

# The Servant of India

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## Topics of the Week.

### Railway Inquiry.

THE annual stream of English cold-weather experts will this year include two railway experts. Last week the Government of India announced the appointment of a committee consisting of the Chief General Manager of one British Railway and the Chief Mechanical Engineer of another to suggest measures for the improvement of Indian railway finance. The terms of reference to the committee are extremely vague and the only specific problem they mention is that of coordination between road and rail transport. So far as one can judge from the record of qualifications and experience of the two English experts, they seem fitted to investigate questions regarding the technique of railway management and railway operation. They may well be in a position to advise the Government of India regarding how greater efficiency in working could be secured or the commercial methods of the railways improved. Even in these respects we would have thought that the highly paid technical officers of the Indian railways themselves would be in a better position to tender advice. But as even an Englishman with service in India is supposed as an expert to be always inferior to an Englishman who knows nothing about Indian conditions, the requisition of the services of these two Englishmen may be understood, though not excused.

IN so far, however, as the problem of rail-road coordination in India is concerned, there seems not the slightest justification for its reference to these two Englishmen. And it would seem from the terms of reference that it is chiefly this problem that they will be asked to report on. The road-rail problem is not a technical problem in the sense in which the operating methods or the commercial management of railways may be considered technical. It is also a pro-

blem whose nature differs a great deal from country to country. Rail-road coordination involves a careful weighing of a great many important economic factors and a delicate adjustment of conflicting claims. It is not a question on which a technician can give an authoritative finding; its solution in almost every country has been brought about by compromises arrived at by mediators or decisions enforced in the interest of one party or another by executive authority. The two English experts would only be wasting their time and our money in attempting to report on this problem. The Government of India would even now be well advised in restricting the activities of these experts to the strictly technical aspects of the railway problem and attempting a more direct solution of the problem of rail-road coordination.

### The Hindu Mahasabha.

THE Hindu Mahasabha met at Lahore last weekend under the presidency of Dr. Kurtakoti. We are not sure that its session can be described as at all successful. Though intended primarily to strengthen and unify the Hindu community, the happenings at the session appear to all genuine well-wishers of the country to have had a contrary effect. This is to be ascribed to more than one cause. In the first place, the differences between the two sections of the Hindu Sabhaite, the one led by Pandit Malaviya and the other by Bhai Parmanand, which were waiting for an opportunity to burst out, came to a head at the session. The high-handed methods adopted by the Parmanand section which was in charge of the arrangements at Lahore resulted in the refusal of admission to the session of recognised Hindu leaders from U. P. It would be unprofitable for comparative outsiders like us to try to apportion blame for these happenings between the two rival groups. But it can hardly be doubted that the conduct of the Parmanand party has alienated an influential section of the Hindu Mahasabha even to the extent of making it seriously consider the advisability of banding themselves together in a rival organisation.

AS if this was not enough to create a split in the ranks of the Hindu Mahasabha, certain passages in Dr. Kurtakoti's presidential address gave cause for resentment on the part of the Sanatanis. They felt so hurt by these passages that they staged a walk-out, in which even the chairman of the Reception Committee joined. Dr. Kurtakoti's explanation that the views expressed by him were purely in a personal capacity and in no way committed the Hindu Mahasabha did little to assuage wounded feelings. Having found that nothing short of an expunction of the offending passages would meet the needs of the situation, he eventually followed that course under pressure of circumstances, though in no way convinced as to its reasonableness. It remains to be seen how long this patched-up peace will last.

COMING to Dr. Kurtakoti's inaugural address, it fully maintains his reputation as the progressive head of a great religion and gives evidence of his broad social outlook. One need not endorse every single statement in the address to say that it breathes the progressive spirit. As expected, he poured strong condemnation on the communal award which is criticised by nationalist India as reactionary and anti-democratic. Dr. Kurtakoti is fully alive to the need of giving due protection to minorities. But he would far rather do so by some such action as that outlined in the schemes framed by the League of Nations for safeguarding the cultural and other interests of minorities.

FOR the removal of untouchability he pleaded with all the earnestness at his command. He rightly thinks that as the circumstances in which untouchability may have come into vogue have disappeared it has no earthly reason to exist. He does not, however, want the banishment of untouchability to be brought about by the caste Hindus out of a sense of pity for the untouchables' lot or by way of conferment of some favours on them, but in virtue of a recognition on their part that it is the untouchables' right not to remain untouchable any longer. If some untouchables feel that by remaining in the Hindu fold they can never come into their own, Dr. Kurtakoti for one would not mind their changing over to Sikhism. This would not, in his view, be conversion in the usually accepted sense of the convert embracing an alien religion, for Dr. Kurtakoti maintains that Sikhism has sprung from Hinduism and is in no way alien to it. Dr. Ambedkar's move for mass conversions of the untouchables to the Sikh religion has thus received endorsement at his hands.

#### Mrs. Chattopadhyaya : Refusal of Passport.

STRANGE indeed are the ways of the Government. Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya wanted to attend the forthcoming International Women's Conference at Brussels and applied for a passport. This has been refused by the Government. It cannot be understood why this course of action was considered necessary. If Mrs. Chattopadhyaya wants to visit a foreign land we fail to see why she should be prevented from doing so. Why should the Government scent mischief where none is intended? At any rate why should they try to prejudice her mission by any action on their part?

HER movements in India are under no restriction whatever. If she is looked upon as safe enough for India, why should she be regarded as dangerous for any other country? And in any case why should the Government of India take it upon themselves to save the authorities of the country concerned the trouble of making up their mind on the point? We do not know if the Belgian authorities were consulted beforehand by Simla as to the desirability of allowing Mrs. Chattopadhyaya to proceed thither. If the Government's refusal of the passport was based upon the Belgian Government's known unwillingness to have her within their territory nobody can have anything to say about it. If not, the Government must be said to have shouldered a burden they may well have left to others to bear as best they may.

LOOKED at even from their own selfish point of view the action strikes one as utterly devoid of sense. Those who know Mrs. Chattopadhyaya's politics know full well that she is no *persona grata* with the Government. Indeed thanks to her recent socialistic activities she has become a veritable thorn in their flesh. If

such a person wants to withdraw herself from this country for some time, which Government with any common sense left in it would not welcome such a step as a good riddance and do everything in its power to make it effective? But the Indian Government do not apparently seem to understand even their own interest. If the refusal of the passport is due to some official bungling somewhere, surely it is not yet too late to repair the mistake.

#### End of Bombay Riots.

AFTER nearly a week's arson and carnage in connection with the communal trouble over the construction of the Maruti temple at Byculla peace has again returned to the capital of this presidency. This information will be received all over the country with a sigh of relief. For when the rioting commenced it threatened to drag on much longer. But even in its comparatively short duration it has exacted a heavy toll in human life, the deaths exceeding 60 and the number of those who received injuries of a more or less serious nature being in excess of 500. The quick improvement in the situation is generally ascribed not so much to police vigilance nor even to the presence of the British troops as to the systematic rounding up of bad characters. It is said the number of such persons taken into official custody is more than 1,000. If the detention of the mischievous elements in both communities has led to such rapid and satisfactory results, one is at a loss to know why the step was not taken as soon as signs of trouble began to manifest themselves. It is, however, of no practical use to cry over spilt milk except for the purpose of drawing necessary lessons from our recent unpleasant experiences by way of guidance for the future.

TO the construction of the *sabha mandap* which is proceeding apace no obstruction will apparently be made by the Muslims. It seems that the religious divines from upper India who were specially summoned to Bombay to advise the local Muslims on the points at issue see nothing objectionable in the erection of the *mandap*. Now it is the problem of the adjustment of hours of worship in the temple and prayer in the mosque that is exercising the best brains in both the communities. A solution along these lines was as a matter of fact suggested by the Hindu leaders in the pre-riot conference of communal leaders convened in Bombay on the initiative of the Governor. If it had been then accepted, all the loss of life and damage to property that were later witnessed in Bombay would have been avoided. Let us hope that a settlement of the problem satisfactory to both communities will soon emerge as a result of mutual consultation conducted in an atmosphere of harmony and good will. Until this happens, the communal tension generally observable in Bombay even after the stoppage of the rioting can hardly be described as a thing of the past.

#### Political Prisoners in the Andamans.

TWO members of the Legislative Assembly, viz. Sir Yamin Khan and Raizada Hansraj, who recently visited the Andamans on a study tour at the invitation of the Government, have come back. It is not known whether the invitation stipulated the submission of a report of their inspection tour to the Government. If so, the public will have the facts bearing on the Andamans problem as gleaned personally by these two publicists placed before it in due course. But for knowing the salient points in the Andamans situation it need not hold its soul in patience till then, thanks to Sir Yamin Khan who is giving out his impressions in the course of press interviews. Raizada Hansraj on the other hand has

decided not to take the public into his confidence till he has discussed the whole subject with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

SIR YAMIN KHAN does not think that Sir Henry Craik's description of the Andamans as a prisoners' paradise can be regarded as universally true. So far as the ordinary prisoners are concerned, they appeared to him pleased with their lot. But the same could not be said of the political prisoners in whose well-being such keen interest is being taken all over the land. These were far from satisfied with conditions of life in Port Blair and were pining for an immediate return to India. Be it noted that this was in despite of the fact well-known to them that in the Andamans they were in receipt of concessions which they could not expect to have in prisons in this country.

PENDING repatriation, they desired facilities for entertainment and sea-bathing. It appears that the jail authorities in the Andamans are prepared to make provision for their entertainment if the required funds are supplied by some philanthropists. Open sea-bathing in their case is not regarded even by these visitors as a matter of practical politics. But the provision of a swimming pool inside the jail is going to be seriously considered by the jail authorities and should, when constructed, go some way in diminishing the cause of their dissatisfaction.

#### Reforms in Sandur.

THE popular demand for the submission of the budget to the vote of the legislature was recently voiced in the Sandur State Legislative Council. Though the resolution was opposed by the Government it was passed by the Council. To judge from the speech of the Government spokesman as reported in the press, the arguments advanced by him were very unconvincing. His reasoning was somewhat on the following lines. The Council was brought into existence only five years ago. The period is too short to warrant an extension of the reforms, and that on such a scale. The Political Secretary's anxiety to make the demand appear more impressive than in reality it was is quite understandable. But what in fact did the demand amount to? All that the popular representatives desired was that the budget minus such items as the Civil List which may be considered non-votable by the Government be placed before the Legislature for its vote. They left full discretion to the authorities to decide which items were to be submitted to its vote and which were to be kept back from it. Can anything be more moderate, of course barring complete abstention from all talk about a forward move?

HIS other argument was in sharp contradiction to his first one. It is a very small thing you ask for, he said in effect. Our people are not burdened with a variety of taxes as in British India. The only direct tax in the State is land revenue. Even your demand at best means nothing more than that we shall only be bound to tell you how we expend the receipts from that source. Is it then worth your while, he seemed to ask, to create all this fuss over such an insignificant matter? If it is such a trivial point, it is inexplicable to us why the Sandur Government which is even popularly described as a progressive administration do not give in on it?

#### Excise in C. P. and Berar.

THERE is nothing in the latest excise administration report of the C.P. and Berar which will glad-

den the heart of a prohibitionist. As a matter of fact the report gives the impression as if conscious efforts were being made to take the province further away from that goal. Whereas in former years at least lip sympathy used to be officially expressed to that ideal, now all mention of it is either deliberately avoided or if it is referred to it is for the purpose of pouring ridicule on it or in the vain attempt to convince the public as to its utter impracticability. The writer of the report before us goes one better and persuades himself that there is no "drink" problem in C. P. and Berar. Can self-deception go any further?

THE consumption of country liquor went up by 5 per cent. This is not surprising when it is borne in mind that the present trend of official policy is not in the direction of prohibition or even temperance. Were it not so, where was the need to reduce the issue price? If consumption was decreasing it was a phenomenon which, instead of causing alarm in the official world as it appears to have done, should have been cordially welcomed by a Government really wedded to temperance. But perhaps the Government and the public do not mean the same thing by that word. On no other hypothesis is it possible to explain their anxiety to increase the sales of liquor.

ANOTHER noteworthy feature of the working of the department last year is that it has given a rude shock to the complacent official theory about licit and illicit drink being in inverse ratio to each other, that if the one goes down the other goes up and vice-versa. In the year under report the evil of illicit drink, as judged by cases of illicit distillation, grew simultaneously with the hardly less serious evil of "legitimate" drink. Despite official attempts to minimise its extent it is undeniably on the increase, as the rise in the number of prosecutions for illicit distillation from 1,676 in 1929 to 4,537 last year, which incidentally is "the highest yet recorded," shows. This works out to a rise of 270 per cent. in six years! But these figures provide but a very partial idea of the extent of the evil, for we are told by the writer of the report that on a conservative estimate for every case of illicit distillation which comes to light a dozen escape notice. If after all this the writer of the report chooses to delude himself into the belief about there being no "drink" problem in C. P. we have nothing to say. The only hopeful feature of the situation, however, is that though he may choose to be blind to the realities of the situation, it has very properly given cause for serious concern to the Government as the readers of the Government regulation on the report will not have failed to observe.

#### Indian Labour in Kedah.

IN the unfederated State of Kedah in Malaya, the Indian population, according to the British Adviser's report for 1935, was over 51,000, which worked out at 11 per cent. of the total population of the State, Malays formed 70 per cent. and Chinese 17 per cent. But it is of interest to note that though Indians constitute the least numerous part of the population the majority of labourers working on estates are none but Indians. Thus we find that out of a total of nearly 32,500 labourers, a number smaller by about 5,000 than that for the preceding year, the number of Indian labourers was more than 21,000, or nearly 65 per cent. It is comforting to be told that there was no unemployment in the State.

ALL labour in Kedah is free. The immigrant labourer arrives in the State unencumbered by debts

of any kind and is, therefore, free to terminate his employment by the usual notice of one month. Conditions of labour are supervised by the Department of Labour with the Protector of Labour at its head. Labour strikes were not absolutely non-existent, but whenever they occurred they were settled by the inter-

vention of the official Protector and his department. Most of the 605 complaints registered by labourers with the Department are described as "trivial," almost all of them being settled departmentally. 45 convictions were secured by the Department for breaches of labour laws.

## SO THIS IS FEDERATION!

THE rulers of Indian States are now busy looking into the federal list of subjects, and after their examination of it is over they are to say which of the subjects entered on this list they can accept as federal. There is no question of any addition being proposed to the list. They can however suggest deductions, so far as their own States are concerned. They can ask for their State jurisdiction being retained in any one or more of the first forty-five subjects in the list either in whole or in part. They may say that they can join the federation only if any particular subject is removed in its entirety from the federal list for their States or if the subject remains on the federal list under certain specified restrictions. This is not the only deduction that the Princes can make. The federal list is a list of subjects drawn up only with a view to legislation. As its official name goes, it is a "federal legislative list." The Princes can ask that all or any of the subjects mentioned in the list and accepted by them with or without restrictions will belong in the category of States' subjects for administrative purposes. For instance, arms and ammunition is a federal subject under the Government of India Act. This only means that the British Government proposes it as a subject suitable for federal legislation. But a State may say that it cannot enter the federation unless it is allowed to make its own laws governing the manufacture of arms and ammunition, or the control of their importation into and exportation from its borders, or the issue of licences in respect of their possession. That is to say, a State may not agree to cede its rights in regard to legislation on this subject. Even if it agreed, it may still claim that the administration of the subject within its own territories will be its sole affair. The federal legislature may pass laws; but the laws will be enforced through the State's own instrumentalities. In both these respects we are told the Princes are making large claims. It is said that some States complain that "all-powerful authority is vested in the federal government in a manner incompatible with the dignity and rights of the States"; i. e., too wide a power is given to the federal legislature. A similar complaint is made on the administrative side also. "An influential group", we read, "is taking an alarmist view of the prospective position of the States and is desirous of demanding, among other things, practical reservation of all administrative authority."

All these objections, let us assume, will be got over, and all the States will come into the federation for the whole of the federal list, both for legislative and administrative purposes. This is of course too optimistic an assumption, which is not in the least likely to be realised. But even if this highly impro-

vable event comes about, we may consider how meagre would still be the federal list, a list which cannot by any possibility be extended but may be cut down drastically by several States. Compare this list with the list of any other federation, the Dominion of Canada for instance. To take but one glaring example, criminal law and criminal procedure is a subject which is assigned to the federal legislature in Canada but is left with the States in India. It is not contended by any ruler that criminal law is not a matter of all-India interest, or that it is best handled by each federal unit according to its own inclinations. If it were so, it need not have figured in the concurrent list. Each British Indian province might have been left to evolve its own criminal procedure. There is no ruler but will admit that the organic unity of India which the federation is meant to promote implies *par excellence* a common criminal law for the whole country. But the Princes' notion of sovereignty is that they must have an unfettered right to punish their people, and the non-inclusion of this all-important subject is a concession—albeit an entirely wrong concession—to this notion. Such instances could be multiplied but this one will suffice for our present purpose. We will now pass on to another branch of the subject. Earlier federations, although they have a larger ambit of federal jurisdiction, have found that it is not large enough, that it must be extended. But we in India will learn nothing from these experiences. In regard to corporations the Canadian constitution is similar to our own. Incorporation of companies with provincial objects is a provincial subject in Canada; so it is to be in India under the new constitution. But Canada is not happy with this provision. She is finding the need for this subject being transferred from the provincial to the federal list. We are referring to this matter in particular here because, after the debates we have had on the Company Law Amendment Bill, our reasoning will be widely appreciated. Recently a Royal Commission was appointed in Canada to consider the question of how to reduce the large difference in prices received by the producer for the goods sold and paid by the consumer for the goods brought. It covered extensive ground, and one of the matters it investigated was the abuses in the practices of big corporations. With the specific recommendations made by the Commission we are not here concerned, but the question it comes up against every now and then is the imperative necessity of placing all corporations, even if their operations be confined to a province, under the Dominion legislature. We will extract one small passage here:

Many of the remedies which we suggest for the evils disclosed involve amendments or additions to existing

legislation. This brings up at once the question of jurisdiction. It is obvious that the existence of ten jurisdictions, each having the right to make its own laws for the incorporation and regulation of limited liability companies—and each in fact exercising this right—greatly complicates the problem of control through such legislation. It is not part of this report to discuss fully the problems arising from multiple jurisdictions, but the question is so important that it cannot be ignored.

One possible solution of this problem would be to amend the constitution so that the Dominion Parliament would obtain exclusive jurisdiction over companies by the provinces surrendering such jurisdiction over property and civil right as would be needed to secure effective control. Difficult as this solution may appear, it would in practice be the most satisfactory one. (Report of the Royal Commission on Price Spreads, Ottawa, 1935.)

Take another question, that of labour legislation. This subject in the Indian constitution is on the concurrent list, but it is not on the federal list, the States being under no sort of restriction in this matter. However bad labour conditions in the States may be, British India will have no means of levelling them up; if it likes, it may level its own labour conditions down to the States' standard. In competitive industry differing labour conditions cause deep-seated maladjustments. In Canada the same results are seen. In a federal state, the Royal Commission's report states, "differences in actual employment conditions in different regions often engender a form of unfair regional competition, which prevents any stabilisation of the labour market." The complaint in Canada is that "the generally lower wage rates and longer hours in Quebec are making it impossible to maintain higher levels in Ontario." The remarks of the Commission on this subject are well worth quoting :

There can be little doubt that there is growing public recognition of the need for uniformity in labour legislation. It is interesting to note that the advocacy of Dominion jurisdiction in this field dates almost from the very first realisation that the British North America Act was interpreted as not providing for the national regulation of employment conditions. The Ontario Manufacturers Association in 1885, the Canadian Trades and Labour Congress in 1887, and frequently since then to date, the Royal Commission on the Relations of Capital and Labour in 1889 and the Dominion Commission to inquire into the sweating system in 1895, all recommended that the regulation of employment conditions should be a function of the Dominion Parliament. The National Industrial Conference, 1919, likewise recognised the advantage of uniformity in the labour laws of the Dominion and passed the following resolution: "That the advantage of uniformity in the laws relating to the welfare of those engaged in industrial work in the several provinces of the Dominion of Canada be brought to the attention of the Government of Canada and of the Governments of the several provinces

respectively. . . ." The Dominion Provincial Commission, 1920, appointed as a result of this resolution, represented a useful approach to the solution of this problem which, unfortunately, has not since been followed up with sufficient vigour.

The best method of achieving uniformity of labour standards is, in the Commission's opinion, for the Dominion Parliament to adopt labour legislation. Lest, however, the enactment of Dominion labour legislation may discourage more progressive provinces from experimenting with higher labour standards, the Commission recommends Dominion legislation with the reservation that "any Dominion law should be so phrased as to permit and encourage the establishment of higher standards by concurrent provincial legislation." But the basic law ought to be a Dominion law. The Commission adds: "The constitutional question of the competence of the Dominion Parliament in this field is one that should be explored and settled by the proper authorities. *If the competence of the Dominion Parliament is so circumscribed that it is impossible to enact Dominion legislation, then we recommend that the British North America Act be constitutionally amended as soon as possible to settle this question.*"

In Canada it is a matter of interpretation whether the Dominion Parliament can pass legislation enforcing certain minimum labour standards on all the provinces. If under the constitution the Dominion Parliament has not the power, says the Royal Commission, change the constitution itself and get the necessary power. But changing the constitution is not so easy a matter even in Canada, where there are only ten provinces to reckon with. In India, while enacting a new constitution, we deliberately shut our eyes to the bitter complaint made in Canada against the imperfections of its constitution for the last fifty years and make provisions which experience everywhere has shown to be antiquated. In Canada constitutional amendment is practicable, though not easy. In India it is not only difficult but impossible, with some hundreds of federal units. In the best of circumstances, considering at present merely the extent of federal jurisdiction, our constitution is going to be pretty thin; but it is within the power of our Princes to reduce it to perfect absurdity. And our disgust with the constitution is so great that we really do hope that they will reduce it to absurdity. If we are fated to make progress, by the doctrine of opposites, by first going back a great distance, the farther back we go the greater progress we may be enabled to make!

## THE SPANISH STRUGGLE.

BY the time these lines are in print, Madrid will have fallen to the rebels. When the rebel army took Toledo, the fate of the capital was almost sealed. Madrid is not an easy town to defend even when a trained army is available for offering resistance to the enemy. But the Spanish Government had nothing but numbers and loyalty on its side. The insurgent forces are highly trained and well equipped with modern arms. The Government's

militiamen with next to no weapons were no match for these troops. But the fall of the capital does not mean the conquest of the country, and the conquest of the country with foreign troops and foreign arms does not mean holding the country down. The war in Spain is not yet at an end. With the capture of Addis Ababa the Italians were masters of Abyssinia. It is not likely to be so in Spain. General Franco's declaration of a month ago that the civil war is vir-

tually over will soon be belied. The declaration of the Spanish Foreign Minister, Senor del Vayo, rings more true, that the war cannot end in victory for the rebels "except through the slaughter of millions of Spaniards who are resolved to die rather than submit to a regime that is an offence against human dignity, and which is moreover incapable of maintaining itself as long as there are freedom-loving Spaniards living in Spanish territory."

The struggle in any event is bound to be protracted, and in the meantime the non-intervention pact has collapsed like a pack of cards. The pact was born of sheer timidity. When it was not only the constitutional right but the obvious interest of Great Britain, France and Russia to supply arms to the legally established government in Spain, they all imposed a self-denying ordinance on themselves in the hope that thus might the fascist countries of Italy, Germany and Portugal be persuaded to desist from helping the insurgents. But it is clear that the rebels have been continually receiving help from Germany and Italy via Portugal. There can be no doubt whatever about this. Miss Eleanor Rathbone's unofficial committee of inquiry adduces ample evidence to prove that assistance in the form of the supply of munitions and expert personnel, together with other forms of collaboration, has been furnished to the rebels by Germany and Italy. About Portugal the report says: "Owing to its peculiar geographic position Portugal must play an important part in the control of the supply of arms to the rebels. All the evidence which we have had before us has gone to show that Portugal has abused this position and has openly supported the rebels and is still continuing to do so. It is quite certain that both before and after the non-intervention pact Portugal has allowed her territories to be used as a base from which the rebels can attack the Spanish Government." This abundant supply of arms "was having a disastrous effect upon the position of the Government, which, though secured of the support of the great majority of the population, suffered from a grave shortage of munitions, especially aircraft." All this was perfectly well known, but it is well that an independent committee has arrived at this finding on evidence.

Did not the British Government know these facts which have been set forth in a report by an unofficial committee? Of course it knew them all, but deliberately winked at them. The Rathbone committee's report itself states: "Other Governments, among them the British Government, possess infinitely more facilities for obtaining information than can possibly be at the disposal of such an inquiry as our own, and these Governments must have been able to ascertain that bad faith and breach of agreement which in our opinion have been indubitably established by the evidence which we have been able to examine." But the British Government which was primarily responsible for the pact is not willing to give publicity to any facts which will surely put an end to the superstructure which it has been at such pains to rear. And when at last Russia brought this matter to the notice of the non-intervention committee and declared

that if violations of the non-intervention agreement were not immediately discontinued it would consider itself free from the obligations resulting from the agreement, what was the reaction of the British Government? "Both Britain and France," says Reuter, "are anxious that everything should be done to prevent a break-up of the committee which would be threatened if the U.S.S.R. decided to walk out. A Soviet walk-out might result in Germany, Italy and other countries feeling justified in coming out openly on the side of the rebels with the risk of Europe being split into two rival camps." Thus in order to prevent open participation in the war by Germany and Italy, a blind eye must be turned to their secret assistance. Secret assistance will, it is true, always be on a smaller scale than open assistance, but when Germany and Italy know that the help given by them secretly is of set purpose put out of view, they will begin giving help openly. And what is to happen in the meantime to the Spanish Government, entitled to receive the open help of both Britain and France which should feel sympathy for it?

Now that Madrid has fallen, Germany, Italy and Portugal might recognise the Government of the rebels as the legal government, in which case these countries would be under no obligation to ban export of arms to the rebel forces. Then the tables would be completely turned against Britain and France. These countries objected to the presence of the Ethiopian delegate at the League Assembly on the ground that Ethiopia had ceased to be independent. On the same ground the fascist countries would now urge that while they were free to export arms to the ex-rebels who had now become the legally constituted government, Britain and France must not export arms to what was till now the Spanish Government, even if the non-intervention agreement was scrapped by them. What then would be the position and what is the escape from it? If Britain and France had taken a long view of the matter they should not have handcuffed themselves in the matter of assisting the Republican Government of Spain, but should have boldly enabled it to meet the attack of the fascist-militarist rebels. Their weak-kneed strategy has played directly into the hands of Germany and Italy, and it is difficult to see how they will extricate themselves from the situation or what measures they will take to counter the onward march of the fascist bloc. That the rebels, if they are installed in power, will establish a fascist regime in Spain admits of no doubt. Franco, the commander-in-chief of the rebel junta, has announced in a proclamation addressed to the Spanish people that the "new Spain" would be ruled by a corporative system. Fascism is the force that democratic and collectivist States have to face up to in Europe. This is a fact which no amount of diplomacy can get over.

The non-intervention agreement was mooted by France because she feared that, with the military help which Germany would pour into Spain in the absence of such an agreement, the rebels would win and she would be caught between two fascist States. But she finds now that the agreement has helped, if anything,

to bring about the very state of things she wanted to avoid. The mind of the French Cabinet was divided on this question, the radical Foreign Minister, M. Delbos, being for neutrality and the Socialist Premier, M. Blum, being for intervention. But if Britain had promised co-operation, it is likely that France would not have followed the policy of neutrality. When France asked whether Britain would support her if she got into international difficulties by following a policy of active assistance to the Spanish Government, she was told that she would get no support and that, on the contrary, Britain would stand aside, leaving France to come out of the scrape as best she might. Thus it is Britain who is responsible for bringing about the non-intervention pact. She herself did not know which side in the Spanish conflict she would desire to see victorious. If the Government won Bolshevism would be predominant, for the governing classes in Britain identify the Spanish Government with communism of the reddest variety. If, on the other hand, the rebels won Germany would obtain control of the Canary Islands and Italy would obtain control of Ceuta and the Balearic Islands, which would cut off the route to the East. But her policy was mainly prompted by the hope that by following neutrality the European powers would insulate themselves from the war and that by following the opposite policy war would spread and Europe would be divided into two opposing camps. If genuine neutrality had been rigidly enforced, this result might possibly have come about, but with the one-way neutrality that in practice has been pursued, fascism has had a free field, and the danger which was apprehended is nearer.

## Reviews.

### SOCIAL CREDIT.

**WHAT IS THIS SOCIAL CREDIT?** By A. L. GIBSON. (Stanley Nott.) 1935. 20cm. 31p. 6d.

**WHAT'S WRONG WITH THE WORLD?** By G. W. L. DAY. (Stanley Nott.) 1935. 20cm. 90p. 1/-

**SOCIAL CREDIT AND THE LABOUR PARTY.** By EDWIN MUIR. (Stanley Nott.) 1935. 20cm. 28p. 6d.

**POVERTY AND PLENTY: THE TRUE NATIONAL DIVIDEND.** By W. R. LESTER. (Hogarth Press.) 1935. 20cm. 31p. 1/-

**FIFTY PROPOSITIONS ABOUT MONEY AND PRODUCTION.** By G. D. H. COLE. (Stanley Nott.) 1936. 20cm. 32p. 6d.

"WHAT IS this Social Credit?" and "What's wrong with the world?" Both these little books contain a lucid and competent exposition on the usual lines of the now familiar theory of Social Credit associated with the name of Major Douglas. Our power of producing wealth has increased and is daily increasing thanks to the amazing progress of discovery, invention and organization. The problem which has worried us ever since the beginning of history, the problem namely, of how to produce enough food, clothes, houses, and in fact necessities and comforts of all kinds for everybody—has at last been solved. Mr. Gibson gives some striking examples—and Mr.

Day quotes others equally striking—in support of this contention. In agriculture 75 years ago one man could cultivate 12 acres. Today using modern equipment, he can cultivate over 100 acres. A certain mechanical planting equipment can plant celery at the rate of 25,000 plants an hour. An experienced hand planter could plant no more than 700 an hour. One girl tending 25 automatic machines can produce 3,600 pairs of socks in a day. Four men operating a machine with the help of a few workmen for odd jobs can turn out 1,000 pairs of boots or shoes per day. It is easy to multiply such instances illustrating the tremendous advance we have made in the technical methods of production. But while we have conquered scarcity, we have failed egregiously to develop a technique for handling abundance. Referring to the clumsy method of deliberate restriction or even destruction of commodities as a means of raising prices, Dr. Norwood of the City Temple in London said in one of his sermons that "the world is frightened of the earth's fertility and is practising contraception upon the seeds of wheat, on wool, sugar, cotton, silk, rubber, rice, tin and coffee, stifling at birth the fundamental necessities to man, for fear of disturbing prices." Something is very seriously wrong with this old world of ours and according to Mr. Gibson and Mr. Day the Social Creditors hold the key to the solution of this problem of poverty in the midst of plenty. Both the pamphlets although admittedly propagandist in tone and purpose are well worth reading none the less because of the useful and interesting statistics they contain and the able manner in which they present the case for Social Credit so as to make it easily intelligible for even to those who may not have time to read the larger and more expensive works dealing with the subject.

"Social Credit and the Labour Party" is an appeal addressed by the author to the Labour Party inviting them to make Social Credit one of the main planks in their platform. The final aim of the Labour Party is the taking over by the community of the means of production, distribution and exchange. Mr. Edwin Muir argues that the temporal and logical primacy of production in this formula should not be allowed to become a sort of absolute primacy. He pleads that since the most open and glaring fact about Capitalism at the present moment is its habit of producing far more commodities than it can exchange, it is most important that the Labour Party instead of wishing to change society by taking over first of all the means of production, should rather begin by taking over the means of exchange as advocated by Social Creditors. In spite of its brevity this little pamphlet succeeds in reflecting unmistakably the erudition and the fine culture of its author. Mr. Edwin Muir possesses a mind which is large and spacious like that of Burke of whom he is obviously a great student and admirer.

Mr. W. R. Lester's pamphlet is intended as a refutation of the theory of Social Credit which is illustrated thus: A bootmaking factory pays out £1,000 in wages, salaries, dividends etc., (these are called its A or inside payments), and buys raw materials such as leather from the tanner (these are called its B or outside payments) costing another £1,000. Then the price at which the goods come on the market must be £2,000. But the money paid out to employees, etc. and therefore their power to purchase, being only £1,000, cannot provide this selling price of £2,000. £1,000 worth of boots must therefore remain unsold. Cost price is made up of A plus B. Purchasing power is only A, and as A alone cannot pay prices which embody both A and B, an inevitable and chronic deficiency of purchasing power results. As the whole Social Credit case stands on this famous "A plus B theorem", Mr. Lester subjects it to a careful and detailed examination and has no difficulty

In showing how it is untenable at many points. For instance, he points out that it is absurd to expect the wages paid in any particular business to equal the value of its output. Suppose a bicycle assembler buys parts costing £9, and pays £1 in wages etc., for assembling them, and sells the bicycle for £10. According to the A plus B theorem, the only purchasing power provided is the £1 earned by the men in the business and not the £9 earned by those who made the parts assembled! The author further objects that the Social Creditors' analysis of the economic distempers of present-day society is superficial and erroneous since they attribute inability to buy, not to any maldistribution of the good things of life brought about by unjust institutions, but to mere shortage of money tickets. So that for them the problem goes no deeper than adjustment of those tickets to the requirements of the market. The Social Creditors are, however, right in emphasizing that the greatest part of the wealth produced today is due to men working in association instead of separately, and profiting in their associated work by the accumulated knowledge they inherit from the past. The immense increase in wealth resulting from this co-operative labour and inherited knowledge, they call the "Unearned Increment of Association" and the "Cultural Heritage," this they claim as common property. Mr. Lester is a follower of Henry George and believes that the prime source of poverty with lack of purchasing power is the denial of free access to land which deprives men of the opportunity of producing wealth. According to him the three essentials are that the value of land be used as public revenue; that taxation of industry be abolished; and that international commerce be freed from its fetters.

Mr. Cole deprecates the attitude of orthodox economists towards "monetary reformers" whom they regard as dangerous lunatics, and believes that truth will be advanced far more by trying to discover what the "monetary reformers" are getting at than by lying in wait to catch them out in a mistake. As explains in his illuminating introduction, the main purpose of his *Fifty Propositions* is to set out that part of the contentions of "Monetary Reformers" which he feels able to regard as an acceptable basis for further discussion and enquiry.

Mr. Cole is unable to agree with them that a change in our monetary arrangements would by itself set the world to rights. He holds that a system of planned and co-ordinated production and distribution is also vitally necessary, although for the effective working of such a system, the present methods of exchanging will require to be altered almost beyond recognition. In Mr. Cole's own words, "these fifty points, embrace . . . the essentials of a balanced economy based on the full use of productive resources up to the limit set by the demand for more leisure as against more goods and services. They provide for a balance between spendable consumers' incomes and available consumers' goods and services, and for striking this balance at a point which coincides with the optimum of social welfare. They avoid the confusion which arises from using the same "money" to settle all sorts of transactions—capital transactions, credit transactions and consumption transactions. They make as near an approach to equality of incomes as can at present be reconciled with the maintenance of adequate incentives to individual effort, and they provide for an increasing Social Dividend as the distribution of incomes in the traditional forms can be safely and progressively reduced."

After this, nobody need be surprised to find that the Propositions embody proposals of a drastic and far-reaching character involving, for example, power in the hands of the community to order what goods

are to be made, to decide upon the total income to be distributed among its members and the prices to be charged for final goods and services or alternatively to regulate the distribution of incomes in relation to the prices charged for such goods and services so as to achieve a balance. Mr. Cole further contemplates the division of money into three distinct classes: (1) consumers' money, available only for buying consumers' goods and services; (ii) "producers' money", or "credit money" available only for financing intermediate transactions and consisting of bank entries expressed in a medium different from that of consumers' money; (iii) "capital money" being the monetary expression of the estimated value of capital goods assigned to each business enterprise. All these new-fangled notions must inevitably shock the nerves of the orthodox economist. Mr. Cole, however, holds too eminent a position in academic circles as a teacher and writer of economics for his ideas to be dismissed summarily as merely the fevered fancies of an ignorant crank!

G. B. JATHAR.

### "A MUG'S GAME."

**BETTING AND GAMBLING.** By PETER GREEN.

(Students' Christian Movement.) 1935. 18cm. 122p. 1/-.

"IT is mathematically demonstrable that betting is a mug's game, and that of the immense sums spent yearly upon it only a very small fraction returns to the poor deluded victims of this vice." (p. 29.)

This is Canon Green's conclusion after making continuous and prolonged experiments with every known method of backing horses and working out "tips" and "selections" given by "experts" in the sports columns of papers of first class standing or the "exclusive information" purveyed to their regular clients by various well-known sporting agencies and the like. Of course now and then one may and does win, but if for a test you put, say, a shilling on each race daily, the results for a whole season will be curiously uniform. "By the time one has put on 70 shillings one has got back in winnings 17 to 19!" In fact, however, the result may be still less favourable, as any curious reader may find out for himself by making similar trials—let me advise it—on paper.

Betting, not only on horses, but greyhounds, football, &c., &c., in fact on almost any sport or game that is going has to-day taken such a hold of all strata of English society that, apart from the degradation of every sport, thoughtful persons are deeply perturbed over the steadily demoralising effect of this vice, this canker, on social life and business alike. Is even now public opinion growing against this widespread betting? It is difficult to answer, but we may regard it a hopeful sign at least that Canon Green's book, first published in 1924, has after going through four editions now been revised and reissued at a shilling.

The law in England, as also in India, regards betting and wagering as gambling and is subject to the same penalties. But then in the same breath this law is stultified by exempting from penalty race-course betting in certain cases. This is done ostensibly as a concession to human weakness but it is not difficult to discover the underlying desire to placate powerful vested interests, such as those of racing owners and clubs. This misguided leniency is, however, bad for both society and the Government. Persons received in decent society today who would resent being called "gamblers" think it no harm and even consistent with their self-respect to go in for what is lightly spoken of as an "occasional flutter." Government,



for their part, after making a show of "controlling" this form of gambling, get so accustomed to the revenue it can produce from a betting tax, or an entertainment tax or licensing fees that they are thereafter unwilling to surrender any part of it and would rather be inclined even to relax their control if need be—as has actually been our unfortunate experience in the Bombay Presidency in the last ten years.

The work under notice is valuable both as a lucid exposition of the whole question and an exposure of the tricks practised by the numerous parties who fatten on the delusions of the betting public. The author is however reasonable enough to recognise that the evil cannot be effectually cured by legislation alone until a strong public opinion is formed, and he points his argument by the following story :

I was walking up and down the corridor outside the Committee Room in the House of Commons where the Betting Commission was held, during the lunch interval of the day on which I gave evidence. A member of the Commission to whom I was talking said impressively, "Gambling is a natural impulse of the human heart, and you will not succeed in eradicating it."

"I know, I know," I replied, "and some time in the days of the cave-man your ancestors walked up and down with one of mine and said, 'you know, my dear fellow, cannibalism is a natural impulse of the human heart. The tendency to pop grandma in the stockpot when she gets old and peevish is a natural one and you will not eradicate it'. Yet we don't now eat our aged relatives."

The M. P. replied, "Canon, you are quite hopeless." As a matter of fact, of course, that is where he was wrong. I am quite hopeful. The open and unabashed drunkenness of the days of Walpole and of Pitt is gone. What destroyed it? An educated public opinion. Duelling is gone. What destroyed it? An educated public opinion. Negro slavery is gone. What destroyed it? The public opinion created by Clarkson, Wilberforce, Thorton and the rest. *Gambling can go. What can effect such a victory? The education of public opinion.* And in that campaign every Christian should play his part.

And let us add—every Hindu, every Mahomedan, every Parsi. For to all of us in this country the question of the growing evil of betting has already become of equal importance. Not only because it is a new vice which has entered here in the train of British civilisation, as the Governor of Bombay the late Lord Sydenham was honest enough to admit in the Legislative Council in 1912, but because that wise and well-intentioned administrator's plan of driving out book-makers for ever from the Bombay and Poona race-courses has lately been subverted by the persistent efforts of English members of the Council with the active support of the Government of the day. And when Mr. L. R. Gokhale brought in a bill to restrict the betting so flagrantly renewed in the teeth of public opinion and in open breach of the Government's promise of 1912, it was cleverly defeated under the leadership of the Home Member, Sir Robert Bell. Fortunately the inception of the new constitution next year affords an opportunity of not only restoring but further tightening the restrictions on race-course betting, and there is good reason to believe that this matter will engage the early attention of the new legislature. Voters and legislators may be relied on to do their duty, and they will do well to study Canon Green's facts and arguments as also the mass of information and opinions succinctly given in *Betting Facts* by E. B. Perkins (2 sh.), which was reviewed in this journal on 7th October 1926.

J. K. N. KABRAJI

## POWDER BARREL OF EUROPE.

PEACE IN THE BALKANS. By NORMAN J. PADEFORD. (Oxford University Press.) 1935. 21cm. 209p. 8/6.

THE formation of regional groupings, based upon geographical propinquity and common objectives, has been one of the salient features of international relations since the World War. These associations are effective agencies by which the smaller states may make their influence felt and also are useful nuclei for the advancement of co-operation and unity which may lead to peace. Nine times the theatre of war, the Balkans have to-day become the seat of one of these movements. The first all-Balkan Conference assembled in Athens in 1930. Since then three conferences have been held, a permanent organization established, numerous occupational institutions founded, and the creation of a Balkan conscience undertaken. The outstanding social, economic, intellectual, as well as political, problems separating the peoples have been examined with a view to the eventual creation of a genuine union. In 1934 the governments officially identified themselves with the endeavour through the formation of the Balkan Entente.

By virtue of its technique of work, the progress which has been made, the strength of the sentiment revealed in favour of union and in favour of its potential influence, the movement for international organisation in the Balkans is one of the most significant developments in international relations. The book under review is a study of this significant trend towards unity and organisation. The author not only traces the events of the past twenty-five years and weighs the forces for peace and war, but relates them to the larger scene of European diplomacy and politics. The five Balkan states (Rumania, Yugoslavia, Albania, Bulgaria and Greece) are tied to the Great Powers—the Big Four—politically as well as financially. Rumania and Yugoslavia are, of course, bound directly to Czechoslovakia by the Little Entente. It cannot be said that the Entente is a tool of France. There is no denial, however, of the fact that as a combination it is more inclined to France and French diplomatic schemes than it is either to Germany or Italy. Greece and Turkey are now being pulled into the same orbit through the Balkan Entente. Turkey is, moreover, closely related to Russia, which in turn is showing increasing evidence of re-aligning herself with France. Albania, willy-nilly, must be reckoned a satellite or tool of Italy. Bulgaria, to wit, has heretofore shown definite leaning towards Germany and Italy. Not one of these Balkan countries can therefore be said to be entirely free from connections which would be likely to embroil them in a major war.

The staggering burden of foreign indebtedness is a further menace to peace and independence. Since the middle of the last century the Balkan countries have been a highly absorbent market for foreign investment. These loans have been for (i) industrial purposes, (ii) governmental needs, (iii) military purposes and expansion or (iv) war requirements, including the payment of indemnities. Concessions or agreements to purchase certain makes of foreign goods or to employ certain persons have been parts of many of these agreements, with the inevitable result of increased foreign influence and control. It has become almost an axiom in the Balkans that where the loan is, there the political alignment is also. International financial supervision has become necessary for five of the states.

"The Balkans may be the powder barrel of Europe," as remarked one delegate to a Balkan Conference, "but the great Powers have supplied the powder". The Balkans have learned through their

own sad experiences in the past the consequences of being tied to the chariot wheels of the great Powers, and the movement for international organisation in the Balkans is designed in large part to free this region from the influence and quarrels of the great Powers.

E. ASIRVATHAM.

### SHORT NOTICES.

**U. S. S. R. HAND-BOOK.** (Gollancz.) 1936. 20 cm. 643p. 15/-

THIS book will be welcomed by all serious-minded students of Soviet Russia. It is a veritable mine of information on the achievements of the Soviet Rule. In about 630 pages of closely printed matter as many as 41 subjects from agriculture to sculpture are treated in detail to enable the reader to have a fairly good idea of the progress made in various departments of activity. The book is encyclopædic in character though of a size that will go into one's coat pocket.

The chapters dealing with the progress made in agriculture during the first Five Year Plan, and the description of the second Five Year Plan will repay a perusal. We get an idea of the area under cultivation, crop planning system of land tenure and of collective farming.

Another subject which should prove of absorbing interest to the discriminating reader is the cultural life under the Soviet rule. The chapters on education and literature are full of lessons for India. Within the short space of twenty years they have been able to liquidate illiteracy to a remarkable degree. In 1913, only 21 per cent. of the population were able to read and write, while 79 per cent. were illiterate. In 1933 the level of literacy was raised to 90 per cent. A marvellous achievement indeed!

The chapters dealing with theatres, music, cinema, sculpture, art and artists are illuminating. In no other country is so much attention being paid to the development of the artistic instinct of the people. In the matter of providing social amenities and amusements for the large masses of population, Russia is without a parallel.

Every subject is dealt with with a clarity of expression and a wealth of details that one gets to know all that is worth knowing on the subject. There are valuable appendices to the book—a diary of the U. S. S. R. since 1917, a directory of the social organisations and who's who, which greatly enhance the value of the book.

S. R. VENKATARAMAN.

### ADDRESSES BY THE CHANCELLOR OF THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY. (Hebrew University, Jerusalem.) 1936. 20cm. 308p.

THESE addresses delivered by Dr. Judah L. Magnes, Chancellor of the Hebrew University from 1925 to 1935, form the nucleus of the history of the growth of the University. The Jews are a much-maligned people and though they number about 15 million souls, still there is not a single government which they can call their own. Detested and persecuted everywhere, it is but natural that the Jews have started recently a big university in the hospitable soil of Palestine for the upkeep and advance of their ancient culture. Though mainly meant for the Jewish people, "the University is open to men and women without distinction of religion, race or nationality". This itself is a great tribute to the catholicity of outlook which pervades the atmosphere of the whole University.

The University is primarily a research one, because the Chancellor believes that "the chief function of a University is research, scientific investigation and only secondarily the teaching of the undergraduates". The University has many and varied departments viz. the Institute of Chemistry, the Microbiologic Institute, the Haifa Technical Institute, the Einstein Institute of Mathematics and Physics, the Agricultural Experimental Station and a number of other institutions. It is intended to cater for the needs of the whole Jewish people. The University is a very recent one, established only in 1918 and it is expected that with the active cooperation of the Jewish people and the sympathetic support of all those who stand for freedom of thought and culture, the institution will grow from strength to strength and stand as a monumental indictment of the failure of the Jewish persecution by Germany.

S. S. MISRA.

### EUROPE: THE REVOLUTIONARY AND NAPOLEONIC ERAS. By A. J. GRANT and HAROLD TEMPERLEY. (Longmans, London.) 1935. 22cm. 187p. 5/-

BOTH College students and the general reader of European history in India must feel thankful to the publishers and the authors of this book for this brief but discerning and lucid work on one of the most complex and epoch-making periods in the annals of modern Europe. This is a revised reprint of Part I of the authors' fuller work on "Europe in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries." They have done well to have dealt, in the first chapter, with such topics as "Unity of European Civilization," "The State System of Europe" and "The French Philosophers." Likewise in the Epilogue an instructive comparison has been instituted between the Vienna settlement of 1815 and that of Versailles in 1918, not failing to point out the contrasts at the same time. On the whole, within the limits of its treatment, an up-to-date critical and clear book.

S. R. SHARMA.

## "FOR THE PEACE OF THE WORLD"

### THE SPANISH DELEGATE'S SPEECH TO THE LEAGUE.

*Senor Julio Alvarez del Vayo, the Spanish Foreign Minister, made a great speech at the sixth plenary meeting of the League of Nations' Assembly at Geneva on 25th September. "The era of national wars," he said, "is steadily vanishing" and a conflict between two States is being transformed into a conflict "between two ideologies, two mentalities, two different conceptions of life"—between "democracy and oppression." He then showed how essentially immoral the policy of non-intervention is that*

*is adopted by the European nations towards the Spanish war. Extracts from his speech on this point are given below.*

THE truth is that the slow and painful development of a democratic social structure, which the Spanish people have voluntarily chosen, has led their adversaries to commit a veritable act of aggression in the name of the contrary principle. The

instrument of this aggression has been the army. The people, loyal to their institutions, have stood firm, in circumstances probably unique in history. This struggle, once begun, immediately became an international issue. The aggressor—in this case the rebel army—has received, beyond any possibility of doubt, both moral and material assistance from States whose political regime coincided with that to which the rebels are wedded.

I do not propose here to go into this question in detail, or to bring such international conduct to book. It is enough for me to say that such conduct implies the negation of the most elementary and essential principles and rules of international co-operation, and, hence, that it is incompatible with the maintenance of "open, just and honourable relations between nations."

While my Government reserves the right to raise this issue in all its gravity if it sees fit, I will not go further than is necessary to-day into this aspect of the problem. I am sure that world public opinion has already passed judgment upon it.

But I should be failing in the frankness I imposed upon myself at the beginning, if I did not point out to the Assembly the consequences for the whole future organisation of collective security that may result from an international situation such as that which has been created in the case of Spain. Obviously a system of collective security, if it is to restore confidence to the peoples, must, before all, protect States against the risk of internal rebellions which are supported and fomented from outside. If peace is to subsist, it is imperative to put an end to a situation wherein civilian or military elements which endeavour to subvert their lawful Government by armed force should be able to receive, amidst world-wide indifference, moral and material aid from foreign Governments whose political ideology coincides with their own. A system of collective security which took no account of such a possibility—which, in my country, has already become a reality—would lead to universal disappointment.

The policy of non-intervention: I am speaking here before an assembly of statesmen, of representatives of Governments, on whose shoulders rests the responsibility for well-being and order in their respective countries. Who among you could fail to understand why it is that we, the men responsible for the future of Spain, for the future of the Spanish people, must perforce regard so-called non-intervention as a policy of intervention detrimental to the constitutional and responsible Government? Who among you could fail to recognise that we cannot allow ourselves to be placed on the same footing as those who, breaking their solemn oath to the Republic, have risen in arms to destroy the constitutional liberty of our country?

Who, among the statesmen present in this Assembly, could accept the right of generals, who have taken their oath to the Constitution, to attempt to overthrow that Constitution by bringing into the country thousands of foreign troops from another continent?

I acknowledge the noble and generous purpose that actuated the proposal for non-intervention. But I must also, and with deep bitterness, point to its disastrous results, disastrous both to my own country and to the future of international co-operation. The legal monstrosity of the formula of non-intervention is manifest. That formula, as I have said, places on the same footing the lawful Government of my country and the rebels, whom any Government worthy of the name is not only entitled but bound to suppress and punish. From the juridical point of view, non-intervention, as applied to Spain, represents an innovation

in the traditional rules of international law, for it means withholding means of action from a lawful Government.

But if we examine the actual way in which the formula of non-intervention has been applied and the results that have ensued, can we still call it "non-intervention"? Non-intervention should consist wholly in ignoring the internal situation of a country and in retaining the full juridical and practical validity of the commercial agreements previously concluded.

We would accept a strict policy of non-intervention. We have asked no one to intervene or to help. But when the normal commercial relations with Spain are suddenly interrupted, when the export of war material for the lawful Government suddenly stops, when contracts concluded with the Spanish Government before the rebellion are cancelled, then we must affirm once again that this policy of non-intervention has been applied solely to the detriment of the lawful Government and, consequently to the advantage of the rebels.

To undertake not to authorise the sending of war material to rebels who have risen against a lawful and recognised friendly Government—that is to say, to undertake not to engage in a disguised form of attack against a lawful Government—merely shows to what depth we have sunk in carrying out international obligations. Such an undertaking does not deprive the rebels of anything they could legitimately have obtained; it involves no more than a promise not to violate one of the most elementary obligations.

On the other hand, to prohibit the export of war materials to a lawful Government is to deprive it of the essential means of maintaining law and order within its territory, to say nothing of the blow struck at normal trade relations through a ban on the purchase of war materials by a lawful Government. Hitherto, it has been unanimously recognised that such transactions were part of the normal trade relations between countries.

In practice, the so-called policy of non-intervention amounts to a direct and effective intervention on behalf of the rebels.

In the notes which I have had the honour to communicate, in the name of my Government, to the Powers signatories of the non-intervention agreement, and which I have transmitted to the Secretariate for distribution to all the Members of the League, the policy of non-intervention is explicitly denounced as constituting a de facto blockade of the Spanish Government.

These notes, and others communicated with them, contain evidence of the way in which the non-intervention agreement is being carried out. I will not weary the Assembly with a recital of the facts set forth in those documents.

I desire merely to add that since these notes were communicated to the signatory Powers and at the very moment when I was preparing in Geneva this speech to the Assembly, I received from my Government further detailed evidence as to quite recent events which shows that, even to-day, the non-intervention agreement supposed to be in force is not being applied effectively as far as the rebels are concerned.

In short, it is part of the normal and permanent obligations assumed by foreign States on friendly terms with a lawful Government to prohibit any form of assistance to those who have rebelled against that Government. The loyal fulfilment of such an obligation cannot be made the object of a special agreement without casting doubt on the validity of all international obligations that are not similarly

guaranteed. The obligation not to supply arms to rebels incumbent upon every Government with which the Spanish Government maintains normal relations is not a result of the non-intervention agreement. Any violation of the above obligation, whether it took place before or after the coming into force of that agreement, has, in our eyes, the same character and is regarded by us with the same disapproval.

The Government of Spain wishes to continue to take part in our common work at Geneva, and to carry out the moral obligation which the Republic assumed when, on its foundation, it incorporated the Covenant in its Constitution. Mere justice, however, demands that that Government's duties, always so loyally fulfilled, should also be binding upon others.

We know that we must solve our internal problems ourselves. The Government, supported by an overwhelming majority of the Spanish people, is certain of victory. That victory is, moreover, the only possible way of saving Spain from the continuance indefinitely of a struggle which cannot end in victory for the rebels except through the slaughter of millions of Spaniards, who are resolved to die rather than submit to a regime that is an offence against human dignity, and which is, moreover, incapable of maintaining itself as long as there are free Spaniards living in Spanish territory.

The issue would already be virtually decided had not the Spanish people been compelled, for the reasons I have indicated, to defend themselves against a far greater and more extensive aggression. Apart from the proofs, to which we have referred, of the reality and continuance of this aggression, there is daily proof, sealed with our own blood, that the rebels are using in action immense stocks of foreign war material which they did not possess when the rebellion broke out. Every Spanish defender of the Republic and of liberty who falls under the fire of these foreign arms, imported, despite the non-intervention agreement, with the utmost cynicism and increasing quantities, is an unanswerable proof of the crime that is being committed against the Spanish people.

As final indication of how the Spanish question is bound up, in all its numerous aspects, with the international situation and with all the work for peace, and in order to make the public opinion of the world understand which are the forces of war in Spain and which are the forces of peace, which party can be expected to add to the troubles of Europe and which can be relied on to carry out a constructive policy based upon ideals inspired by the founders of the League, I feel bound to point out a connection between the assault on democracy in my country and the more grandiose intention to threaten the peace of the world. It should not be forgotten that the military rising began in territory which has been entrusted to the protection of Spain by international agreements and which has frequently been made the source of serious threats to an international zone, that remains to-day, as in the past, a constant temptation for certain ambitions.

The forces of international disorder stop at no folly, however dangerous. That is why we proclaim, while reaffirming our faith in the cause of peace and our devotion to the principles of the Covenant, that, by combating the military rebellion in our territory in order to restore law and order in all fields, including that to which I have just alluded, the Spanish people and the democratic Government that represents it are fighting, not only for the internal peace and security of Spain, but for the security of other peoples and for the peace of the world.

## HINDU MAHASABHA RESOLUTIONS.

*At its recent session held at Lahore under the presidency of Dr. Kurtakoti, the Hindu Mahasabha passed the following resolutions on the Communal Award and Removal of Untouchability :*

### COMMUNAL AWARD.

The Hindu Mahasabha condemns the decision and the general communal policy of the Government as the decision and the policy are grossly unjust, anti-national and undemocratic and makes the development of a sense of joint responsibility impossible.

The Hindu Mahasabha calls upon the Hindus and Sikhs to carry on agitation against the Communal Decision and general communal policy until they are replaced by a national system of representation and national policy.

It further enjoins upon all the Hindu members of the Central Legislature and of the Provincial Legislatures in which the Hindus are in a majority to watch the interests of the Hindus in provinces in which the Hindus are in a minority and to insist on the adoption of a policy of uniform treatment of all minorities.

The Mahasabha reaffirms its faith that the best solution of the Indian communal problem is the international solution as embodied in the various minorities treaties accepted by so many states of post-war Europe, including Turkey.

### REMOVAL OF UNTOUCHABILITY.

This session of the Hindu Mahasabha reiterates the resolution No. 14 passed at the Poona session of the Mahasabha in the matter of the removal of untouchability and calls upon the Hindus all over India to carry into effect the said resolution with a view to preserve the integrity of the Hindu society.

Resolution No. 14 of the Poona session runs as follows: The Hindu Mahasabha reaffirms its previous resolutions for giving equal access to all Hindus irrespective of their particular caste or creed to all public amenities and institutions such as schools, wells, tanks, ghats, places of water supply, hotels, roads, parks, Dharamsalas and public places of worship and burning ghats, and the like.

The Hindu Mahasabha further affirms its faith that untouchability must not be regarded as a part of Hindu religion or social system.

The Mahasabha recommends to Hindus the abolition of all distinctions in the Hindu society based on birth or caste in the spheres of public, social and political life in which such distinctions ought to have no application and are out of place in the present age.

## BOOKS RECEIVED.

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- THE FEDERAL COURT OF INDIA. By E. S. SUNDA. (Author, Madura.) 1936. 21cm. 162p. Rs. 4.
- RURAL RECONSTRUCTION. By N. G. APTE. (Rajaguru Press, Poona.) 1936. 21cm. 91p. Re. 1-8.