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CONTENTS.

	Page
TOPICS OF THE WEEK	539
ARTICLES :—	
A Communist Does Change His Spots!	531
"A Dirty Deal."	533
REVIEWS :—	
Kabir. By Bishop Christopher Aekroyd.	535
Sex Problem. By Dr. V. M. Bhat, M.B.B.S.	536
Sir Vishaldas Thackersey.	
By Prof. M. R. Dhakney, M.A., M. Com.	536
Post-Earthquake Tokyo.	
By Prof. M. V. Subrahmanyam, M.A., L.T.	537
Economics and Philosophy.	
By Prof. P. N. Driver, M. A.	537
SHORT NOTICES.	538
MISCELLANEOUS :—	
Report of the League's Committee of Five	538

Topics of the Week.

Bombay's Black Bill.

THE whole case of the Bombay Government for the assumption of special powers boils down to this: since communist organisations were made illegal *per se* last year, the communists have been following the policy of boring from within; they have made common cause with moderate labour leaders; consequently it becomes impossible for Government to proceed against the organisations as such in which they work; and Government is therefore unable to put any restraints upon their activities unless it is given power to pick and choose from the labour movement those men against whom it may take action. The case therefore amounts to this: as it would be unjust to suppress the whole labour movement indiscriminately, Government should have the power to discriminate on the basis of such information as it possesses.

It is like the people saying to Government: "You have in your police force some men who practise oppression and torture; as it would be unfair to punish the whole body of policemen for the wrongdoing of a few, give us the power to punish such of them as we suspect are guilty of malpractices." Such a plea Government will of course not allow. It will say: "If any policemen exceed their legitimate powers, a proper inquiry will have to be made into such allegations; it is only if the charges are proved against them that they can be punished; they cannot be punished on mere suspicion." We say the same thing to Government. "It is unfortunate from the Government's point of view that it cannot set upon the communists *en bloc*, that they are intermixed

with other people. If the Government wishes to take action against communists for any illegal acts that they may have done or are doing it will have to bring home to them these illegal acts in a court of law. It cannot act on mere suspicion. Public opinion will not allow it."

BUT the essence of the Bill is that Government wants to take away from the law courts the decision in such matters and to place it in the hands of its own police officers. So long as the Bill tries to short-circuit the judiciary, it will receive no public support, whatever the duration of the Act may be. On the first reading Government agreed to limit the operation of the Act to three years, but in our own opinion this is no concession at all. If the Act is permanent, almost the first Bill the new legislature will consider will be a Bill to repeal this Act, and if the legislature passes it the Governor will impose his veto and keep the law in being. If, on the other hand, the Act is temporary, at the end of the prescribed period the Governor will force the Ministry to continue the Act by the use of his reserve powers. In any case, assuming that the new legislature is a strong one, the Governor's reserve powers will have to be invoked for continuing the operation of the Act, and it makes no substantial difference whether the Act is now made temporary or permanent.

NOR is there any substance in the other great concession that Government claims to have made. It is going to accept an amendment on the second reading that if persons were encouraged to defer payment of revenue with a view to the removal of grievances by lawful means it would not be an offence. But so long as Government takes to itself the power of deciding, independently of the law courts, whether in any particular case non-payment of revenue was practised or advocated for a lawful or unlawful purpose, the amendment will give no protection to law-abiding persons. If a police officer suspects contumacy, he can set the law in motion, no matter how legitimate the intentions of the man who does not pay may be. Chapter III of the Act jeopardises the liberty of every agriculturist or of everyone who has dealings with agriculturists. The Opposition could garner more votes against the Bill than we had hoped. If it keeps Chapter III in mind and informs the agricultural population of the menace with which they are faced, it will surely obtain more votes—in fact enough votes to defeat the Bill. But in the Bombay Council this would be much too much to expect.

Mr. Chintamani's Convocation Address.

IN his thoughtful address at the Convocation of the Mysore University this week, Mr. C. Y. Chinta-

man put forward some suggestions for the serious consideration of the authorities of the University and the Government of the State. We propose to single out for reference here one or two. He emphasised the need of the institution by the University of a course of studies in journalism similar to that followed at the London School of Economics. Action on those lines seems to be under the contemplation of the Madras University and there is reason to believe that its example may be followed even in other provinces. The arguments with which Mr. Chintamani supports his request can be easily appreciated. The newspaper press has obviously come to stay in this country. Arbitrary and high-handed attempts may be made time and again by the executive to regulate and control it or even to treat it as a nuisance to be got rid of anyhow; but its wholesale suppression is no longer a matter of practical politics. If then the newspaper press is an unavoidable reality of the situation, is it not unquestionably more advantageous to have an efficient and responsible press than one which cannot be so described? Since there can be only one, and that an affirmative, answer to this question, it behoves the Mysore University to bestow its most careful consideration on Mr. Chintamani's suggestion.

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HE also took occasion to urge the claims of the Ayurvedic and Unani systems of medicine for State patronage and recognition by the University. Large numbers of people continue to have faith in these systems of medicine, which, on account of their comparatively less expensive nature, offer to millions of people the only means of medical relief. No wonder therefore that there is a persistent demand everywhere that the systems should be revived and something done to place them on a standardised basis. Work in that direction has happily made some headway in Madras, Bihar and Orissa and Bengal, but is conspicuous by its absence in some provinces popularly believed to be advanced. It is to be hoped that the earnest plea put forward by Mr. Chintamani on behalf of these indigenous systems of medicine will not have fallen on deaf ears.

* * *

No Overseas Indians Secretary.

PRESS reports of the recent debate in the Upper House of the Indian legislature on the motion for the appointment of a whole-time Secretary to look after the interests of overseas Indians made it appear as if the demand had received acceptance at the hands of Government. Detailed reports since to hand, however, do not bear out that impression. As in all questions affecting Indians overseas, the speech of the Government spokesman, the Hon'ble Mr. Ramchandra, was no doubt pitched in a sympathetic key; but there was nothing in his observations which could even by a stretch of the imagination be construed as an indication of his acceptance of the resolution. As a matter of fact we are not left in any doubt on the point, for Sir G. S. Bajpai, replying to an interpellation in the Legislative Assembly about the time of this debate, explicitly disclaimed any intention on the part of the Government of appointing "in the immediate future" a separate Secretary to be in charge of the interests of overseas Indians. After this explicit statement, nobody has really any excuse for deluding himself with the belief that the request for the appointment of the new Secretary had struck a sympathetic chord in Government's heart.

* * *

UNDER existing arrangements, the work of the Overseas Indians Department is attended to by a Joint Secretary in the Education, Health and Lands

Department. A decision to continue the post was made seven years ago as a result of pressure exerted on the Government by Mr. Natesan by means of a similar motion. Two years later, so Mr. Ramchandra told the Council of State, a new post of Additional Deputy Secretary was created in the same Department "partially" for the purpose of enabling closer attention being given to questions affecting Indians settled in foreign lands. Mr. Ramchandra had however to admit that there is no one individual in the Department giving his undivided attention to the interests of Indians overseas, the brunt of the work falling largely on the Additional Deputy Secretary. In this connection it is noteworthy that Sir G. S. Bajpai made it clear that the work had by no means outgrown the existing staff. Whatever that be, it would be difficult to maintain with any show of reason that the present arrangement under which the care of the interests of overseas Indians is no one man's concern is an ideal one. We hope that when, as will shortly be the case, the administrative reorganisation rendered necessary by the introduction of the new reforms is undertaken, a way would be found by which the interests of Indians overseas would be the sole concern of a responsible official at the headquarters of the Government of India.

* * *

Quinine.

INFORMATION leaked out some time ago that the quinine stocks with the Government were being so fearfully accumulated that the Government being at a loss to know how to dispose of them were requisitioning the services of a foreign firm to help them out of the difficulty. From recent questions and answers in the Legislative Assembly, however, we are happy to learn that the latter part of the story has turned out to be groundless. So far so good.

* * *

BUT the information about the accumulated stocks cannot be similarly brushed aside as lacking in foundation. As a matter of fact, as stated by Sir G. S. Bajpai in the Assembly, the quinine stocks with the Government at the end of June last had swollen to 229,133 lbs. The Government policy of maintaining a reserve of 150,000 lbs. for use in any national emergency will doubtless be generally acclaimed as wise and far-seeing. Even so, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that the surplus of 79,000 lbs. was excessively large, especially in view of the well-known fact that thousands of people wanting the wherewithal to go in for an adequate supply of quinine, have perforce to allow malaria to play havoc with their health. Why should not the whole of the surplus stock be made available to such needy people?

* * *

IT is no use pointing, in a spirit of self-complacency to the fact that 45,000 lbs. were given to local Governments for free distribution. By doing so the Government have no doubt earned the thanks of the community. At the same time the fact cannot be gainsaid that the action was but a tardy and belated recognition by the Government of their duty towards the people. Our point is that the whole of the surplus stock should have been put to that very desirable use long before the accumulated stocks became a subject of strong comment in the press. Was it feared that if this was done, people would suffer from over-quininisation? Whoever else might have reason to entertain such a misapprehension, the Government of India at any rate have none whatever, knowing as they do on the strength of the estimate

of their Public Health Commissioner that the total quinine requirements of the country are something like 500,000 lbs. In a matter so vitally affecting the well-being of the people, we do not think it is wise to allow nice constitutional considerations about public health being a provincial subject to stand in the way of the Government of India running to the people's help, when they can possibly do so.

Workmen's Compensation in the Punjab.

THE number of accidents under the Factories Act in the Punjab in 1934 was 754, a decrease of about 200 over that for the previous year. This is satisfactory so far as it goes; but there was a small rise of nearly 30 in the number of accidents governed by the Workmen's Compensation Act. Under the provisions of that Act, any bodily injury making the worker unfit to resume work for at least 10 days is regarded as an accident. The increase in such accidents, though not very considerable, coupled with the disquieting rise of 8 in the number of fatal accidents to 18, seems to us to enforce the need of everything possible being done by employers to minimise risk to the worker's life and limb as much as possible. We have no doubt the local Government will not be slow to use the increased number of accidents effectively to that end.

* * *

IT is noticed that while permanent disablements fell from 36 to 24, the number of temporary ones showed an increase from 414 to 457. The total amount of compensation paid during the year amounted to nearly Rs. 24,000 in comparison to about Rs. 25,600 for the previous year. The average amount paid in cases of temporary disablements increased from Rs. 11-8-0 to Rs. 13-15-0; while that in cases of fatal accidents and permanent disablements, curiously enough, showed a decrease. We hope the Compensa-

tion Commissioner is sleeplessly watchful in the matter not only of ensuring a fair assessment of compensation but in seeing that it reaches the parties concerned with as much expedition as possible.

Chowduar Rural Centre—An Appeal.

WE wish to endorse whole-heartedly the appeal for funds for the rural reconstruction centre at Chowduar in Orissa issued by Mr. Lakshminarayan Sahu, member of the Servants of India Society. It may be stated that the Centre is conducted under the auspices of the Servants of India Society for the last eight years and has served as an inspiration for similar work in the province. The main features of the work done at the Centre are: (1) a primary school, (2) a weaving institute where eri and cotton spinning and weaving are taught; (3) free medical relief; (4) a leprosy clinic where injections are given every week to 100 patients; (5) an experimental agricultural farm; (6) promotion of literacy among children and adults by means of a reading room and magic lantern shows; (7) co-operative societies, etc. Besides these items, help is also rendered to the villagers in the matter of representing their grievances to the proper authorities. The Government showed its appreciation of the work done at the Centre by making a grant of Rs. 50 per month for two years towards its upkeep. Recently the Centre also received a handsome donation of Rs. 1,000 from the Maharaja of Jeypore. But the needs of expanding work require more funds for which Mr. Sahu is now appealing. It is up to the charitably-disposed public not only of Orissa but of other provinces as well to see that want of funds does not act as a handicap in the development of Mr. Sahu's activity of great nation-building value.

A COMMUNIST DOES CHANGE HIS SPOTS!

THE Bombay Government is going on with its policy of Red-baiting full steam ahead. In moving the Special Powers Bill, which is aimed mostly against communists, the Home Member Sir Robert Bell treated the members of the Bombay Legislative Council to a very elementary discourse on communism. He referred to the Communist International and to its dogma of world revolution to be brought about through the forcible overthrow of the capitalist system and the dictatorship of the proletariat. He emphasised the danger that Eastern peoples in particular have specially to face inasmuch as communists are always busy fomenting revolt among them so that through them world revolution may be realised.

It would be a wonder if Indian civilians, buried up to their eyes in their files, could keep themselves *au fait* with the latest developments in international politics, but even they may be expected to know that the Soviet policy to which he referred as being in force at the present day has undergone many revisions until as early as ten years ago it was practically abandoned by the Soviet Government in Russia. Of course lip homage is paid to Lenin's teachings even now, but world revolution is no more the governing policy of communists now than civil disobedience is

that of Congressmen in India. However Sir Robert Bell believes that civil disobedience is still a danger in India, and it is not surprising that similarly he believes that communists in Russia have still for their chief object the precipitation of a revolution in all the capitalist countries of the world. But the fact is that Russia is one of the most conservative forces in world politics to-day. The Soviet Government gave up its revolutionary programme, so far as international politics is concerned, long ago.

Sir Robert seems to be familiar with the literature of the first years of Soviet rule, but does not know that a new phase opened quite a long time ago. His information about the U.S.S.R. stops somewhere at 1920. The statute of the Third International says: "The Communist International has for its purpose the struggle by all available means, including armed force, for the overthrow of the international bourgeoisie and the creation of an international Soviet republic as a transition stage to the complete abolition of the State." And the second Congress of this International issued a manifesto which said: "The international proletariat will not lay down its sword, until Soviet Russia has become a link in the federation of the Soviet republics of the world." Although the Soviet Government has always dissociated itself

from the activities of the Comintern, it is true that, believing in the Marxian doctrine of the economic interdependence of the world, it also professed in the early years a faith in promoting world revolution.

The general argument was that a socialist revolution, although it might begin in one country, could not be entirely successful even in that country, unless it overspread to other countries and destroyed the bourgeoisie there. The contention is: "The dictatorship of the proletariat in an isolated country must necessarily be provisional; it is bound to lead to internal and external antagonisms, and it is doomed to destruction unless a victorious social revolution in the advanced countries comes to its rescue." Hence Trotsky's theory of "permanent revolution." He said: "A national revolution is not a self-contained unit; it is just a link in the international chain. The international revolution is a permanent process, in spite of the temporary setbacks and the ebbing of the tide." According to this theory, it was not only futile for the communists in Russia to be immersed in building up a Communist State, so great was the economic and political interdependence between countries, but it was against the basic principles of communism.

But how long was the pristine purity of this theory maintained? As soon as internal and external pressure relaxed, the theory was abandoned, all but in name. When the White armies were defeated and the Allied intervention ceased, war communism also lost its charm. Even in Lenin's life-time the theory of international revolution underwent a drastic change. He declared, at the tenth Congress of the Communist Party, in 1921, since world revolution is slow in coming, "we must co-ordinate our activities with the relationships existing among the various classes in our own country and abroad, in order thereby to maintain for a protracted period the dictatorship of the proletariat." That is to say, the U.S.S.R., instead of working for the destruction of capitalist countries, sought their co-operation. It entered into pacts of non-aggression, signed peace treaties and made trade agreements with various countries. After Lenin's death in 1924 a conflict arose between Stalin and Trotsky, from which Stalin emerged victorious, with his doctrine of "socialism in a single country" and the absorption of Soviet Russia in the first and second Five Years' Plans of industrialisation, the effectuation of which demanded active help from the capitalist world.

This brought about a complete transformation in the Soviet Union's foreign policy. Instead of being a country trying constantly to stir up trouble in other countries and bring to pass international revolution, it became a country more devoted to international peace than any other, for the programme of economic reconstruction on which it had embarked could be carried through successfully only if the Soviet Government was left undisturbed. At the Disarmament Conference no country was more insistent upon complete and immediate disarmament than Russia. The comment of the official organ of the

Soviet Government on the speech made by Russia's delegate to the Conference is very remarkable. It said: "Litvinov's declaration not only is aimed against intervention in a country where there is a revolution, but in the name of the U.S.S.R. it undertakes the obligation not to intervene in a country where there is a counter-revolution." As M. Michael T. Florinsky, author of "World Revolution and the U.S.S.R." has observed, "This sounds very much like an avowed renunciation of Soviet leadership in the international revolutionary movement." The entry of the Soviet Union in the League of Nations, its eager advocacy of an Eastern Pact and close co-operation with France, which of all countries is the most intensely devoted to the maintenance of the *status quo* need no mention, but they prove Russia's complete break with the theory of world revolution, which Sir Robert Bell in his speech tried to make out was yet the theory that prevailed in the Kremlin.

Sir Robert said: "The communist does not change his spots." The whole trend of Russia's recent history, however, gives the lie to this statement. Mr. Louis Fischer in the September number of *Current History* gives ample details of the revolutionary changes that have occurred in Soviet policy. Summing these up, he says: "There is, indeed, always something new under the Bolshevik sun. Even the essential characteristics of bolshevism are not unalterable. The Soviet regime, for instance, is an avowed class dictatorship which practises intimidation and terror. The Communist party is the supreme ruling body and directs the Government. Yet there is already discernible a tendency towards the disappearance of these features of the Soviet system." While in international politics the Soviet policy has completely changed, in domestic politics it is changing rapidly—and changing for the better. "The Bolshevik dictatorship," declares Mr. Fischer, "is slowly, almost imperceptibly, abdicating. When the change to democracy is completed the world will wonder how it happened." Democracy is not yet established in Russia but it is certainly in the process of being established, and it is no use minimising the signs, that are visible to the observant eye on every side, of nothing short of a spiritual revolution.

The reorganisation of the Ogpu, or secret police, and the introduction of judicial reforms, for instance, clearly indicate that the Soviet Government wants to discard the terrorist methods of dictatorship in favour of a more liberal policy. The Ogpu, which was formerly a State within the State and performed judicial functions, administering "class justice," has now been brought under the control of the Commissariat of Internal Affairs, so far as police espionage goes, and it has been completely deprived of all judicial authority. It continues to detect and investigate crime, but hands over the criminals to the regular judicial organs for a regular trial. All civil and criminal cases are now handled by the courts according to law, and the executive has nothing to do with

them. The decree which virtually abolished the OGPU was accompanied by another which created a special Court of Appeal charged with the duty of safeguarding civil rights under the regular law of the land and with power to reverse the decisions even of the Supreme Court of the Union. This was a sign of the Government feeling that the Stalin regime was now secure enough to permit of the Soviet rulers dispensing with violent methods of suppression. With the passing of the OGPU the period of terror has ended, and though after the Kirov assassination the reign of terror returned temporarily still the conception of a Soviet dictatorship based upon terrorism is now definitely abandoned.

We shall here refer only to one other reform recently introduced which is a clear index to the liberalisation of the Soviet dictatorship that is in progress. All the outcast groups in the Union—kulaks, officials of the Czarist police, priests, landlords and other bourgeoisie—who were deprived not only of the right to vote at elections but other privileges of citizenship like a claim to social insurance, had these restored to them. All the disfranchised classes have now received the right to vote. Taking one single group of kulaks alone, nearly ten million voters have been added from this class. This reform constitutes "an act of emancipation for practically all the formerly unprivileged youth of the nation and a definite promise of eventual social rehabilitation for all the adults." The Soviet Congress of February of this year gave equal civil status and political rights to the peasants. The system of indirect election and voting by a show of hands, which was deliberately adopted for the purpose of ensuring complete political control by the Communist Party, has now given place to direct election and secret voting. When it is remembered that the

farmers greatly outnumber the workers, it will be realised what a great step this giving of equal and direct suffrage to the people including the peasantry means. The Bolshevik State now belongs no longer to the workers alone, but to the peasants and intellectuals as well.

But Sir Robert Bell prefers to dwell on the doings of the Comintern rather than on the doings of the Moscow Government, but the Comintern too has turned its back on the creed of international class war. The sixth Congress of the Third International, which met in 1928, embodied in its programme, under the leadership of Stalin and Bukharin, the doctrine of "socialism in a single country," which the Soviet Government had adopted. "International revolution, of course, was the final aim of the Third International, but its immediate purposes were defined as follows: the prevention of imperialistic wars, the defence of the U.S.S.R. against capitalist aggression, the struggle against foreign intervention in China. . . . But it was the defence of the Soviet Union which was the chief concern of the sixth Congress." After 1928 the Comintern met in Congress only on 25th July last—seven years after the last Congress. What was the policy it accepted? "Communists cannot remain indifferent to the form in which the bourgeoisie maintain their rule. They, therefore, fight with complete unselfishness to save the remains of bourgeois democracy and against Fascist aggression." The Congress thus called upon all communists to co-operate with non-communists with a view to defending democracy even in bourgeois countries from the threat of Fascism! The former communist aim of turning the imperialist war into a revolutionary war could not have been renounced more emphatically. And yet the Bombay Government thinks the Soviet is still sounding a call to world revolt!

"A DIRTY DEAL."

NOW the report of the Committee of Five is available, we see no reason to alter our general conclusion that if only Italy had agreed England and France would have imposed upon Abyssinia a solution which would have made her virtually a dependency of Italy. Mr. Lloyd George, speaking at Llandrindod Wells on 14th September, i. e. four days before the Committee of Five's report was presented, gave powerful expression to the fear which we have been voicing in our feeble way. He said: "Another danger is the danger of the attempts which are going on to force on Abyssinia a compromise which will be practically a surrender to Mussolini's demands. If the League of Nations must die let it die a reputable death. Let it be remembered at worst for harmless ineptitude, but do not let it be abhorred for an act of turpitude." We quote this passage in self-defence. We had used almost identical words and have brought down on ourselves adverse criticism for judging the League harshly. If we have erred we have erred in very good company.

That the fear here expressed was widely shared cannot be doubted. "Scrutator" says in the *Sunday Times* of 15th September: "M. Laval is desperately anxious for a compromise that Italy can accept, and perhaps the greater danger now may even be that a hopeless compromise may be proposed than that Italy will deliberately begin war and take the risk of sanctions." "Critic" in his "Geneva Diary" in the *New Statesman* of 14th September, brings into light some facts about the Committee of Five which are not known in this country. He says:

"Conciliation" is for the first time being tried with the ultimate threat of sanctions behind it. And to-day he (Mussolini) may hope for terms that would mean victory. I say that I fear this, for it would surely be the worst thing that could happen. If France and Great Britain agree on terms with Mussolini, they can force the other members of the Committee of Five into agreement. (Incidentally, I am told on good authority that the Vatican has brought influence to bear on the Spanish Government to push Senor Madariaga, the Chairman of the Committee, into supporting proposals of this sort.) Then the Committee could force the rest of the Council into line and confront Abyssinia with these proposals as

a League recommendation. Even if the Emperor could be bullied into acceptance, his chiefs would certainly refuse—if they did not cut his throat first—and we might even see the spectacle of Italy carrying out a punitive expedition into Abyssinia with the apparent approval of the League. That would indeed be peace (with Italy) at any price—at the price of war with unoffending Abyssinia, at the price of all honour and good faith, at the price of ending any genuine collective system in Europe and telling all dictators they could do as they please. Mr. Litvinov actually refused to serve on the Committee of Five because he foresaw this kind of manoeuvring, and was unwilling to be involved in any effort to force an unjustifiable settlement on Abyssinia. This disastrous outcome is, I say, a possibility. The safeguards against it, such as they are, are the strength of world opinion against Italy, the intransigence of Mussolini, and the fact that Mr. Eden has a reputation to lose and would, one hopes, refuse to go all the way in such a dirty deal.

The report of the Committee of Five proves it to the hilt that these fears were well-founded. Our first complaint against the report is that, in order to make it appear that the League in making these proposals does not show any special regard for Italian interests but feels a concern for the interests of humanity in general, the Committee included in the questions it considered also the question of the prevalence of slavery and arms traffic in Abyssinia. That surely did not form part of the Italo-Abyssinian dispute for which the Committee was asked to find a solution. If on these counts there is a case against Italy it is not an Italian case but a League of Nations case, and the Committee and the League should have declined to consider it as being wholly irrelevant to the matter in hand. Italy's contention in this dispute is that the practice of slavery in Abyssinia is a blot that can be removed only by the force of Italian guns, and the League should have sternly said to Mussolini: "We can never accept such a contention; nor is it any affair of yours. We shall consider the matter when we think proper as a separate question." Moreover, as Karl Radek points out in *Izvestia*, slavery exists also in the Italian colonies next to Abyssinia, in Eritrea and Somaliland, and indeed that it exists in all the northern and central African colonies. Slavery in Abyssinia could not be considered by the Committee of Five while considering the Italo-Abyssinian dispute any more than slavery in Eritrea and Italian Somaliland.

The only relevant question for the Committee to consider was the question of "maintaining order in the frontier territories of the (Abyssinian) Empire so as to safeguard neighbouring territories against incursions," and the solution of this question is the one that is contained in the report of the Committee of Thirteen, who say: "On the frontiers of the Anglo-French territories contiguous to Abyssinia there have been raids and incidents affecting the interests of these Powers, but they have been settled by diplomatic methods," and so can the raids and incidents on the frontiers between Abyssinia and Italy. If for this purpose any diminution of Abyssinia's sovereignty becomes necessary, it is but proper that Abyssinia should submit to such diminution, but the Committee of Five's recommendations go very much beyond the necessities of meeting this difficulty.

They are designed mainly if not exclusively for making it possible for foreigners to participate in the economic development of the country—land settlement, mining concessions, commercial and industrial activities and so forth. Now this question should not have been included at all in the agenda of the Committee. It is for Abyssinia, and Abyssinia alone, to determine whether the country should be developed economically or not, and whether if it is to be developed it should be developed by foreign firms immediately or by indigenous firms when they can do so.

Advantage was taken by the Committee of a speech made by the Abyssinian delegate to the League Assembly, in which he welcomed assistance from the League in developing the natural wealth of the country. One can easily understand how such an invitation can be engineered, and to deprive Abyssinia of all her independence on the basis of such an invitation or even upon the so-called consent of the Abyssinian Emperor is, as the *New Statesman* rightly says, "a dirty deal." Foreign experts to organise defence and policing of the country for the purpose of ensuring security in areas where Europeans reside and these experts to take part in general administration too; all financial arrangements to be under the control of foreign advisers who, "even where not invested with special administrative powers, must be able to rely on the co-operation of the Ethiopian authorities whom they are advising;" mixed courts to be set up to try cases between foreigners and Abyssinians; and this work of assistance to go on for a long period—all these measures involve, as has been universally admitted, a complete loss of independence, even if outwardly the whole process is dependent on the consent of the Emperor of Abyssinia.

We are not such ultra-nationalists as to condemn out of hand a plan which necessitates surrender of sovereignty for a time in order that the country's progress may be accelerated and it may be placed in a position to make its sovereignty eventually effective, provided that the plan was not concocted to satisfy the ambitions of its enemy. In this particular case, however, there cannot be the slightest doubt that the plan is intended to satisfy Italy's expansionist ambitions. Italy is not so much as mentioned in the report, but the purpose of the recommendations is made clear from the protocol in which the British and French Governments are to declare that, without prejudice to their existing interests, they "are prepared to recognise a special Italian interest in the economic development of Ethiopia." So the collective international assistance really amounts to Italian assistance, which Abyssinians have had good reason to steer clear of, knowing what kind of assistance they may expect of Italy. Such assistance no people would willingly accept, and if the Abyssinians accepted it they did so only, we presume, because they felt confident that Italy would reject the plan, and that that would put Italy decisively in the wrong. But for the League which seeks to do justice between nations to offer such a solution to Abyssinia is to demonstrate

to the world that the League way of doing justice to the weak is to ask them to submit to the strong. The report of the Committee of Thirteen appears to be conceived in a much better spirit, but it would be best to defer our comments thereon till we have the text before us.

Italy, however, has rejected the terms offered by the League and has taken the field in open disregard of her pledges. She has also captured Adowa. The hope in the minds of some people is that Italy, having avenged her crushing defeat of forty years ago, will now accept these terms. She will thus claim to have inflicted a defeat on Abyssinia and to subject her to her domination. The League too will be regarded as having upheld its authority against the breaker of peace. But no worse solution than this can be conceived. For the sake of the League we would very much wish that Italy does not relent at this late hour, but that England and France will be compelled to use sanctions and that Italy will come out of the struggle, not only a defeated and humiliated nation, but a nation which has lost all the advantages which she might have received by using pacific means and by securing Abyssinia's good-will.

Reviews

KABIR.

KABIR AND THE BHAGTI MOVEMENT, VOL. I.
By MOHAN SINGH. (Atmaram & Sons, Lahore)
1934. 20cm. 103p. Rs. 2.

Dr. MOHAN SINGH won a reputation among scholars in India and Europe with his "Modern Urdu Poetry", and "A History of Panjabi Literature", and his present book will certainly not diminish, but rather increase his reputation. At a time when sloshy sentimentalism is accepted as a substitute for clear thinking, accurate, scholarly, and intelligently critical books of this type are as rare as they are welcome.

It is not always realised how often people, sincerely, and with the best intentions, deceive themselves into thinking that what they would have liked to have happened, is what actually occurred. Then again circumstances are always changing, and people desiring, often unconsciously, to hide the newness of an idea by representing it as a revival of what went on in "the good old days", claim the support and sanction of some great man, who is by that time safely dead. Further, there is the dangerously prevalent "scissors and paste" method of writing biographies and histories. A writer using this method collects together as many stories relating to his subject as possible, and then strings them together. He edits them, adding here a sentence to form a connecting link, and there omitting something which does not fit in with his theory. This method is most commonly found among illiterate peoples, who rely perforce on memory, and among whom story-telling takes the place of reading. Obvious examples of this in countries outside India, would be the Old Testament of the Jews, and the mediæval European legends. The above are the three commonest ways in which myths and legends, such as the Kabir legends, arise. Kabir was not, as is frequently supposed, the founder of a new way of thought, but rather he was a typical product of the age in which he lived. Ramanand, Namdev, Nanak, and others

were individuals who lived in an age remarkable for its tolerance. Living and thinking independently, they distrusted priest-craft, and hypocritical ceremonies, and formed their religious life on the basis of direct communion with God. Dr. Singh, writing as a scholar, gives full authorities for all his statements, and then having placed the evidence before the reader leaves him free to form his own opinion as to who Kabir actually was, and when he lived.

In the space of a brief review it is difficult to show clearly the value of a book whose great merit is its scholarship and accuracy. The following quotations may serve as illustrations.

"The traditional date of Kabir's birth is 1398 or 1399 (Sammat 1456) but the date of his birth seems to have been placed too early. It may have been with a desire to connect him with Ramananda that the date of his birth was placed so early; for Ramananda is often said to have died about the year 1412... He is said to have lived till 1518. This is probably correct and fits well into the facts. Nanak lived from 1469 to 1538... The Emperor Sikander-Lodi reigned between 1498 and 1512 and visited Jaunpur in 1495. (He never visited Jaunpur in that year, Cf. Farishta Vol. I, pp. 333-334). These dates also fit in with the probable dates of Kabir's life" (Keay, "Kabir and His Followers", pp. 27-28).

In other words, if theories exist the facts must fit in—otherwise the worse for the facts. "Fit in"! What sort of a phrase is this for a serious biographer to use! Certain people wishing to give Kabir a first-rate Brahman, Vaishnav, Vairagi, Raimite Guru, make his birth to be as early as possible. Others wish to provide poor Kabir with an excellent disciple in Nanak,—and therefore his death must be as late as possible. "Save me from my friends, from my enemies I can defend myself" is a phrase the spirit of Kabir might appreciate, so much has his greatness been obscured by his overzealous followers. Compare the above method of biography with Dr. Singh's.

"Guru Amardas (1479-1574) the third Sikh Guru... has left his own *Bani* exactly and properly transcribed by Sansram his grandson in his own lifetime and by Guru Arjan, who was himself 21 years old when Guru Amardas died, through the help of his father Guru Ram Das, the son-in-law of Guru Amardas, in which at half a dozen places he differs from Kabir straightaway and in other portions of which he refers to Kabir as one long dead (vide *Adi Granth* p. 63). (Dr. Singh gives the actual quotation which is too long to include). This evidence is infallible for more than one contention of ours. Kabir had long pre-deceased Nanak... Kabir was not a regular personal disciple of Ramananda." (pp. 21-22).

There is no space here to deal fully with the evidence which Dr. Singh uses to suggest that Kabir was born during the latter half of the fourteenth century and died during the first half of the fifteenth century. He also shows clearly that he was a Muhamadan, and his hereditary profession was that of a Julaha (weaver). The myths about his previous birth, his appearance as a deserted baby, and about his name are merely attempts to hide the ignominy of his low birth in a Muslim family. Dr. Singh thinks that Kabir was born, and also died at Maghar, and that he had no personal man-Guru. Kabir's "real Guru is the Shabad itself; the Shabad and the real Guru are inside man; the Guru, the Shabad, and the Hari, all three reside within" (p. 14).

After reading this book one is left with a picture of Kabir, a Muhamadan of strong character, independent in his thought, and actions. One who assimilated the characteristic tolerance of his period, but pugnacious, critical of hypocrisy and priest-craft, and frank almost to a fault. He was fond of a retired, contemplative life, but without any ambitions of

Guruship. He therefore takes his place with Ramana, Namdev, Nanak and others as one of the long line of Hindu and Muslim religious personalities whom India has been throwing up since the time of the Lord Buddha, and who by their lives and thinking have enriched the religious life of the country.

CHRISTOPHER ACKROYD.

SEX PROBLEM.

WOMAN: HER SEX AND LOVE LIFE. By WILLIAM J. ROBINSON. (Eugenics Publishing Co., New York.) 1934. 20cm. 419p. 12/6.

THE author, being brought up in Western civilization, has attuned sex ethics to Western standards. These will appear naturally to be "misfit" to Indians. It is a truism to say that there is always a big gap between the ideal and the practical, but for that reason, one must not degrade the ideal to suit our practical realities.

The first fundamental fact the author asks us to remember is that biologically woman is a weaker vessel. Nature has ordained it so and it is useless for our Amazons to quarrel about it. They may profess to be men's equals, but nature herself negatives such a claim. The author has shown how woman is every inch a woman, however much she may desire to be otherwise (p. 60). It is true man should not therefore claim superiority over her. But her every function, menstruation, pregnancy, childbirth, lactation, bringing up children, reminds her, and others with her, that she is a woman and must remain content to be so. The author has quoted well the wise words of Prof. Geddes and Thomson:

"The differences between the sexes may be exaggerated or lessened, but to obliterate them it would be necessary to have all the evolution over again on a new basis. What was decided among the pre-historic protozoa cannot be annulled by Act of Parliament."

The second biological fact to note is, in the author's words, "Love is woman's whole life." He says so knowing full well that it would not be relished by militant women. But he maintains that, in spite of other interests occupying women's minds, "they will tell you . . . that they are unhappy if their love life is unsatisfactory" (p.30). He further says that "essentially woman is made for love." Her blooming, radiant, charming round figure inevitably ushers her into sex life, or love-making, with the male. And when under proper opportunities and healthy congenial circumstances that sex-life blossoms into motherhood, then and then alone it finds its supreme consolation. That is the role given to the females by nature, and happy are they who fulfil it.

The author advocates sex-education for both men and women but particularly for women. In the so-called modern western, civilization, women are more exposed to the amours of men, more or less infected with venereal diseases, in a period of their lives, when even one false step ruins their whole lives. This, in his view, is more likely to happen in mixed societies. The author therefore emphasises the dangers of these false steps, which involve, despite contraceptives, the risks of unwanted pregnancy, social ostracism, illegitimate children, shame in acknowledging and bringing them up, or sending them to what he calls "baby farms" where 99 p. c. die, subsequent difficulty in marrying, venereal infection and similar disastrous consequences, nervous breakdowns, etc. He therefore comes to the conclusion that women should and must remain pure and celibate before marriage and chaste afterwards.

What is the remedy for the present deplorable downhill course of sex-mania? Some may say, pro-

per education. Judge Lindsay, who has written much on this subject and has had a long experience of juvenile offences in American courts, has recently admitted that "free love, domestic chaos, and sexual anarchy are at hand." He adds: "There is only one remedy. The aid of science must be called, and we must turn to our religion and our education to meet the altered conditions of the day." It is certainly gratifying to see a profound thinker like him, advocating the supreme need of religion along with science and education to check this rising tide of sexual anarchy. May we not then say that law-givers like Manu, Yajnyavalkya and others, who gave women "freedom with safeguards in their own interests," and who insisted upon early religious education to both boys and girls in their teens, were very circumspect, prudent and far-seeing?

The author has given very sound instructions in other chapters about female diseases, sterilization, sex hygiene, nursing babies and other cognate matters. The book teems with useful information on almost every topic relating to the sex-life of a woman and therefore deserves to be in the library of every home.

V. M. BHAT.

SIR VITHALDAS THACKERSEY.

LIFE AND SPEECHES OF SIR VITHALDAS THACKERSEY. By HIRALAL LALLUBHAI KAJI. (Taraporevala.) 1934. 25cm. 565p. Rs. 4.

MORE than twelve years have elapsed since Sir Vithaldas Thackersey died. As a leading businessman, social and political thinker, Sir Vithaldas figured as one of the outstanding personalities in the public life of India in the first two decades of the century. As Sir M. Visvesvaraya has observed in his introduction to the book, there are indeed lessons in Sir Vithaldas's life-history "worthy of record for their inspirational value to future generations of his countrymen;" and Prof. H. L. Kaji must be thanked for undertaking to place before the public a biographical account of the life of an industrial leader like Sir Vithaldas Thackersey.

The biographical account is divided into twelve chapters of unequal length. The first of these deals with the family history of the Thackersey family, the part it played in the promotion of the textile industry in Bombay, Vithaldas's early school and college career and his initiation into business pursuits. In the second chapter, Sir Vithaldas's activities in the early part of his public life have been sketched. The author gives a systematic account of his work in the Bombay Corporation to which he was elected in 1898. Chapters third and fourth contain Sir Vithaldas's valuable work in the Bombay Legislative Council to which he was elected in 1903 as well as in the Imperial Legislative Council after 1909. Both these chapters contain an elaborate account of Sir Vithaldas's views and efforts in regard to problems like factory labour, Gold Standard Reserve and indentured Indian labour. Sir Vithaldas's association with the late Mr. Gokhale in the Imperial Legislative Council left an abiding influence on him and both of them supported each other in their fight for an improvement in India's economic condition.

These chapters also give an account of Sir Vithaldas's career in the Legislative Assembly after 1921, to which he was elected by the Bombay Millowners' Association. His career in the more popular house of the central legislature was, however, cut short by his untimely death in August 1922. The author has given a lucid commentary on the views expressed

by Sir Vithaldas on problems like Railway policy. Currency and Exchange, Government's borrowing policy and has prominently brought out how Sir Vithaldas's influence worked in shaping the industrial policy of the country.

In the succeeding three chapters, the author gives an account of the financial and industrial activities of Sir Vithaldas. The long list of thirty-eight concerns with which Sir Vithaldas was connected indicates how he easily won leadership in industry and commerce. The author also draws pointed attention to the fact that Sir Vithaldas not only stood forth as an expert in the realms of public finance but also promoted many joint stock banks and co-operative institutions. The author has particularly emphasised Sir Vithaldas's abiding interest in co-operation and in the welfare of the agriculturists. Prof. Kaji has thrown much new light on the struggle which early co-operators like Sir Vithaldas and Sir Lalubhai Samaldas, who is still happily with us, had to carry on for the spread of co-operation.

The succeeding chapters mainly deal with Sir Vithaldas's other activities, his charities, travels and family life. In the second part of the book, the more important speeches of Sir Vithaldas have been reproduced which are certainly of considerable interest to students of economics.

Prof. Kaji has presented the details of Sir Vithaldas's life faithfully. The work is written in a lucid style and the author, being an economist himself, has written with sympathy and understanding. Prof. Kaji is to be congratulated upon undertaking to place before the public an excellent biographical account of one who may be reckoned as one of the biggest Indians of his times.

M. R. DHEKNEY.

POST-EARTHQUAKE TOKYO.

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF TOKYO. (Tokyo Municipal Office, Tokyo.) 1933. 32cm. 419p.

"SWEET are the uses of adversity." The earthquake which devastated Tokyo in September, 1923 gave an opportunity to the Japanese nation to display to the world its courage, perseverance, resolution and self-sacrifice. Never was the Japanese nation put to a more severe trial, for the capital of the Empire and the centre of its political, economic and cultural activities was reduced to a wretched state of dilapidation, and yet thanks to its courage, self-sacrifice and public spirit, it has raised in the short space of nine years (1924-1933) a new metropolis with all the amenities of modern civilisation. This story of the physical reconstruction of Tokyo is narrated at great length in the splendid volume before us.

The book is divided into three parts. Book I gives a graphic account of the ravages of the earthquake of September 1, 1923, and of the emergency relief measures taken by the Imperial family, the Imperial Government, and the Municipal Assembly of Tokyo. Book II contains the plans for the city formulated by the Yamamoto Cabinet. The plans did not aim at restoring Tokyo to its old condition, but at the enlargement of the city, and improvement of its general appearance. The plans of the Government were pushed forward in co-operation with the Municipality. Chapter III in Book II will be found extremely useful by all town-planning experts as it contains the general principles of the science and art of modern town-planning and land readjustment. Book III describes the actual reconstruction work, and our city fathers and commissioners will do well to study deeply this section as it will give them positive

guidance in transforming some of the avenues and streets of their cities and towns.

The reconstruction of Tokyo has been made possible by the splendid co-operation between the Government and the people and the sympathy and generosity of the friendly foreign nations. The relief measures after the catastrophe, the reconstruction plans, and the actual work of reconstruction "form a remarkable trilogy of drama on a grand national scale, in which one who has the eye to see, the mind to think, and the heart to feel, cannot fail to perceive a clear revelation of the spirit of heroism, perseverance, and resolution, admittedly the priceless legacy of this our Japanese people" (p. 361).

Any student of history who compares the reconstruction of Tokyo with that of London after the Great Fire of 1660, or that of San Francisco after a disaster years ago, or that of Salonica after the Great European War or that of Paris by Napoleon III will agree with the view expressed by Zenjiro Horikiri, Mayor of Tokyo, City that "the reconstruction work may be safely said to be entirely unprecedented in point of scale and grandeur of conception."

The book is of special interest to India which has been visited by two earthquakes of severe intensity. Committees engaged in reconstruction work in Behar and at Quetta will do well to go through the pages of this splendid volume which will not merely be a source of inspiration to them but will give positive guidance in reconstruction work.

The book contains a number of excellent photographs on art paper of the ruined structures and the reconstructed buildings and these photographs then and now serve to convey to us the splendid reconstruction work of the Japanese nation.

M. V. SUBRAHMANYAM.

ECONOMICS AND PHILOSOPHY.

LUDWIG FEUERBACH AND THE OUTCOME OF CLASSICAL GERMAN PHILOSOPHY.

By FREDERICK ENGELS. 22cm. 101p. \$1.00.

MARX AND ENGELS. A COLLECTION OF ARTICLES. By V. I. LENIN. 1934. 22cm. 225p.

(Both the books are from the Marxist Library Series and published by the International Publishers, New York.)

It is not true of theories as of hard facts that what is done cannot be undone. The theories of Marxism and dialectics have passed through many surprising changes ever since their formulation. There has been a lot of radical tub-thumping about them which has been either useless or has made confusion worse confounded. It is very difficult to come across books which can really satisfy us in this matter. The above-mentioned two books, however, are really useful and deserve the careful study of all who are interested in radical economics and philosophy.

"Ludwig Feuerbach" is one of the most important and latest of the philosophic works of Engels, who has made here a very serious attempt, not altogether unsuccessful, to discuss the basic questions of dialectical materialism, such as the essence of materialism in philosophy, the dialectic material theory of cognition, materialist conception of history, origin of ideologies such as religion, etc., etc. Between the materialist and idealist division in philosophy there are different forms of agnosticism such as pragmatism, neo-realism, behaviourism, etc., and Engels has tried here to explain some of these conflicts and to establish firmly the original philosophic basis of Marxism.

This is a book which clears up many difficulties about dialectical materialism in a manner which

Guruship the subject intelligible even to the uninitiated. Exposition of dialectics was the master-passion of Engels's heart and no careful reader will be disappointed by this admirable little book.

The second book by Lenin is intended to serve as the connecting link between Marxian theory and practice. Marx wrote at a time when many peculiar features of modern industrial society were yet in embryo, with the result that it was found very difficult to apply his theory wholesale to the actual facts of modern society. It was Lenin who clarified the issues and became the great interpreter of Marx. This book contains Lenin's exposition of many fundamental facts about Marx, Engels and Marxism. Though this Leninist conception is not faultless, it is nevertheless indispensable to the Marxist scholar. Lenin is the one great teacher of the application of dialectical materialism to the confused conditions of the modern epoch of imperialism and proletarianism.

The articles collected in this book constitute an interesting miscellany and clearly show to us what Lenin thought about the fallacies of Kautsky or the Second International or of all those who in the name of revisionism had deviated from the gospel of the 19th century Prophet of the Godless. The writings of Marx, Engels and Lenin are white-hot with their indomitable passion; but they deserve our most careful study, for the world will not be happier if we neglect to note what men have thought and felt about the injustice of the modern epoch.

P. N. DRIVER.

SHORT NOTICES.

STORIES OF INDIAN SAINTS. VOLS. I & II.
BY JUSTIN E. ABBOT & NARHAR R. GODBOLE.
(Rev. J. F. Edwards, 7, Sholapur Road, Poona 1.)
1933, 1934. 20cm. 507, 499p. Rs. 3 each.

THESE two volumes contain the English translation of Mahipati's Bhaktavijaya. They are of great value to the students of religion, especially of Maharashtra, for the popular religion here is centred round the Bhaktas of this part of the country. These books are valuable also for a proper understanding of the Bhakti school. They introduce us to men and women whose religion was the absorbing passion of their hearts.

SWAMI YESUDAS.

TEA MANUFACTURE & EFFICIENT WORKING CONDITIONS. By CHARLES REID and A. W. F. MILLS. (The Madras Publishing House, 19 Mount Road, Madras.) 1934. 20cm. 145p. Rs. 5/8.

THIS is a technical handbook full of valuable information with scientific data intended for tea manufacturers. Like other manufactures, tea manufacture also is daily effecting improvements in its technique and machinery. The best tea is more often the product of manufacture than nature's gift. The plucked tender leaves have to be withered, rolled, dried, and graded, and each of these processes needs much skill and efficient machinery. The historical note in memory of Mr. William Jackson reveals to us the changes in the machinery of tea manufacture. The book is readable and interesting also to laymen.

N. S. S.

LEAGUE'S COMMITTEE OF FIVE.

THE TEXT OF ITS REPORT.

The following is the full text of the proposals submitted by the Committee of Five at Geneva to Italy and Abyssinia and rejected by the former and accepted by the latter. The Chairman of the Committee was Senor Madariaga (Spain), the other members being M. Laval, Mr. Eden, Col. Beck and Tewfik Arras.

I

THE Committee, which was instructed "to make a general examination of Italo-Ethiopian relations and to seek a pacific settlement," has endeavoured to find a basis of negotiation. In doing so it has been guided (i) by the obligation of respecting the independence, territorial integrity, and security of all States-Members of the League, and (ii) by the necessity of ensuring good neighbourly relations between the States-Members of the League.

The Committee expressed no opinion on the documents furnished by the two parties, and confined itself to the facts of the situation which needs to be remedied.

2. On admission to the League Ethiopia assumed special obligations regarding certain matters—in particular, slavery and the traffic in arms. She declared herself "ready to furnish the Council with any information which it may require and to take into consideration any recommendations which the Council may make with regard to the fulfilment of these obligations in which she recognizes that the League of Nations is concerned."

3. In his speech at the plenary meeting of the Assembly on September 11, 1935, the first delegate of Ethiopia spoke as follows: "Any suggestion calculated to raise the economic, financial and political level of the nation to which I have the honour to belong, provided it proceeds from the League of Nations and is to be carried out in the actual spirit of the Covenant, will be regarded by Ethiopia as the action of sister nations which have reached a more advanced stage of civilisation and are sincerely desirous of guiding my country in the path of progress. Any proposals of that kind will be welcomed. I am convinced that my country will examine it with the greatest good-will and with real gratitude."

4. In these circumstances, it appears to be the duty of the League of Nations to offer to extend to the Ethiopian Government collaboration and assistance on a collective international basis so as to enable the latter resolutely to undertake wide measures of constructive action, not only to improve the lot of the Ethiopian people and to develop the natural resources of the country, but also to enable the empire to live in harmony with its neighbours.

In view of the obligation of every member of the League to respect the independence of the other members, any plan of assistance should receive the previous consent of the Ethiopian Government.

A general outline of the form which the international assistance to Ethiopia, with a view to her administrative reform and economic development, might take is given below.

II

1. CHARTER OF ASSISTANCE.

Recalling work previously done by the League, the Charter of Assistance will take the form of a protocol recording the acceptance by the Ethiopian Government of a plan of reforms drawn up by the Council of the League.

2. PUBLIC SERVICES REQUIRING RE-ORGANISATION

I. Police and Gendarmerie.

A mission of foreign specialists appointed to organize a corps of police and gendarmerie which will be responsible for:—

(A) Ensuring the application throughout the empire of existing or future laws (a) prohibiting and suppressing slavery, (b) strictly regulating the carrying of arms by persons not belonging to the regular army or to the police or gendarmerie forces. (B) Policing centres in which Europeans reside (Addis Ababa, Diredawa, Harar). (C) Ensuring security in agricultural areas where Europeans may be numerous and where the local administration may not be sufficiently developed to provide them with adequate protection. (D) Maintaining order in the frontier territories of the empire so as to safeguard neighbouring territories against incursions, particularly those whose object is slave traffic, looting and smuggling.

In the areas referred to under (C) and (D) above the police and gendarmerie mission should participate in general administration to an extent varying according to the standard reached by the local authorities and the nature of the problem to be solved.

II. Economic Development.

(A) Possibility for foreigners to participate in the economic development of the country (land tenure, mining regulations, exercise of commercial and industrial activities), (B) Foreign trade, economic equality on a basis of reciprocity, (C) Public works and communications, (D) Posts, telegraphs and telephones.

III. Finance.

(A) Drawing up of the Budget and supervision of State expenditure. (B) Assessment and collection of taxes, fees and dues. (C) Establishment and operation of fiscal monopolies. (D) Studies in connexion with the loans which would be required for the development of the country or the carrying out of certain reforms. If necessary control of pledges assigned to the service of the loans.

IV. Other Public Services.

(A) Justice: the reorganisation of the mixed courts which try cases between foreigners and Europeans; native justice. (B) Education. (C) Public health.

3. INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE ORGANIZATION FOR ASSISTANCE.

If their mission is to bring results the foreign specialists, even where not invested with special administrative powers, must be able to rely on the effective co-operation of the Ethiopian authorities whom they are assisting. Furthermore, if their work is to be effectual it must be co-ordinated.

It would be expedient to provide a central organism both to co-ordinate the work of the assistance services and to secure for them the necessary support of the Ethiopian Government.

A principal adviser would be placed at the head of each of the four public services or groups of public services mentioned in the previous section.

The principal advisers might either (a) be subordinate to a person who would be both their chief

and at the same time the delegate of the League of Nations accredited to the Emperor; or (b) form a Commission presided over by one of them who would be the delegate of the League of Nations.

4. APPOINTMENT OF STAFF.

The delegate of the League and the principal advisers will be appointed by the Council of the League with the agreement of the Emperor. The agents other than the principal advisers will be appointed by the Emperor on the nomination of the delegate of the League or with his endorsement according to the nature and importance of their functions.

5. RELATIONS WITH THE LEAGUE.

The delegate or the Commission will, whenever necessary and at least once a year, make reports which will be communicated to the Emperor at the same time as they are addressed to the Council of the League.

The Ethiopian Government will submit to the Council any observations it may wish to formulate in regard to these reports. The reports and observations, if any, will be studied by the Council at the earliest possible date.

6. DURATION OF THE PLAN.

As the work of assistance must be long it would seem unpractical to assign to the plan a relatively brief duration such as five years. It would, however, be desirable to provide that the plan may be reviewed at the end of five years by the Council of the League so as to take account of the experience gained during that period.

ANGLO-FRENCH PROTOCOLS.

The report is accompanied by two protocols each issued jointly in the name of the French and British Governments as follows:—

PROTOCOL 1.

The representatives of France and the United Kingdom have informed the Committee of Five that with a view to contributing to the peaceful settlement of the Italo-Ethiopian dispute their respective Governments are ready to facilitate any territorial adjustments between Italy and Ethiopia by offering if necessary certain sacrifices in the region of the Somaliland coast.

In negotiating on this subject the Governments of the French Republic and of the United Kingdom will take care to obtain from the Ethiopian Government guarantees regarding the execution in the territories to be acquired by it of the obligations by which Ethiopia is bound in regard to slavery and to traffic in arms.

PROTOCOL 2.

The representatives of France and of the United Kingdom have further informed the Committee of Five that their respective Governments, without wishing to impair the existing regime in regard to the treatment of foreigners and in regard to external trade, are prepared to recognize a special Italian interest in the economic development of Ethiopia. Consequently these Governments will look with favour on the conclusion of economic agreements between Italy and Ethiopia on condition that the existing rights of French and British nationals and protected persons are respected by the two parties and that the recognized interests of France and the United Kingdom under all agreements already in force are safeguarded.

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