schwarzenburg, Baron Kubeck and other contemporary personalities is that which will probably be accepted ultimately. Though his judgment on men and things is well-balanced, his treatment of the subject matter is somewhat lacking in proportion. Francis Joseph the Emperor engrosses the learned author's attention. Francis Joseph the man is meagrely dealt with. We wish the author had devoted more pages to describe the family life of Francis Joseph, and his relations with Empress Elizabeth and Archdukes Rudolf and Ferdinand. One finds in the book here and there repetition of facts and opinions. This is due to faulty arrangement of matter.

The book could have been made more interesting if the author had stressed the biographical aspect instead of the historical aspect. As it is, the book is an authentic record of the reign of Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria. Notwithstanding its shortcomings, the book is thoroughly enjoyable by the general reader and full of new information for the student of history. Even the repetitions have their use. The most careless or forgetful reader can hardly fail to remark and to remember that Francis Joseph was "the last monarch of the 'old school' of European sovereigns," and that his intellectual qualities fell short of his monarchical responsibilities.

M. V. SUBRAHMANYAM.

ANTI-WAR PACT.

INFORMATION ON THE RENUNCIATION OF
WAR. 1927-28. By J. H. WHEELER BENNETT.
(Allen and Unwin.) 1928. 23cm. 192p. 8/6.

THE book gives a comprehensive survey of the negotiations which culminated in the signing of the famous Kellogg Pact in 1928. More than two thirds of the bulk is taken up by the reprints of original documents that passed between the various Foreign Offices, and a little over one-fourth gives a brief history of the negotiations which serves as an introduction to the study of the documents. In view of the international importance of the Peace

Pact we ought to be grateful to the author for the compilation.

Of the documents only a few need be noted. M. Briand's proposal to the American Secretary of State limited the scope of the agreement to the two countries. Mr. Kellogg, encouraged by the developments of American opinion, wanted soon to convert it into a multi-lateral one. Somewhat to the chagrin of France, he appropriated the whole credit for this improvement to America. He went further and, setting aside the French reservations which hoped to limit the scope to aggressive wars only, he wanted it to include all wars as such.

In the opinion of some this reduced the Pact to a pious platitude and a hollow declaration of good intentions. Replies from the various governments and especially from Great Britain suggested certain reservations in the case of wars sanctioned by the League of Nations and also in the case of certain specified localities. It is rather unfortunate that these are not sufficiently indicated in the published documents.

Ultimately however, the great powers agreed not to press for the inclusion of these in the text of the treaty and with that its ultimate success was assured. The one affective article is that "the High Contracting Parties solemnly declare, in the name of their respective peoples, that they condemn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies, and renounce it as an instrument of national policy in their relation with one another".

Commonplace though it appears, so solemn a declaration by the nations of the world has undoubtedly paved the way to Disarmament by removing a great deal of mutual suspicion. It is to be devoutly hoped that the signature of the Pact by all the nations of the world would be followed by Disarmament and Peace.

R. H. KELKAR.

SHORT NOTICES.

TEMPERANCE QUESTION. (Freedom Association.) 1929. 22cm. 558p. 7/6.

THE full title of this volume is: "The Freedom Association's Hand-book for Speakers and Writers on the (so-called) Temperance Question, eighth edition." As the name implies, the Freedom Association stands for the preservation of individual freedom and against State interference in the matter of consumption of fermented beverages. Its position is just that of the Anglican Archbishop who once said: "Better England free than England sober." The book however ought to appeal not only to those who share this view but to all who are interested in the drink question. The information given is quite full and very interesting. The address of the Freedom Association is: Amberley House, Norfolk Street, London, W.C.2.

L.

THE CASE OF THOMAS J. MOONEY AND WARREN K. BILLINGS. By HENRY T. HUNT. (National Mooney-Billings Committee, Room 1403, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City.) 1929. 23 cm. 444p.

THIS stout volume is the result of a nation-wide campaign conducted by the American Civil Liberties Union to secure freedom for the famous political prisoners: Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings in Cali-

fornia. Billings was convicted in Sept. 1916 of guilty participation in a bomb explosion and is serving a life sentence. Mooney was sentenced in Feb. 1917, but soon after the sentence was imposed facts and circumstances came to light which convinced the very Judge who convicted him that testimony of witnesses connecting Mooney with the crime was false and perjured and that his conviction was a miscarriage of justice. Immediately the Judge endeavoured to bring about a new trial for Mooney, but this failed. Since then he has been appealing to successive Governors of California for pardon. The volume makes very interesting reading and shows how in the U.S.A., which is fully armed with constitutional safeguards for personal liberty, the Civil Liberties Union has to be far more active than any similar body in England where there are no such safeguards.

K. V. S.

INDIA'S CURRENCY, EXCHANGE AND BANKING PROBLEMS, 1925-28. By JEHANGIR C. COYAJEE. (The Book Co., Ltd., Calcutta.) 1929. 22cm. 59p.

IN this brochure are put together articles written by Sir J. C. Coyajee in the last four years, in the *Capital*, the *Statesman* and *Forward*. The author's views are well-known and though they are unpopular with a large section of public opinion no one should fail to read these articles and ponder them.

K. S. L.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- HISTORY OF FRENCH COLONIAL POLICY, 1870-1925.** Vols. 1. and 2. By STEPHEN H. ROBERTS. (King.) 1929. 25cm. 741p. 42s.
- ENGLAND & THE NEW GOLD STANDARD, 1919-1926.** By WILLIAM ADAMS BROWN. (King.) 1929. 22cm. 322p. 15s.
- MAKING THE FASCIST STATE.** By HERBERT W. SCHNEIDER. (Oxford University Press.) 1928. 23cm. 392p. 21s.
- THE INTIMATE PAPERS OF COLONEL HOUSE.** Vols. 3 and 4. By CHARLES SEYMOUR. (Penn.) 1928. 24cm. 464p. & 530p.
- SOME ASPECTS OF THE EARLIEST SOCIAL HISTORY OF INDIA.** By S. C. SARKAR. (Oxford University Press.)
- WELFARE WORK IN MILL VILLAGES.** (University of North Carolina.) 1929. 24cm. 406p. \$5.00.
- THE LABOUR OUTLOOK.** By ARTHUR GREENWOOD. (Chapman and Hall.) 1929. 19cm. 246p. 5s.
- THE ART OF LIVING TOGETHER.** By L. P. JACKS. (Hodder and Stoughton.) 1928. 18cm. 335p. 2s. 6d.
- THE LURE OF SAFEGUARDING.** By A. S. COMYNS CARR and D. ROWLAND EVANS. (Allen and Unwin.) 1929. 18cm. 126p. 3s.
- SRI MADHWA, HIS LIFE & DOCTRINE.** By C. R. KRISHNA RAU. (Author, Mangalore.) 1929. 24cm. 159p. Rs 2 1928. 25cm. 225p.
- LEONID KRASSIN: HIS LIFE AND WORK.** By His Wife LUBOV KRASSIN. (Skeffington, London.) 1929. 24cm. 284p. 21s.
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