

Servant of India

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Topics of the Week.

Hartals.

WE must protest against the enforcement of hartals for two and three days continuously and that, too, without due notice. The essence of a hartal is that it is voluntary, if not spontaneous. Overcome with emotion on hearing some news or seeing some sight that moves them greatly, some people are disabled for the time being from carrying on their usual avocations and they suspend them for a while. It is a spontaneous action. Those who are so moved have every right to advise and recommend that others not equally affected to follow their example either as a mark of respect for or of protest against an event. If the advice is followed, the action is still be voluntary, if not spontaneous. It is a very different thing if people are coerced to suspend their businesses. He is a bold man who will claim that the recent "successful" hartals were in the main due to voluntary action. While it may be granted that the bulk of the people were stirred, perhaps deeply stirred, by the news of the arrest of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru or Mahatma Gandhi, for instance, it did not happen that the intensity of the emotion was equally or sufficiently strong in a majority of them as to induce them to suspend their business. The economic

circumstances of some may not permit them to make such sacrifices and the loss of a day's business makes serious inroads on their slender purses. They had not only to consider their own feelings but their responsibilities for their families: women and children, perhaps the aged and the sick. These did not understand the significance of the "war"; they knew that they were the innocent victims of it. Moreover, in very few cases have the hartals been complete; the "black-legs" made hay and that creates bitterness in the minds of those who, to avoid unpleasantness, but unwillingly nonetheless, submitted to the hartal. Some of the latter did business by the back-door. The consumers of goods have been put to a lot of unnecessary and certainly, not self-imposed, annoyance and trouble.

If hartals are meant to indicate public feeling, they are a failure on account of the coercion and pressure imported into it. They have succeeded only in inflicting losses on our own unoffending traders, inconveniences on our consumers, and creating bitterness among our own peoples. We are not opposed to self-sacrifice: we welcome all manifestations of it. But we must deprecate inflicting sacrifices on others.

* * *

Press Hartals.

WHILE we are strongly opposed to the promulgation of the Press Ordinance, we are unable to share the view that as a mark of protest newspapers should cease publication till the Ordinance should be withdrawn. We are unable to see what good purpose it serves. If it is merely intended to mark protest, it is any day far better done by keeping up a continuous protest in the columns of the press. Closing down of papers is not likely to put greater pressure on the Government and expedite the withdrawal of the hated Ordinance. Nobody will be more pleased, we fancy, than the Government if all the nationalist papers close down voluntarily and save them the unpleasant duty of demanding security from some of them. The thirst of the people for news has become unquenchable, and if they cannot get nationalist papers, they will be driven to the Anglo-Indian and the "loyalist" papers and these will cordially welcome the diversion of custom. The closing down of the nationalist press will seriously disorganise the printing presses, the news services and the other auxiliary services, and for no purpose. We are opposed to the policy of inflicting hardship and inconveniences on our own people when the real object is to impress the antagonist and that can be done better in other ways. We would like the fight for the freedom of the press kept up through the press as well as by other means. We would fight for the freedom of the press to the last ditch and decline to oblige the Government and anticipate their desire to gag the press.

* * *

The Madras Cooperative Conference.

THE Madras Cooperators must be congratulated on the successful session of the eighteenth Provincial Conference held in the capital of the province a few days ago. In opening the Conference Mr. V. Ramdas Pantulu expressed gratification at the establishment of a Central Land Mortgage Bank and appealed to cooperators to put forth their best endeavour to develop primary land mortgage banks now existing and to plant new ones. Replying to carping criticism of unsympathetic observers Mr. Pantulu said that cooperation could not work wonders unaided by other national activities, owing to the complexity of the problem of the prosperity of the people. Prof. V. G. Kale in his presidential address reviewed the whole field of cooperative effort, putting his finger on the weak spots in the organization and suggesting adequate remedies. He deprecated State interference and control as incompatible with genuine cooperative spirit; what the State should do is to give financial assistance. Referring to the great evil of accumulated arrears he warned against long-term loans on an extensive scale since the bulk of the finance of primary societies is meant to be short-term. Prof. Kale drew attention to the failure of the guaranteeing unions as a link between the central bank and societies and he emphasized the importance of instituting proper relationships between central banks, unions and primary societies. He advised the central cooperative banks to extend their business through branches which will be in a better position to watch the working of societies financed by them. "Branch banking" he said "enables banks to establish touch with actual and prospective customers and to open new avenues of business." This advice was badly needed in view of the apathy of the central banks in the matter. He also advised the extension of the functions of cooperative organization so as to render assistance to the agriculturist in sale and purchase operations by organizing sale societies with godowns of their own. With regard to land mortgage banks he insisted on the need of carefully working out a scheme for ascertaining title of land and making a proper valuation to guard against failure; he further emphasized the importance of the question of the possible overlapping of the financial operations of the central banks and the land mortgage banks in the matter of raising funds. The duty of cooperative organizations is, according to him, to bring together the unlimited demand for the finance of agriculture and the potential capital in a province and he pleaded for a large number of selfless workers who will take upon themselves the duty of spreading the gospel of cooperation through the nooks and corners of the province and of watching over the working of these organizations.

The Mill Industry in the Bombay Presidency.

THE Report of the third enquiry into the wages and hours of work in the cotton mill industry in the Bombay Presidency has just been published and is a very illuminating document. The first thing to note is the wide variation in the systems adopted for calculating wages. A certain rate is adopted as the basic rate, to which is added the dearness allowance. Except in Sholapur, the time-rate basis was predominant. The maximum hours of work were 10 for adults and 5 for children; one hour's interval for meals is a normal feature in all the mills. The percentage of absentees was greatest in Sholapur and least in Ahmedabad, Bombay standing midway. The general averages for daily earnings were in Bombay Rs. 1-8-0 for men, and nearly Rs. 0-12-0 for women, while in Sholapur they were Re. 1-0-6 for men and nearly Re. 0-7-0 for women. It will be seen

that this constitutes one of the handicaps of Bombay in competing with up-country mills. The predominant system in Bombay and Ahmedabad is the two-loom system while Sholapur showed only 66 p. c. two-loom weavers, the rest 34 per cent being one-loom weavers. The average monthly earnings of two-loom weavers in Bombay were Rs. 47-6-0 while Ahmedabad earnings for the same class were higher by nearly Rs. 2 and the earnings of Sholapur weavers were lower by nearly Rs. 11. A large majority of winders were paid at piece-rates and their average daily earnings in Bombay were Re. 0-11-9. In Bombay the point of greatest density for all male operatives was in the group earning Rs. 24 to 26; the same point in the case of women lies in the group earning Rs. 18 to 20 and only 2.5 per cent earned over Rs. 30 per month. In Sholapur the point of greatest density for males was in the group earning Rs. 18 to 20 and the same point for women lay in the group earning Rs. 10 to 12. In Bombay a bonus was generally given only to workers on time-rates and the system excluded all the weavers while in Ahmedabad all the weavers were granted a bonus and both time-rate workers and piece-rate workers were included in bonus schemes. The whole affair however is erratic and there is no uniformity in the system of giving bonuses and the method of their calculation; we think such a confusion ought to be prevented by legislation. It is clear from the Report that the major portion of the workers hardly gets a living wage and until this is accomplished there is small possibility of a permanent industrial peace.

* * *

Friends of the Native.

THE recent debate in the Kenya Legislative Council over the Native Land Trust Bill should serve to remove the doubts, if he still has any, of Lord Passfield as to who are the friends of the Natives of Kenya. With more chagrin than regard for constitutional propriety, the elected European members bitterly resented the interference of the Hilton Young Commission with the original bill and the consequent "mutilation" thereof. The Hilton Young Commission had exposed the danger of the Bill to native interests, and the present Labour Secretary of State found it necessary to introduce amendments to secure native rights, and the European elected members made a deadset against them. In opposing one of these provisions, Mr. E. M. V. Kenealy went the length of protesting "on behalf of the native tribes of the country"! Not only did these European members oppose native interests but presumed to do so in the name and on behalf of the natives themselves! The Bill was finally passed with the help of the Government officials, Canon Leakey and Mr. H. Malik. Considering that the Government had given their blessing to the original Bill, it is unlikely that they have changed their mind on the subject in supporting the present measure and it is very likely that they reluctantly bowed down to the will of the Secretary of State. The only members who by their free vote supported the Bill were Canon Leakey and Mr. Malik, the former a missionary specially nominated to represent native interests and the latter an Indian. It must be clear beyond doubt now as to who are the friends of the natives and who are the reverse. If there were more Indian members, we are certain they would have all rushed to the defence of the native. The debate also shows how inadvisable and dangerous it is to increase the influence of the European members in the administration.

* * *

Articles.

THE ARREST.

It is one of the privileges of my life that I know Mr. Gandhi intimately, and I can tell you that a purer, a nobler, a braver and more exalted spirit has never moved on this earth. Mr. Gandhi is one of those men, who, living an austere simple life themselves and devoted to all the highest principles of love to their fellow beings and to truth and justice, touch the eyes of their weaker brethren as with magic and give them a new vision. He is a man who may be well described as a man among men, a hero among heroes, a patriot among patriots, and we may well say that in him Indian humanity at the present time has really reached its high water-mark.—G. K. GOKHALE.

OF all the reluctant acts that Lord Irwin allowed himself to countenance and sanction, the most reluctant is undoubtedly the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi. Nothing has stirred the people of India more deeply and profoundly as the incarceration of him, whom millions, have learnt almost to worship. Both his political friends and foes received the news in hushed silence and grave uneasiness. He is the greatest asset the Government had in keeping people away from violence, and it was hoped that the Government would continue in their policy of not arresting him and that they would counteract his law-breaking movement by diverting public attention to courses which promised better results. They chose differently. For some days we have had a succession of extra-ordinary acts on the part of the Government, superceding the normal course of things. The Bengal Ordinance, the Press Ordinance, and the Lahore Conspiracy Ordinance all followed each other in quick succession. Public meetings have been prohibited, even the one convened by the Advocates' Association of Madras—and Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, ex-Law member of the Government of Madras among the conveners—to pass a resolution of condolence on the untimely death of an Advocate of Madras, who received a gunshot wound during the recent police firing in Madras. Bitter complaints of Police excesses are coming from all quarters and are attested to by individuals and organisations of the highest standing, probity and responsibility. Censorship of news has been resorted to. And now the Mahatma has been arrested under a century-old law, Regulation XXV of 1827, and detained without trial. If all these do not amount to martial law, they are at any rate a serious infringement of the ordinary law of the land.

We are not sanguine that the incarceration of the Mahatma will solve the situation. Now that most of the leaders and the leader of the leaders have been put out of action, it is possible that civil disobedience may degenerate into isolated acts of violence,—some regrettable incidents have already occurred—or it may even die of inanition. But that will not remove the discontent, which grows more sullen because of the defeat and the humiliation. The cult of non-violence will be discredited and the violent revolutionaries will gain strength. Constitutional agitation, which

is already under a heavy handicap, will be further discredited.

It is necessary for the Government to bring home to the people that in combating Mr. Gandhi's campaign, they were resisting only the law-breaking part of it and not attempting to strangle the desire of the people for political emancipation. Now that the Government have vindicated their prestige, let them hasten with the balm to staunch the wound and extend the hand of conciliation. It were cruel and unholy to drive India to humiliation and despair.

We hope that in view of the seriousness of the situation—as witness their own resort to repressive ordinances—the Government will not wait for the publication of the Simon Report to make a fresh announcement of policy. Since the Simon Commission left India as many years were covered in as many months that have passed and the Simon Report is bound to be unrelated to the present circumstances and needs. It is futile to wait for that report to go ahead. We would suggest to the Government that they should make the demand of the Liberal Federation as the basis of their policy: nothing less than that will satisfy the people. And those who were responsible for that demand are no unfriends of the British Government, are men of great experience and knowledge, men who have in the past shared the responsibilities of the Government in the country. Their considered advice should not be brushed aside. And we are confident that if the Liberals' demand is accepted, even the Mahatma may be persuaded to give it his blessing, "war" will be ended, peace restored, and confidence created.

INDORE.

TOMORROW the minority administration in Indore will come to an end and His Highness the Maharaja Yeswant Rao Holkar will be installed on the ancient *gadi* of Indore and invested with full ruling powers.

It is useful to recall the policy for minority administration which that distinguished statesman and Governor General, Lord Northbrooke, commended to Sir Richard Mead, the political officer in Baroda, after the deposition of Malhar Rao. "One of the first matters," he wrote, "which will have to be dealt with is the education of the prince; the second thing will be to establish the popularity of the new government and to show that we are caring for the real interests of the people. Some unpopularity must necessarily follow from the sweeping out of the old, corrupted and debauched hangers-on of the late regime." As regards the education of the Prince, he has had it in Oxford: he has breathed the free and exhilarating atmosphere of England and of modernity. It would have been of great benefit to him and the State if his education had been rounded off by association with a progressive and enlightened administration, such as obtains, for instance, in Mysore, even as the Travancore Prince is being trained there. What the Prince lacks in personal experience of administration he can make up by

selecting for his officials and advisers men of outstanding ability and experience, whose integrity, motives and antecedents are above suspicion.

The task of the young Prince is exceptionally difficult. It is unnecessary to recall the unpleasant circumstances which occurred in the recent past and which culminated in the abdication of the ex-Ruler of Indore. It is an appalling legacy to live down. The Government of India, responsible for the minority administration, have not, we regret, made things easier for the young Prince. The Government of Lord Reading did not follow the policy laid down by Lord Northbrooke and did not make a clean sweep of the hangers-on of the old regime. There ought to have been a change in the personnel of the Residency and a fresh mind ought to have been brought to bear on the situation. Whether he was unaware of the vagaries of the ex-Ruler or having known them, failed to take timely steps to check them, he has proved himself incompetent and unworthy of the trust that was reposed in him.

Furthermore, a clean sweep should have been made of all those high officials, who directly or indirectly, profited by the past regime. We make no apology for quoting what we observed on the 6th May 1926 in this connection :—

“We have nothing to say personally against the capacity or integrity of any of the members of the Council, but our point is, first, that fresh minds should have been applied to the administration, unburdened with any responsibility, direct or indirect, for acts of the former regime ; and secondly, the acceptance of the ex-Maharaja's presents should have been regarded as a positive disqualification for membership of the Council. Indeed, it is a question whether these presents made after Sir Tukoji Rao was asked to go before a Commission for inquiry can be held valid until they are subjected to a searching examination.”

We still hold that it is right thing to do.

Credit has been claimed for the minority administration for the saving of forty lakhs of rupees. But the real question is whether there has been wastefulness and extravagance. Even more testing is the question whether more money was screwed out of the people than was necessary for the efficient and economic running of the administration, whether Indore was being run as a State or as an estate. It is necessary to examine whether the new settlements of 1927 and 1928, which imposed additional burdens on the agricultural classes, were needed for the administration of the State, and if a proper share of the revenue filters down to the people in the form of moral and material benefits. The circumstances which led to the supersession of the Indore Municipality, which enjoyed full powers five years ago and which is now under departmental control and the pitchforking of a mere clerk into the position of a high official of the municipality need looking into. A searching enquiry into the affairs of the State Mill, how it came into the hands of the present managers, whether the terms of the contract were

strictly enforced, and if there has been a breach of contract, if legal steps were taken to enforce it, and whether the modifications, if any, of the terms of the contract were justified and in public interest—an enquiry of the kind is none too superfluous, nor similar enquiries into the lease of the Electric Power House and the monies spent on propaganda.

It is superfluous to enter into a detailed criticism of the minority administration. It is sufficient to say that it has failed to win for itself the confidence of the people of Indore. Between the regimes of the ex-Maharaja and the minority administration under the supervision of the Paramount Power, the young Maharaja inherits an unhappy legacy and has a herculean task in rescuing Indore from it and in building up a wholesome reputation for the State. It is a task in which the Maharaja may well seek the aid and advice of his people, a task which he may well share with them. We commend to the young Maharaja the desirability, nay, the vital necessity, of creating a representative assembly immediately in the State. It is superfluous to enlarge upon the advantages of such a body to one who has come into living touch with the free institutions of England. The examples of Mysore and Travancore, for instance, among Indian States, may well be followed by Indore. Apart from administrative efficiency and upright justice, the further consideration of the new impulse that animates the subjects of the Indian States, their legitimate desire to be associated in the conduct of the government, to be allowed to share the responsibilities of the Ruler, may not be lost sight of. Indore cannot escape the repercussions of the happenings in British India, and he is a wise ruler who anticipates the legitimate wishes of his people. We hope and trust that the new Ruler of Indore will in a short time retrieve the lost reputation of Indore and set an example to other States in the matter of constitutional progress, efficiency of administration and the contentment of the people.

THE ETHICS OF LAW-BREAKING.

I.

CIVIL Disobedience undoubtedly holds the ground in Indian politics at the present moment. It has been inaugurated with great *eclat* all over India and with the sort of tempestuous enthusiasm and the breathless succession of excitements which are always associated with movements inaugurated by Mahatma Gandhi. It is possible, however, that there may be some who, in the midst of all the storm and stress of the times, with intense popular excitement on the one side, and a needlessly alarming and repressive policy of the Government in dealing with it on the other, may still have time to examine the question with reference to first principles. I shall, therefore, make an attempt to examine the ethics of the policy of a campaign of law-breaking, non-violent or otherwise.

Laws are, in the last resort, rules promulgated and enforced by the organised authority of society for the promotion of the good of society as a

whole. Obedience to law is therefore an ethical duty of a citizen, because in so far as law fulfils its purpose, it serves his own good. But this presupposes that the law in question is a rule which promotes the good of society and that it is promulgated and enforced by a body which really represents the organised authority of the State. When these two elements are wanting, the duty of obedience to law ceases to be binding. When a law is passed which I feel to be against the good of society, I am not only ethically free to disobey it, but I am morally bound to disobey and take the consequences. So too when the authority which imposes and enforces the law does not represent the organised will of the community it may in some circumstances be obligatory to resist the authority.

With regard to a *particular law* no other consideration exists except whether the law is a good law or a bad law. If it is a bad law, the right to disobey it and organise disobedience to it with a view to making the law ineffective or securing its rescission is perfectly justified, provided, of course, that such action does not lead to greater evils. Thus if it is clear that the salt law is an evil law the citizens will be perfectly justified in organising violation of it so as to make it ineffective or to secure its reversal.

The question of action directed towards the subversion of the authority imposing the law, whether by making the authority ineffective or by violent action against it, is more complicated. Every State represents, in a more or less imperfect manner, the organised will of the people for the promotion of common good. Ethically, the State ought to be so organised that it may reflect the organised sense of good of the entire people. No State perfectly achieves that end, but some do so better than others. But no matter how ill-adapted the State organisation is for the purpose of reflecting the national sense of good, every decent State performs and has to perform certain essential functions upon which depends the functioning of the life of society. Thus, for instance, while the State in India does not at all reflect the common sense of good of the people, it nevertheless functions for the purpose of maintaining peace and security, enabling communications to be maintained, providing facilities for the exchange of commodities essential for organised life, providing certain facilities for education, sanitation, medical aid, etc. These functions of Government are some of the fundamental necessities for the life of society as we can easily find out if we imagine these facilities to be non-existent. That would mean that every man would have to make his own arrangements for defending his person and property—in itself a preoccupation which would considerably restrict his capacity for functioning generally. It would make trade and commerce difficult and extremely restricted, if not impossible. It would make everybody responsible for the protection and well being of himself and his family without relying upon the vast volume of service given by the community for the purpose. Every stable govern-

ment, however ill-constituted, thus performs a large volume of work for the benefit of every individual in the community and by so doing enables him to enjoy a large measure of freedom and opportunity for self-expansion which must be denied to him if the State or other form of organised society did not exist. To paralyse the State by a universal or widespread disobedience of laws is, therefore, a very different proposition from disobeying a particular law. In the latter case you only make a bad law ineffective and force a repeal of that law. In the former case you undermine the whole structure of society and break it into atoms.

It is feared that this distinction is not borne in mind by those who seek to support the present salt campaign by argument based on the inequity of the salt law. I do not propose to discuss here the question of merits of the salt law. It has its good points as well as bad ones, and a discussion of its merits would involve a nice balancing of the evil of the present salt law against its good. I shall assume with the salt satyagrahis that it is all evil. If that is so, a campaign for the repeal of the law or for making it ineffectual would be perfectly justified. But that is not the present campaign. Suppose the Government repeals the salt law and makes up the deficit in revenue by other taxation which is unexceptionable, that would not satisfy the Mahatma or stop the campaign. It would only be a question of finding another law which could be effectively broken on a large scale. The principle is that law should be broken, not because it is a bad law but it is law imposed by a bad government. It is but a matter of policy to begin with an unpopular law. From this point of view it would be just as well to break any other law—good, bad or indifferent, so long as a large body of men could be found to break it.

That is a principle which is very different from disobeying a particular law. It may be noted that the Mahatmaji has not laid down any limitation on the programme of breaking laws based on the moral, political or economic character of laws. And, logically, from the principles laid down by him, it would be just as justifiable to disobey the law against theft or rape as the law against the manufacture of salt. Already the Mahatma himself has sidled off from salt manufacture to theft or robbery of salt. Why not similarly organise attacks on the public treasuries and the Imperial Bank for robbing public funds? From manufacturing contraband salt it is but one step to make contraband liquor. And then, why not break the marriage laws and the section of the Penal Code penalising violations of sex laws? Nothing has been said by the Mahatma in laying down his doctrines which would withhold justification from these extensions of his doctrines by drink enthusiasts and sex-perverts or sex-reformers.

No doubt, the Mahatma does not contemplate that these lines would be chosen. And if one can be sure that no action would be taken by the people anywhere except such as is sanctioned in the first instance by the Mahatma, one may say that such extensions of the doctrine of civil disobedience

will not be undertaken. But what guarantee is there that lawlessness will be controlled throughout by the Mahatma? If the Mahatma succeeds in his campaign, it will mean that Government authority will be paralysed or, at any rate, seriously embarrassed. In fact, that is the objective of the whole campaign. If authority is thus paralysed, and no other authority is constituted, which can effectively perform the essential social services which make civilised existence possible, there would be others who would take a turn at breaking the law on their own, irrespective of the Mahatma's programme and for purposes which may not be even remotely connected with the attainment of independence. Already there are signs that other people are itching for work of that sort. The Chittagong incident is a case in point. But while it is just possible that the Chittagong people are men who have their own programme for independence and that they worked in its aid, they will hearten others who would break the law for other purposes. If police authority is completely paralysed by honest law-breakers it would give to dishonest law-breakers the time of their life and theft, robbery, arson, kidnapping, abduction and rape will each find its votaries, and if railways and telegraph and the postal system are paralysed, as they well might be, little protection can be expected against such outrages.

No doubt it is a lurid picture and one that is not likely to be realised. But it is only by working out these logical consequences that the merits of these programmes can be judged. At the back of his mind no advocate of civil disobedience desires this state of things to come into being, nor thinks it possible that the campaign should be so successful as all this. Everybody thinks that before they go a short way relief will come before the resulting anarchy has come into being. Let us hope it will. But it is just possible it may not. Forces of disruption, once let loose, are not easy to control and the history of revolutions, successful or otherwise, shows that those who thought they were sowing the wind found themselves swept by a whirlwind when it came to reaping.

NARESH C. SEN-GUPTA.

THE PROBLEM OF MINORITIES.

IV.

THE fourth section of Mr. Paul's valuable memorandum deals with religious neutrality, and he lays down some very excellent and wholesome principles. Matters strictly religious should be left to private initiative, while the State should support the cultural aspirations of the communities. But nothing should be encouraged that militates against national solidarity: on the other hand, everything should be done to promote it.

But here again he will come up against some Muslims. Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan demands, for instance, that adequate provision should be made for the religious instruction of Muslims "in public primary schools." "The establishment of separate denomina-

tional primary schools," he agrees, "is impracticable and uneconomical", and he urges that "the needs of Indian Muslims would be met if provision is made for an adequate number of Muslim teachers in all primary schools and for religious instruction therein." Dr. Ahmed and his fellow members of the U. P. Legislative Council felt so keenly on the subject that when it was turned down, they walked out of the Council Chamber in protest!

Dr. Khan also insists on Urdu being the medium of instruction in public schools for Muslims. He does not agree that a certain minimum number of Urdu-speaking children should be forthcoming before Urdu is made the medium in any particular school. Recently it was even suggested that the Moplahs of Malabar should be taught Urdu! The Moplahs speak Malayalam as their mother-tongue, and never missed Urdu which is a foreign language to them. And yet it was proposed that the State should provide them with Urdu teaching.

The Pan-Islamic tendencies of Indian Muslims are well-known. It is not a kind of humanitarian internationalism but something aggressively Islamic.

V.

It has been pointed out that the problem of minorities in India, and particularly the claims of the Muslims, are somewhat different from the problems that the League of Nations was called upon to tackle in Europe and that the solutions adopted by the League do not seem to fit in well in India, granting that the League's solutions have been successful in practice. Either India should devise other solutions or her minorities should be prepared to come into line with the minorities in Europe and seek no more and no less than what the League has guaranteed to them. There is much to be said for the latter alternative. The wisdom of the world is behind the League guarantees; and if they are good enough to reconcile peoples who but the other day were at war, there is no reason why they should not be considered adequate and satisfactory for the needs of the minorities in India, who, notwithstanding all the political turmoil and squabbles, have lived, the great bulk of them, in peace and amity.

Mr. Paul will be rendering a great service to India if he will persuade the newly organised Minorities Conference to take up this line and get the Muslims also to toe the line.

BHISHMA.

(Concluded)

Our European Letter.

THE PALESTINE MANDATE.

THE Commission which investigated into the causes of the Palestine disturbances of last autumn has obviously found it impossible to adhere to its terms of reference. Its report is an urgent reminder for a definite interpretation of the meaning-

of the Mandate and a steadfast and determined administrative pursuit of this policy. It has been blamed in some quarters for exceeding the limits of its task, but the causes of the disturbance, as has been amply made clear, are so far-reaching that this could not be helped.

In a letter to the *Times* recently, Lord Winterton compared the present situation between Arabs and Jews in Palestine to the Hindu-Muslim situation in India. The analogy would seem to be correct although the wisdom of his conclusion is as questionable in the one case as in the other. The animosity is largely the result of political causes and not due to any fundamental irreconcilable racial or religious antagonism. As a matter of fact the Jew is not so much disliked by the Arab even to-day in Palestine as he is in almost every part of Europe. The immigrant Jews, compared to the bulk of the Arab community, are highly modernized, and are, moreover, possessed by a Messianic zeal for reform which, by its nature, is only too likely to be a constant source of provocation to Arabs. The Zionists have a very influential organization behind them, abundant money, first-rate leadership, and they employ radical methods in a spirit characteristic of the community. They have undoubtedly done remarkable work and brought into the country an amount of capital that should never have been there but for them. Their agricultural settlements and colonies are not perhaps economic, but they are models of such enterprise. It cannot be said with any degree of truth that the benefits derived from these activities are confined to the Jews, for primarily these settlements are civilising agencies. I have come across in these colonies individuals of whose large-minded liberalism and high degree of culture there cannot be a shadow of doubt.

But, unfortunately, as it only too frequently happens, isolated individuals, however numerous, do not furnish a clue to the political situation in this case. Even when liberal allowance is made for the benefits accruing to Palestine from the Zionist Movement, what is little less than the political submergence of nearly three quarters of the population of the country cannot be countenanced, at any rate in our times. And that is what the more ardent Zionists demand. They ask, for all practical purposes, that the Arabs should be treated as a specially privileged minority although they outnumber the Jews more than thrice over. It is a preposterous claim to want Palestine to be handed over to Jewish rule on the ground of what has been called the historical connection. Considering that the Arabs have been there as long as the Jews have been in the country, it can more appropriately be described as a legendary connection.

On the other hand, the Arab insistence, on a formal as well as substantial repudiation of the Balfour Declaration is also asking for the moon. That Declaration marks an historic event, even if it is in the tragic sense that that term sometimes assumes. It is a *fait accompli*, part of the Peace Settlement. There can be no going back upon it in the manner in which the Arabs naively want that it should be done. More-

over, the tremendous political pressure the Jews all over the world, and specially in the United States of America, can bring to bear in the matter is such that no Government can be expected to do any such thing. The Labour Party has never possessed much affection for Palestine, and it is conceivable that in the circumstances of to-day a great many people in the other two Parties would gladly lend their weight to a policy of terminating the British connection with Palestine. But the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate are historic events for the British no less than for the Arabs.

The Declaration cannot be reversed, and at the same time the administration of the country must be carried on. The Report suggests some lines of action. The Commissioners call for a definite declaration of the meaning of the mandate from the Mandatory Power. Such a statement is necessitated by the claim to which I have already alluded, the belief among some, at any rate, of the Zionists that the rights of non-Jews are secondary, and virtually privileges, in the Jewish National Home.

The panic among the Arabs—the unmistakable cause of the disturbances—about the lack of definite safeguards regarding land policy and immigration questions, to which the Commissioners make special reference, is directly due to this and such other claims. The Arabs are afraid of being reduced to a mere proletariat as a result of Zionist development and they also fear that the time may come when they will be outnumbered by immigrants in their own country, and the agricultural resources of the land may prove insufficient for the population. On both these scores they must be afforded reasonable satisfaction if administration is to be rendered possible at all.

The institution of self-government is another much-needed reform in Palestine. Surrounded on all sides by communities capable of national self-expression in various ways, the Palestine Arabs are acutely aware of their position and resent it. If they remain long dissatisfied, they may make common cause with their kinsmen in neighbouring countries and become even a greater menace to the Jewish minority. But this aspect of the problem is by no means an easy one. There is at present something like a race between the two communities for majority. The Jews wish to put off self-government until they are more numerous and more sure of themselves, and the Arabs wish to expedite the establishment of a constitution, desirous of consolidating their favourable position.

The problem of altering the diversified communal structure of countries such as Palestine to suit the requirements of the modern State is certainly not easy. Nobody can pretend to have yet been able to find a solution for it. One had hoped that the mandates system would work better than the Colonial system for it possessed over the latter at least the advantage of being, or wanting to be, economically disinterested. But the difficulties in Palestine and Samoa would seem to show that the organization of a community is not a matter of order alone. Order must be combined with liberty, and to stand the test of time, one as well as the other must be the product of his

tory. History, in essence, is the force of continuity and cannot be manufactured. But a certain degree of continuity can be secured in a world in which *laissez-faire* has become impossible by an adequate civil service. In this instance adequacy is not made up of efficiency *à la* *force*. Much turns on the spirit actuating the work of the officials.

The Mandates Commission of the League of Nations must soon concern itself with this Report, and it will be interesting to see what action they will take. One would imagine that the time had come for the League to take a more direct part in the administration of the Mandated territories. That need not be necessarily on the Saar model. For political as well as administrative difficulties such a step may prove impossible. But even while these territories remain subject to the sovereignty of the Mandatory Power, part at least of their civil services may consist of League officials. The system may prove doubly beneficial: it will be as additional guarantee of the impartiality and disinterestedness of the administration and the League officials will thus have an opportunity of coming into touch with the realities of the situations with which they have to deal. As things are now, it is no exaggeration to say that the people of the Mandated territories are hardly aware of their being subject to any other authority but that of the Mandatory Power, and the officials in these places usually regard their relation with the League as a wholly gratuitous and highly inconvenient interference.

Geneva.

R. RAGHUNATHA ROW.

15, April 1930.

Reviews.

JAPANESE CONSTITUTION.

THE GOVERNMENT OF JAPAN. By NAO-KICHI KITAZAWA, (Princeton University Press, Princeton). 1929. 21cm. 130p. \$ 1.75.

THIS small volume is, in Mr. Kitazawa's own words, an attempt to provide a pen picture of Japanese government and politics in broad outline. The author, we think, has amply succeeded in his aim.

With the Restoration of 1867 began the modernisation of Japan. For centuries before that she had been under the feudal system. The present Ito constitution, influenced in great measure by the German and Austrian systems, was promulgated in 1889. It is a compromise between the old monarchical traditions based on ancestor worship and the new constitutional idea. The former element, however, is in fact being modified by the latter.

Under the Japanese constitution the legal powers of the Throne are wide. But the same distinction is observed between the Throne and the Emperor in Japan as between the Crown and the King in England. The establishment of parliamentary responsibility of the cabinet has reduced the actual powers of the Emperor. Still his position is very strong as compared with that of the formal head of the Executives in other countries. His moral influence is very great owing to the peculiar Japanese traditions. Sovereignty, according to the constitution, resides in him. Further, the cabinet

and the Diet have no power over military command, conferring of titles of nobility and rank and Imperial House affairs. The last item includes such important matters as succession, regency, Imperial House legislation and supervision over peers. This power is exercised by the Emperor with the advice of various organs of Imperial House Affairs and the military command. The power of the Throne in ordinary State affairs, however, is subject to constitutional limitations.

The parliamentary cabinet is the real administrative and law-making organ to-day. Formerly responsible to the Emperor alone, its responsibility to the Diet has now been practically established. With that responsibility has come the practice of party cabinets and the principle of collective responsibility. The Ministers of the Army and the Navy, however, are still independent of the cabinet, and that is a real check upon parliamentary government. The large executive and legislative powers of the Throne are exercised by the cabinet. The Throne can declare war or make treaties without consulting the Diet. It has extensive Ordinance power. Ordinances can be issued even for the welfare of the people. Constitutional amendments can be initiated only by the Crown. Initiative in ordinary legislation is also confined to the cabinet in practice. Private bills have no chance of passing without Government support. The Diet exercises only supervisory powers in administration and legislation. With the increased manifestation of the political capacity of the people, the undemocratic factors which check the power of the cabinet, i. e., the Genro, the Privy Council and the Lord Privy Seal, are losing their influence in ordinary State affairs.

The Diet is bi-cameral. The House of Representatives, elected on universal manhood suffrage, plays a dominant part in politics. The House of Peers, too, is a very strong body. Legally, its powers are equal to those of the Lower House, except that the budget comes first before the Lower House. Its actual powers have been somewhat weakened after the establishment of cabinet responsibility. There is no legal method of curtailing its powers. Its constitution provides no room for swamping. It is not, however, indifferent to public opinion. Only about half of its members are peers, the other half being Imperial nominees, nominees of the Imperial Academy and representatives of those who pay the highest amount of direct national taxes. The power of the Diet in regard to finance is rather peculiar. A revenue bill is just like an ordinary bill. It can be initiated by a private member and initiated in any way. The Diet, however, can neither initiate nor increase the budget. Moreover, expenditure incurred by the executive power of the Throne, expenditure for the execution of law and expenditure due to the legal liability of Government can neither be rejected nor reduced by the Diet without the consent of the Executive. This limitation results from the notion of the superiority of law to the budget. The framers of the constitution were of opinion that Law is the common will of the executive and the legislature and, once it is passed, its execution should not be hindered by the Diet.

The Judiciary is free from the arbitrary interference of the Executive. It has no power of *legicide* except when a law is opposed to the Imperial House Law. It can refuse to apply invalid ordinances. The organization and jurisdiction of the courts is much similar to what prevails in France. There is also an administrative court, and all administrative suits go to it.

As in France, centralisation is the essence of local government in Japan. The central government appoints the Governor in the prefectures and in the

cities selects the mayor out of nominees of the city legislature. Both these officials perform certain functions as agents of the central government. The prefectural as well as the city legislature, consisting of an assembly and a council, have very small powers. The town and the village are a little more free. Some of the villages, like the small cantons of Switzerland, have assemblies of all voters.

Japanese parties, like parties in France, are divided on principles, faiths and personal loyalties to leaders rather than on programmes of governmental and political action. They arose just after the restoration in waging a war against bureaucratic and militant clan politicians. Out of party struggle has emerged the principle of responsibility of the cabinet to the Diet.

In the appendix the author reproduces the articles of the constitution. The book has an excellent bibliography.

On the whole we agree with Prof. Myras in his estimate of the book as excellent and simple in its treatment and scholarly and sound in its content. In our opinion it is a scientific study of Japanese politics and a valuable contribution to it. We are sure that it will find many appreciative readers among those who are interested in a study of comparative constitution and administration.

The book is well got up and the printing is almost faultless.

E. ASIRVATHAM,
GOPINATH DHAWAN.

CURRENCY STANDARDS.

GOLD AND THE CENTRAL BANKS. By FELIKS MLYNARSKI. (Macmillan) 1929. 20cm. 157p. 8/6.

THIS is a stimulating monograph on an important subject. Gold is the material basis of the currency standard and modern world economic development is based on it. Dr. Mlynarski commences his study in this monograph from 1913 and briefly states the problem in his introduction as the discussion of the best way of facilitating the return of Europe to gold. Should this be done by having a very few gold centres, the rest of the countries working on a gold-exchange-standard basis? Considering the fact that this was the remedy proposed by the International Financial Conference of 1920, he devotes a good portion of his thesis to discuss the demerits of an extensive adoption of the G. E. Standard system. The essence of his criticism was anticipated long ago by the Indian critics of the system. Rejecting this alternative, he proposes to establish several gold centres and institute thorough and effective cooperation between the countries operating the gold bullion standard and those operating the gold-exchange standard. He is not satisfied with the present informal personal contact between the Governors of the Central Banks. This crude form of cooperation has to be given up for a more official form of coordination. The repatriation of gold from the American market can be undertaken under such auspices alone. The monetary role of gold can be safely performed in the near future, and any other monetary substitute for gold requires a higher degree of international cooperation and as the best possible preparation for this contingency he would welcome the present day efforts on the part of the Central Banks to stabilise the purchasing power of gold at the present level of world prices, whatever might be the output of gold in the near future.

As a frank statement of the weaknesses of the gold-exchange standard system this book would be of

use and would doubtless be welcomed by the Indian critics of the G. E. Standard System.

The twelve statements made on p. 144 and p. 145 adumbrate his thesis, which can however be briefly stated as a better coordination of the gold bullion standard with the gold-exchange standard. While agreeing with some of his weighty remarks, such as "an excessive economy of gold is not the best economy" and that "a free circulation of gold based on cooperation of the central banks and improved clearing methods is capable of solving the problem of gold economy for the present and the next generation", it must be pointed out that some of his necessary postulates are difficult to be carried out: for instance, the idea of reciprocal gold deposits in the hands of the Central Banks whose existence is guaranteed by international conventions and regulations is difficult. The scramble for gold is the most difficult thing that can be checked and the ambition to play the role of international monetary centre is so tempting that very few of the modern nations can hope to resist it. Under such conditions it is difficult to expect that some of his measures can be carried out immediately. All that is possible at the present day is an elastic and rational manipulation of gold by the Central Banks but the inauguration of free gold payments from one country to another is not practical politics for the present. The economic reconstruction of Europe or that of any other country should not be impeded by an uneconomic scramble for gold. The economising of gold is the usual slogan referred to but that is only a part of the problem and unless something rational is done in the matter of eliminating unnecessary gold movements from one country to another by an intelligent action on the part of the Central Bank, the problem of the safe return of gold from America and the European economic reconstruction will not be solved.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU.

GERMAN UNITY.

SELF-DETERMINATION FOR AUSTRIA. By F. F. G. KLEINWALCHTER. (Allen and Unwin) 1929. 18cm. 74p. 3/6.

THE history of post-war Europe is a sickening record of solemn pledges shamelessly broken, of lofty ideals thrown to the winds, and of high principles of justice yielding place to violence and the selfish spirit of aggression. But perhaps the most creditable chapter in the history of post-war diplomacy was the violation of the chief war aims solemnly proclaimed by that Modern Moses, Woodrow Wilson. Wilson proclaimed that the U. S. A. entered the war not to derive any material benefit for herself, but to bring a new order into the world. This was made plain to the world through his famous Fourteen Points, the chief of which were the right of self-determination of the peoples and the setting up of the League of Nations to promote international cooperation and to abolish international enmity and strife. On behalf of the Allies, Wilson declared that peace could be concluded only on the basis of his Fourteen Points. Austria Hungary accepted them and sued for peace, but unfortunately the Austrians were cruelly betrayed, for the Treaty of St. Germain imposed on Austria by the victors was a mockery of the proclaimed right of self-determination. The Austro-Hungarian kingdom was dissolved, and several states known as the Succession States were set up to prevent the possibility of Austria ever rising to the status of a Great Power. Austria was cut down to a dwarf state of only six and a half million German Austrians. These German Austrians have been desirous of forming themselves part and parcel of the German Republic as they are racially

and culturally akin to the Germans of the Reich. But since 1919, the year of the treaty of St. Germain, the Allies have been making it impossible for Austria to unite with the Reich. They have thus shamelessly broken the pledge of Wilson and have cast to the winds the noble ideal of self determination.

The book before us is an interesting thesis on the right of Austria to unite with the Reich. The learned author describes Austria's struggle for the right of self-determination and draws attention to the racial and cultural affinity of the Germans and the Austrians and their common historical association for over a thousand years. The author then proceeds to depict the economic disorganisation of Austria consequent on the break up of the old Austro-Hungarian kingdom, and discusses the various remedies suggested by Entente publicists and politicians to resuscitate the carcass of Austria. Austria with 6½ million Germans and surrounded by Succession States and tariff walls cannot long remain isolated. An independent Austria is therefore out of the question. But it may be asked, "If Austria requires a great economic territory, why does she not join the so-called Danube Federation? Or why does she not join any one of the Succession States or Italy or a Federation composed of all states that once constituted the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy?" The learned author points out clearly the impracticability of the Danube Federation of the territories of old Austria-Hungary, or union with anyone of the Succession States or Italy. He, therefore, concludes that the only solution "is the union of the Austrian German Reich".

The author also discusses the "United States of Europe" scheme, under which, it is believed, Austria will find the great economic opportunity which she requires for her existence. The author is not very hopeful of the realisation of the Pan-Europe idea of Coudenhove, now sponsored by Briand and even if the idea materialises, "the union of Austria with Germany would merely further the Pan-Europe idea since it would reduce by one state the number to be won for it."

The author rightly points out that the opposition of the Entente Powers to the union of Austria with the German Reich has been due to fear and hatred of Germany. We agree with the author when he says that that fear is baseless. In the interests of world peace, the author wants the Entente Powers to right the wrong done to Austria and to return to the ideal of justice.

The book is an able presentation of the right of Austria to join the Reich, and therefore, a welcome addition to the literature on post-war Europe. There are four useful maps at the end of the book, and these enhance the value of the contribution of Kleinwaschter.

M. V. SUBRAHMANYAM.

EVOLUTION OF CIVILIZATION.

CIVILIZATION IN TRANSITION (1789-1870).

By H. C. THOMAS AND W. A. HAMM. (The Survey of History Series). (John Hamilton, London) 1929. 312p. 5/-.

THIS is the second of the three volumes projected by the authors to trace back to their roots the institutions of present day civilization and the share each of the various peoples had in their development and transformation. In the first volume a survey was made of the conditions as they were in the Europe of the old regime. In the present volume the transitional period is surveyed. It appropriately begins from 1789 and ends with 1870. In this, as in the previous volume a most welcome departure is made from the usual

procedure of writing history, of arranging events round dynasties. It has proceeded, on the other hand, on the principle of arranging them in their natural and orderly sequence, thus setting forth the factors involved in their full outline, unobscured by the personality or caprice of kings or their ministers. The authors have succeeded in their object. The account is on the whole impartial and the crowded events of the period have been disentangled and presented in the order of their importance. One feels, however, that the causes of development have not always been fully explored. The Industrial Revolution of England, for example, was so successful and so much earlier than that of France or Germany not only because of the succession of inventions but because of the enormous flow of wealth from India to England, which made the financing of the companies formed an easy matter. But such lapses are very rare. The estimate of Napoleon is much more fair than is usual in histories from British pens. The aristocratic reaction and the scramble for territories following Napoleon's downfall are set forth in sufficient detail for the reader to see in the settlements made some of the remote causes of the conflagration of 1914. The book is well written and for so crowded a period dealt with has brought within its small compass almost all the important factors necessary to a correct interpretation of European history.

K. KUNHI KANNAN.

HEROES OF PEACE.

PIONEERS OF FREEDOM. BY MCALISTER COLEMAN (Vanguard Press, New York) 1929. 21cm. 222p, \$ 2.50.

IN recent times educationists and others have found a great gap in the schemes promoted in the cause of education. The attention of boys and girls has always been drawn to the brave deeds on the battlefield. The conquests of Clive in India and similar acts of military heroism in other parts of the world have all along fired the imagination of children. The lives of persistent usefulness led in obscure corners of the earth—the leaders of labour movements and the pioneers in difficult but not spectacular directions—these have not been compiled for the benefit of the young. Even among the older persons such knowledge is scarce.

The Pioneer Youth Literature Committee of America has set itself to work out these series, and bring out short biographies of men and women who have fought for the freedom of the workers. Thomas Paine, press agent for revolution, Thomas Jefferson, first of the democrats, Frances Wright, dreamers of new dreams, Wendell Phillips, who slew a giant, Henry George, a little man with a big book, Samuel Gompers, organizer, Eugene Deles, the beloved, John Mitchell, the rise of the miners, Charles Steinmetz, a visitor from Olympus—these are the persons selected for consideration.

The story of Eugene Debs is set forth in beautiful simplicity. Born of very poor people—Eugene had to educate himself with the help of an Encyclopaedia purchased on the instalment plan. He was stirred by the revolutionary history of the United States and France. He worked in the railway workshops which gave him an insight into the possibilities of bringing together all the railroad workers. By a gradual process Eugene Debs organised the different groups into strong unions. He was sent to prison on more than one occasion for the propaganda he waged against war. In his case the tribute paid by the workers could be summarised in one of Debs' favourite songs:—

" Out of the night that covers me,
Black as the pit from pole to pole,
I thank whatever gods may be
For my unconquerable soul. "

Thomas Paine is another character whose story is marked by failure at the age of 37 "in the eyes of all his little world." The 'respectables' kept out of his way, because he was too outspoken. The miseries of poor people moved his heart. And he wrote the most famous pamphlet, "Common Sense". Within three months 120,000 copies were sold. Everyone was amazed at the young English immigrant.

The perusal of this book should help us to bestir ourselves in the direction of making a similar compilation giving the lives of workers in the Eastern countries. There are eminent lives of Aggrey of Africa and of Kagawa of Japan. But they are of large compass and besides expensive. Will it not be possible to plan a series for the juveniles of the country?

H. C. BALASUNDARUM.

CATHOLIC VIEWS.

THE POPE AND THE PEOPLE. SELECT LETTERS AND ADDRESSES ON SOCIAL QUESTIONS. By POPE LEO XIII, PIUS X, BENEDICT XV AND PIUS XI. (Catholic Truth Society, London) 1929. 20cm. 260p. 3/-.

THIS is a book containing the writings of several Popes concerning social questions. These are selected letters and addresses by Leo XIII, Pius X, Benedict XV and Pius XI, ranging from 1878 upto 1922. Such subjects as socialism, strikes and international disputes are dealt with. Many will probably find it hard to give approval to the doctrines here set forth. Private property is regarded as a necessity. The distinctions between rich and poor seem to be regarded as permanent. There is, of course, opposition to Socialism in its extreme forms.

And yet there is much that is splendid about these Papal utterances which all can welcome. There are eloquent appeals for justice for the poor and noble pleadings for peace among the nations. We can confidently recommend that all students of the problems that confront the modern world should read and carefully consider these learned statements of the venerable Bishops of Rome, expressing as they do the judgment of the great Roman Catholic Communion.

The most famous of the documents contained in this volume are the Encyclicals of Leo XIII concerning the evils of modern society, the conditions of the working classes and Christian Democracy. It is quite certain that the Papacy does care for the people. The Catholic Church is concerned with the life of the poor. And in the last Encyclical (published in 1922 by the present Pope) we are directed to "*Christ the King*"—in his Kingdom lies the hope of the world. We are bidden to look for the day when the Lord Jesus shall reign in the hearts of men, in the whole life of man, in the family, in human society. About international peace the present Pope writes, "There is no peace save in the reign of Christ and there is no saner way of establishing peace than by installing the reign of Christ".

W. S. A. ROBERTSON.

SHORT NOTICES.

BALADITYA: A HISTORICAL ROMANCE OF ANCIENT INDIA. By A. S. PANCHAPAKESA AYYAR. (Taraporevala, Bombay.) 1930. 20cm. 402p. Rs. 4.

MR. AYYAR literary fertility is as irrepressible as it is productive of *Corpus Vile*. As such his books

serve to divert the reviewer from the sublime to the ridiculous so as almost to deprive him of his grammatical sense. Baladitya is the latest literary scandal released by him. In a long and loose-winded preface, it is claimed for the book that it will mark the birth of a literature of Heroism. In reality, however, literary taste will be hard put to to determine its quality. It takes all a reader's patience to steer clear of the enormous chaff of Indianisms and, on the whole, corrupt forms of style, in the end to discover the emaciated Baladitya, a hero by virtue of the frenzied political and religious associations that Mr. Ayyar clumsily gathers round him. Of history, there is just a semblance in it and its romance is entirely without dramatic significance. In the interests of the bright reputation that a few Indians have established as no mean writers in the English language, we invite Mr. Ayyar to issue his book properly corrected and reformed.

K. VENUGOPAL RAO.

THE ARAB KINGDOM AND ITS FALL. By J. WELLHOUSEN. TRS. by MARGARET GRAHAM WEIR. (University of Calcutta.) 1927. 22cm. 592p.

THIS is a translation of the very well-studied but rather involved discussion of the early history of Islam originally published in 1902 by the German historian, J. Wellhausen. This translation, though published twenty-five years after the first appearance of the book, is still very welcome to students and scholars who have no access to the German original, but the ordinary reader is apt to find it rather heavy reading. The author's method is to confront different accounts from the early writers (mostly preserved in the pages of Tabari) of each particular event and then subject them to a critical discussion leading to an authentic reconstruction of the event. Incidentally the results of modern scholarship as stated by Dozy, Von Kremer, Muller and others are reviewed and modified at several points (See e. g. pp. 160-1, 180-2, 243-9, 271 ff. etc.) The first chapter furnishes a good general account which gives the background needed to enable the reader to follow the more minute discussions of the later chapters. There is a full index which facilitates reference to particular discussions.

K. A. N.

LETTERS FROM A FATHER TO HIS DAUGHTER. By JAWAHARLAL NEHRU. (Allahbad Law Journal Press, Allahabad) 1929. 21cm. 121p.

PANDIT Jawaharlal Nehru addressed these letters to his daughter, Indira, a girl of 10, in 1928 when she was at Mussoorie and he was down on the plains. Therein he tries to give her a brief account of the early days of the world. As the letters are meant for children in the early stages of English instruction, the Congress President has gone out of his way to make them intelligible to his audience. His simplicity of language is such as would do credit to an experienced educationist whose business is to teach and to write books for the young. Those friends at whose instance these letters were published deserve well of our younger generation.

D. V. AMBEKAR.

ANAKATAPOLITICS. By RICHARD HOPE. (John Bale, London) 1929. 20cm. 103p. 2/6.

THIS is a bio-psychological explanation of the whence, the whither, and the why of democracy. It is bound to interest everyone, as it is a delight-

fully new presentation of the problems of democracy. Based as the book is on the psychological discoveries of the 20th century, the book is a thoughtful study of the political problems, and consequently gives ample scope for the reader's mental gymnastics. We have no hesitation in saying that this is a thoughtful contribution to the literature on political science. It is a book which no student of politics can afford to be without.

M. V. SUBRAHMANYAM.

PROCEEDINGS: ALL-INDIA WOMEN'S CONFERENCE, BOMBAY, 1930.

THE charge is sometimes made against public bodies in this country that they are very unsystematic and unmethodical in their work. Such a reproach cannot at any rate be levelled against the All-India Women's Conference. During the time it has been in existence this organisation is uniformly business-like in its methods of work with the result that it has been able to cast its net wider than any other similar organisation has been able to do within such a short time. For this it deserves hearty congratulations. The latest example of its business-like methods of work is the publication, within three months, of the report of its last session held in Bombay in the third week of January this year. The report is well got up and is a valuable record of the work done during the session. The only desideratum is a table of contents, whose absence makes reference difficult. The work of the session is so varied that an index also would have been a great convenience. The systematic and vigorous manner in which the work of the Conference is being carried on not only by the central but also by its provincial bodies can have nothing but the unstinted admiration of all those who wish our ladies to come up to the level of men in the near future. But in point of organising capacity and continuous work, at least the last four years' record of this Conference shows beyond doubt that its organisers are perfect equals of men and indeed can boast of something which some of the organisations for whose conduct men are responsible may profitably copy.

D. V. A.

Correspondence.

POLICE EXCESSES IN KAIRA DISTRICT.

TO THE EDITOR, THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR,—Having read and heard about police excesses in the town of Anand, I ran up from Dohad to Anand on the 27th inst. I found there on enquiry that about 35 volunteers selling contraband salt were arrested after being belaboured freely with lathis by the police. They were however let off after about seven hours' detention.

I further learnt that the Charotar Education Society's High School, with its students' and teachers' quarters, was threatened with confiscation under the District Police Act. The reasons advanced for this proposed action were that the School boys harassed policemen and other Government officers passing by on the public road, that they caused milk, etc., being

taken for Government officers to be spilt and that the buildings were used for sheltering satyagrahi criminals. The District Deputy Collector, who is reported to have conveyed this threat to the Secretary of the Society, was asked to give this in writing, but he declined to do so.

Recently there have been some house-breaking and theft in the town of Anand and these are suspected to have been allowed to go unchallenged by the police to punish the townspeople for their civil disobedience attitude. The result is that the townspeople keep vigil all night to safeguard their homes and shops.

There was a salt-making demonstration from saltish earth in the open at Borsad on the evening of the 27th inst. A large crowd was looking on. The police not only broke through the cordon round the open space of preparation, but wielded their lathis freely on the volunteers and the crowd of lookers-on and injured several persons.

At Dehvan in the Borsad Taluka the police had raided a public meeting about four days ago with the help, it is alleged, of the Thakore of that place and belaboured several volunteers whom I saw in the Borsad Municipal Hospital. This was a premeditated attack on an innocent crowd assembled in a meeting.

Though Kaira District is carrying on its propaganda in a very non-violent manner so far, it seems that the District-Officers are bent upon provoking them by their unlawful methods, specially the free use of lathis and in some cases *dharias*, into breaking into violence against their will. Uptonow the Kaira people have shown wonderful forbearance and submitted themselves to the violence from the police without retaliating. Things are at present very ugly in this District, because the so-called preservers of law and order are breaking law themselves, use force where none need be used, and have adopted a very vindictive attitude. They are at present running amok amongst the people, because of their civil disobedience and of social boycott to which Government servants are subjected more and more as time passes.

Dohad, 29/4/30.

A. V. THAKKAR,

Member,

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BOOKS RECEIVED.

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