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Topics of the Week.

S. I. S.

AT a general meeting of the Servants of India Society held in Nagpur on the 1st inst., Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru was elected to succeed the late Mr. Devadhar as President, and Mr. N. M. Joshi, M.L.A., to succeed Mr. Kunzru as Vice-President. The election of Mr. Kunzru was proposed by the Rt. Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri and seconded by Mr. N. A. Dravid and that of Mr. Joshi was proposed by Mr. A. V. Patvardhan and seconded by Mr. V. Venkatasubbaiya. Messrs. Kunzru and Joshi also retain the headship of the Upper India and Bombay Branches of the Society respectively.

Hindu Mahasabha.

BIGOTED Hindus must have been disappointed that in his presidential address to the last session of the Hindu Mahasabha, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya failed to pour unmitigated ridicule on Dr. Ambedkar's latest stunt in favour of a change of religion for improving the lot of untouchables. As a matter of fact the Pandit's reference to the subject was very guarded. Instead of condemning it outright, the Pandit held that it had served some purpose; and that purpose was that it had set the Hindus at thinking about the injustice that is being done by them to the untouchables by assigning to them a status lower even than that of beasts. Pandit Malaviya did not of course use these words; but the trend of his re-

marks seemed to convey as much. And it is also comforting to be told that the year of his presidency of the Hindu Mahasabha would be devoted to ceaseless endeavours on his part towards the removal of this blot on Hindu religion. But even Malaviyaji, optimist as he is by nature, appears to be over-optimistic in hoping that the evil can be eradicated in one year. His optimism is all the more inexplicable in view of the fact that in an earlier part of his address he describes the custom as very deep-rooted and conveys an implied hint that its removal would be by no means easy or quick. Anyhow if he could accomplish the banishment of untouchability from Hindu society in a year, it will be an achievement even more glorious than the building up of the Hindu University which has justly earned for Malaviyaji the gratitude of India.

THE Conference as a body, however, showed itself to be more in touch with realities. It contented itself with the appointment of a committee to draw up a five-year plan for the uplift of the depressed classes. Be it noted that what this committee is to concern itself with is not the removal of untouchability but an improvement in the condition of the depressed classes. The move is, however, no less welcome for that reason. The Mahasabha also let it be known that untouchability was not part of the Hindu religion or social system. It went further and recommended to Hindu society "the abolition of all distinctions based on birth or caste in the spheres of public, social and political life in which such distinctions ought to have no application and are out of place in the present age." This is good so far as it goes; but it can hardly be doubted that a lead couched in less halting terms would have evoked better appreciation and have been in greater accord with the spirit of the time.

THE new reforms are branded by the Sabha as "highly inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing". The Mahasabha can by no means be said to be guilty of exaggeration in thinking that they are designed "more to tighten the grip of British rule over India and to disintegrate Indian public life than to transfer real power to the people of India". The Sabha will, however, not keep aloof from the new constitution. It will fight the elections in order to protect and uphold Hindu interests in the legislatures. The Communal Award was once more condemned as anti-national and undemocratic and an appeal made to Hindus and Sikhs to agitate against it till it is replaced by a national system of representation.

Ethiopia's Terms.

THE terms on which the Emperor of Ethiopia is prepared to accept peace have now been published. They are as follow :

- (1) The complete withdrawal of Italian troops from Ethiopian territory.
- (2) Italy to pay indemnity.
- (3) The recognition of Ethiopia as a sovereign State by the Powers.
- (4) The delimitation of frontiers by an international commission, appointed by the League of Nations.
- (5) Ethiopia would seek foreign advice and assistance in economic, financial and administrative spheres but no Italians would be accepted.

We are told that, although the demand for an indemnity might be waived, nothing short of total defeat would cause the Negus to weaken on the other terms.

THE Emperor has shown great wisdom in insisting upon the fifth term. He has consistently been following this policy for a number of years: he freely recruits foreign experts but studiously avoids Italians, and no one can quarrel with it, seeing the intentions that Italians harbour about Ethiopia. But we had begun to suspect, since the Negus accepted the report of the Committee of Five—not as a final solution of course, but as a basis of negotiation, that he had become weak on this point, for the notes added by the British and the French Governments to the Committee's report had already contemplated the reservation of an economic zone for the exclusive use of Italians. It is encouraging to know, therefore, that he is strong on the exclusion of Italians. Anyway, as "Vigilantes" say in the *Inquest on Pea e*, "it is certain that no Italian's life will be safe in Abyssinia, and no Italian economic concession will be granted or immigrants allowed or advisers employed for years after this war."

India and the League.

IT is well known that for several years past Mr. C. Vijayaraghavachariar of Salem has been putting forward the suggestion that Indian leaders should place India's case for self-government before the League of Nations. Asked about this, the Congress President, Babu Rajendra Prasad gave his opinion that the proposal was impracticable. "The League," he said, "makes no distinction between a State which has a representative government and a State which has an autocratic government. It deals with the State and not with the people of the State. We all know that India was made a member of the League to give an additional vote to England in the affairs of the League and not because she is a sovereign State."

THIS of course is very true. But if Babu Rajendra Prasad felt much disappointment at the Indian people being ignored in favour of the Indian Government in the League, we must say that his chagrine is somewhat out of place. For the Congress in the person of Mahatma Gandhi consented to the same kind of treatment for the Indian States' people in the federation that is meted out to the Indian people in the League. The federation does not recognise the Indian States' people; it recognises only the States' rulers. The federation makes no distinction between units which are democratically governed and units which are autocratically governed. We all know that the Indian States were taken into the federation in order that they may take the place of the official bloc which is now removed. And to all these arrangements there is no evidence that Mahatma Gandhi raised any objection. The Congress cannot now object to the arrangement that is made in the League in respect of India. Hoist with your own petard, Mahatmaji?

The Non-Brahman Conference.

THE Conference of the Non-Brahmans in the Deccan which took place at Dhulia in Christmas week augurs well for the future of nationalism in this part of the country. This party has afforded, next to the Muslim group from Sind, the strongest support to the bureaucracy in the Bombay Presidency ever since 1921, when the present system of reforms came into force. The only business of the leaders of the party so far was to secure the loaves and fishes of office for their community. But the community is so vast that it was inevitable that very soon the share of the loaves and fishes which they could obtain would leave the people discontented. There is not a single reform that is to the credit of the leaders who occupied positions of responsibility and power in the Government. In fact in every matter—temperance, education, etc.—which touches the masses there is a sliding back from the position taken by Ministers of other communities like Dr. Paranjpye and Sir Chunalal Mehta. The non-Brahman Ministers never worried about questions of policy. They never thought of putting up a fight even in the interests of their community.

BUT these leaders and their supporters are thoroughly discredited. They have lost the confidence of the masses, and the Dhulia conference gave overwhelming proof of this. The promoters of the conference, the so-called Council party of non-Brahmans, seeing that a storm would break over their heads in the conference, closed its doors against the more progressive members of the non-Brahman community. It was arbitrarily ruled that none who belonged to any other party could attend the conference as members. Even so, they were confronted, when the conference opened, with a large hostile element, and the organisers of the conference could get away with it only by adjourning the conference and then proceeding with their deliberations within closed doors. The majority party in the conference, however, did not disperse before disowning the leaders and protesting strongly against the high-handed methods used by them in maintaining their selfish leadership. Those who are working for the overthrow of the reactionary influence exerted by the non-Brahman bosses will rejoice at the turn of events and may now hope that in course of time the spirit of communalism will weaken still further until it completely vanishes.

The Baroda Jubilee.

IN commemoration of the diamond jubilee of his rule His Highness the Maharaja of Baroda recently announced the setting apart of one crore of rupees to be called the Diamond Jubilee Trust. The income from this sum is to be utilised for the benefit of the rural population of the Baroda State, especially the poor and depressed classes. Supplementary amounts to be devoted to such purposes will also be provided for in the regular budgets of the State. With reference to the object of this magnificent gift His Highness said: "My ideal is to imbue a keen desire for a higher standard of living, the will to live better and the capacity for self-help and self-reliance, and to make village life interesting."

THE proceeds of the trust fund are to be utilised for village water supplies, communications, educative work of all kinds, etc. There is also a proviso that if circumstances change and Government think it necessary hereafter the funds will be utilised for other beneficial objects. All this bears eloquent testimony to His Highness's faith in the fact that real

India lives in the villages and that the uplift of the villager is the uplift of India. The objects enumerated above are exceedingly good so far as they go. We are certain that they can be extended, and the proviso which His Highness has introduced may be serviceable in doing so. There are, to be sure, many other objects which should be kept in view in the interest of the masses.

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THOUGH India is predominantly an agricultural country agriculture organised on a large scale and co-operative basis is a thing practically unknown in India. The use of machinery in agriculture is also rendered impossible in the first place by poverty and secondly by the very nature of agriculturists' holdings which are extraordinarily small in area and tend to be still smaller as generations go by. Under these circumstances it is no wonder that Australian wheat and Japanese rice sell in the Indian market cheaper than the native stuff itself. It would, therefore, be meet and proper if the Maharaja of Baroda gives a lead to the whole of India in this vital matter just as he did years ago in the case of compulsory primary education. Old-world methods of agriculture must now be radically changed and brought up-to-date if the Indian agriculturist is to be enabled to achieve his own economic salvation. This can be done only by State action, and a progressive State like Baroda with immense resources and an enlightened ruler may well be the pioneer in the field. The introduction of mechanized large-scale agriculture on Indian soil will no doubt bring perceptibly in view the realization of His Highness's noble ideal of improving the standard of village life and making village life really interesting.

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Religious Conversion.

THIS formed the subject of discussion at the fifth session of the All-India Council of the Federation of International Fellowships which met at Wardha

from 27th to 31st December. While admitting that honest and humble missionary work with the highest motives is possible, the Council strongly condemned the efforts of missionaries of all proselytising religions to add only to the number of one's fellow-religionists and to attract people by offering temporal facilities and conveniences. The resolution it adopted on the subject was as follows:

(a) The Council of the Federation of International Fellowships recognizes the right of the individual to conversion in the sense of a purely spiritual change of heart, whether within the faith of the individual or outside, realising the purpose of God that all His children have personal knowledge and communion with Him.

This implies that conversion is to be understood only in the sense of a turning of the soul to God.

(b) The Council of the Federation of International Fellowships, while recognising the right of Harijans to adopt any legitimate means for their social and economic betterment, cannot regard migration of the Harijan community from one faith to another as in the category of conversion.

As a Fellowship, we record our deep sympathy for the Harijans in their struggle for freedom, and respectfully suggest to the Hindu leaders that the present crisis is a call to them for deeper consideration of the destiny of these children of God.

This resolution to be sure gives the right lead. Since religious conversion must be purely voluntary, uninfluenced by threats of force or promises of economic and social betterment, we cannot see how anyone can oppose the principle of a Conversion Registration Bill sought to ensure that all conversions are voluntary, when we find that there is a real danger of some people being forcibly converted. We wonder what the *Indian Witness* will have to say to the resolution. As for the Harijan movement of secession from the Hindu religion, it should be understood that it is not essentially a religious movement at all, but a social and political movement.

GET THE REFORMS ACT ON ITS BACK!

THE Liberal Party's annual conference in Nagpur declared that the new constitution was an imposed constitution; that it had not been accepted, and could not possibly be accepted, by the country. The Liberal Party would much rather have liked to be left with the present constitution than to have the new reactionary constitution thrust upon India; but even this modest demand of the Party was not acceded to, and a constitution has been foisted upon the Indian people to which they take the strongest possible objection. It was very necessary for the Liberal Party to have made this declaration, and that for two reasons. First, it is likely to be thought—and it is freely asserted in England—that because the scheme of reforms embodied in the Act is the product and fruit of a series of Round Table Conferences it is a scheme mutually agreed to by India and England. No one can deny that Indian leaders were taken into consultation. Indians were associated even with the Joint Select Committee of Parliament, and thus except at the last stage of the passage of the Bill through Parliament Indian opinion was consulted throughout, but it was consulted only to be set aside summarily and contemptuously. Not a single suggestion made by any of

the nationalist schools of thought was adopted, not a single objection urged by them respected. Indians went into the Round Table Conference with high hopes for the future. At the initial stages things went well. India seemed about to enter into the inheritance of a fuller and richer political life. The more sanguine spirits thought that, if not full dominion status, something corresponding to it was within reach. But they were soon undeceived. They were verily like Tantalus. The very act of raising the cup of political freedom to India's lips in order that she may drink it caused its contents to vanish away. Instead of being an instrument of political progress, the Reforms Act as passed has proved a veritable shackle on India's progress. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance to declare that the constitution is not one in the making of which, in spite of appearances to the contrary, Indians have had a lot or part; it is on the contrary one with which they have been saddled against their wishes, and it is one which they must make an unremitting effort to put away at whatever cost.

Second, by its declaration the Party has made known that it feels free to challenge the constitution in every one of its provisions. The Hoare constitu-

tion is to India what the 1922 declaration of the British Government is to Egypt. It will be recalled that the British Government, as recommended by the Milner Mission, first tried to come to a settlement with Egypt, in regard to a demarcation of spheres between her and England. Egypt, however, did not agree to the proffered terms and refused to enter into a treaty on the basis of the Milner Report. The British Government thereupon issued a unilateral declaration in 1922, which conferred powers of internal self-government upon Egypt but reserved for itself the management of all her external affairs. The result was that this declaration bound only Great Britain but did not bind Egypt at all. Egypt, on the contrary, challenged every one of the four reserved points, and seems about to get satisfaction on at least three of them. So will India go on challenging the Hoare constitution till it is replaced by one which she can accept with honour.

An especial responsibility devolved upon the Liberal Party to say that it does not accept the reforms, that it cannot advise the country to work them contentedly, and that on the contrary its constant endeavour will be to put them into the discard at the earliest possible moment. For no party went into the Round Table Conference with brighter hopes in its bosom than the Liberal Party. All these hopes, however, have been dashed to the ground. Instead of taking larger political rights out of the Round Table Conference they find that even the existing political rights have been whittled away. The first impulse of anyone in such a situation must be to boycott the new constitution, to have nothing to do with it. The Liberal Party did not omit to consider this alternative, but it came to the conclusion, as everyone must, that under the new regime the privileged classes and the property interests will be in the ascendant, and it is impossible to persuade them to stay away from a constitution by which they stand to gain. The boycott policy is thus impracticable and therefore futile, and for this reason it had to be put away. What then is to be the future line of action of the Liberals? The Liberal Party will no doubt get out of the reforms all there is to be gotten, but it realises to the full that the constructive good they are capable of yielding is not much; in fact it is very little. This, therefore, will be a subsidiary part of its activities, and its main work will consist in getting rid of this "imposed" constitution and obtaining one which is acceptable to the country, as is indicated in the resolution by the words *what is more important*. While members of the Party will utilise the constitution for what it is worth, they will ever bear in mind the overmastering fact that the constitution deserves to be put on the scrap-heap and will work with that end in view. Nor are they unmindful of the fact that a better constitution is almost impossible of achievement by constitutional means alone. For every change of major importance has to be proposed by the British Government and accepted by the British Parliament. But that is not all. As Mr. Sastri put it in his speech supporting the resolu-

tion passed by the Liberal Federation, every Prince or Princeling can impose his veto on what is proposed by the British Government and passed by the British Parliament, and this veto will be final. In fact, by passing this hateful constitution, the British Government has as it were served a notice on the Indian people, and particularly on the Liberal Party who pin their faith to constitutional means, that constitutionalism is at an end.

It is a pretty desperate situation for the Liberal Party (and indeed for all parties). The Liberal Party considers the reforms to be retrograde and would have preferred to do without them. It is convinced that it is impossible to go on with these reforms for any length of time. It would like to do away with them as soon as possible. But federation is a permanent union and cannot be dissolved. Nor is it possible to introduce vital amendments in the constitution by the normal method of working within the constitution, and to work within the limits of the constitution is the Party's creed! No way out appears in sight. Surely no one has a full vision yet of the road that will have to be taken till we reach the journey's end. In such a situation the Liberal Party's approach to this question of supreme importance must be pragmatic. Its policy cannot be based on any hard and fast theory. It must be opportunist in the best sense of the term. But one thing is certain. The constitution will not work smoothly. Constant friction will arise. Sometimes the tension will not be great, but sometimes it will come to flash-point. Whatever it be, the Liberal leaders declared—Sir Cowasji Jehangir and Sir Chimanlal Setalvad—that they would not avoid such situations, but face them boldly. Whenever possible the Liberal Party will try to give a good spanking to a reactionary administration composed of all the vested interests, as nine to ten it will be. The Party will on occasion even engineer daring, decisive coups. But on other occasions it must be prepared to go slow, biding its time. Like all good strategists, it will make a sortie when it seems opportune, but will not disdain to make a strategic retreat when that seems called for. Its policy will be one of footloose opportunism, but an opportunism always in the service of a singular tenacity, for substituting for the Hoare constitution which humiliates us a constitution under which we can stand with our heads erect. The Liberal Party and other progressive parties can thus have no long-term policy; their policy will necessarily be hand-to-mouth. But, in working the constitution, amidst all the shifts and changes of policy, they will ever try on every suitable occasion to force the issue of real democratic self-government. They will give no help in preserving the *status quo*, meaning thereby the new constitution; they will do their best to change it—change it gently if possible, but pull it apart with roughness if necessary, always keeping before their mind's eye the fashioning of an entirely new order.

LAW OR EQUITY?

WHAT IS TO BE THE BASIS OF LEAGUE ACTION?

THE Paris peace proposals are dead; but they raise the fundamental issue whether in international disputes the League of Nations is to take its stand upon the public law as between nations or whether it is to hold itself free to supply the deficiencies of this law and try to render justice on the basis of equity. This question arises from the manner in which some apologists of Sir Samuel Hoare and Monsieur Laval seek to justify the dirty deal which they attempted to put over Abyssinia. They say in effect: "It is not the League's function merely to preserve the *status quo* among the League Powers. If it were so, the League would only be, to use the words of 'Scrutator' in the *Sunday Times*, an 'instrument for riveting the fetters of the past on the legitimate ambition and the spirit of progress' of its more advanced members. In this particular controversy the issue is between a confessedly barbarous country and an admittedly civilised one. By the letter of the law the barbarous country can claim to retain all that it now has, but if this claim is allowed the civilised country will be left no room for expansion, it can never better itself as it has a right to do, and in consequence the whole of the civilised humankind will suffer. This is just the sort of case in which too rigid adherence to legal forms should not be insisted upon, but on the contrary an attempt should be made to afford relief by recognising and making full allowance for the obvious imperfections of law. In short the League should administer justice not as in courts of law but as in courts of equity. Italy's just claims would be excluded from the benefit of League protection if the League adhered too closely to Article 10 of the Covenant in favour of Abyssinia. It should therefore go beyond and behind this Article if necessary and make a conscious effort to arrive at an equitable settlement of the dispute—a settlement which will be fair and just in its essence but which may not conform to the strict letter of the law of the Covenant."

The *Sunday Times* has put the matter very neatly:

Two views are possible of the League. You may think of it as a Court of Common Law, concerned solely with the respective rights in individual States, and administering justice between them though the heavens fall. Or you may think of it as a Court of International Equity, or, if you like to put it so, as a Court of Star Chamber working in close association with world-government and thinking not only or so much of individual rights but of what will make for general peace and security, and, in the cant phrase, for the greatest good of the greatest number.

The first conception comes more naturally to the English mind; the second to countries which have a *droit administratif* or special process of justice in disputes between the State and the individual. It would be possible to express the difference between England and France, perhaps the quarrel between Italy and the League, in the terms of this antithesis. Hitherto, in this Abyssinian trouble, thanks to the prestige of this country and the vigour of our representatives, the first or Common Law conception has prevailed; in the new draft the main criterion is clearly not only or so much the Common Law

rights of Italy and Abyssinia but the well-being, real or supposed, of the world at large.

It is here pretended that Abyssinia is proposed to be thrown to the wolves of the Capitol only because the League considers it its business not to safeguard what is, but to safeguard what should be; in other words, it regards itself "as a quasi-legislative body entitled not only to pronounce legalistic judgment as between opposing rights and claims, but to take into account the widest considerations of public policy." It is true that at present the League has no criteria of equity, but in any case it is bound to form its own ideas of what is right and proper, and to deliver, not a legal, but a moral judgment. It follows from this that when the League has come to its own conclusion as to what the right solution would be in any given circumstances it should proceed to implement it with all the resources at its command, without seeking the consent of the parties to the dispute.

The British Government's present aim is, and was even under Sir Samuel Hoare's regime, to reach a settlement acceptable to the League and both the disputants. When Sir Austen Chamberlain suggested in the House of Commons on 5th December that Abyssinia's consent be not required to proposals which seemed reasonable in themselves he had at the back of his mind—at any rate the suggestion could be justified only on that ground—this conception of the League's role as a judge sitting in a court of equity. He said:

My right hon. Friend (Sir Samuel Hoare) has repeated to-night a phrase he has used on two or three occasions. He has said that the British Government, collaborating with the Government of France, will continue to seek a peaceful solution and I am glad of it. He has added that it must be a solution that is satisfactory to the three parties, Italy, Abyssinia and the League. I think that it must be a solution satisfactory to the League, but if it is satisfactory to the League, and Abyssinia refuses to accept it; are we to go on employing sanctions, when not merely Italy has disregarded, but Abyssinia has also disregarded, a decision of the League? I beg my right hon. Friend to remember that the British Government thought Abyssinia was not qualified for League membership at the time when she was admitted, and that some other Governments have come to the conclusion that the British Government was right and have regretted that they pressed for Abyssinia's inclusion.

Abyssinia is not the trial that I would have chosen to fight a test case. It is a slave-holding State; it is a slave-raiding State. It is not a good neighbour. It does not trust the central government because the central government cannot—it has not the strength to—police their frontiers properly and prevent raids into neighbouring territories, our own or the Italian. I do not think that you can say to Abyssinia: "We will continue indefinitely our pressure on Italy and go on heightening it until you agree." It must be until the League of Nations agree and a satisfactory solution is accepted by Italy.

Sir Edward Grigg developed the same idea in a notable speech. He said:

He (Sir A. Chamberlain) dealt with a point which is of very great importance, and which I know is exercising the

minds of people in France, when he asked whether the British Government really meant that the only terms of settlement of the Abyssinian dispute which could be supported were terms satisfactory not only to the League but to Italy and to Abyssinia. If that is to be the formula, it seems to give the Abyssinian Government a veto over any settlement. That is one of the defects of the Covenant as it is now framed. Under Article 10, if that Article is to be read literally, all members of the League give universal and unconditional and unqualified guarantees to every State member throughout the world. Article 19 is an article which merely suggests that the League should recommend the revision of arrangements or treaties which might be found inconvenient, but Article 10 is absolute and unconditional. It means as it stands that any State in the world, however backward, however unreasonable, however unwilling to regard in any way the advice of the League, can stand out and say: "We are guaranteed in our independence and territorial integrity, and we insist on the protection of the League." That is one of the things that will have to be considered in due course. In any case there can be no question of allowing the leaders to take the stand on that principle.

It must be made perfectly clear that if the Negus is not prepared—and indeed if Italy is not prepared—to accept terms which are regarded as just and reasonable by the League, then the protection of the League must be withdrawn. This is a very important matter, because, unless the point is made clear at an early date, there may be opposition from Abyssinia to a reasonable settlement which might strain the situation in Europe. I hope the right hon. Gentleman the Minister for League of Nations Affairs will deal with that point when he speaks with reference in particular to the difficulties in the Province of Tigre. What is going to happen in Tigre? The Abyssinian Government might claim that, whatever has happened in Tigre, Tigre is part of the Empire of Abyssinia and must remain part of the Empire of Abyssinia.

I can only say that in this matter some consideration should be given not only to Abyssinia but to the population of Tigre itself. There is such a thing as victimisation, and I cannot conceive that the League of Nations, if it is really going to face its responsibilities in this matter, will hand back people who have declared that they wish no longer to be governed by Abyssinia. The record of the Government of Abyssinia in dealing with its outlying provinces is well known; it is on record. The effects of its administration in many of the outlying territories of people who are not of Abyssinian blood is as bad as any record can be, and that must be taken into consideration when we are discussing the future of a province like Tigre, which, in so far as its legitimate ruler is concerned, and many of its chiefs, seems quite voluntarily, when the opportunity was given, to have thrown off Abyssinian rule and joined the Italians. I hope that in the question of Tigre there may be no question of returning people who have once thrown off the sovereignty of Abyssinia to that sovereignty again.

We for our part shall not be sorry if the League will undertake not only to respect and preserve against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League under Article 10, but also, even by the use of force as is proposed, adjust boundaries among the different Member States on equitable lines to be determined and laid down in future. Article 19 provides for a reconsideration of treaties that have become inapplicable, and for a consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger peace, but this Article is wholly inoperative for the reason that it requires unanimity on the part of all Members of the League. The net result is

that the League only tries to perpetuate existing territorial conditions. If this could be changed and the League could be invested with the function of finding a solution for international disputes on the basis of equity, no people would rejoice more than Indians, who are included in the League without any independence to boast of—provided, however, that the League is a real League of Nations and not a League of the Great Powers. The charges brought against Abyssinia could easily be refuted. No one pretends that everything is as it should be in that country, but the important thing is that there is a gradual change for the better. As for the prevalence of slavery, one cannot but call to mind the stinging reply of the Ethiopian delegate in Geneva that fascist Italy has made slaves of all her citizens. If Abyssinia is to be deprived of her independence because of her slavery, why should not the same measure be meted out to Italy? Mr. Eden declared on 10th December, when questioned on this, "We are not concerned in any way with the internal government of Italy." One would have liked him to say the same thing emphatically about Abyssinia. But he lets charges be made against one party and dissociates himself from charges against the other. That is characteristic of the British Government's policy in this dispute. The alleged oppression to which the people of the Tigre are subjected is spoken of here. If that is a sufficient ground depriving Abyssinia of this province, why does not the British Government recognise the State of Manchukuo? It is at least nominally independent of Japan, unlike the Tigre proposed to be handed over to Italy. Anyhow if the League could consider such matters as were regarded till now of domestic concern for State Members, and therefore beyond the league's domain, it would fill the oppressed peoples in all countries with great hope for the future.

If this idea were accepted that the League could itself devise what it regards as reasonable proposals for peace and impose them upon the parties to the dispute, then it might have been possible that the Paris proposals would be accepted by Italy and rejected by Abyssinia and therefore the dissenting party, viz. Abyssinia, would be designated an aggressor, and all the sanctions prepared for Italy, and more, would be directed against Abyssinia! It looks absurd when it is thus put, but "Scrutator" suggests it seriously. He says: "If Italy came nearer to the League's idea of a just settlement, it would be right for us to suspend sanctions in her favour and to transfer their operation against Abyssinia." We have been pointing out this danger ever since the Committee of Five's report was issued. It will thus be understood what a great deal Abyssinia escaped from by British public opinion asserting itself and killing the Hoare-Laval proposals. Assuming that sanctions will not be imposed upon Abyssinia, the question is whether they will not be withdrawn from Italy, or at least relaxed, as proposed by Sir Austen Chamberlain. It is not enough for Great Britain to take back the Paris proposals. She must enforce against Italy all the sanctions now

decided upon and add to them the sanction of the oil embargo and any others that may be deemed necessary with the utmost vigour. It is only if she will do so that her loyalty to the League will be proved—loyalty which she says is the cornerstone of her foreign policy.

THE MARITIME CONFERENCE.

THE International Labour Office of the League of Nations having convened a Preparatory Maritime Meeting to consider the basis of an International Convention regulating the conditions of labour on board ship, this Meeting has just been sitting in Geneva from November 25 to December 6, 1935.

It has had a long previous history. It will probably be remembered that the International Labour Organisation began its existence in 1919 at Washington with an International Convention for an Eight-Hour Day. The year after, at Geneva in 1920, a proposal was made to apply this Eight-Hour Day to work on board ship: a proposal which however—by one vote—then failed to obtain the two-thirds majority required. Encouraged by this success, the shipowners for the succeeding eight years successfully resisted every endeavour made to reopen the question. In 1929, however, the International Labour Conference authorized the Office to circularize all State-Members, in order to obtain a synopsis of data regarding the actual conditions of seamen's services. By 1931 the Office had drawn up a Report on the answers received and Draft Proposals of international regulations. Once more the shipowners played successfully their game of delaying tactics: once more all progress was held up for four years. But perseverance conquers everything and in the end the Office obtained permission to call at least a Preparatory Maritime Conference for the end of 1935, a second and final Maritime Conference be convened in the autumn of 1936.

These Conferences—as perhaps it is not superfluous to recall—consist of tripartite delegations from each country, i. e., each complete national delegation is composed of 2 Government, 1 Employers' and 1 Workers' Delegates. On this occasion sixteen countries were represented: Belgium, British Empire, China, Denmark, Ireland, France, Greece, India, Japan, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, U. S. A., and Yugoslavia; the personnel for India being Sir Bhupendranath Mitra, India's High Commissioner in London, with two advisers (Government), Mr. David Erulkar (shipowners), and Mr. N. M. Joshi (seamen). Between them these countries account for 50 million gross tons of shipping out of a world's total of 64 million. Italy refused to take part, ostensibly because under the blessings of Mussolinian Fascism things are so superlatively beautiful that there is no room for further improvement in their merchant marine, in reality however in order to show how vexed *Il Duce* is at Geneva's ill-timed endeavours of holding up Fascist Italy's cultural mission, no, I beg pardon, Cultural Mission, in Ethiopia.

The Conference elected as its president Mr. Paul Berg, a Norwegian ex-Minister of Justice and Social Affairs—which drew from the British Seamen's delegate the caustic comment, that under such auspices the seamen were looking forward, at a long last, to see social justice done by them. The Meeting for all that did not start very auspiciously, the British shipowners declaring that they must practise non-co-operation (non-violent, one hoped), seeing that they considered it wrong, unfair and impossible to discuss any international regulation of hours and conditions of service, without regulating at the same time wages. Seeing the diversity of currencies and of standards of life in the various countries, international agreement on wages may therefore be taken as those humorists', the British shipowners', version of the "Greek Kalends." Anyhow, they solemnly declared it once that for the reasons given they would take no further active part in the discussions—magnanimously adding, "except in regard to the economic aspects of any shortening of hours or increasing of manning." Which was so very kind of them, was it not, and obviated the necessity of a physical "walk-out". (Congress please note.)

Shipowners from other countries were far from this intransigence: and as for the governmental delegates, they seemed all agreed that an international regulation of hours of work on board ship was quite feasible and really called for. This question resolves itself really into that of substituting the Three-Watch system for the Two-Watch system, where the latter still prevails: for once men on board have reasonable time for sleep (7½ hours at a stretch instead of only 3½) and leisure, the general conditions of life in the focsle must also be improved and humanized. The bottom to all objections was surely knocked out by the French governmental delegate, who said that the Three-Watch system had been the law in France for fifteen years already and was working very satisfactorily. Besides, where the Three-Watch system prevails, of necessity there must be a greater number of men employed—an item not to be overlooked in these times of general unemployment, as the French shipowners emphasized. The British Government really felt too "impartial" to want to interfere in the existing collective agreements between British seamen and shipowners regarding manning and hours of work and pay: but of course, from the point of view of safety at sea, they would, ahem, perhaps, and in fact quite probably, agree to international regulations of minimum crews to be carried.

So in the end, after a fortnight's threshing out of all the details involved, some sort of general agreement did seem to emerge after all—which proves that man really is a reasonable being and that, if only you throw a sufficient number of people of all kinds of nations and interests long enough upon each other's resources and force them to discuss each subject threadbare, a reasonable, working, compromise will be generally agreed to. The amount of amelioration obtained will, no doubt, from the

seamen's point of view not be very generous : but it will be something and that something will prove an inestimably valuable basis for a further irresistible advance some time later.

Advance in Geneva is slow—but it is advance in the right direction. What more can one expect in this imperfect world ?

H. C. E. ZACHARIAS.

Geneva,
Dec. 12, 1935.

Reviews.

TRADE AND CURRENCY.

CURRENCY AND COMMERCE. By KRISHNA KUMAR SHARMA. (Bangalore Printing & Publishing Co.) 1935. 22cm. 324p. Rs. 3.

AIMING at a simple and clear presentation of the elementary principles of banking, credit, currency and trade for the Indian students as well as the lay public the post-war changes in the banking and trade policies have been lucidly dealt with by the author. While elucidating fundamental principles, their application to Indian problems has not been neglected. Post-war monetary standards, present-day central banking policy and recent developments of international trade as a result of World depression have been clearly analysed. What the attitude of the Government of India should be in such matters has been explained. Clearly meant for the examination-going students, the author has produced a reasonable synopsis of the authoritative works. Business men and industrialists would stand to gain much by reading this work as the outstanding topical problems such as the stabilisation of currencies on a gold basis, the enlarging of the importance and usefulness of the Bank of International Settlements, the utility of the recent Trade Pacts like the Ottawa Agreement and the Indo-British Trade Pact and the measures needed to lift the country from the trade depression have been intelligently and impartially reviewed.

A systematic division of the book (i. e.) XXVII chapter under three headings of banking, currency and international trade and the arrangement of the subject matter in a logical system such as a statement of fundamental principles, post-war changes, present-day problems and the application of these principles to Indian problems would have greatly heightened the value of the book. Chapters I to XIV might have been placed in Part I entitled Currency. Chapters XV to XVII and Chapter XXIV ought to have been arranged in Part II entitled International trade and the remaining chapters form the subject matter of Part III on Banking.

Considerably greater space is devoted to currency. Prof. Sharma advocates the resumption of an improved form of gold standard managed on intelligent lines by international central banking co-operation. World opinion has already crystallised to a great extent on the above lines. "A variable gold standard" appears to be a matter of certainty. The most important chapters are those dealing with the Bank of International Settlements and the Indo-British Trade Pact of 1935. The limitations as well as the future possibilities arising out of the successful working of the B. of I. S. are carefully envisaged. His impartial opinion concerning the utility of the Ottawa Agreement and the concurrent Indo-British Trade Pact is to be welcomed. His advice that, like Australia and Canada, we should not accept the

agreement *in toto* should be heeded by the members of the Legislative Assembly. This does not mean that separate efforts to conclude trade treaties with other countries should be given up. The Indian textile trade sorely needs external markets not only in the British Empire itself but in Persia and Turkey. Though it might be opined that the Trade Pact with Great Britain renders unnecessary the exercise of vigilant safeguards, yet it is true that any planning of Indian industries ahead would be handicapped gravely as a result of the existence of this onerous Pact.

Facts concerning the organisation and working of the Bombay Stock Exchange are to be welcomed and every endeavour should be made to start such things in the industrial centres. Pursuant to the recommendations of the Sir Pochkhanwala Committee a Stock Exchange might be organised at Cawnpore and the model of the Bombay Stock Exchange should not be forgotten while an attempt is being made to start new ones. A comparison of the rules and practices of the premier Stock Exchanges of the country, viz. the Calcutta and the Bombay Stock Exchanges, would have afforded an interested reading.

A bibliography at the end of every chapter would have increased the utility of the book. It is strange indeed that the author who had the necessary space and the time to include the Indo-British Trade Pact has not penned a few lines even on the recently started Reserve Bank of this country.

Attention has been drawn to these omissions so that they might be rectified in a succeeding edition. The author has done valuable service in organising a useful body of knowledge on the somewhat intricate subjects of banking, currency and international trade. There is a printer's devil on p. 178 which reads as follows:—"in times of panic investments constitute a real banking reserve." It ought to be "do not constitute a real banking reserve." On the whole the printing is neat and the get-up of the book is eminently satisfactory.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU.

KRATOS AND ETHOS.

POLITICS AND MORALS: MERTTENS LECTURES, 1935. By G. P. GOOCH. (The Hogarth Press.) [Day to day Pamphlets. 1935.] 18cm. 51p. 1/6.

THIS pamphlet is a reproduction in print of the 1935-Merttens Lectures delivered by the author, who has attempted to restate the present position of the age-long conflict between Kratos and Ethos, between power and justice. Almost inevitably Machiavelli is chosen as the representative of the school of ruthless worship of power. A commendable fairness is evinced in stating a few of the less known features of the much maligned Italian Minister's thought. Thus the fact that Machiavelli was writing not for a particular form of government but generally for the manner in which governments, monarchical or otherwise, have to be carried on is clearly stated. So also the insistence of Machiavelli on the supreme object of statecraft being the good of the State as a whole is recorded by Dr. Gooch, who is further careful to state that even to Machiavelli the strongest support of a government appeared to consist in 'not being hated by your people.'

With all these reservations, however, it appears to Dr. Gooch, as it has appeared to many other observers, most of them removed from the actual burdens of public responsibilities, that the frank declaration of disloyalty to a moral standard in

statecraft is revolting both as a doctrine and as a policy. On purely *a priori* grounds most people will share the instinctive revulsion that the Machiavellian axioms, and their echoes in the writings of Nietzsche, Hegel and Treitschke, evoke in a morally awakened human mind. But the most important question at this late stage of the development of thought is primarily to know why this disregard for a moral standard in politics, particularly in international politics, persists till the present day and why it is that people otherwise normal in their moral outlook, and not unoften of exemplary personal character, practise a different code in their public activities.

It is altogether unsatisfactory to state, as several thinkers including Dr. Gooch have done, that this reservation on the part of political leaders is a mark of an undeveloped realisation of the essential unity of interests between different sections and between different nations. Nor is it very convincing or helpful to be told that in the long run honesty is the best policy for nations as well as individuals. All concur in the ethical justification of these statements, but for a responsible public official faced with an immediate danger to the pressing and vital interests of the nation a merit gathered according to the moral code will not suffice to counterbalance the loss of these interests. As Dr. Gooch admits, "The supreme obligation of a State to survive may involve decisions which an individual may feel bound on ethical grounds to reject."

What Dr. Gooch allows for survival may without argument be permitted for progress. What is allowed to a nation, that is, for an organised governmental union, may with greater justification be allowed to a people as distinguished from a government. Dr. Gooch finds nothing to condemn in the Belgian resort to arms to resist German aggression in 1914, nor in the resistance of the Christian subjects of Turkey to their government, nor yet in any of the following cases: Italian opposition to the Austrian masters, German opposition to Austrian claims and the Federal resort to arms against the southern States in America. Where then does the ethical standard end and that of power begin? Who is entitled to say, but those on whom lies the responsibility of leadership or the disinterested historian and critic, who comes on the scene after the wreckages are removed and who is too often a prey to the mystifying influence of success.

Dr. Gooch has touched the vital point in this more or less academic controversy between politicians and moralists—because the men of action, even Gladstone whom Dr. Gooch quotes as a modern antithesis of Machiavellian statecraft, and free from too fine a distinction between these—when he says that: "If moral principles extend their sway over international relations it will be, not because conscience whispers that they should, but because rival methods of transacting business, deciding disputes, and obtaining security have been tried and failed." The failure of resort to a morally condemnable course has, however, to be brought home to the violator in internal as in international relations. We cannot afford to rely on the long term reactions of immorality for this purpose. The police cannot afford to remain unorganised and passive while the forces of disorder are gathering strength. The apparent conflict between morality and political creeds can be ended only in one way. Power, that is to say, the virility to plan, organise and execute, must not merely mean a passive and non-chalant declaration of moral truth or a persistence in observing some outward forms when the prospect of their peaceful existence has vanished. In virtue must be included power. Then alone will it be proved for internal relations as for

international, for short term reactions as for long term ones, that honesty is the best policy. The conflict between *kratos* and *ethos* will vanish when *kratos* is incorporated in *ethos*.

The stimulating essay of Dr. Gooch on this most interesting subject should be read by all students of politics and ethics and, of course, by all public workers.

D. G. KARVE.

CHINA AND JAPAN.

THE PROBLEM OF THE FAR EAST. By SOBEI MOGI and H. VERE REDMAN. (Gollancz.) 352p. 1935. 5/-

THAT the situation in the Far East is full of dangers, even greater than those in Europe, is a view that has been expressed by more than one competent observer in recent months. A book such as the one under review is therefore to be welcomed, for it contains a splendid account of the problems of the Far East from the pen of two brilliant scholars. The book is illustrated with charts and statistical tables which enhance the value of the book as an authoritative publication. Its only defect is that it has not even a single map of the Far East.

In a book so full of material it is difficult, in the space of a short review, to do adequate justice to all that it contains. The book contains three parts, the first part dealing with Modern Japan, the second with Modern China, and the last with international relations in the Far East.

In a book dealing with the Far East, it is but right that two-thirds of the book should be devoted to Japan, for the problem of the Far East is closely connected with the economic needs of Japan and the imperialist policies of her Fascist-Military governments. Dealing with the political institutions of Modern Japan, the authors say that the Japanese constitution is based on the idea that sovereignty rests ultimately in the person of the Emperor. The Army, the Geuro or the body of elder statesmen, the Privy Council, and the House of Peers represent the old feudal tradition. The popular element is represented by the House of Representatives. In this popular chamber there are two chief parties, Conservative (Seiyukai) and Liberal (Minseito), but they are controlled partly by great industrial interests and mainly by the Army leaders.

Local government in Japan is, according to the authors, "a mixture of devolved central government and local autonomy, officialdom, in general terms, representing the central government and the local legislative assemblies representing local autonomy" (p. 89).

Coming to economic institutions the authors aver that the cheapness of the yen and the abundance of cheap labour have enabled Japan to flood the world markets with her manufactured goods. Though with the establishment of the puppet kingdom of Manchukuo Japan controls economic resources and a market for her manufactures, Japan's economic outlook is still gloomy as the authors expect the foreign countries to close their markets to Japanese goods through tariff or other methods. The authors being Socialists, want Japan to become Socialists so that she could make the most of her resources, material and human, for her own people and for the rest of the world. But in the present atmosphere of acute national sensibility, the traditional workshop of the Japanese Emperor and the irrational philosophic speculation about the 'Japanese spirit,' it is difficult for Socialism to make headway. To maintain the present status of capitalist supremacy, Japan

may have to attempt imperialist dominance over her weak neighbours. The authors prophesy that "Japan in the future must try to stretch her political line over the northern part of China or risk an indecisive naval battle with the U. S. A. in the Northern Pacific." The author's prophecy has come true, for we now hear of Japan backing the so-called Autonomy movement in Northern China. Probably another Manchukuo!

Modern China is given 80 pages in the book. The authors point out how China has no political unity. There is Chiang-Kai-Shek's National Government at Nanking. There are the self-governing Communist provinces in central China. Then there are the Tuchuns or War Lords, on the borders. Finally there are the foreign concessions on the coast. The authors point out how without a stable central government the raw materials of China cannot be used for industries. They favour the establishment of a Socialist regime, for under such a regime unity will soon be established, the exploitation of the poor will cease and there will be equitable distribution of wealth. China will then become a country where the standard of life of workers will be high and consequently where there will be contentment and unity. A united China will easily resist the imperialist policies of Japan and the Western nations. The authors aver that Socialism has more chances in China than in Japan, as Dr. Sun Yat Sen was a Socialist and the Kuomintang party takes to Socialism kindly.

The final section is devoted to international relations in the Far East. While the authors are ready enough to criticise and censure many of Japan's actions, they do not hesitate to expose the materialistic aims of the Western nations—aims which, as they clearly show, are all too often wrapped in a cloak of seeming altruism and pious self-righteousness.

The book shows conclusively that it is the international struggle for the Chinese market that is at the bottom of the trouble—not so much the relatively small market provided by China's impoverished millions to-day but for the immensely greater market anticipated in years to come, when China has been more fully developed and the purchasing power of her 400 millions increased.

We congratulate the authors on their splendid effort and we have no hesitation in saying that their work is an excellent book on the Far East.

M. V. SUBRAHMANYAM.

FROM THE COMMUNIST ANGLE.

THE WAR FOR THE LAND IN IRELAND. By BRIAN O'NEILL. (International Publishers.) 1933. 20cm. 201p. \$1-50.

THE author traces the history of the land struggle from the days of the English Conquest of Ireland when the sons of the soil were driven to inferior soils or were made serfs of the new conquering landlords. From those days there has ever been a struggle for national liberation and this was closely linked with the land problem of the country. The eighteenth century saw the natives of the soil in a most wretched condition. They were unable to bear the oppression of the landlords, the priests, the foreigners and tried to shake them off. The famines and the new move to form ranches, and the consequent unemployment aggravated their misery. Leaders came forward to lead them against the oppressors, and the first of the 18th century was one William Driscoll to fight against the Coercion Acts. Organisations

known as Oakboys and Steel Hearts came to be established. Wolfe Tone led the movement against the tithes and the tithe war ended about the thirties of the 18th century. The great famine of 1848 caused untold miseries and sent many to the other world. This led to an enquiry by a Royal Commission to which were related harrowing tales of the condition of peasantfarmers. The emigration in vast numbers to America next followed, and substantial remittances home from that country helped the miserable peasants of Ireland. Then started the Phoenix National Literary Society which began to educate the masses, and after its suppression the Irish Republican Brotherhood was established. The famine of 1877 led to a vigorous campaign by Michael Davitt and Parnell. The plan of holding harvests was hit on. Col. Boycott, an estate manager, brought in black-legs to harvest his estate, and thus originated the word Boycott. The Land Act of 1881 separated the middle-class leaders; and they, dreading revolution, took to constitutional means and were headed by Parnell. Parnell formed the Irish National League as opposed to the Land League. The Land Acts 1881 to 1903 tried to satisfy the land hunger of the peasants by buying for them land from the owners at high prices for which the new proprietors had to pay heavy annuities. Thus instead of landlordism there came to be established bondlordism. The treaty which established the Irish Free State simply made it the agent to collect the annuities and further the work on the lines of the Land Acts. The oppressed peasants were trying as ever to revolt and created a new organisation called the Farmers' Congress. Peadar O'Donnell, the writer of the introduction to this book, led this new organisation. The Fianna Fail Government of de Valera, though it refused to pay the annuities to the English Government, tried to collect the annuities from the peasants as vigorously as the previous governments. Meanwhile the economic crisis has swept over Ireland as over the rest of the world, and the condition of the peasantry grew worse than that of the wage-earners. Even in the flourishing U. S. A. the small farmers were reduced to utter ruin with their properties mortgaged to the extent of 80 per cent. of their values, and with a taxation twice or thrice of the pre-war days. The one single exception was that of U. S. S. R., which of course had a new social order.

After such a historical survey, the author describes the present condition of the agriculturists of Ireland—a condition far from satisfactory. The peasants were no better than the landless workers. The problem from the beginning has been one of capitalism, and it has shown itself to be a total failure. The bourgeois leaders who led the peasant movements kept back at the psychological hour and joined hands with the foreign capitalists. Thus the national struggle has not succeeded and the condition of peasants has not improved. His solution of the problem is a thorough overthrow of the existing social order and total adoption of Communism. This is to be effected by the combination of the peasants and the workers of Ireland. The U. S. S. R., while adopting mechanical contrivances, does not throw away millions as unemployed, and by its collectivisation of land has improved the lot of the peasant as well as the worker. They work in co-operation and divide the produce and feel quite happy. In the appendix the author gives us extracts from the speech of Stalin, the Soviet Dictator, who explains what success they have got in the agricultural sphere, by creating 5,000 state farms and collectivising 200,000 peasant farms.

Communism might be a red rag to some, but "the deliberate destruction of productive forces in

industry and agriculture, inflation, a wild tariff war, greater demands of loots from colonies and subjugated nations, an attack on the wages, working conditions and social services gained by the workers after generations of struggle, active preparation for war among themselves" is not a condition to be satisfied with, or allowed to continue. "The fundamental contradiction between social production and individual appropriation should be abolished. This is the Gordian knot which the modern society has to cut."

The author has references from numerous authors like Marx, Bukharin, Lenin, James Connolly, Michael Davitt, Peadar O'Donnell and official abstracts. He appends some useful statistical tables. This is a brilliant study of the problem, with clear analysis, and logical conclusions. In his Introduction Peadar O'Donnell says that he 'envies' the author of the book and it is a significant compliment.

N. S. S.

WAR AND PEACE.

THE CHRISTIAN'S ALTERNATIVE TO WAR.

By LEYTON RICHARDS. (Association Press, Calcutta.) 1935. 18cm. 125p. Re. 1.

THERE are few tracts written with the burning conviction of a Christian regarding all that war implies to modern society and the author has been painstaking in ascertaining the methods of warfare, the injury it has brought about in violating Christian conscience, and the nature and purpose of a world Christian society. It is a call to apply the maxims of the Son of Man in order to outlaw war as a method of settling international disputes. With the resources and ingenuities of modern science—mechanical, chemical, and bacteriological—a clash of arms would mean the destruction of both groups of belligerents. The Inter-Parliamentary Union of 1929 produced an authoritative report on the character of a New War, and on the basis of its findings peace at any price is commonsense. But as war touches politics, economics, and social ethics, and as its impulses are primarily psychological, Mr. Richards proposes to touch it at its mental impulses by turning its attention to the greatness of the Gospel of the Christ of Nazarene and the bigger and worthier task that is before mankind. To that end he analyses the methods of Christ in dealing with an alien government, an oppressive ecclesiastical authority and the hypocrisy of the pharisees. The way of Christ was not one of mutual aggression with its own weapons but one of redeeming love for His enemies. The triumph of spiritual values had gripped the mind and heart and imagination of the world. The author's brief analysis of the methods of warfare is a revelation of international degradation.

His proposals are rather naive, however sound they may be in dealing with undeveloped areas—facilities for economic development of the N. W. Frontier or the interior of China—and however admirable the boundary line may be between U. S. A. and Canada. Nations fight for markets and to swallow backward areas and in their mutual jealousy destroy themselves with their scientific achievement. He places on the Christian Church the moral responsibility for witnessing to the way of the Cross when it is not accepted as an authority either on international affairs or in industrial affairs. Nations never learn anything from past wars and where individuals are not convinced of the sublimity of spiritual values, the Church is important. The essential soundness of the author's principle lies in his call to men to sacrifice in loyalty to a noble principle and that he applies to

all nations and men of good will. He discloses how little the constructive achievements of civilisation are brought before international visitors while the reviews of troops and the navy form matters of national pomp and ceremony. Civilisation is probably skin deep and we may not have gone above savagery. The causes of war are far deeper and spiritual values are only a part of it. The author has probably not yet been introduced to Hitler or Mussolini for gaining a knowledge of its many-sided aspects. Pagans of Japan will sacrifice life before any European nation that would interfere with her in China! That is how Japan would understand Christianity.

J. D. S. PAUL.

SHORT NOTICE.

THE VOCATION TO MARRIAGE. By BEDE JARRETT. (Sheed and Ward.) 1935. 20cm. 205p. 3/6.

THIS is a reprint in book form of a series of discourses on home, marriage, children and kindred subjects, delivered in New York in Lent 1930 to Catholic audiences, as directed by the Pope at the time. They put forward the view of the Catholic Church as the only possible right view and condemn every other. Here is a sample: "Divorce has always been followed by birth-control. You will also find in all human history that birth-control in turn is followed by open immorality. Those are the three notes which have echoed together in harmony. Their arrangement is inevitable." For the growth of all immorality seen in the Western world—of course outside the Catholic fold—it is Protestantism, that faith of the rebel who has no lot or part with Christ, which must breed paganism and eventually a creed that denies all creeds, which is entirely responsible! The title of the book is derived from one of the distinctive discourses, in which the writer has preached that the married life is as much a vocation as the life of the cloister, that one should enter it only feeling the call to it and that marriage should dominate the life of the married as the life of the cloister dominates the life of a nun.

The narrowness and bigotry of some of the views contained in the book will no doubt amuse the non-Catholic. He recognises, however, a degree of eloquence in the discourses which may justify their publication even in his view.

V. V. S.

Miscellaneous.

THE LIBERAL POLICY.

Following is the text of the resolution passed by the Indian National Liberal Federation at its meeting in Nagpur on 30th December, 1935:

(a) The National Liberal Federation of India reaffirms its resolution of last year and expresses its strong dissatisfaction that, in utter disregard of almost unanimous Indian opinion, the British Parliament not only did not accept a single suggestion for improvement from India's point of view, but imposed the Government of India Act, 1935, on the country with further objectionable provisions added.

(b) Yet the National Liberal Federation considers that in the circumstances of India anything like a boycott of the new constitution is futile and impossible, and is therefore of opinion that nationalists of all parties and groups in the country should; in

the supreme interest of India, act together in the general elections which are to be held under the new Act so as to secure their return to the Legislatures in the largest number, and to utilise the constitution so as to extract from it whatever good it can yield and, what is more important, so as to accelerate the reform of the constitution on lines demanded by and acceptable to Indian opinion.

(c) The Liberal Federation reiterates that no constitution can satisfy Indian opinion which does not approximate as nearly as may be to the constitutions of the Dominions and concede to the people of India the full rights of national self-government with the irreducible minimum of reservations for a short period fixed by statute and which further does not make for national solidarity.

A TRIBUTE TO MR. DEVADHAR.

Numerous messages condoling and sympathising with the Servants of India Society in its grief are being received at its head-quarters in Poona. The following is a selection from them:—

MR. T. R. VENKATARAMA SASTRI, in his presidential speech to the Liberal Federation, said: "I had the privilege of knowing Mr. G. K. Devadhar somewhat more closely during the last ten years of his life. Of set purpose, he subordinated politics to social service just as his great master subordinated social reform to politics. But in his chosen field of work he was master. Few social workers have I known who so successfully secured the aid of every one from the Governor to the humblest citizen for his work. When he went out on duty, he was conscious of nothing but his work; he allowed no feeling of hunger or thirst, not even considerations of time, nor any other personal consideration to interfere with his work. All over the country, people have recounted his services and paid tributes to his memory. If being remembered by a vast number of his countrymen with affection and gratitude is immortality, he has attained it in an eminent degree."

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- POVERTY AND KINDRED ECONOMIC PROBLEMS IN INDIA. By G. FINDLAY SHIRRAS. (Manager of Publications, Delhi.) 1935. 22cm. 59+vip. As. 14.
- AMERICA'S CAPACITY TO CONSUME. By MAURICE LEVEN, HAROLD G. MOULTON and CLARK WARBURTON. (No. 56.) (Brookings Institution, Washington.) 1934. 21cm. 272p. \$3.00.
- THE NATIONAL RECOVERY ADMINISTRATION. By LEVETT S. LYON and OTHERS. (No. 60.) (Brookings Institution, Washington.) 1935. 21cm. 947p. \$3.50.
- THE DAIRY INDUSTRY AND THE AAA. By JOHN D. BLACK. (No. 64.) (Brookings Institution, Washington.) 1935. 21cm. 520p. \$3.00.
- LIVESTOCK UNDER THE AAA. By D. A. FITZGERALD. (No. 65.) (Brookings Institution, Washington.) 1935. 21cm. 384p. \$2.50.
- BORZOI. By IGOR SCHWEZOFF. (Hodder & Stoughton.) 1935. 22cm. 441p. 9/6.
- FAMILY BUDGETS, 1933-34, OF SIX TENANTS-CULTIVATORS IN THE LYALLPUR DISTRICT. BY KARTAR SINGH and AJAIB SINGH. (Publication No. 44.) (Board of Economic Inquiry, Punjab, Lahore.) 1935. 29cm. 43p. As. 6.
- THE ROMANCE OF CO-OPERATION. By K. C. BEHL. (Author, Amritsar.) 1935. 23cm. 76p.
- THE SAAR PROBLEM. (Royal Institute of International Affairs, London.) 1934. 33cm. 43p. 2/-.
- THE SAAR PLEBISCITE. (Royal Institute of International Affairs, London.) 1935. 33cm. 51p. 2/-.
- RURAL RECONSTRUCTION IN INDIA. By M. VISVESVARAYA. (The Bangalore Press, Bangalore City.) 1935. 18cm. 26p. As. 6.
- UNEMPLOYMENT IN INDIA: ITS CAUSES AND CURE. By M. VISVESVARAYA. (The Bangalore Press, Bangalore City.) 1935. 18cm. 65p. As. 8.
- REVIEW OF INDIAN FINANCE. (1927-1934.) By K. T. SHAH. (The Popular Book Depot, Bombay.) 1934. 25cm. 48p. Rs. 2.

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