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Topics of the Week.

Mr. Kunzru's Tour.

AS President of the Indian National Liberal Federation, Mr. Kunzru undertook an extensive tour in the Central Provinces and Berar, previous to the meeting of the Federation's Council at Nagpur on the 12th inst., in which he put forward the Liberal Party's point of view on most of the questions that are agitating the public mind at the present time. Among the places he visited were Jubbulpore, Sagar, Bilaspur, Amraoti, Akola and Nagpur, and everywhere he received a very courteous and sympathetic hearing from the large audiences he addressed consisting of all sections of political opinion.

IT was inevitable that the new constitution should take first place among the subjects to which he addressed himself, and he made it clear, first of all, that the Liberal Party's extremely critical attitude had not undergone any change since last December. It was necessary to put this beyond any possibility of doubt as several publicists, who were hostile to the Bill, are now singing a different tune about the Act.

BUT the main question was what was to be the Liberal Party's attitude to the working of the constitution. Mr. Kunzru declared himself to be all in favour of the capture of seats in the Legislatures and the acceptance of offices by all parties including the Congress. But as soon as this is said by any speaker, Anglo-Indian papers jump to the conclusion that he is in favour of working the reforms by a continuous

process of compromise on the part of Indian nationalists so that the use of reserve powers by the head of the Government will become unnecessary.

IT is not surprising to find that Mr. Kunzru's utterances too should have been so misinterpreted in certain newspapers. The *Times of India's* correspondent, for instance, reported him to have said at Amraoti on the 9th inst.: "All political parties should come together to work the new constitution in a co-operative spirit, and get the best possible national advantage out of whatever little has been given." This is a sheer misrepresentation of what he actually said.

HE no doubt pleaded for "a co-operative spirit," but the co-operation he desiderates is not with the Governor or the Governor-General, as is being preached in certain influential quarters, but among the progressive schools of thought of Indian politicians. He is not obsessed by the thought, as some others are, of making the constitution a success in the sense that no difficult situation will arise for the Government and no occasion will be given for invoking the overriding powers of the Governor or the Governor-General.

ON the contrary, he would like the nationalists in the legislatures to go straight ahead with their programme, not creating constitutional crises of set purpose it is true, but not minding either if, in the process of giving effect to their programme, constitutional crises are created. Above all, he would have all parties show to the Government by their conduct that they are in no mood to submit tamely to settled facts. It will be seen in what sharp contrast the policy advocated by him is with the policy of a smooth working of the constitution which is being recommended by some eminent politicians.

THERE can be no question, therefore, of the Liberal Party making common cause with the groups advocating a "Pact with the Governor" policy for the purpose of preventing a "wrecking" of the constitution. On the other hand, co-operation with the Congress in an advanced programme should be possible and would certainly be desirable. While no amalgamation with the Congress is contemplated in any quarter, it would be the aim of the Liberal Party to achieve a united front of all progressives in the country. To what extent this will be practicable will depend upon the moves that other parties take in the next few months.

The Black Bill.

AT this writing the consideration by the Bombay Legislature of the Black Bill, as the Special

Powers Bill has come to the popularly known, is not concluded. Not that there is any reason to hope that the Bill may fail to reach the statute book. The present composition of the local Legislative Council in fact forbids any such hope. The Opposition, having failed, as expected, to secure a postponement of its consideration or even its reference to a select committee, concentrated its attention on having the rigour of its provisions mitigated and on the incorporation in the measure itself of a specific mention of the objects for which it is designed.

ON the latter point the Government tried to placate the Opposition by promising inclusion in the preamble of a definite mention of the movements for dealing with which the legislation is to be used. A little reflection will show that the concession is a doubtful boon for which no thanks need be rendered to the Government. If the Government had acceded to the non-official demand for the insertion of a clear definition of the objects in an operative part of the Bill, it would have done something to meet the Opposition half-way. But they studiously refused to do this and offered to amplify the preamble which, as every novice in the practice of law knows, has no greater force than an expression of a pious wish. The Home Member, Sir Robert Bell, naturally waxed eloquent about the value of preambles in order to enhance the significance of his concession; but his argument was in the nature of special pleading which could not have taken in any but the most unsophisticated of his hearers. If Sir Robert Bell wants to be able to appreciate preambles at their proper worth, we would earnestly commend to him a perusal of Sir Samuel Hoare's evidence before the Joint Select Committee on the India Bill on the point and the opinions expressed by distinguished English publicists with regard to it.

Excise in C. P. and Berar.

THE excise administration report of C. P. and Berar for 1934 shows that if the consumption of country liquor registered an increase of 4 per cent., that in revenue from that source was 6 per cent. The rise in the number of detected cases of illicit distillation was fearful, having reached the record figure of over 4,000. The phenomenon gives the lie to the pet official theory that increased licit consumption is invariably accompanied by decreased use of illicit liquor.

THE writer of the report naturally tries, though unsuccessfully, to explain away this inconvenient fact by fastening on the high price of licitly consumed liquor as the principal contributory factor. This, it is pointed out, makes illicit distillation an attractive business proposition. An earnest plea by the writer of the report for a reduction in the price of the licit article is the natural consequence of this reasoning. One is not sure that the suggested remedy can be an effective antidote against the spread of illicit distillation. Prices of liquor sold in licensed shops have risen only during recent years as a result of strong pressure of public opinion. When they were on a much lower level, was the evil of illicit distillation non-existent? If not, it is obvious public opinion will not allow the bogey of illicit distillation to be used for a lowering of the price of licit liquor.

THE recommendations of excise advisory committees are stated to have been accepted "in most cases." Without any desire to challenge the veracity of this statement, it would have enabled us better to

appreciate its force if, as in the case of some provincial reports, the C. P. report had a statement appended to it, giving detailed information about their recommendations and showing which of them were accepted or rejected. We hope future reports will include such a statement.

CURIOSLY enough, the committees come in for a word of commendation at the hands of the writer of the report obviously because they displayed little disposition to differ from the prevalent official policy of relaxing restrictive measures like reduction in the issue price; and in the sale price. These steps are reported to have been almost unanimously supported by these bodies. No wonder that instead of looking upon them as a thorn in the side of officialdom, as was the case till not long ago, the C. P. report exhibits a perfectly understandable tendency to pat them on the back for their exemplary behaviour. If the committees are showing an increasing tendency to fall in with the official excise policy and measures it is clear they do not satisfactorily fulfil their function of faithfully voicing public opinion. It follows as a matter of course that if they are to serve as faithful reflectors of public opinion their constitution needs to be radically revised. But the task has obviously to await the impending introduction of the new reforms.

Punjab Industries.

THE department of Industries is a nation-building department, any outlay of expenditure on which is eventually conducive to the welfare of the community as a whole. But, owing to financial stringency, an expansion of its activities on a considerable scale in any province is out of the question for some time to come. It is therefore a matter of satisfaction that the expenditure of the Punjab Industries department is found to have increased by 9 per cent. during 1934-35. In spite of the economic depression, the number of registered factories increased by 19 to 730, which is a happy augury for the industrial future of the province.

ASSISTANCE to industries by means of loans increased by Rs. 14,000 to Rs. 95,000, Rs. 25,000 of which went to finance a tile factory and Rs. 15,000 each to sewing machine and cigarette factories. A factory for the manufacture of rubber goods also received a loan of Rs. 10,000. Recoveries no doubt present some difficulty owing to the hard times through which the world is passing; but there was apparently no reason to suppose that the Government loans were placed in jeopardy by the financial unsoundness of the concerns to which they were advanced.

IN the matter of giving technical advice the department as usual played a creditable part. A large number of references on industrial, technical and commercial subjects were answered by it apparently to the satisfaction of those who sought its advice. Moreover, the monthly summary of information regarding industrial and commercial conditions in the province for whose publication the department is responsible is also reported to be very much appreciated by the public. The library attached to the department with its whole-time librarian, a reform introduced during the year, seems to be largely availed of by the public. Its working hours are so devised as to suit public convenience; it is kept open in the mornings and evenings and on Sundays and other public holidays.

Malerkotla Subjects' Grievances.

A MEMORIAL has recently been submitted to the Agent to the Governor-General on behalf of the Sikh and Hindu subjects of Malerkotla, in the course of which a number of their grievances are voiced. It is to be hoped that these will be carefully looked into by the Agent and wherever possible, set right. Out of the total population of the State of 70,000, Sikhs and Hindus between them constitute 87 per cent., the rest being Muslims. A lion's share of the State revenue too, about Rs. 9½ lakhs out of a total of Rs. 10 lakhs, is contributed by the majority communities combined. But from statistics appended to the memorial it is obvious that they are not allowed their due share in the loaves and fishes in the State. That they should be thus left in the cold of neglect is hardly conducive to a mitigation of the existing political discontent in the State. The undue predominance of Muslims in the State service naturally leaves the Sikhs and Hindus with a sense of grievance for which it is the part of wise statesmanship not to leave any room.

THE total indebtedness of the ruler appears to amount to Rs. 15 lakhs or 1½ year's revenue of the State. Most of these loans are advanced by Hindu money-lenders in the State and are reported to be beyond the financial capacity of the Nawab. If these money-lenders, out of their disgust with the unsatisfactory character of the State administration or from whatever other cause, decide to migrate elsewhere, the Nawab will naturally not lift his little finger to prevent such a catastrophe. On the contrary, it would be only human if in the innermost recesses of his heart he looked upon it as a convenient way out of his financial embarrassments. But, whether convenient or otherwise, it certainly is not an honourable way of discharging one's obligations and is doubtless not such as will enhance the financial credit of the State.

TO other hardships mentioned in the representation, limits of space forbid any detailed reference here. But one complaint of a general nature cannot be passed over in silence. It refers to the extent of corruption prevailing in the State administration. In some cases it is said to have taken the form of a price for the release of convicted murderers and dacoits. The allegation is too serious to receive easy credence and would indeed be unbelievable were it not for the fact that it appears in cold print in a memorial submitted to a responsible Government officer by a body of responsible public men. The least that the State administration owes to itself is to order an

impartial and independent inquiry into it by way of clearing its character.

Unexpected Support.

THE suggestion was strongly pressed in these columns last week that the surplus quinine stocks held by Government, instead of being allowed to remain unused, had better be placed at the disposal of local Governments for free distribution among malaria-stricken people of limited means. We confess we put forward the suggestion not without considerable trepidation lest it should be treated as emerging from irresponsible quarters and therefore as undeserving of serious attention. The suggestion stood the risk of contemptuous treatment at the hands of the authorities as providing only a temporary remedy.

WE are therefore all the more glad to find that it has since received support from unexpected quarters—from no less a functionary than the Public Health Commissioner with the Government of India. In his report for 1933 Col. Russell in fact goes one better and urges that even the stock of 150,000 lbs. held in reserve against any national emergency should be given over to the provinces, the quantities at present used for that purpose being, in his view, "ludicrously inadequate." He also attaches considerable value to the fact that "even temporarily, more adequate supplies of the drug may reach the people."

THE seriousness of the malaria menace can be easily realised when it is remembered that nearly one-fifth of the total mortality in this country can be attributed to it, not to mention the deterioration in national efficiency and loss of earning power occasioned by it. In 1933 e.g. it is estimated that malaria exacted a toll of one million lives and 12.5 million cases were treated in the hospitals and dispensaries in the country.

IF, as is generally believed, quinine is the only convenient and at the same time efficacious anti-malarial remedy available at the present stage of the world's scientific development, it is high time that the possibilities of making India self-sufficient in that respect were carefully explored by the authorities. Col. Russell seems to dismiss the idea as impracticable. Does he think that the difficulties are insurmountable? Anyway it would be well if the problem is thoroughly inquired into by a small committee of experts, both official and non-official, whose finding on the point will naturally command greater confidence than the expression of a personal opinion by Col. Russell.

ITALY'S PRIOR RIGHTS.

AT a time when England is taking a firm stand for the application of economic, financial and military sanctions against Italy, it seems ungenerous to complain that her general outlook on the Italo-Abyssinian conflict is at bottom imperialistic and immoral; but the situation cannot be properly understood unless one keeps steadfastly in mind the fact that what England objects to in Italy's attitude is not so much the latter's expansionist policy at the cost of Abyssinia as her resort to war in pursuit of that policy. The general outburst of indignation against Italy, however, is not due merely to the methods pursued by her but also to her aims. Indian

opinion is reluctant to support England at this juncture because it feels that while England would oppose Italy's military aggression she would none the less be willing to place Abyssinia's natural wealth and administration under the virtual control of Italy.

The "Italian community in India" have recently published a leaflet entitled "Prior Rights of Italy in Abyssinia," which clearly proves that if the former conventions and agreements parcelling out Abyssinia among the European Powers are to be held valid, Italy has a very good case for establishing a protectorate over Abyssinia. If England's only quarrel with Italy is that this result should be obtained by

peaceful penetration instead of by warlike measures it is after all a minor point. The main question is whether such agreements about the division of spoils of a weak country should not be abrogated by the League which purports to guarantee independence to all its member States, weak as well as strong. This leaflet particularly mentions the Tripartite Agreement of 1906 between England, France and Italy, on the basis of which the conversations in Paris and the Committee of Five's deliberations were conducted. It says that "this Agreement recognized the independence of Abyssinia, but only in a provisional clause valid until the case in which events should arise to disturb the *status quo* of that country. ... It is well to remember this so as to note that again in 1906 the end of the Abyssinian Empire was foreseen—one might even say—was desired."

This does not really appear to be a very strained interpretation of the purport of the Agreement. We shall only quote here, in support of our contention, a passage from a recent article by Frederick T. Birchall in the *New York Times*: "One who scrutinises this precious treaty—made without any consultation with Ethiopia or any but nominal lip service to Ethiopian sovereignty—might glance at the map to see how Italy would fare under it. The hinterland of her possessions in Eritrea and Somaliland and the territorial connection between them 'to the west of Addis Ababa' would gather in practically the whole of Ethiopia save for a narrow strip on the west, barren and unfertile land and inhabited only by nomadic and savage tribes. Since the Italian interests would stretch to the west of Addis Ababa they would include naturally the capital itself as well as the fertile plateau surrounding it: in fact the entire country except that lake district containing the Nile head-waters which the British need and a strip to the coast containing the French railway. Moreover, the treaty specifically adopted and confirmed the earlier agreement of 1891 whereby, under the panic of French explorations in Africa and the threat of a Sudanese revolt, Britain made over the whole of Ethiopia to Italy."

No justice can possibly be done to Abyssinia until the League declares that these agreements concocted by European Powers without reference to the wishes of Ethiopians' conflict with the Covenant and are therefore invalid. So long as the League tries to effect a settlement on the lines of these blatantly unjust agreements it will be doing Abyssinia a grave wrong. The face-saving provision about the maintenance of Abyssinia's territorial integrity will deceive nobody. Its proposals would destroy her independence as effectually as the former proposals of

the Great Powers about partitioning Abyssinia would have destroyed it. If Abyssinia is to be subjugated we would much rather wish that Italy openly and unlawfully invaded it than that the League machinery be prostituted, as the Geneva correspondent of the *Spectator* puts it, to delivering her over to Italy under the forms of law. That the forms of law require Abyssinia's consent is a mere eye-wash. Abyssinia consents under the threat of being swallowed up entire. Her consent will be valid only when it is forthcoming after the threat is removed. If, after a successful use of force by the League in vindication of international law, Abyssinia agrees freely to a collective control of her administration or even to Italian control of her administration, the solution offered by the League might be accepted. But her acceptance of the Committee of Five's proposals—under certain reservations, what they are we do not yet know—counts for nothing. For the Committee, without mentioning Italy by name, gives to her a very large portion of control over her economic resources and her government. Italy's chief complaint is that Abyssinia follows a policy of discrimination against her. The complaint is this, as voiced in her Memorandum to the League:

Of the numerous foreign experts engaged by the Ethiopian Government as advisers in its own administrations, only one (the last in point of time) is an Italian, and he is an electrical engineer. The other experts, all appointed since 1928, are:

Internal administration: an Englishman;
Judicial questions: a Swiss;
Financial questions: An American;
Questions of foreign policy: a Frenchman and then a Swede;
Military questions: a Swede;
Public works: a Frenchman and a Russian;
Aviation: Germans and Frenchmen;
Archaeology: a Frenchman.
Postal administration: a Frenchman.

The Military Mission is Belgian, and the instructors of the Ethiopian officers are Swedes.

Even the Marconi station, constructed by the Ansaldo Company (not because it was specially selected by the Ethiopian Government, but because its tender was the most advantageous one), was placed by the Ethiopian Government in the hands of foreign technicians—a Frenchman and a Swede—as soon as it was completed.

The League tries to meet this complaint, and in doing so it really places Abyssinia at the mercy of Italy which threatens her independence. It is a wrong and immoral solution that it offers; let it first abrogate, when Italy's military aggression is checked, the agreements of 1891, 1906 and 1925. Then only will a righteous and a viable settlement of the differences be possible.

U. S. A. AND THE ABYSSINIAN WAR.

THE U. S. A., in accordance with its traditional policy of keeping out of foreign entanglements, has decided to remain neutral in the Italo-Abyssinian conflict. It declines to pass a judgment on the rights and wrongs of this controversy and does not treat Italy as an aggressor as do Great

Britain, France and other members of the League of Nations. This is made clear by the fact that, while the League countries have lifted their embargo on the export of arms and munitions to Abyssinia but maintained it only on that to Italy, the U. S. A. has now put a ban on the supply of munitions indiffe-

rently to both Italy and Abyssinia. This was done in pursuance of the neutrality resolution passed by Congress at the end of August. The resolution was passed by the House of Representatives *nem con.* and by the Senate by 77 votes to 2, and is to remain in force for six months until February 29, 1936. The first section of the resolution, which is mandatory, reads thus: "Upon the outbreak or during the progress of war between, or among, two or more foreign States, the President shall proclaim such fact, and it shall thereafter be unlawful to export arms, ammunition or implements of war from any place in the United States, or possessions of the United States, to any port of such belligerent States, or to any neutral port for transshipment to, or for the use of, a belligerent country. The President shall by proclamation enumerate the arms, ammunition or implements of war. He may also from time to time extend the embargo to other States as and when they may become involved in such a war." American ships are not to carry such goods to ports of belligerents or to any port for transshipment. Manufacturers, importers and exporters of munitions are to be licensed and their actions supervised by a Munitions Control Board. Discretionary authority is given to the President to restrict or close territorial waters of the United States to submarines of belligerents and to prohibit American citizens from travelling, except at their own risk, on ships of belligerent nations, unless in flight from a country at war.

One cannot but be disappointed at this isolation of the United States. It is true that, not being a party to the League Covenant, it is not obligatory on the United States to participate in the collective use of force against the aggressor, on which the League has embarked. But Italy has broken the Kellogg Pact as she has broken the League Covenant, and of the Kellogg Pact the U. S. is a prominent signatory. The U. S. must not therefore treat Italy and Abyssinia as if they were on the same footing but surely must differentiate between the two. It is fair to say however that President Roosevelt wanted the resolution of Congress to take a different form so as to enable him to put an embargo on shipments only to aggressor countries leaving him free to allow shipments to go to countries which are the victims of aggression. If such a resolution had been passed it would have brought the U. S. alongside of England and France in the present conflict, though its actual contribution to the resistance of aggression would necessarily have been smaller. Indeed we were led to believe that after the Pact of Paris the U. S. would abandon the traditional doctrine of neutrality. Mr. Stimson, as Secretary of State, had thus interpreted the Pact in 1932:

War between nations was renounced by the signatories of the Briand-Kellogg Pact. This means that it has become illegal throughout practically the entire world. It is no longer to be the source and subject of rights. It is no longer to be the principle around which the treaties, the conduct and the rights of nations revolve. It is an illegal thing. Hereafter when two nations engage in an armed conflict either one or both of them must be wrongdoers—violators of the general treaty. We no longer draw a circle about them and treat them with the pun-

tilios of the duelist's code. Instead we denounce them as lawbreakers. By that very fact we have made obsolete many legal precedents and have given the legal profession the task of re-examining many of its codes and treaties.

In the event of a war there can be, for the signatories of the Pact of Paris, no neutrals, and for the United States to proclaim its neutrality in face of an open breach of the covenanted peace on the part of Italy is to show scant regard to its pledges. A further interpretation of this Pact was given by the International Law Association as follows:

In the event of the violation of the Pact by resort to armed force or war by one signatory State against another, any signatory State not being a party to the original dispute may, without thereby committing a breach of the Pact or of any rule of international law, do all or any of the following things: (a) refuse to admit the exercise by the State violating the Pact of belligerent rights such as visit, or search or blockade; (b) decline to observe towards the State violating the Pact the duties prescribed by international law apart from the Pact for a neutral in relation to a belligerent; (c) supply the State attacked with financial or material assistance including munitions of war; (d) assist with armed forces the State attacked.

It is true that the Pact does not require the use of sanctions of force, but it permits such use; and, what is more, it requires the signatories to pronounce their judgment as to which of the belligerents is guilty of aggression. In fact at the Disarmament Conference, Mr. Norman Davis entered into definite engagements on behalf of the United States. On May 22, 1933, he said, his country "was willing to consult with other States in case of a threat to peace" with a view of averting conflict. Further than that, in the event that the States, in conference, determined that a State had been guilty of a breach of the peace in violation of its international obligations and took measures against the violator, then, if the United States concurred in the judgment rendered as to the responsible and guilty party, it would refrain from any action tending to defeat such collective effort which the States might thus make to restore peace." In this particular conflict the United States is not willing to form its judgment as to who is the guilty party.

The embargo on the munitions of war on which the United States has decided is a purely self-regarding policy for the country. It only hopes thereby to be saved from being drawn into a war with which it has no concern. But even from this narrow point of view the policy is inadequate. The Congress resolution of August last puts an embargo on arms, munitions and implements of war but leaves free-commerce in articles not directly intended for war-like purposes. In respect of such articles the United States apparently wants to exercise its neutral rights. Now, what are these neutral rights? In the words of Dr. James Brown Scott, who was Chairman of the State, War and Navy Neutrality Board from 1915 to 1917, "Neutrality permits nations to remain neutral, in a war to which they have not declared themselves to be parties, and to carry on the commerce of peace in all commodities with all other neutral nations, and also with the belligerent nations, on the condition that each of the latter be treated impartially.

that is to say, that the neutral nation does not limit its trade to one of the belligerents to the exclusion of the others but offers its wares to both alike." But insistence upon these rights of neutrality does not in fact help the United States in keeping out of war; on the contrary, attempts to protect natural commerce on the part of its citizens bring it into a state of war with foreign belligerents. Such has always been the experience of the United States. The assertion of neutral rights during the Napoleonic wars involved it in a war with Great Britain in 1812, and the assertion of such rights in the World War involved it in a war with Germany and Austria-Hungary in 1917. There is not the slightest doubt that the United States did not become a participant in the World War on the side of the Allies for any other reason than that the enemy countries assailed its neutral rights. If, then, the United States wants to guard itself against being dragged into a foreign war it will not be enough for it to forbid the sale of arms and munitions to belligerents; it must further resolve not to extend the Government's protection to neutral rights of commerce in other commodities as well. The neutrality resolution, then, must be something like the resolution introduced by Congressman Maury Maverick. It forbade entering into a contract with a belligerent country and making a loan thereto; and as for the limitations on export, they were comprehensive. This section of the resolution said: "There shall not be exported from the United States or any place subject to the jurisdiction thereof, directly or indirectly, to any belligerent foreign nation or national thereof any munitions of war or any article declared to be contraband of war by such belligerent foreign nation or by any foreign nation with which such belligerent foreign nation is engaged in armed conflict."

This means stoppage of all trade with belligerent countries, for the distinction between absolute contraband and conditional contraband, between commodities directly used in war and commodities which are susceptible of a warlike use, has been swept away since the World War. When formerly wars were confined to standing armies peaceful commodities like food could be sent to a belligerent country for the use of the civilian population and without much risk of their being used for the army. But now when the armed forces consist of practically the whole adult male population, even food and clothing intended for the civilian population is commandeered by the government and handed over to the army. Thus during the World War, almost every article of commerce became contraband. Professor Amry Vandebosch says: "The swollen contraband lists issued by the belligerents during the war left few articles of lawful trade. Many of the articles placed on the contraband lists had only a remote connection with war. And indeed some of the articles found on the list of absolute contraband may be said to have a predominantly peaceful usage (as for instance albumen, diamonds, soap and starch)." "In other words," sums up Dr. Scott, "almost all the imports of the belligerent have become, directly or indirectly,

instruments of war, and in consequence are viewed by the opposing belligerent as contraband of war, the items included within that classification being increased with every year." In order therefore to keep clear of all foreign wars, the United States must declare that its citizens, if they wish to trade with belligerent countries even in articles least partaking of contraband, would do so at their own risk and that the Government would in no case go to war with a foreign country merely for the protection of neutral commerce. To this extent, however, the United States Government is not prepared to go. But instead of pursuing this separate, self-regarding policy, the United States should have offered its co-operation to other countries, first, in passing a moral judgment on the Italo-Abyssinian controversy and, then, in taking coercive measures against the aggressor—so far as would be practicable and necessary to do so.

Reviews

MODERN CHINESE PROBLEMS.

CHINA'S PROBLEMS AND THEIR SOLUTION.

By WANG CHING-WEI. (China United Press, Shanghai, China.) 1934. 25cm. 199p. \$4.50.

FUNDAMENTAL LAWS OF THE CHINESE

SOVIET REPUBLIC. (International Publishers, New York.) 1934. 20cm. 87p. \$0.75.

In the first book under review an attempt is made to reveal the problems of modern China and to suggest their solution by Wang Ching-Wei, President of the Executive Yuan and Officiating Minister of Foreign Affairs in the National Government of China. Wang Ching-Wei was a revolutionary who was condemned to life imprisonment in 1910. But on the success of the Revolution in 1911, he was set at liberty and since then he has been one of the foremost leaders of China. He was the right-hand man of Dr. Sun Yat Sen and on the death of Dr. Sun in March, 1925, became the official leader of the National Revolution. Wang Ching-Wei is therefore eminently qualified to write on China's problems and their solution. The learned author of the book, being a leader of the Kuomintang, may appear to some to describe the Chinese problems in a spirit of partisanship and to suggest the Kuomintang solution of the problems, but our opinion is that he has given an accurate picture of the conditions in China. As for the solution of China's problems, he prescribes the Kuomintang remedies, and we think they are the best panaceas for China's ills.

After giving a brilliant survey of China's problems, such as predatory militarism, the communist bandit problem, agricultural and industrial problems, and the Japanese menace, the author gives his solution—which is the Kuomintang solution—for each of the problems facing modern China. He compares China to the nineteenth century Turkey, 'the Sick Man of Europe', and says that she is suffering to-day from general debility, a weak heart, and a tumorous growth. General debility refers to the unsettled and undeveloped condition of a vast country rich in natural resources and man power. The weak heart refers to the political and financial strength of the nation, while the tumorous growth stands for the Japanese occupation of Chinese territory. Continuing his metaphor the author rightly

points out that the removal of the tumour should be attempted only when the patient is able to stand the shock of the operation, that is only after the invalid's strength is built up and his general debility overcome. It is just possible that owing to the revival of the patient's powers of resistance, the cankerous growth might disappear, but if it remained it could be removed only by a major operation.

The author's solution of the problems of China proceeds on this line of reasoning. He suggests unification through reconstruction which will strengthen the material as well as spiritual relations between the various parts of the country, while force will be a most insecure measure. The first step towards national reconstruction is to develop agriculture, industry and commerce. This work has been taken by the National Economic Council assisted by a number of foreign experts. The author also draws attention to the fact that though at present the Kuomintang rules, it hopes to replace the present party rule by a system of constitutional government. In chapter IX is described the local self-governing institutions set up by the Kuomintang to train the people for democracy. With reference to China's foreign policy, the author says that it is 'pro-Chinese' and not 'anti-foreign.' China is for peace and she knows that peace can only be built and become firmly established on the foundation of equality. It is to obtain equality in international status that she is now devoting herself to the political and economic reconstruction of the country; and it is with the same purpose that she is seeking the readjustment of her military forces and the strengthening of her national defences. The author hopes that this is the only course open to his country and we think he is right.

The second book under review deals with the political and the economic organisation of that part of China which is under Communist rule. The Communist area is one-sixth of China and the book under review describes the Constitution, Agrarian Legislation, Red Army, the Labour Code, Laws regarding economic problems, etc., of the Chinese Soviet Republic. Bela Kun, head of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, has written an excellent preface in which he points out how the attempts of Chiang-Kai-Shek to overthrow the Chinese Soviet Republic ended in failure. We are afraid that Communism has come to stay at least in Kiangsi province and the Kuomintang will encounter formidable difficulties in its task of unification of China under a constitutional government.

The two books under review are a valuable contribution to the growing literature on China and the Editor of the 'China To-day Series' in which the first book under review appears should be congratulated for requisitioning the services of such a great scholar and experienced administrator as Wang Ching-Wei to give an account of China's problems and their solution. We have no hesitation in saying that Wang Ching-Wei's book is an honest, comprehensive and authoritative presentation of China's problems and their solution, and no student of Far Eastern affairs should be without it.

M. V. SUBRAHMANYAM.

LITERATURE AND SOCIALISM.

LITERATURE & A CHANGING CIVILISATION.

By PHILIP HENDERSON. (The Twentieth Century Library Series.) [John Lane the Bodley Head.] 1935. 20cm. 180p. 3/6.

THE general object of the XX Century Library series is to explain for the information of the intelligent man or woman the effect on modern thought of

the metamorphosis which is affecting every aspect of our civilization today. Not being an expert sociologist it is not for me to say how far the general position assumed—the advent of socialism—is valid. But I may say that though the direction of civilization is unmistakably towards socialism, yet I am afraid the forces of opposition would not yield so readily as the writers seem to assume. But it is a matter of faith till it is an accomplished fact.

In this interesting volume before us, we have a special pleading of the socialist's view of literature as it was in the past, as it is today, and what it would be in the near future. The writers of the present, Mr. Philip Henderson remarks, should be open-minded and embrace the coming change with good grace. To persuade us to this position we are often assured that the days of capitalism are over, that fascism (which seems to be the bug-bear of the socialists) is an enemy of literature, as of everything that is good as the budding socialist sees it. We are assured that the social experiment now carried on in U.S.S.R. (Soviet Russia) is of the highest importance to the world at large. It is, therefore, with profound interest that one reads how literature fared in Soviet Russia during this short regime. I must frankly say that if we are to judge from this experiment alone, the future for literature under Socialism is none too rosy. But in fairness one must say that the experiment is not to be taken at its face value as Mr. Max Eastern does. The author of this little book with real insight points out what the nature of the experiment was. Yet, even with this assurance one does not feel that men of letters will hail with delight the coming revolution, if it is as Mr. Henderson paints it.

Literature, it is quite true, depends on life, and therefore always changes with the change in the environment. Life supplies literature with the rough material out of which it builds its own world; and life in its turn wishes to copy it. Thus life and literature act and re-act on each other. That is a fact, though we may not be able to say at any particular time how much one owes to the other, and how they act and re-act. This truth is very ably presented, in its general form by Mr. Henderson, and we take the opportunity to quote the passage:

It would, of course, be foolish to pretend that ideologies are determined simply by the economic structure of society, for they are all the time reacting back on the social consciousness and through social consciousness affecting the social-political structure, till at last they change the basic economic structure itself. It is this complicated interplay which is usually forgotten by vulgarisers of historical materialism. No amount of such interplay, however, invalidates the essential truth of the conception of culture as a superstructure dependent upon the organization of society—which is basically an economic organization—for its existence. Man does not live by bread alone, but he has never yet lived for long without it. (p. 2.)

This truth, however, is not so convincingly expounded in the earlier part of the book. To me, at least, it reads more like a social history written by a partisan than any proof of the vital connection between the social conditions and the literature of the period. We are not surprised to find an enthusiastic appreciation of the Pastor Letters, though I am certain that no sane literary critic would praise them as highly as Mr. Henderson does. Whenever he is not violently biased or prejudiced, Mr. Henderson shows himself a discerning critic and we read with pleasure his estimates of Shakespeare and Milton, of Robert Burns, and of the great service done to socialism by William Morris. But his estimate of Tennyson is

futile as his partnership obscures for him the merits of the great Victorian poet.

However much one may disagree with the individual judgments passed by the author on contemporary writers, the general account of the tendencies of the twentieth century literature and a spirited appreciation of James Joyce which 'sums up the last four centuries of capitalism,' are things which linger in one's mind as one closes the book.

The tendency of art, and of literature in particular, had been during the last four centuries subjective and inward, and has, in our days, reached a crisis. To be vital, art must once more turn outward and be objective. The world of humanity under the coming socialistic regime would establish better and more vital contact between the author and the objective world and would lead to a revival of literature. Let us all hope for the best, though, I for one think that the result would be found to owe much to the adaptability of the human mind which builds gloriously out of the objective world if it is good, but out of its own dreams, if otherwise. The prospect for literature need not be gloomy; whether one agrees or not with Mr. Henderson.

The book will surely appeal to those who already subscribe to the Marxian creed; but so subtle and charming is the art of the book that many a general reader would find himself converted to the creed without his knowing it.

B. D. SATTIGIRI.

AN UTOPIAN GOSPEL.

CHRIST AND COMMUNISM. By E. STANLEY JONES. (Hodder & Stoughton.) 1935. 20cm. 318p. 5/-

DR. STANLEY JONES'S latest book has called for the criticism which no previous writing of his has done, because he has ventured a task "involving social and economic specialisation which were not my field" (p. 11). As a preacher of the Gospel of Christ, Dr. Jones is known and respected all over Christendom, but in this new and unfamiliar undertaking in which he invites the Christian Church to sponsor a radically novel social world order which runs counter to the thinking and acting of multitudes of people and which is inimical to the vested interests of the haves, he adumbrates a scheme of things which has not succeeded on a large scale anywhere and which appears Utopian. I have read the book from cover to cover with interest and sympathy. It is a brilliant sermon, inspiring and idealistic. It appeals to the emotion. But as a practical proposition the challenge that a new order based on co-operation and not on competition should be ushered in has tremendous difficulties in its way and seems impossible of attainment under present circumstances. The co-operative basis of society was in operation in the life of Jesus and his immediate disciples; the early Church continued to believe in it for a time and practised it, although we have evidence of Christian scriptures that there were black sheep in Jesus's own fold and among the adherents of the Church in the first century. But it is to be remembered that things were then simple, that the struggle for existence less keen and that Christian society was largely based on personal knowledge. But soon the prevailing conditions of life among the neighbours overpowered and influenced the Church also. This was when the world was still comparatively small, men had not multiplied as they have done since, demand was simple and supply plentiful. If what the author calls upon the Christian Church to undertake were easily possible, the world and the Church would not have

waited all these many years for accomplishing it. The Kingdom of God would have been a reality long ago. Jesus with his magnetic personality and His disciples failed to impress the people about them with their new teaching and example. Now, when many intricate complications have set in, in the world society, to ask the Church to bring in the new kingdom seems hardly conceivable.

The reader fails to find any constructive suggestion in the volume which will enable him to give effect in a practical manner to the wonderful sentiments expressed by the author until he comes to the last chapter of the book, and the only worth-while suggestion which appeals to commonsense is what Dr. Jones says Kagawa of Japan has done in his own land. It is the advocacy of the co-operative movement for all purposes and for all grades and types of people. This movement has in it the germ of moral and economic upliftment for those who intelligently understand it and faithfully practise it among their peers. It has as its basis the virtues of equality, partnership and brotherhood: honesty, mutual help and trust. If pushed steadily on a large scale, it may alter the thinking of men and help slowly in changing the existing basis of society. How far has the co-operative movement, which is Christian in its conception, method and ideal made headway in Christian institutions and mission compounds? How many Christian leaders, foreign and national, understand the principles and theory of this great movement? How many Christian theological seminaries and training schools impart instruction in this line? If "Christ and Communism" serves no other purpose than to stimulate the minds of the Christian people in favour of the co-operative movement throughout the world, and instil among small, scattered groups of people the desire to practise co-operative living on a fellowship basis which some of the institutions of non-Christians are doing, the book will not have been written in vain. But I am afraid the author's hopes are delusive. Dr. Jones refers repeatedly in his book to the experiment at his Sat Tal Ashram. Do its devotees promote the idea of the co-operative commonwealth on a fellowship basis in their day to day life? If the new social order has not evoked a genuine response from Dr. Jones's own intimate colleagues, what chance is there for the world at large to be converted to this idealistic view?

The book has eleven chapters, all written in a readable style and amply interspersed with apt quotations. The last two chapters rise to great heights and leave a beautiful picture of the 'Kingdom' in the reader's imagination. The bringing into being of that 'Kingdom' has been a problem the last two thousand years, and no practical way out is yet within sight.

Because of the personality of the author, the book will have a good market, but its contents and conclusions, though believed in by thousands of Christians all the world over in theory, will fail to evoke a practical response on a scale which may be considered worth while anywhere.

The utility of the book suffers a little from a lack of index.

S. P. ANDREWS-DUBE.

POST-WAR WORLD ECONOMICS.

THE NEMESIS OF ECONOMIC NATIONALISM AND OTHER LECTURES IN APPLIED ECONOMICS. By JOSEPH JOHNSTON. (King.) 1934. 20cm. 116p. 4/6.

ECONOMIC nationalism is the characteristic of post-war world economics. The author discusses in

a series of four lectures the working, the implications, the consequences and the lessons of this policy. The Anglo-Irish dispute, the Soviet policy of foreign trade and Roosevelt's New Deal are the materials on which he has based his study. Though the omission of reference to the Fascist and the Nazi economic nationalism is significant, he displays a delightful but deceptive forensic skill and literary charm in the presentation of the materials he has chosen to establish his thesis that economic nationalism lies at the root of the present moribund world economy and the chaotic national economy. He presents a lurid picture of the economic warfare carried on under the cover of economic nationalism with characteristic masterliness. While one may agree with the author in his criticism of the manner and the method by which national self-sufficiency is now promoted, while one may also agree with his statement that no permanent progress can be made by the manipulation of the bank rate and depreciation of national currencies and while one may be at one with him in feeling the need for the maintenance of the economic equilibrium and rhythm which requires the continuity of production, exchange and consumption of the right goods in the right proportions and which requires unrestricted national and international economic freedom, it is difficult to accept the duality of his creed: "Back to Laissez Faire and Forward to Planned Economy." This is a hard paradox. The acceptance of one means the subordination, if not the negation, of the other. While he sees the destruction of world economy under the aegis of economic nationalism, it is surprising how he could fail to recognise that planned economy could be anything but destructive of laissez faire. This position is untenable unless the author assumes the possibility of a clear-out, absolute and permanent compartmentalisation of social life and the rigid application of the principles of laissez faire to some departments and the principle of social control to others. This is obviously impossible. What policy should govern a particular sphere of life depends on the peculiar conditions of social development. It is a common truism that out and dried demarcation is unsound and undesirable.

The author further fails to see that the present tendency to economic nationalism is but the consequence of an extreme laissez faire followed by national sovereign states. Economic freedom has its achievements and also its follies. Just as socialism marks a protest against the infallibility of individualism in certain spheres, so economic nationalism marks a mild protest against the follies of laissez faire. Moreover, the entire blame for the present moribund world economy cannot be placed at the door of the policy of economic nationalism. The social disharmonies, the concentration of political power in certain classes and the striking economic inequalities of distribution of wealth and income and the increasing economic insecurity as contributory causes have been left out of account and the author fails to see that they have made the advent of state intervention and economic control inevitable. It is irresistible for the reader to feel that the author shows a peculiar zeal in pillorying economic nationalism. His failure to see the background on which economic nationalism emerged, to recognise that it can also be sound and sensible as any other -isms and to examine dispassionately its aspirations and achievements makes his otherwise brilliant dissertation savour of writing for partisan propaganda and detracts much from its scientific value.

K. S. VENKATRAMAN.

THE MONEY-LENDER IN ENGLAND.

MONEY-LENDING IN GREAT BRITAIN. By

DOROTHY JOHNSON ORCHARD and GEOFFREY MAY. [Small Loan Series.] (Russell Sage Foundation, New York.) 1933. 23cm. 185p. \$2-00.

As pointed out in the foreword, this handy and informative book is a survey of money-lending in Great Britain. The book justifies the purpose expressed in the introduction that it should show the devices whereby the enterprise of money-lending has adapted itself to its changing legal, economic and social environments.

Particularly in India where indebtedness looms so large, a perusal of this book written by authors who are familiar with similar American problems cannot but be useful to all concerned. For ten centuries, from the 7th to the 17th, the history of money-lending in England recounts the impact of commercial development on religious dogma. The religious reason for its general condemnation is found in the fact that trade in its infancy was carried on by borrowing which was in the vast majority of cases for consumptive purposes. The partial exception of Jews from the usury laws was a breach which was destined to have widespread and varying repercussions in the future. The growing dependence of the country on foreign trade, the demands for capital that it engendered and the gradual breakdown of ecclesiastical control over the laity, had convinced the legislature that religious tenets were not the sole criterion in the regulation of money-lending. By the 12th century money-lending had finally emerged from the shadow of religious prohibition into the light of economic necessity. Cromwell in 1533 gave legislative effect to this principle.

One of the early types of bankers in England was the scribes. Their competitors, the goldsmiths, started deposit banking, which gave a death-blow to the old type of money-lending. Legal limitation of interest failed to stem the demand for credit. From the time of Elizabeth, annuities were a successful means of circumventing the usury laws. It is noteworthy that the bill of sale is a very old instrument, and we find Parliament as early as 1376 legislating with regard to its use. The laissez-faire policy led to the repeal of usury laws. After centuries of legal restraint and social ostracism it was but natural that the lenders should fail to use their powers in a straightforward manner but should pervert them to their own aggrandisement. The perversions were of five sorts, namely: secrecy, misrepresentations, harsh terms, inconvenient legal actions, and excessive legal rates. To remedy the abuses of money-lending the Act of 1927 was passed and was a great improvement upon that of 1900. The Act of 1927 sought to put an end in four ways to abuses which had persisted for seventy years. They were: (1) tighter state control of money-lenders as such, (2) specific provision for the protection of borrowers, (3) limitation of interest rates and (4) incidental defence of third persons from the consequences of money-lending transactions.

Such in broad outline is the history of money-lending in Great Britain, which has now culminated in the Act of 1927. The book contains many interesting examples of lenders trading under different names, charging a lump sum as interest, and other allied things. The problem of excessiveness of interest is one of the thorniest in money-lending and its solution lies, as the book suggests, in the power of the courts to determine the fair rate from the study of each individual case.

G. K. JOSHI.

SHORT NOTICES.

FAMILY BUDGETS, 1932-33, OF FOUR TENANTS CULTIVATORS IN THE LYALLAPUR DISTRICT. By SARDAR KARTAR SINGH. (The Board of Economic Inquiry, Punjab.) 1934. 24cm. 31p. As. 6.

THIS booklet is an intensive and close study with numerous details having an exceptional value of its own. The four Muslims—the tenants in Risalewala Government Farm—each cultivating a square of 27·8 acres have been under the most favourable conditions, and as such this study gives us an ideal picture of the condition of non-owning agriculturists of this country. The landlord—the Government—gets twice as much as the tenants though they provide only land and water. The tenants for all the investment of capital, for all the human labour expended, and for all the risk taken get returns not sufficient to give them human conveniences. Of the four families studied only one has got an income sufficient to leave a margin while the others had to borrow or sell their cattle to make both ends meet. The four families consisting of 26·3 working adults had a total income of Rs. 1658-14-1, but they spend Rs. 1878-10-0.

The tenants are typical of the area, hardy and frugal, and so their deficits can in no way be explained away. On analysis, they spend 1% on education, 1·9% on miscellaneous, 0·6% on housing, 1·0% on medicine, 1·1% on social functions, 1·3% on light, 1·4% on religion and luxuries, 6% on travelling and 64·3% on food. Religious and social expenditure are negligible items, and the analysis reveals no waste whatsoever. Education, travelling and such expenditure should certainly be more for men laying claims to civilization. The essential problem then is not lowering of the standard of living which is now so low, but of helping them to earn more than at present by diverting some to industries.

Their diet on analysis is not quite satisfactory, but any improvement means greater expenditure. One redeeming feature seems to be the consumption of some milk by the tenants.

N. S. S.

WAR, ITS CURSE AND CURE. By WILLIAM LEIGHTON GRANE. (Allen & Unwin.) 1935. 20cm. 164p. 4/6.

IT is a good book. The author boldly faces facts; he refuses to gloss over even ugly ones. Nations go to war, actuated by pride, or fear, or greed. They rarely trouble to analyse its cause, or to weigh the price of peace against the cost of war. And the result? "It wastes a nation's wealth, kills its flower, and narrows its sympathies; it leaves the puny, the deformed and the unmanly to breed the next generation. It leaves a load of debt, and of misery, in the shape of shrunken trade and demoralizing unemployment." Even in the face of these evils, nations do not care to find a mode of adjusting their differences other than war. They forget that it is only by generous cooperation and by the advancement of the welfare of all that each and every nation will be benefitted. We are still burdened with the effects of the great war. And yet, does not a fever of militarism sweep over Europe? Does not the curse of war cloud the world? Our age has no abiding faith in any religion. It is only when a religious faith is made the basis of life of nations and of individuals that one can expect the advent of an international brotherhood. Till then, the League of Nations must work in an effective manner. But there, the aloofness of America and a divided

counsel lessen the value of its authority. Moral suasion and a half-hearted economic boycott will not go far. Relief of the present tension is impossible unless the League can enforce its decisions. So all right-thinking nations must not only talk and talk hard and loud, but must also act and act together. Such in brief is the theme of this work. It is unfolded in a clear, convincing and forcible manner.

T. K. KRISHNA MENON.

TWO SERVANTS OF GOD. By MAHADEV DESAI. (Hindustan Times Press, Delhi.) 1935. 20cm. 106p. As. 12.

IN this book, which is more an appreciation than a biography, the writer gives us a beautiful pen-picture of Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, otherwise known as the 'Frontier Gandhi' and of his elder brother or Dr. Khan, M. L. A. Mr Desai has studiously eschewed all that may savour of political controversy and his biographical sketch is therefore more personal than political. The writer gives us several pleasing anecdotes of these two brothers, the one genial, and the other austere, but both actuated by lofty patriotism and a genuine spirit of sacrifice. That an austere and orthodox Mussalman and a Pathan as that like Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan should be so completely converted to Gandhism as to eschew meat and to adopt the principle of non-violence is a significant fact. Mr. Desai has supplied the reader with abstracts of several conversations he had with the Khan brothers, which go to prove the singular breadth of views that characterizes them. That Dr. Khan should be free from the bigotry of communalism does not surprise the reader, but that such a devout Mahomedan as the 'Frontier Gandhi' should have read the Bible and the Gita in jail and should be of opinion that all faiths contain enough inspiration for their adherents gladdens our heart. We strongly recommend the book to the readers.

A.

PUBLIC HEALTH IN INDIA. By N. R. DHARMAVIR. (Rama Krishna & Sons, Lahore.) 1934. 20cm. 361p. Rs. 3.

DR. DHARMAVIR worked for many years as a medical officer of health in England. He is at present in charge of the Tuberculosis Hospital at Lahore; and is thus well qualified to handle the subject dealt with in this book. Health being inextricably bound up with food, the problem of a proper diet is also discussed by him.

The book is divided into three parts. The first deals with hygienic conditions including water, milk supply, diet and construction of dwelling houses from the health point of view. In the second part, preventable diseases are mentioned and a short account of each given. The author has incorporated his miscellaneous papers in the third part. These articles deal with varied subjects and are interesting and also full of instruction.

The following extract from the chapter on malaria explaining a discovery by Sir William Willcock in the problem of mosquito destruction will be found of great interest by the reader. It is as follows:

Sir William argues that malaria is rare in Egypt and that its rarity is due to the growth of leguminous plants, chiefly clover, and that their active principle, coumarin, produces immunity in mosquitoes to malaria, or at least renders malignant mosquitoes benign. If this idea were proved correct, the problem of mosquito destruction would become much simpler and Sir William's discovery would prove a great boon to India. (p. 166)

B. A. RAIRKAR.

Miscellaneous.

MR. KUNZRU ON POSITION OF LIBERALS.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru, President of the National Liberal Federation, recently undertook an extended tour of the C. P. and Berars for the purpose of strengthening the Liberal party in those parts. He also accorded a special interview to the Times of India correspondent at Nagpur, in the course of which he explained the position of the Liberals with regard to several questions agitating the public mind. Following is the report of the interview :

ASKED whether the Liberals would join the other parties to fight the Congress in case the Congress decided upon non-acceptance of office, Pandit Kunzru said if the Liberals decided to take any step they would have the courage to stand by it, whether the Congress was with them or against them. At present, however, the attitude of Congressmen did not seem to him unfavourable to acceptance of office. In fact the section in favour of acceptance of office appeared to be at least as strong as that against it.

Nor again, went on the Pandit, was the Liberal attitude one of friendliness to the new Constitution, as the question might lead one to imagine. Liberals had made it unambiguously clear that they did not want it, and their opinion of its merits had undergone no change since December last.

In answer to the question if the Liberals would join the Congress provided the latter agreed to accept office, Pandit Kunzru stated that efforts at co-operation between all nationalists had been made more than once in the last few years, but no question of amalgamation of the existing political parties had arisen so far. Combination for common purposes, and not amalgamation, had in such cases been the end in view.

On the subject of merging with the Congress, since there was no difference, according to the Pandit, between the policy of the Congress and that of the Liberals today, the President of the National Liberal Federation declared that the question answered itself, because it confined itself to the state of things today, and supposed that unity of purpose would not be essential for continued joint action in the future. Referring to Sir Chimanlal Setalvad's recent speech regarding Liberals not opposing the Congress, he stated that he agreed entirely with the sentiment expressed by Sir Chimanlal. They might differ, and where necessary differ strongly, from the policy of the Congress, but there was no hostility among them to the Congress as such.

The question of a "war chest" was one to be decided by the party, but it would obviously need money if it wished to put forward candidates on its behalf. This was the answer to a question whether the Liberals proposed to have a "war chest" as the one started by the Justice Party in Madras.

Asked what he would like India to do in case there was delay in the inauguration of the reforms owing to the possibility of Britain getting involved in the present Italo-Abyssinian war, the Pandit replied that the Liberal Party as a whole had clearly stated in a resolution passed by the Liberal Federation last December that it preferred the existing evils

to those which the new Constitution would give rise to. They would not therefore go into mourning if the imposition of the fetters forged in the new Constitution was delayed for some time.

To the query whether he approved of Berar's claim for weightage in the new Constitution on the ground of political importance, came the answer that they had never accepted claims based on this principle; but he had not studied this question and was therefore unable to express any considered opinion about it.

The public meetings addressed by him had been invariably well attended and he had received not merely a patient but an attentive hearing at the hands of men of all parties. This was the answer given by the Pandit when asked about the response his tour had evoked in the province.

COUNCIL OF THE LIBERAL FEDERATION.

RESOLUTIONS PASSED.

At the meeting of the Council of the National Liberal Federation held at Nagpur on Saturday last, the following resolutions were passed :

(1) The Council of the National Liberal Federation strongly condemn the action of the Government in extending the operation of the Criminal Law Amendment Act and in permanently placing it on the Statute Book in the teeth of the universal and vigorous public opposition to the use of the Viceroy's power of certification, vesting the executive with indefinite and unlimited powers vitally affecting the freedom of thought, speech and association and enabling it to usurp the functions of the judiciary are a flagrant violation of democratic principles and criminal jurisprudence. As an independent press is indispensable for the growth of responsible government the provisions in the Act which are obviously intended to strangle the Indian press deserve special condemnation. The indecent haste with which the Government have rushed through this measure on the eve of the introduction of the new constitution is bound to shake further the confidence of the people in the bona fides of the Government.

(2) The Council are of opinion that in the delimitation of new constituencies the present proportion of urban representation should not be reduced as this will deprive the legislatures of better informed and more politically-minded representatives. The Council are further of opinion that in the formation of new constituencies the system of multiple-member constituencies should be adopted so that different political views may find expression in the legislatures.

(3) The Council, while noting with approval the new interest evinced by the Government in the question of rural development, urge that much larger grants should be made if the purpose in view is to be realised, and that, as far as possible, they should be spent on objects directly connected with the welfare of the general population and through non-official agencies engaged in social work.

The Council also discussed at length the party's future policy and work. In view of the importance of the topic, the Council was of opinion that the matter should be finally dealt with by the larger body, viz., the National Liberal Federation itself, at its annual session to be held in Nagpur in Christmas next.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- THE GROWTH AND DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION.**
By S. VERE PEARSON. (Allen & Unwin.) 1935. 24cm.
448p. 12/6.
- THE CONSTITUTION IN SCHOOL AND COLLEGE.** By
H. ARNOLD BENNETT. (Putnams, New York.) 1935. 24cm.
315p. s. 3. 50.
- BOMBAY IN THE DAYS OF GEORGE IV—MEMOIRS OF
SIR EDWARD WEST.** By F. DAWTREY DREWITT. (2nd
edn.) (Longmans.) 1935. 22cm. 342p. 10/4.
- A MILLION MILES IN THE AIR.** By GORDON P. OLLEY.
(Hodder & Stoughton.) 1934. 22cm. 320p. 7/6.
- RELIGION AND MODERN STATE.** By CHRISTOPHER
DAWSON. (Sheed & Ward.) 1935. 22cm. 154p. 6/—
- GUJARAT AND ITS LITERATURE.** By KANAIYALAL M.
MUNSHI.
(Longmans, Bombay.) 1935. 22cm. 407p. Rs. 6.
- INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION IN INDIA.** By P. S.
LOKANATHAN. (London School of Economics and Politi-

- cal Science : Studies in Economics and Commerce, No. 4.)
(Allen & Unwin.) 1935. 22cm. 413p. 15/—
- CHEAP AND HEALTHY HOMES FOR THE MIDDLE
CLASSES OF INDIA.** By R. S. DESHPANDE. (Author,
Kopergaon, Dt. Ahmednagar.) 1935. 22cm. 350p. Rs. 4/8
- THE SEX LIFE OF THE UNMARRIED ADULTS.** Ed. by
IRA S. WILE. (Allen & Unwin.) 1935. 20cm. 320p. 7/6.

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