

The

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## Topics of the Week.

### Guiding Socialistic Experiments.

IN a series of illuminating articles in the *Reynolds's Illustrated News*, Mr. H. N. Brailsford has told the British Labour Party what its future foreign policy should be. One suggestion that he has made concerns India very intimately. It is to the effect that the Party should have resident observers not only in European countries but in countries like India and China, both for the purpose of maintaining a close contact with forward movements in these countries and with a view to guiding them into proper channels. Mr. Brailsford naturally makes the suggestion in the interest of world socialism, but we daresay that both socialists and non-socialists in India will welcome the assistance that a socialist resident observer of the Labour Party in England will give to socialists in this country. There is a vast floating mass of socialist thought in India at present. Much of it is yet in an inchoate form. It has to be translated into a practical policy, and even after such a policy is formulated, it will have to be decided which among the many items this policy will contain should be taken first in hand and which should be left over for some time. In deciding this, consideration must be given to the expediency as well as to the urgency of the particular reform suggested. Indian socialists, we have no doubt, will frankly recognise the need for collaboration in this task with the most experienced socialist party in Europe, but what we would like to urge is that even those who are not socialists should be glad of this move. For they must admit that, whether for good or evil, socialism makes a powerful emotional appeal to the intelligentsia in India, and the number of those who come under its sway is increasing rapidly. Since socialism is going any way to be tried out in

this country, is it not better that it should be done under the observation and sympathetic guidance of those who have a long and extensive experience of such movements? If the British Labour Party can station a competent resident observer in India, it will be all to the good.

### "Negation of Democracy."

WONDER of wonders, *United India and the Indian States*, a paper conducted in the interest of the Princes, after an examination of the Cust lecture of Lord Zetland on the new constitution, arrives at the conclusion that "the scheme as it is will not be an experiment in democracy but in the negation of it." "We are convinced," it says, "that its ultimate development is not Dominion Status or full responsible government but a sort of focus-pocus without parallel in human history or political science."

THIS is strong condemnation and on what is it based? On the numerous safeguards and special responsibilities of the Governors and the Governor-General, on communal electorates, and so forth. Is it also based on the nomination of the States' representatives in the federal legislature or the Princes' unwillingness to give up any of their rights to the federation? Oh, no. These features are all good; they are apparently the true marks of a democracy, essential to India's attainment of Dominion Status; but everything else in the Reforms Act is wrong and negates democracy. No wonder that it quotes with approval Lord Zetland's remark that the entry of the States into the federation, with the Council of State, constitutes an element of stability and a safeguard against "catastrophic change."

### Suits against the Crown.

PROFESSOR BERRIEDALE KEITH, in the current issue of the *Journal of Comparative Legislation*, criticises the far-reaching character of the protection that is given by section 306 of the Government of India Act to the Governors, Governor-General and the Secretary of State. This section runs as follows:

No proceedings whatsoever shall lie in, and no process whatsoever shall issue from, any court in India against the Governor-General, against the Governor of a Province or against the Secretary of State, whether in a personal capacity or otherwise, and, except with the sanction of His Majesty in Council, no proceedings whatsoever shall lie in any court in India against any person who has been the Governor-General, the Governor of a Province or the Secretary of State in respect of anything done or omitted to be done by any of them during his term of office in performance or purported performance of the duties thereof.

COMMENTING upon this, Dr. Keith says: "The Governor-General, the Governors of the Provinces and the Secretary of State are rendered by s. 306 exempt from proceedings in any court in India, and even after they have left office, proceedings in respect of any official act or omission can be brought only with the assent of the Crown in Council. The extent of this official exemption is remarkable, for it applies apparently to personal as well as official acts, so that if a private debt were incurred or a crime committed by any of these persons in India, it could not be made the subject of proceedings there. This is, of course, a wide extension of the limited freedom from responsibility under the former constitution, and it seems to go further than the exemption granted to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, for there is no proof that he was ever exempt from liability in his personal capacity for private debts or crimes."

#### U. S. A. Attitude Unjustifiable.

"PEACE ACTION," the News Bulletin of the National Council for the Prevention of War, Washington, of November points out how very unsatisfactory the attitude of U. S. A. is to the Naval Conference. It says: "Great Britain has called the naval conference for further reduction and limitation of armaments to meet December 5 in London. Our Navy Department immediately nominated as chief naval delegate Admiral William H. Standley, a man whose speeches disqualify him completely for such a conference. Speaking at Atlantic City on September 17, Admiral Standley attacked the National Council for Prevention of War and the Federal Council of Churches by name, described them as 'subversive,' and by subtle innuendo and false suggestion linked us with the Communists and urged all military groups to organize against us. It makes no difference whether Admiral Standley's misrepresentation of two prominent peace organizations was due to ignorance or mendacity. The important fact is that he has shown himself more concerned with increasing navies than reducing them. A man with such views is of the type that has discredited previous disarmament conferences as 'insincere.' Secretary Hull should not load his delegation down with an enemy of disarmament."

THE Bulletin further says: "Edwin L. James, in an illuminating survey in the *New York Times* for October 27, reminds us that by 1941 Great Britain and the United States each will possess only two of the big floating fortresses called battleships under twenty years of age, and Japan none at all. Five years ago the British Prime Minister proposed their abolition. Japan last year made the same proposal. It was the United States each time that prevented it. These battleships cost now from forty million dollars to fifty million dollars apiece and our ship-builders want those contracts. Secretary Swanson has already announced that he wants to start building one as soon as possible. Our people should demand that our delegation support their abolition. The same is true of airplane carriers. It is our country that prevents their abolition, although their sole purpose is aggression and not defense, war for our relatively insignificant investments and interests in China. On the other hand, Great Britain and the United States worked consistently in the past for the abolition of the submarine. Japan and France have opposed. Why should not our Government work under President Roosevelt, as it did under President Hoover, for the abolition of all 'weapons of aggression?' The alternative is a naval race, the end of which is such a war as Mr. Munn advocates."

#### Jails in Bihar and Orissa.

ATTENTION was recently drawn in these columns to the necessity of well-equipped libraries in jails from the point of view of the mental development of their inmates. How little the importance of the matter is realised by the authorities is seen from the absence of any reference to the matter in the Jails Administration Report of Bihar and Orissa for 1934. It does not so much as mention jail libraries, much less furnish any account of them. Even jail dairies and jail gardens have each a paragraph devoted to them, but not jail libraries! The importance of a stock of readable books at least in the more important jails cannot be too strongly emphasised, and we should like jails reports in future to devote some space to the subject. Will not the Government of India issue the necessary instructions?

IT will be recalled that 1934 was the year of the disastrous earthquake for the province. The earthquake had damaged many jail buildings and Government were forced to release a number of prisoners of the less dangerous variety who had served out a substantial portion of their sentences as a means of lightening the burden of their responsibility. Incidentally the released prisoners were enabled to look after their damaged houses. Nearly 1,600 persons received the benefit of this act of clemency of the local Government.

THE statistics about the ages of convicts included in the report would show to an unsophisticated mind that the tendency to commit breaches of the laws was consistently on the decline among persons under 21, while it was on the increase among persons of a higher age. The fact of the matter however was that the jail population of ages below 21 had been unduly swollen by the additions to it of large numbers of young men who had courted imprisonment by the pursuit of the civil disobedience movement. With the cessation of that movement by the Congress these abnormal accretions secured their release, making a return to normality possible. Thus it is found that the proportion of convicts under 21, which stood at 22.87 in 1922, dropped to 16.08 the next year and to nearly 12 in the year under report, which is said to be the normal proportion. The proportion of convicts above 21 was 77.13 two years ago but went up to 88.04 in 1934.

#### Education in Bihar and Orissa.

THE recently published report on the progress of education in Bihar and Orissa for the year 1934-35 presents certain interesting facts and figures about public instruction in that province. The roll number in Science and Arts Colleges slightly decreased. This is alleged to be due to the continued financial depression and the distress caused by the earthquake of January 1934. These causes, however, do not seem to have affected the number of students receiving secondary education as is more than proved by the fact that the number of high schools increased by five and the number of middle English schools by twenty-five. So the decrease in the number of students receiving Collegiate education might partly be due to the people's loss of faith in higher education as a means to monetary ends. This is tacitly admitted by the Government in their resolution attached to the main report when they say that in view of the growing volume of unemployment among the educated classes it is desirable to encourage the tendency to introduce vocational training in middle English schools. The urgent necessity of increasing

the facilities of technical and industrial education is borne out by the fact that the demand for admission to the industrial schools far exceeded their capacities. Conceding that this is a happy indication of a growing desire for industrial education the report quietly announces that the number of Government technical and industrial institutions remained twelve as in the previous year.

THE year under report witnessed the introduction of a new and improved syllabus for primary schools. The number of pupils also rose by about 5 per cent. The addition of an infant class to the bottom of the school is a welcome move, but the extension of the lower primary course from three to four years might be regarded as of doubtful utility. It would appear from the investigations of the Special Officer that at present in many districts "out of every three children admitted to a primary school only one had made adequate progress after three years." This is a very

significant reflection on the efficiency of the schools. It is, however, gratifying to note that in appreciation of this state of things a circular has now been issued with the approval of Government, and it is calculated to enable local bodies to see in what respects existing lower primary schools need improvement.

THERE was an increase of 207 in the number of pupils attending high schools for girls. The Girl Guide movement also is gaining ground in most high and middle schools. The number of girls reading in schools and colleges for boys shows a considerable rise. In spite of this rise in the number of girl-students the total number of pupils receiving higher education is decreasing steadily from year to year, which is only another indication of the fact that Collegiate education can enrich the life of male students only, in a metaphorical and not in the literal sense. Naturally they are losing faith in it.

## HOSTILITY TO THE NEW CONSTITUTION.

THE part of Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri's presidential address to the Liberal Federation in Nagpur which will attract the closest attention everywhere is that in which he recommends to the Liberal Party and all other progressive parties the adoption of a definite policy in respect of the new constitution. He first states very emphatically that the Liberal Party adheres firmly to the adverse opinion expressed by it on the Joint Select Committee's report last year, and the policy which he advises the Party to pursue in future may be briefly expressed in the formula: "Carry your hostility to the Act into its working." He does not counsel boycott of the legislatures or boycott of office; nor does he counsel indiscriminate opposition to every measure irrespective of its merits. But within these extreme limits he would have the members of all progressive parties who may be returned to the legislatures exhibit in their day-to-day work their opposition to the Act. "Good friends in England desire us," he said, "to accept the Act and settle down to constructive work within the limits set by the Act 'in a spirit of political realism.'" To such an appeal he is unable to respond. Acceptance of the Act is impossible. The Act will be worked, but it is impossible for men of progressive views to work it in a spirit of good-will. He is not concerned to dispute the claim that the Britishers, in passing the Act, were inspired by genuine good-will. Be it so, but if their good-will led them to pass a measure which we all feel is difficult to reconcile with good-will we too, in working it, must show our good-will in a manner which they will be hard put to it to recognise as good-will when it issues in practical action!

While making it clear that the progressive parties cannot shed their opposition to the so-called reformed constitution, Mr. Venkatarama Sastri makes an earnest appeal to them not to disdain getting out of the constitution something useful and substantial if anything answering to that description could be got out of it. But he gives a warning which it is very necessary to give, viz. that they must not "relax on

a matter of principle." In working the constitution the temptations will be only too many in the path of workers who will go into the Councils to make compromises with those in power. The people in power will be mostly the privileged classes; they will not have much power, but what little power is conferred by the Act will be theirs. This feature of the constitution is well brought out by Mr. Venkatarama Sastri in his speech. After pointing out how great are the limitations upon the power of the Ministers, he says, not content with these, "vested interests are entrenched in the centre and in the second chambers of the provinces as a first line of defence against democratic advance." And the privileged classes in their own interests will try, in the name of nationalism, to persuade men of progressive views to fall in with their reactionary policies. They will say: "We can understand your fighting the Britishers. But why fight your own countrymen? We may appear to you to be not sufficiently advanced. But will you not have some patience with us? We must go slow in these matters. Radical policies will in any case be vetoed by the Governor. Will it not then be better to keep well within the limits of the constitution and make the Governor's veto inoperative? You may feel that you have to lower your flag somewhat in order to accommodate us, but it is a concession that you make, not to the foreigners, but to your own compatriots. We are surely entitled to look for a spirit of reconciliation and good fellowship from you."

An argument like this generally makes a powerful appeal to our politicians who are used to conducting their agitation on nationalistic lines. They will not yield easily to the British Government, but to those who wear an Indian skin, if even reactionary in their outlook, they are apt to be tender. Unless a change comes over this mentality our political struggle in future is sure to end in our complete discomfiture. See how it will work out in practice. So long, when the Governor and the Executive Councillors who were Europeans begged us to be reasonable and accommodating, we put up our backs.

But there will be no need for them hereafter to go down on their knees to us. They will remain in the background and make the Indian Ministers make the appeal to us. The voice will be that of the Ministers, but the hand will be that of the Governor. If we yield to the Ministers we shall be really yielding to the Governor who, by holding out the threat of veto, will get his Ministers to carry out the policy that he desires. His principal object will be to see that the constitution works smoothly, and taking advantage of our nationalistic tendencies, he will try to make a success of the constitution through our yielding to the Ministers. Those of us who are opposed to the constitution and do not wish to submit to it must make up our minds, not only to counter the special powers given to the Governor and the Governor-General, but the vested interests which will work through them. This only means that the basis of our political parties must not be, as was largely the case till now, an anti-British feeling, but social and economic policies intended for the improvement of the condition of the masses as distinguished from the privileged classes.

This brings Mr. Venkatarama Sastri to suggest that the Liberal Party and other parties should formulate a definite programme of work to be attempted in the Councils. The need for such formulation will be felt irrespective of whether we decide to accept office or otherwise. Even if progressive parties accept Ministerships one must be too sanguine to believe that they will be able to retain

office for long. If they can remain in office and give effect to their policies without let or hindrance there is nothing seriously wrong with the constitution. All the excited denunciations in which we indulge are then misplaced. The progressive Ministers will soon find that they have no alternative but to resign. But we need not anticipate this state of things. Let the Ministers be firm. If they are allowed to have their own way they will do some good work for the people. But if not their place will be in the Opposition, which they must teach themselves to regard as their proper place. But, whether in the Ministry or in the Opposition, they must put before themselves a definite programme of work. For even the Opposition must work on certain fixed principles if they are to carry the electorate with them. Such a programme has received little attention so far, and in setting it out we shall probably find that it will divide all the existing parties, and that the new parties will be composed of people who will be drawn from a few persons belonging to each of the present groups. The drawing up of a programme for an advanced party is no easy task. In any case what will be put forward at first will be a preliminary draft, requiring revision at frequent intervals. But the work must be commenced, and the sooner it is taken in hand the better. It is very much to be hoped that in this work co-operation will be forthcoming from all progressives, whichever party label they may bear for the moment.

## INDIA'S FOREIGN TRADE.

THE Review of the Trade of India during the year 1934-35 recently published indicates no striking change from the previous year's record. The main features of the trade that have appeared since the depression set in are still in evidence and the signs of recovery, if any, are both uneven and uncertain. The most remarkable feature of the foreign trade in recent years has been the export of gold and this continues to be almost as prominent as before. The gold exports had reached their highest point in the year 1932-33 at nearly Rs. 67 crores; they declined to nearly Rs. 58 crores in 1933-34 and have still further declined to little over Rs. 53 crores in 1934-35; but the decline is comparatively small and gold exports are still the means by which we maintain a total visible favourable balance of trade. In 1932-1933 we had on the trade in merchandise alone a net unfavourable balance of trade. During the years 1933-34 and 1934-35 a small net favourable balance of merchandise trade has appeared, but this is yet far below the balance of trade in merchandise that is usual and necessary in normal years for India. The total exports of Indian merchandise in 1934-35 have shown a slight increase over the previous year's figures, but the imports have risen more than in proportion from the low point previously reached, and hence the net balance of merchandise trade is even lower for the year 1934-35 than for 1933-34. There is thus little in the broad results of this year's trade from which

we can derive comfort; for it is obvious that liquidating our obligations by gold exports to such a large extent is tantamount to living on our capital resources. The one feature of the trend of events during the last year which, if continued, promises to bring some relief in the future is the increasing adjustment that seems to be taking place between the prices of imported and exported articles. One peculiarity of the early years of the depression was the disparity in the fall of prices of agricultural and industrial products. This disparity made the depression specially severe in its effects to agricultural countries like India. It seems that recently some adjustment in prices is taking place tending to remove this disparity and a movement of this character is bound to have favourable repercussions on our foreign trade account.

An examination of the details of the export trade shows clearly how uneven is the incidence of what has been called the recent movement towards recovery. It was only in one product—raw cotton—that a substantial progress in exports was to be observed and in which a point was reached during the year, substantially above the figures even for 1931-32. 1934-35 was the first complete commercial year for which the Indo-Japanese trade agreement worked, and the improvement in the exports of raw cotton was almost entirely due to the greatly increased purchases made during the year by Japan. The only

other article to show a remarkable increase in exports was lac. But this increase was due not to any increase in real demand, but to the activities of a group in London which tried during the year to corner shellac and pepper and which failed so signally early this year; so that the prospects for lac during the current year are distinctly low. Jute and jute manufactures continued during the year to maintain their important position in our export trade. The importance of trade in these articles is closely connected with the total volume of the trade—especially in agricultural products in the world. And the slight recovery in world trade during recent times may be taken to react favourably on this trade and industry. It should be noted, however, that jute being an entire Indian monopoly, constant attempts are being made by other countries to find effective substitutes and that with attempts made by various countries at self-sufficiency such substitutes are being used in many places for various purposes. This tendency makes the prospects for the future in this article more uncertain than they would otherwise be. The exports of tea increased but slightly during the year under review. The working of the international agreement has not proved as smooth as was thought on the experience of the previous year and larger exports from the non-agreement areas together with an unresponsive demand at the present price level has necessitated the further cutting down of export quotas. While in some products the previous ground has been well maintained and in cotton large progress made, there have been some other articles in which quite substantial decline in the year's exports has come about. The most important amongst these are Burma rice, oil seeds, raw skins and wool. While the decline in oilseeds is common to all varieties of seeds, the most remarkable decline has come about in linseed; and the fall in linseed is most largely due to the smaller demand for Indian linseed from the specially protected market for that commodity—U. K. It will thus be seen that, despite impressions to the contrary, the recovery in export trade is only slight and uneven.

As pointed out above the increase in the value of imports this year is much larger than in that of ex-

ports; it is also much more evenly divided over the important groups of articles. There was a very large increase in the imports of cotton manufactures and also in those of wool and artificial silk. The chief feature of the cotton piecegoods trade is the comparatively improved position of the U. K. importer. The imports of iron and steel and all metals recorded a considerable advance and the imports of motor vehicles of all kinds also increased notably. These may be said to denote some progress in industrial and trade activity in India. The apparent decline in the value of the imports of machinery and millwork is due entirely to the considerable slackening of the pace of the imports of sugar machinery into India. This indicates that the full preliminary effect of the grant of protection to sugar in India has now been worked out and the era of the construction of new sugar factories is almost at an end. The other effect of the same measure is reflected in the only large fall in import values being observable in the case of sugar. The imports of sugar are now less than a quarter of what they were in 1929-30 and the production in India already more than five times what it was then. To another natural effect of the grant of protection attention has not been drawn in the body of the report, but its extent can easily be measured from the statistics presented. This is the decline in consumption of the commodity in the country. Sugar is perhaps the one important commodity in India whose price remains to-day substantially above the 1913-14 level; and the real cost to the consumer of the artificial stimulation of its production may be measured by the fact that the consumption of sugar in India was in 1934-35 lower by more than a fifth of the consumption in 1929-30. There cannot, one supposes, be a more direct proof of the connection between protective tariffs and the standard of living.

Another important aspect in which the result of this year's trade deserves to be studied is the change in its direction. The most notable feature is the greatly improved share taken by Japan of our exports. The whole of this question, however, we intend to tackle in the near future in connection with an examination of the Ottawa agreement.

## JAPAN 1931 — ITALY 1935.

“HAS the League failed?” I asked in my article published in the issue of November 7th. The answer so far can only be “yes” and “no”.

The worst of the tidal wave of daily news, which swamps the breakfast tables of the world, is that it prevents the newspaper reading public from remembering what has gone before, by making them to concentrate on the red-hot news of the last minute. Thus the reader learns all the news, item after item, day after day: but the more of them he knows, the less he understands them. To understand anything, requires a restful mind, poise, and above all—perspective.

Let us then recapitulate in a few words the previous occasions, on which the League has been put to

the test. The essential purpose of the League must obviously be the prevention of the policy of grab, of the preying on each other of allegedly “sovereign” States, and the substitution of an international rule of law in the relationship of all nations for the pre-League rule of each trying to do the other in the eye and, in the last resort, bludgeoning each other into agreement.

Hardly had the League been constituted, that Poland grabbed Vilna and Lithuania Memel, and that Signor Mussolini bombarded Corfu: the first three tests to which the League was put. How did it acquit itself? The first two cases could technically be said still to come under the jurisdiction of that extraordinary body, since happily defunct, the

Council of Ambassadors of the Principal Allied Powers. The League could therefore plead that these two cases were *ultra vires*: it was an excuse that could deceive nobody, but everybody was only too pleased, to leave it at that, and not to put on the hardly born League a task too heavy for it to bear—viz. that of putting right the blunders incorporated into the Treaty of Versailles.

Corfu was a somewhat different case: it began with the usual Mussolinian bluster that he would bombard whom he jolly well pleased, and that he did not care a fig for the League of Nations. The final upshot of the affair may be summed up by saying that the *Duce* retracted in theory and that in practice he was told: "Not guilty—but don't do it again." The Corfu affair does not constitute a very glorious leaf in the League's history: still, one could not say exactly that the League had failed, for the very good reason that the issue had not been forced.

The next case is far more recent and is in a different category altogether. It concerns the rape of Manchuria, begun by Japan on September 18, 1931—one month, by the way, after the coming in power of the "National Government", which had ruled England ever since. In this case China placed herself unreservedly in the hands of the League, asking it for protection against the wanton invader, who had already filched three of her provinces and had put the peaceful city of Shanghai to fire and sword. If ever there has been a clear case of right or wrong, of aggression and spoliation, of sheer and unadulterated highway-robbery, this was the one. If ever the League was put to the test of preventing this sort of gangsterdom in international relations, it was then.

What happened? The League struck indeed a new note—by the voice of the British representative, Sir John Simon, who in his suavest way insisted that England was equally the friend of Japan and China. It was the most shameful and the most cowardly betrayal of the Covenant, its most cynical treatment as a "scrap of paper," that has ever been perpetrated. Sir John Simon, in the name of England, not only went back on one of her most solemn treaty obligations, but by doing so condemned the whole League system, as elaborated at the cost of the "Great War", to the lumber-room of practical politics. Afraid of war with Japan, afraid of Japan seizing Hong-Kong and Singapore, as it had seized Shanghai, Sir John Simon not only did nothing to bring to book the destroyer of international peace and morality, but actually made a pact with him, stipulating that England would turn her blind eye on Japan's rape of the Chinese provinces, provided Japan would see to it, that British trade did not suffer in the territories annexed by Japan! Well might the late lamented editor of the *Journal de Genève*, William Martin, speak of "the infamy of the Powers, led by England, not content with defaulting on their obligations to resist Japanese aggression, now only anxious to pick

the pockets of the slaughtered Chinese."\*

It is in the light of these facts, I submit, that the Italo-Ethiopian conflict must be judged. What, in that light, is the value of all the indignation now-a-days mouthed by Sir John Simon's successor at the Foreign Office in the same "National Government" over Italy's aggression of Ethiopia and over Mr. Mussolini's "sapping the foundations of International Morality, laid down in the Covenant of the League of Nations"? Those foundations were blown up, once and for all, in November 1931, when Sir John Simon justified Japan's procedure and considered that all the League had to do was to find a suitable "formula". It is nothing but nauseating cant to go on saying, as the British Government spokesmen do, that England personally has nothing against Italy, but that she is simply compelled under the Covenant to put its provisions into execution, and that, if an example is not made of Italy, no further reliance on the League would be possible and all collective security for the future would be gone.

Such reliance has been rendered impossible for four years already: no country's security since November 1931 can be said to depend any longer on automatic League action. The objection, however, is usually made by well-meaning people, that after all it is better late than never, and though it is regrettable that the League did not come down hard on Japan in 1931, that is no reason why it should not come down hard on Italy in 1935. As if to disprove the possibility of the League Powers' change of heart, we are witnessing today another Japanese raid—this time on the remaining northern provinces of China. Is the League rushing in there, to stay the hand of the aggressor? Is that sudden conversion proving itself by the defence of Peking, as it does by that of Addis Ababa? Not a whisper has been heard in Geneva lobbies so far, not a dog in the purlieus of the League has dared so much as to look at Japan's latest exploit.

League action against Italy a warning to Germany? Germany is not such a fool as not to know that the moment she will have the whip-hand over England and France in Europe, as Japan has got over them in the Far East, there will be no more League action against her (i. e. Germany) than there has been against Japan since 1931.

Is the League a failure?

It seems almost unkind to ask the question.

Still, the fact remains that the League is active today in some way or other: and it will be useful to examine these activities in detail. This I hope to do in my next article.

H. C. E. ZACHARIAS.

Geneva,

November 28th.

\* I quote from p. 20 of that remarkable book "Inquest on Peace". just published by Gollancz.

## INDIAN LABOUR LEGISLATION.

**A**MONG the many developments that have taken place in India during the first twenty-five years of King George V's reign, one of the most important relates to changes in the domain of labour legislation. It is true that, even prior to his accession to the throne, a beginning in this direction had already been made, but the main characteristic that differentiates the earlier laws from those which were enacted after 1911 is that the dominant motive of the former was not primarily the protection of labour. Thus, the earlier Assam Labour Acts, the Workmen's Breach of Contract Act of 1859, the Employers' and Workmen's (Disputes) Act of 1860, and the provisions relating to criminal penalties for breach of contract contained in the Indian Penal Code of the same year were all conceived in the interests of the employers in order to supply them with a docile labour force.

Somewhat later, the growing cotton industry of Bombay began causing anxiety to Lancashire, and the obvious abuses connected with the work of women and children in Indian factories in those days were availed of by Lancashire to insist upon India adopting the Factory Acts of 1881 and 1891. The earlier Act ordained that children between the ages of 7 and 12 should work only 9 hours a day and should have 4 holidays in the month, while the later limited the work of women to 11 hours and of children to 7, and protected both classes against night work. As a result of the Berlin Conference of 1899, the first Mines Act was passed in 1901, but it concerned itself mainly with the provisions of certain safety and sanitary measures. By 1908, owing to the laxity in the administration of the Factories Acts and the absence in them of any legal limitation of the working hours of adult males, working hours had become so intolerably long that two commissions of enquiry had to make a thorough investigation of the labour conditions prevailing in factories.

It was of good augury that the very first year of His Majesty's reign saw the adoption in India of a measure which registered a significant advance in labour legislation. Act XIII of 1911 was the first legal attempt to limit working hours, which were not to exceed 12 a day. A compulsory rest interval after 6 hours of continuous work and the reduction of children's hours from 7 to 6 in textile factories were also notable features in the new Act.

The post-war period in India has been an era of progressive labour legislation, and this is not surprising when we consider the new forces that are now at work in this country to accelerate the pace of social reform.

One of the most outstanding facts from the point of view of labour during this period is the birth of the Indian trade union movement. The grave economic difficulties to which industrial labour was exposed during the latter period of the war and the years which succeeded it had led to the formation of a large number of trade unions, and in 1926 the Indian Trade Unions Act was passed for the registration and protection of trade unions. This growth in working

class organisation has been accompanied by a desire on the part of labour to be represented in the legislatures of the country. When the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms were introduced, an attempt was made to meet this desire, with the result that to-day labour is assigned 10 nominated seats in all the provincial councils taken together, and a practice has been established by which one of the nominated seats in the Legislative Assembly is given to a labour representative.

An additional powerful urge in favour of progressive labour legislation during this period has undeniably come from Geneva. India's desire to prevent being classed at the International Labour Conference as a backward country in matters of social policy has led to the initiation of labour measures which might not otherwise have come up for consideration at all. Another important factor in promoting the growth of labour legislation was the appointment in 1929 of the Royal Commission on Labour in India, and the recommendations of this Commission have already resulted in a crop of labour measures.

The Indian Factories (Amendment) Act of 1922, which came in consequence of the Washington Convention, was a great improvement on its predecessor in that the number of persons necessary to constitute a factory was reduced from 50 to 20, the ages of children were raised to 12 minimum and 15 maximum, and no person was allowed to work for more than 60 hours per week or 11 hours per day.

The extent to which we have since travelled in this direction on account of the recommendations of the Royal Commission is indicated by another measure (Act XXV of 1934) adopted in 1934, which limits working hours in the case of adult workers to 54 in the week and 10 a day, gives them a weekly holiday and a rest interval after 6 hours' continuous work, provides for the grant of certificates of fitness for non-adult workers between the ages of 12 and 17, and lays down that no child between 12 and 15 years of age shall work for more than 5 hours a day.

Prompted by the decisions of the International Labour Conference, the Mines Act of 1901 was amended in 1923 and provided for a weekly holiday, for the limitation of hours of adults above ground to 60 weekly and below ground to 54, and for the prohibition of the employment, whether below or above ground, of persons under 13 years of age. Another measure in 1928 laid down that no person shall be employed in a mine for more than 12 hours a day, and in March 1929, the Government issued administrative regulations to exclude by stages women from work underground. Finally, a Bill introduced in the Legislative Assembly on January 22, 1935, which proposed to limit the hours of work in mines to 54 weekly and 10 daily above ground and 9 daily below ground, and to raise the minimum age of employment of children in mines from 13 to 15, has just become law.

All the earlier laws regulating recruitment for the plantations, particularly in Assam, were based

upon the principle of indenture. But the evils of the system had become so clamant that by 1915 the provisions relating to indentured labour contained in the Assam Labour and Emigration Act VI of 1901 had to be withdrawn. The Workmen's Breach of Contract Act, to which reference has already been made, was also finally repealed in 1923 with effect from 1926, and a Madras Act of 1927 repealed the older Madras Planters Act, which provided penal sanctions for breach of contract. As a necessary consequence of these steps, certain sections of the Indian Penal Code were repealed. Emigration to tea estates is now governed by the Tea Districts Emigrant Labour Act of 1932, which has given effect to some of the recommendations on the subject made in the Report of the Royal Commission on Labour in India.

Other categories of workers who have benefitted from the progressive social legislation of the period are the railwaymen, in whose case a beginning has been made for the application of the International Labour Conventions regarding hours of work and weekly rest by the Indian Railways (Amendment) Act of 1930, and the maritime workers. In the case of the latter, the Indian Merchant Shipping (Amendment) Act IX of 1931 insists on a minimum age for admission of children to employment at sea and for admission of young persons to employment as trimmers or stokers, provides unemployment indemnity in case of loss or foundering of the ship, and ordains the medical examination of children and young persons employed at sea.

The same Act also provides for seamen's articles of agreement to protect their rights. Act XIX of 1934 protects dockers against accidents in loading and unloading ships, and an earlier Act of 1922 regulates child labour interests. The ratification by India of the International Labour Convention regarding the marking of the weight of heavy packages transported by vessels is also a step in the same direction. While on the subject of legislation enacted to protect particular categories of workers, special mention must be made of the Children (Pledging of Labour) Act of 1933, the object of which is to abolish a particularly revolting form of child-slavery.

Social reform measures of wider scope and import have also been considered by the Indian Legislature during the latter part of His Majesty's reign, and the Workmen's Compensation Act of 1923, with its various amendments ending with Act XV of 1933, guarantees to the worker compensation when he meets with an accident or is stricken by any of the principal industrial diseases. The Maternity Benefits Acts adopted by Bombay in 1929 and the Central Provinces in 1930 are attempts to meet one of the urgent needs of women workers, and Madras has just recently adopted a law on similar lines.

Attempts have also been made, by the Trade Disputes Act of 1929 and the Bombay Trade Disputes Conciliation Act of 1934, to prevent industrial disputes and to devise machinery for conciliation. Indebtedness being a general and acute problem of the workers, a Bill was introduced in the Bengal Council in 1934 to prevent money-lenders from besetting in-

dustrial establishments, and another Bill introduced in the Central Provinces Legislative Council early this year provides for a summary procedure for liquidating the unsecured debts of workers. In addition, the Legislative Assembly is now considering two measures to protect honest debtors from detention in a civil prison and to provide that salaries below Rs. 100 per month of all workers should be totally exempted from attachment. A third Bill now before the Assembly seeks to regulate payment of wages to industrial workers so as to prevent the abuse of long delays, as also to limit deductions from wages by way of fines.

Apart from implementing the recommendations of the Royal Commission, the immediate problem in front of us is to provide for some measure of social security for the workers. One of the most pressing needs of India to-day is the establishment of a Government-controlled fund to protect the worker against sickness, old age and invalidity, and, in view of the increasing unemployment in industrial areas, a beginning will have to be made not only for the creation of employment exchanges, but also for the establishment of schemes for the relief of the unemployed. There are sufficiently clear indications that the public conscience has already been roused in this matter, and it is our hope that before long India will be equipped with systems and measures for providing adequate security for her working classes.

N. M. JOSHI

## Review.

SEX.

### SEX AND A CHANGING CIVILISATION.

By KENNETH WALKER. (John Lane the Bodley Head.) 1935. 20cm. 135p. 3/6.

THE author has rather mystic tendencies, does not approve of Freud and thinks that the scientific world is coming back to a belief in the power of the sun, moon and planets over the life of human beings. He says of Freud, for instance, that his theories are based on study of abnormal people, and so do not hold good of normal people. This is a convenient, though not a very reasonable, way of disposing of Freud's rather disturbing conclusions. It assumes, however, that Freud had no opportunities of observing normal people, or had not the sense to distinguish between them and the abnormal ones. The same argument may be used to discount any conclusions arrived at by any medical man, since nobody goes to a doctor if perfectly normal. Everybody admits that Freud has exaggerated, but there is no doubt that he has laid the foundation of a new branch of medicine, and his discoveries about children's sex life are extremely important.

The author's mysticism is also seen in Chapter VI, where he discusses 'Sex and the Special Senses' and mentions the theory that certain types of women attract certain types of men and *vice versa*, which is mainly true, but he goes on to say: "This recognition of types was the basis on which the esoteric idea of the marriage sacrament rested. In order to avoid the consequences of wrong choice, selection was delegated to an 'initiate', or a person of higher knowledge to whom people came for advice before making a final decision." This is perfectly absurd if the complementary types who are supposed to be fit



for marriage are also supposed to attract each other. Surely in that case the best judges are the two persons concerned, since they will know best whether they attract each other or not.

The book is very reasonable in parts, however, and contains some interesting things: "There is in the pages of Countess Tolstoy's diary a bitter complaint that at the age of sixty-five her husband seemed to have no need of her except for the purpose of satisfying his insatiable desire." What a 'guru' for Mahatma Gandhi! The connection between sex and the intellectual faculties was known to Brown-Sequard, who "advised those who have to perform great intellectual tasks to contrive to get themselves beforehand into a condition of sexual excitement." Goethe followed this principle when he surrounded himself towards the close of his life with young and attractive girls.

In the chapter on "Sex and the Law," the author gives a story illustrating the crass stupidity of the law. "Three years ago, Augustin Hall, a poor working boy, appeared in the prisoner's dock... So feminine was he in his physical make-up that at theatricals it was natural that he should assume the part of a girl.... Indeed so out of keeping with his appearance was his every-day costume that once

while returning from Church he had been arrested by the police, taken to the station and stripped, because he was supposed to be a girl masquerading as a man. After this mistake on the part of the police, was it strange that he sometimes sought the refuge of female attire? Unfortunately he was again arrested and this time charged with masquerading as a woman." And in spite of the evidence of medical witnesses, he was sentenced to eighteen months' hard labour. He filed an appeal, but the Court of Appeal dismissed it "with the remark that they did not think the sentence a day too much". It is a shame that in the 20th century people should not be allowed to wear what clothes they like.

Considering that marriage is impossible for everybody at a sufficiently early age, the author says that "unmarried love has undoubtedly a place in a society constituted as it is to-day," though he thinks that this often fails. He only thinks it a better alternative than prostitution, which is otherwise the only solution. "There are pious people who still confuse an illicit sexual relationship with prostitution." But "love without marriage is surely more moral than marriage without love."

R. D. KARVE.

## THE NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION OF INDIA. THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH.

*Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri as President of the seventeenth session of the National Liberal Federation of India held in Nagpur delivered an address to the Federation on 28th December. In it he dealt with the circumstances in which the Government of India Act was passed, examined its provisions, and then considered what policy the Liberal Party and other progressive parties should adopt in relation to it. This last portion is given below in full.*

### NET RESULT.

THE total result is without doubt one of grave dissatisfaction in our minds. We feel that power is not relinquished. The old instruments of control are there still. Power still remains drawn up into the hands of the Secretary of State, through the Governor-General and the Governor acting at their discretion and in the exercise of their individual judgment subject to his control and direction and through services protected with special care and empowered to do what may thwart the action of the ministers. Not content with these instruments of power, vested interests are entrenched in the centre and in the second chambers of the provinces as a first line of defence against democratic advance.

Good friends in England desire us to accept the Act and settle down to constructive work within the limits set by the Act "in a spirit of political realism." Immediately after our last session's condemnation of the Joint Parliamentary Committee's Report as unacceptable, a friend wrote that "nobody in Britain will echo the criticism that mountains have been in labour and brought forth a ridiculous mouse." On the other hand, he continued, "most people here, even those most sympathetic to Indian aspirations and most responsive to Indian sentiments and susceptibilities, are of the opinion that the scheme of constitutional reform goes a considerable way in the direction of dominionhood." No one says that in the provinces, for example, advance is not made by bringing more subjects under the control of ministers than there were under the Act of 1919. But the whole of what we are now to have in the provinces we could have had under the Act of 1919 by rules

without spending eight years over the forging of a new Constitution Act. We could have had it in 1924 if the Congress had then agreed to take it. We could have had it perhaps even in 1931. I am not sure that a certain section in the country do not regret that the Round Table Conference was not scrapped in 1931 and the reform confined to provincial autonomy. The only gains under the new Constitution Act are the Governors' Acts and the Governors' Ordinances and the numerous safeguards and the statutory exclusion in the Police department, over which Indians have exercised control without complaint.

As for the centre, none is really very enthusiastic. People have become reconciled to it as to something inevitable. If central responsibility is to be reached only by the establishment of a federation, with its imperfect and imperfectible unification, so far as the letter of the Act goes, we must face it. We say to ourselves, "get through it as soon as you can; the sooner the better", though there are not wanting men who would much rather postpone what according to them is, in many respects, a unique, unequal and undesirable half-union.

The same English friend assures us of a fundamental feature of British psychology, which is that "hardly anywhere is there to be found, save in the case of individuals, anything except a sentiment of real friendship and amiability towards India." We are also assured that "the feeling of genuine goodwill is general and widespread." It is further added that "the Britisher has been taught that his country has been a trustee of Indian interests during the many decades of Indo-British connection" and he does not wish to take "undue risks in renouncing a responsibility that weighs upon his conscience". "When the widespread and genuinely held belief in Indian nationalist circles is expressed with more or less vehemence that Britain has a vested interest in the exploitation of India for her own benefit and advantage, it is with no assumed warmth that the British people resent the imputation which in their moments of generosity they attribute to the natural

inability of people of alien race and tradition to render justice to the well-meant benevolence of their rulers."

I am not given to attributing motives. I wish to put the best construction on the acts of others. I have set out the result of the chapter on Discrimination as I see it. Even the Marquess of Lothian says that the provisions against commercial discrimination are most of them unwise from the British point of view. With every desire to see high motives in every part of the Act, I find it difficult, on my understanding of what is aimed in at that chapter, either to see any notion of trusteeship or any sense of what trusteeship involves or any well-meant but misunderstood benevolence of British rulers or any sense of responsibility weighing on the Britishers' conscience. With the attitude of one who will not agree to the reservation of coastal shipping for Indian nationals and must destroy it whenever any attempts are made by Indians to establish it, how can we accept all that is claimed for him? We are assured on all sides that the provisions of that chapter will not be worked in the manner that the words may suggest. If that proves to be correct, then the British commercial men must indeed be deeply disappointed.

#### THE FUTURE.

What then must we do? I wish to remind fellow delegates of our resolution of last year. We then expressed our profound regret that, instead of removing the glaring defects and shortcomings of the White Paper proposals and in utter disregard of Indian opinion of all shades including that of the British Indian Delegation, the Joint Parliamentary Committee's Report introduced further reactionary features rendering illusory responsibility in the provinces and in the centre. We stated further that the Report was wholly unacceptable to Indian opinion of all shades and passed a resolution that "this Federation does not want any legislation based on the Joint Select Committee's Report". The legislation has now overtaken us. The Act is now unacceptable to all shades of Indian opinion, as the Joint Parliamentary Committee's Report was last year. What is our reaction to this legislation? What is the reaction of the country to this legislation?

There is diversity of opinion in the ranks of every party. Some hold that the Act being unacceptable, we should not go into the legislatures; we must keep aloof. Others hold that we must enter the Councils. Of those who are for entering the Councils, some hold that we must enter the Councils, but must not accept office; others, that there is no purpose in going into the Councils unless we are prepared to accept office. There are those who hold that we must wreck the Act, that is, make its working impossible. We must reverse the old saying that we should co-operate wherever possible and oppose where necessary. We must now say to ourselves that we should co-operate where necessary, but should oppose wherever possible.

In any decision as between these alternatives it must not be forgotten that a certain section of our countrymen can be got to work the Act.

To say that you will not work the Act because it is unacceptable to us leads you nowhere. As a friend has well said, "if you will not work the Act, it will work you". If you do not work the Act, the Act does not thereby become unworkable. If you were so united that, by refusing to work the Act, it should become unworkable, this Act would not have been passed at all; you would then have secured every provision that you wanted. We are disorganised and disunited. That is why the Act is thrust

on us with the assurance that if we did not work the Act, others may still be found in the country to work it. These do not mind what others think or what the majority think. It is for you to consider whether you should permit them to go in and work the Act or whether you who claim to be progressive and nationalist should go in and work the Act.

Keeping out unprogressive elements from the Councils, is it not in itself desirable, nay, is it not necessary? Now then, can there be any doubt that the progressive parties in the country cannot afford to allow the non-progressive or anti-nationalistic elements to go into the Councils and work the Act? Is there any flaw in this argument? I see none. It is then absolutely necessary that the entry into the Councils should be accepted, at least to keep out the undesirables.

If then you must go into the Councils, you must go into the Councils in large numbers. In fact, you must be there in a majority or at least in sufficient numbers to have a controlling influence. Then you may be invited to form the ministry. Do you accept office or do you reject it and sit in opposition to the Government? If you preferred to sit in opposition, some one else will undertake to form the ministry. Do you oppose? Do you oppose all measures or only such as are detrimental to national interests? That is to say, are you out to wreck the Act, by opposing all measures of Government, even if they should be beneficial? Indiscriminate opposition will be found not to be a paying game—unless the whole country understood your game fully and was in full sympathy with it, unless you had the country backing you in any such programme. If you went into the Councils on wrecking as an election programme and in all the provinces you succeeded, I can understand a programme of that kind.

I do not expect any such programme to succeed. The unity that you require for any such programme has yet to be created. When that unity is created, it may be that wrecking is not necessary for securing changes in the constitution. Such a unity may be the result of work done in the country. It may be the result of working within the Council also. The work within the Council will quicken the work in the country. In power, you will be able to do a great deal more than in opposition. One gets more support in power than in opposition from the official hierarchy right up to the top. Contact and association tell more than the merit of any question. For your beneficent measures you may be sure of support from the Governor. I am speaking with some knowledge of how contact and association secure support even where the support is invoked for ill-conceived and wrong-headed measures.

Wrecking as a programme is of questionable wisdom, and refusal to accept office and responsibility in any circumstances is refusal to make those contacts and associations that make smooth the path of work and achievement.

I have not forgotten the point of principle that must now and then emerge in a certain number of cases, small in comparison with the questions that come up from day to day. My exhortation not to adopt wrecking as a policy does not mean that you should relax on a matter of principle. In many cases, it will be found that the point is quietly gained. In a very few cases the matter may have to be fought out. The Minister will then have to be firm. The citadel may yield or it may be defended. It is at that point that the mettle of your Minister may be tested.

It is then my strong view that entry into the Councils and acceptance of office should not be avoid-

ed, that a programme of wrecking is unwise and that a strong and courageous handling of occasional questions which might involve a conflict of varying strength and degree is all that will be needed. More probably, long before this point is reached, your strength would have been duly tested and measured, and if you have stood your ground in the test the conflict might not arise at all in most cases. So far, the remarks bear directly on the Provinces. If we now turn to the Federal Assembly and Council, a difference of position is immediately noticeable. There is little chance of a majority in the Centre. Here the wreckers may desire to force constitutional reform but are not in sufficient numbers to force it. They may be in a majority in the Provinces where wrecking is neither necessary nor desirable.

This patient and strenuous work in the Councils is not all that will have to be done by a party. It is the lesser part of the work. The party will have to work in the country even more than in the Councils. The country has to be politically educated and made to know the work that has to be done and the workers that should be trusted. Without organising a strong and well-disciplined nationalistic party in the country, it will be impossible for long to carry on nationalistic work within the Councils.

#### APPEAL TO ALL PROGRESSIVES.

I sense the unspoken question in the minds of my fellow delegates, and in the minds of others present here not of the Liberal complexion in politics, where are the Liberals to whom these observations are addressed, who will go into the Councils in large numbers and will then be faced with the problem of accepting or rejecting office, etc., referred to above? My remarks are addressed not to Liberals only but to all nationalists in the country. Your resolution of last year twice refers to "the entire body of Indian opinion of all shades" in reference to the attitude of the country to the Joint Parliamentary Committee's Report. I have followed it up this year by speaking to all progressive Indian parties of whatever shade of political opinion. My fellow delegates and I know that we are a handful in a vast country—we who have the courage and are not ashamed to own ourselves to be Liberals. There are far more Liberals in the country than own themselves to be such. I know the difficulties in the way of propaganda and recruitment to Liberal ranks in my part of the country. I am for converts to our ranks, if we can get them. If we do not get many, no matter. We shall be content with the Liberal principles permeating the lives of people. To my mind, those who have decided, if only for the moment, to give up non-cooperation, and work along lines favoured of the ancient Congressmen and their modern representatives, the Liberals, are also Liberals in spirit and conviction even if not in name. I do not say they are Liberals either to taunt them or to vex them, but only to satisfy my own mind that our mode of doing political work is at least one of the authentic and approved modes of doing work and I need not desert it for any other unless occasion should call for it in no uncertain or in irresistible voice. I personally feel no hesitation in saying that all progressive parties should welcome opportunities of doing national work in and out of Councils in collaboration with one another without in any way breaking with their other loyalties. If, for example, there is what may be called a Parliamentary or Council-entry party, I see nothing improper or incongruous in the members of different parties joining such a group and working in collaboration. Such a party will work not only within the Councils but also outside the Councils and in the country. In time, these co-workers may establish intimate politi-

cal association and evolve similar modes of political thought. Nor is divergence of view within the members of a party inconceivable. Since you elected me to this chair, I have had, from Liberal friends, exhortation to give a lead in opposite senses. I do not wish it to be understood that in the remarks I have permitted myself to make I am trying to lead you along lines that the majority among you may not approve. There is an authentic definition of a leader from my part of the country that he is the follower of his followers. It is not quite so paradoxical or quite so untrue as at first sight it looks. Educating public opinion and being educated by it go on side by side. I have permitted myself to express an opinion of my own. It is for you finally to take it into your consideration and come to a deliberate decision.

#### A PARTY PROGRAMME.

I should normally stop here, but I cannot refrain from referring to the question of a party programme.

If progressive parties decided to undertake the responsibility of government, a programme is essential. Whatever may be the decision, it is time that the question of programme is taken up. The Liberal Party should take it up. They are eminently fitted to do it.

A committee may be appointed with power to co-opt outside experts to prepare a programme. While it is essential that programme-makers should know what have been done in other countries, they cannot simply transcribe them wholesale into their programme without adapting them to the needs and conditions of this country. There is some informed and much uninformed planning in the country in imitation of the Five Year Plans and Ten Year Plans of other countries, so much so that the word, planning, and the idea behind it are in danger of becoming discredited. But a party programme is necessary without delay.

If the masses of the population, now steeped in poverty, are to have a reasonable standard of living, the country must bend its energies in devising a practicable programme and carrying it out. The relief to agriculturists whose poverty and distress are on the increase in these depressing times, the condition of landless labourers in agriculture and urban workers in unorganised industries and the problem of the educated unemployed call for immediate attention. The pressure on agriculture necessitates industrialisation chiefly by the introduction of cottage and village industries as a new or an additional occupation for the rural population. Nationalisation in certain directions is no longer a matter for discussion. In transport, in Posts and Telegraphs, in public utilities such as electricity, broadcasting, etc., nationalisation has become an established fact. Liberalism, unlike Socialism, reserves freedom of judgment in each case on the merits without making a fetish of nationalisation as applicable in all circumstances and to all departments of economic life. Fair conditions of life and fair distribution of the profits of industry as between capital and labour must be secured if need be by careful legislation.

Taxation as an instrument for securing social justice and redressing inequalities in the distribution of wealth is well-known. I can see no end or goal which cannot be more easily and promptly achieved by social legislation than by the doubtful and difficult paths of Socialism. I do no more than set down certain ideas as they occur to me. All this, however, must be a matter for the careful and well-considered opinion of a committee of experts.

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