The

Servant of India

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Topics of the Week.

## Burma.

Registered B.-308.

ONCE again the Burma Legislative Council failed to give a categorical answer to a direct question whether Burma wished to join the Indian federation or separate from India on the basis of the Prime Minister's offer. It is futile to lament that Parliamentary tricks and manceuvres were pressed into service to prevent a vote being taken on any resolution. It is clear that nobody was willing to say 'yes' or 'no' to the Prime Minister's question, without large and fundamental qualifications. In the circumstances, as in other matters connected with the future constitution of India, as, for instance, the Communal question, it will rest with His Majesty's Government to decide for Burma the question of federation or separation. There is no point in holding another general election to ascertain the verdict of the electors of Burma. They have already in the last election clearly expressed their preference. There is no dispute about it. Only the Government chose to ignore it and preferred to wait on the Legislative Council's opinion. The Council has twice considered the subject at great and even inordinate length and on both occasions failed to give an unequivocal answer. It is best, therefore, that the Government decides the question for Burma, and in so doing, acts on the verdict of the last general election, which was in favour of federation. For one thing, it is the only clear verdict of the electors of Burma. For

another, it just maintains the status quo ante. If there is no unambiguous demand for change, it is best to maintain the status quo. For yet another, it will more than satisfy the requirements of constitutional theorists who object to a unit of a federation being given freedom to secede, and who should all the more object to a province of a unitary state seceding.

Bihar Aborigines on White Paper.

Even the aborigines have no good word to say about the White Paper. Those of Bihar recently assembled in a public meeting and subjected the document to minute criticism. Their particular complaint is against the provision in the White Paper under which affairs of what would be known as excluded areas or partially excluded areas would not be open to discussion by the legislature. In their opinion the proposed arrangement, far from taking them towards self-rule, constitutes a set-back even on the existing state of things. They regard the number of seats, viz. 7, reserved for them in the local legislature as inadequate, and point out, with considerable force in our opinion, that while Mohamedans constituting only 11 per cent of the population carry off 57 per cent. of the total seats in the provincial legislature, the aborigines, though numbering 20 per cent., are assigned no more than 5 per cent. This is doubtless an iniquitous arrangement which must in due course be replaced by one which does greater justice to the claims of the aborigines. One would have thought that their so-called backwardness would lead them to acquiesce in the establishment of a bi-cameral legislature for Bihar. But they are totally opposed to an upper house and ask for its "total cancellation". But should one come into being in disregard of their clearly expressed wishes, they want to be given adequate representation therein. The absence of any representation for their women in the local legislature is, in their eyes, a serious flaw in the proposed constitutional arrangements, all that they ask in this behalf being the reservation of only one seat. Constituting one-fifth of Bihar's population, they expected to find in the White Paper some definite provision for their inclusion in the provincial cabinet and have been disappointed at its absence. However detrimental to the interests of responsible government such a demand may be, it is to be remembered that in preferring it the aborigines are only following the example of some more enlightened communities. In regard to the federal Assembly they want the franchise qualifications to be lowered in so far as they affect them on the lines followed in the case of the depressed classes. The aborigines of Bihar do not seem to be particularly enamoured of separate electorates for themselves but express their preference for the reservation of seats for aborigines in joint electorates. It is to be hoped that the Joint Select Committee will do its best to meet their wishes.

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## An Objectionable Act.

THE action of the U. P. Government in suppressing the report of the non-official inquiry into the Cawnpore riots of 1931 is open to objection for more than one reason. The Committee was appointed by the Karachi Congress and set to work shortly after the Congress session was over. Its investigations included the examination of as many as 300 witnesses belonging to all communities including Christian and European, and visits to places of disturbances. The report extending over about 600 pages was also ready in September of the same year for which the Working Committee of the Congress in December 1931 passed a special vote of thanks to the Committee. Its printing and publication would have been proceeded with with equal expedition but for the imprisonment of its secretary for participation in the civil disobedience movement. Soon after his release in December last he made arrangements for the printing of the report and intended to have it published on the first of this month. It is at this stage that the U. P. Government appear on the scene and attempt to prevent its seeing the light of day. To say the least, their action is most unfair to the Committee which expended so much time and labour on its task. If they were so anxious to prevent the public from knowing the committee's findings it is difficult to see why they did not nip the whole thing in the bud by proclaiming the Committee itself unlawful, as was done in some other provinces. Having allowed it to go to the end of its labours without any sort of embargo, they owed it to themselves not to stand between its findings and the public. In case the Report was found to contain seditious matter or matter likely to increase communal hatred which is all that can be conceivably cited in justification of their scandalous handling of the Report, action against its authors under suitable clauses of the Indian Penal Code would not have been difficult to take. Even their present action would have assumed a different aspect if the Committee had concerned itself only with the communal disorders at Cawnpore or had even tried to apportion blame for them, between the different communities. As explained by the Secretary however, its report is nothing, but " a history of the Hindu-Muslim problem in India," the Cawapore incidents being referred, to "as supplying an ooular demonstration of the working of the forces described in the historical section." To deal with such a weighty document as an "unauthorized newscheet," as was done by the U.P. Government, is, to put it

mildly, to stretch the provisions of the recent special legislation too far. This is intended to be made applicable to newspapers secretly printed and published and can have no force in the case of a publication everything about which is above-board. Incidentally it may be mentioned that the action of the Government has put the Committee to a financial loss of about Rs. 7,000 which is by no means an inconsiderable amount. It is needless to point out that this would have been avoided if the Government had prohibited the movements of the Committee in their initial stages. It is to be hoped that the authorities will even yet find it possible to rectify the great injustice which they have committed.

Kenya Indian Politics.

THE Indian community in East Africa deserve to be congratulated on the success of the last session of the Eastern African Indian National Congress held in Easter in Mombasa. To realise to the full the extent of the achievement it is necessary to remember that prior to the session, the Congress was moriband, its resolutions were openly floated, and its executive were at loggerheads. The situation, bad as it was, was further aggravated by the introduction for the first time of Hinda-Muslim divisions and antipathies. Never before had Indian politics in Kenya touched such depths of disintegration and demoralisation." The last session of the Congress has retrieved the situation and rescued the great institution from the undesirable influences which had paralysed it. The new Executive Committee gives great promise of efficient organisation, correct direction and energetic lead to the Indian community.

The Congress deserves to be specially congratulated on its decision to sbandon the futile and suicidal policy of boycott of the legislative and executive councils in Kenya. The policy has im practice been already violated, and has unexpectedly oreated Hindu-Muslim division in the Indian community. The Congress has done well to resolve that Indians should resume participation in the legislative and executive councils "under protest" against the communal electorate, and strive to serve the interests of the Indian community as well bring about the elimination of the communal electorate. As a corollary, the Congress asked all adult Indians to euroll themselves on the electoral registar.

We hope the authorities concerned will appreciate the wholesome change in the attitude of the Congress and give favourable and immediate consideration to the suggestion of the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Eastern Africa that the representation of India and Native interests should be examined with a view to making it adequates

Cochin in 1931-32.

THERE are several features of the last year's administration of Cochin which deservedly enjoys the reputation. of being one of the most progressive and well-governed States in India, to which attention may be drawn here. The year witnessed the accession to the throne of the new Maharaja who signalised the occasion by announcing, amongst other things, his intention to lower the franchise qualifications for the legislative council elections, to confer on it the right of electing its deputy president and to extend to its members the privilege of putting supplementary questions. While this is all to the good we can not help wishing he had been more liberal.

Another noteworthy point was the substitution of the arrangement under which the Director of Public Instruction was expected to be specially reeponsible also for the uplift of the depressed classes by the appointment of a special officer to be styled the Protector of the Depressed Classes for the purpose. As the recent press-note issued from Delhi giving details of the work in progress in the different provinces for the benefit of the Harijans showed, Madras has the most solid and varied achievements to its credit and it was in the fitness of things that the prespective Depressed Classes Officer should have received his training under the Depressed Class Welfare Officer at Calicut. It is to be hoped that his activities will lead to substantial improvement in the moral and material condition of those classes in the near future. So far as can be seen, his work will follow the lines adopted in Madras and will be directed to the removal of existing barriers. inculcation of cleanly habits, the opening of the depressed classes settlements, and the securing for their use of agricultural land and building sites and of cheap credit by starting co-operative credit societies. It is seen from the administration report of the State for 1931-32 that 34 new settlements were established during the year for which purpose nearly Rs. 21,000 was spent, the total departmental expenditure being in the neighbourhood of Rs. one lath.

The educational statistics of the State are interesting as showing the very wide spread of education in the State. It appears from these that as high a percentage as 95.8 of boys of school-going age and 64.8 of girls of the same description is in receipt of instruction which is extremely creditable to the State administration. Among the four principal communities viz. Christians, Jews, Hindus and Muslims, constituting the population of the State, the first is the most advanced, having 107-7 per cent boys and 94.2 per cent. girls at school. The corresponding proportions for the Jews are 164.9, and 138.6 respectively. As between the other two sections of the population, the Hindus are naturally the more advanced, counting 94-2 per cent. boys and 57 per cent. girls attending school. The Muslims, though the least advanced community in the State, have 64-3 and 23-8 boys and girls respectively receiving instruction. In regard to primary education, the claims of consolidation rather than of its expansion received particular attention at the hands of the State authorities. The elimination of useless and inefficient schools consequently led to a decrease of 81 in the number of primary schools, with the natural corollary

of the number of primary school scholars suffering a diminution of about 6,000.

The list of newspapers and magazines published in the State, which is appended to the report, is fairly long and what is far more gratifying, includes some which do not eschew politics from their purview. Upon this the State deserves sincere congratulations.

But what, in our opinion, constitutes a blot on the otherwise admirable record of the State is the absence of a definite abkari policy which takes proper account of popular sentiment. It is true that both liquor consumption and revenue recorded a drop of 5000 gallons and more than Rs. 2 lakhs respectively during the year under report. This is good so far as it goes; but what is really needed is a declaration of the State's abkari policy which in India cannot be any other than prohibition to be attained within a measurable distance of time. It is to be hoped that such a declaration will be forthcoming before long.

# Articles.

## TRULY MAHATMIC.

ON Monday last, at noon, in the Yerawada Central Prison Mahatma Gandhi with simple, solemn and touching ceremony entered on his great Yagna or sacrifice by fasting, the consequences of which, already momentous, are yet impossible of full visualisation. That very evening he was released from prison. Within an hour of his release he issued a statement to the press advocating the suspension of the civil disobedience campaign for four to six weeks. The acting Congress President, Mr. M. S. Aney, has since officially suspended it as from Tuesday.

The Mahatma has shown once again his unequalled courage in thus suspending the campaign. The wish to call it off was shared by several Congress leaders, but none of them had the status or the courage to take the initiative. The Mahatma had come to this conclusion many months ago. If only the Government had released him earlier, or at least permitted him to confer with his colleagues on the Congress Working Committee, much unnecessary suffering and bitterness might have been saved.

The Mahaima has not only suspended the civil disobedience campaign but has offered to cooperate once again with the Government and to take up the thread of cooperation where it was broken off when he was arrested sixteen months ago on his return from the second session of the Round Table Conference. He has offered, if he survived the fast, to strive to bring about an understanding between the Government and the Congress. He has appealed to the Government to release unconditionally the civil disobedience prisoners. The Mahaima has gone as far as he could possibly go, consistent with self-respect and conscience, in order to resolve the deadlock between the Government and the Congress. He did not allow consideration of prestige to stand in his way. He has not hesitated to tell his followers that they had deviated from the right path inasmuch as, cowed down by the Ordinances, they had abandoned open methods and resorted to secret methods of propaganda. He has undoubtedly by his surrender won a great moral triumph.

It is now up to the Government to respond equally readily and equally magnanimously to the overtures of the Mahatma. We hope they will not be deterred from extending the hand of reconciliation by the fact that the Mahatma has once again avowed that his views on civil disobedience movement had not changed and that he has merely secured a suspension and not the abandonment of the movement. The Mahatma has stated that if he survived the fast he would not take advantage of his freedom to promote openly or secretly the civil disobedience campaign, and that if he thought that friendly cooperation with the Government was impossible, he would himself seek internment in jail. Whatever be his conscientious convictions regarding civil disobedience, he will no longer actively promote it. On the other hand, he intends actively to seek honourable co-operation. Co-operation or jail are the only two alternatives he contemplates, but not civil disobedience.

Bereft of the active lead of the Mahatma, the campaign will not attain large proportions any time. In the present circumstances, when most of the leaders are convinced of the failure and futility of the campaign, lacking only the courage to admit it there is hardly any prospect of its revival, once it is suspended. In this instance, suspension means abandonment. If the process is actively helped by Government promoting reconciliation, there the will be no need for even formal resumption of the movement. It rests now entirely with the authorities to render non-cooperation unnecessary and not merely to put it down. While the ordinances have cowed down the people, it cannot be a matter of pride or complacency to the Government that they can rule the country only with the help of ordinancesby the suspension of civil rights and liberties of the people. There can be no greater condemnation of a Government. While they may succeed in suppressing the open exhibition of non-cooperation, they will only drive it underground and stimulate secret societies and anarchist activities. There will be no real peace in the country.

If the authorities refuse to read even now the indications correctly and with mulish obstinacy persist in their present course of stamping on the neck of the Congress and disregarding the representations of the constitutionalists, they will deservedly make themselves execrable. Simla has failed to respond. It remains "wooden and ante-diluvian." Have statesmanship and good will dried up in London too?

## JAPANESE COMPETITION.

THE agitation of the cotton textile and several other Indian industries over the question of

what is termed 'unfair Japanese competition' has brought to the forefront a very important aspect of India's economic policy. There are some persons who consider all competition unfair, and people are not wanting who hold that everything is fair in competition of all kinds. But a large body of responsible opinion is agreed that competition must not be allowed to overstep the limit of 'fairness'. What actually constitutes the standard of fairness is a matter on which there is a complete lack of unanimity. Hence we find a good deal of confusion and inconclusiveness in the discussion of the practical policies, that are supposedly based on the principle of fair competition. Where the policy of undiluted freedom of trade is deliberately discarded with a view to protect a national industry the consideration of fairness of competition is further complicated.

Since the bogey of Lancashire competition was laid to rest as a result of the high tariffs adopted by the Government of India to meet its war-time financial difficulties the cotton manufacturing interests have steadily pleaded their inability to stand 'unfair Japanese competition', First it was the long hours and the low conditon of Japanese labour and now it is the depreciated yen that are made the basis of attack on the Japanese rivals. It must be admitted that Japan was tardy in giving effect to the Washington Agreement regarding the hours of work in textile mills. Nor can it be gainsaid that the present fall in the Japanese exchange gives the exporters of that country a special advantage over countries whose currencies have not reached the Japanese low level. It can further be conceded that both these are valid grounds for a protective measure on the part of the national government. The agitation of the cotton interests and the policy of the state would therefore appear to be unobjectionable. 

This, however, is only part of the truth and not a very big part at that. It is doubtful whether even a guarter of the competitive advantage of Japan ever came from bad labour law. The depreciation of exchange can give an advantage which is only temporary and which will be balanced in course of time by higher costs. On both these grounds, moreover, India herself has drawn the adverse criticism of her rivals. The conditions of work in our mills compare most unfavourably with those prevailing in advanced countries, and since the depreciation of the sterling the rupee also has fluctuated at a low level in contrast with gold standard countries. Nobody has yet been able to prove that the competitive advantage of Japan is due principally to worse labour conditions or to deliberate manipulation of exchange by the Japanese Government. In so far as these factors affect adversely the interests of Indian trade the latter deserves our sympathies. But the affected trades must in turn be prepared to face the fuller implications of the aid that they receive at the hands of the community.

No longer is it true to say that workers in Japan labour for longer hours than in India. But a Japanese worker, usually a girl not out of her teens, is more efficient than the English, and far more so than the Indian. This superior efficiency is not dua, as is likely to be made out, to the personal qualifica-

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tions of the Japanese worker. It is a result of the system. The machinery used, the organisation employed, the administration set up, the training imparted, the leadership supplied-these are the principal causes of the superior productivity of the Japanese worker. The Japanese Government takes a leading part in co-ordinating the activities of the several shops in one industry and of the various Industries and trades. Efficiency of the worker and of the trade is thus raised to the maximum, The Indian Mill-owners are utterly indifferent to any of these positive improvements. Even the Millmerger that was planned for Bombay some years ago broke down when it was discovered by even the worst equipped mills that as a combined result of the tariff and the Swadeshi movement they can make a profit. The Indian Cotton industry was neglected in the past by the Government of India in the interest of Lancashire and even now its policy is to favour the claims of the Indian trade in such a fashion as to do the least harm to Lancashire. The tardiness with which Government has moved in the matter of anti-dumping legislation and the care that it has taken to secure maximum advantage for the English industry are indicative of this very policy.

Protection to be effective must be prompt and adequate. The Government has hardly ever fulfill. ed these conditions. The principle that justifies protection implies social regulation. The manufacturers have been unwilling to accept this position, and the alien Government has been lacking in the courage to make them more amenable. The result of this half-hearted policy has been most deplorable both to the producers and the consumers, especially to the latter. The political movements of the people and the economic difficulties of the Government have usually helped the Mill-owners and other producers to line their pockets. But no steps have been taken either to improve the organisation or the efficiency of the industry, excepting the move to introduce 'more looms.' The Government has done nothing to supply the motive for such a reorganisation. It is of the utmost importance that side by side with protective legislation of all kinds, an intensive movement for combination and rationaliantion must set in. It is only as a part of such a process that the efficiency of the worker can be expected to improve. The Government will receive the support of the country in any measures that they might propose to bring about this end. The present arrangements under which the Indian consumers are being exploited in the joint interests of English and Indian manufacturers must forth-with be abandoned. Unless the general public as representing the mass of consumers is more vocal than at present this object will not be attained. Our Government is too indifferent to undertake any far-reaching policies of economic planning and our political parties are too much under the influence of monied interests to think of state regulation of industry. Only an enlightened and organised public opinion will succeed in breaking through the indifference of the one and the self-interest of the other.

# Our Youdon Zetter.

(BY AIR MAIL.) (From Our Correspondent.)

## London, April 28.

# THE JOINT SELECT COMMITTEE.

THE meetings of the Joint Select Committee, set up to report upon the Government proposals con-

tained in the White Paper, have already been held, with the object of deciding upon questions of procedure. These, of course, are matters entirely within the purview of the Committee sitting without its coadjutors of the Indian delegation. It is interesting to note that the distinguished Indians, who have been invited to sit with the Committee, sre described officially as delegates, the term evidently repeated from the nomenclature of the Round Table Conference. I am informed that, though the first batch of delegates is due to arrive here about Friday of next week, a day earlier than is customary with P. & O. passengers, no combined meetings of the Committee and the delegates will be held until about the middle of May, in order to provide opportunities for those who have already arrived to meet important people here, pending the arrival of the remainder of their colleagues a week later.

In the semi-authoritative report appearing in yesterday's *Times* on the Committee's procedure, it is stated that "within the limits necessitated by the long established parliamentary practice, the delegates will have full opportunity to hear evidence, confer with the members, state their views on questions that arise, and make their influence felt." It would appear to be of the greatest importance to ascertain whether the Indian delegates will enjoy the power of eliciting information from witnesses in similar manner to the members of the Committee.

Regarding the personnel of the Indian delegation, *The Spectator* contains to-day a long official editorial note, in which Mr. Sastri's omission is commented upon as follows :---

"For what inscrutable reason, I should like to know has the name of Mr. Srinivasa Sastri been omitted from the list of Indians invited to co-operate with the Select Committee of the two Houses on Indian Reform. Fourteen years ago I asked. Edwin Montagu-just when he was drafting the Bill based on his proposals-what Indian public man he regarded as the ablest and most effective. co-operator with this country. 'Sastri,' he replied without a moment's besitation, and despite the tensions and frictions of the last half-dozen years, I would make bold to say that there is no man in all India whose counsel and co-operation the Select Committee would seek with greater advantage. An article by his pen is a recent issue of his paper, THE SERVANT OF INDIA, on the White Paper shows how candid and at the same time how temperate his criticism is. 'Mr. Sastri was not invited to the Third Boand Table Conference ostensibly on the grounds of his health, and the same excuse presumably does service still. I have reason to know that, so far from being too ill to come, Mr. Sastri has been assiduouslyand successfully-husbanding his strength to enable him to discharge what might have been the prowning task of his long career of public service. It is both foolish and unjust to disregard him."

## CONSERVATIVES AND INDIA.

Whilst the Joint Select Committee is settling down to its preliminary task, and its members are getting to know each other, and to build up something of a Committee spirit, it would certainly have been difficult had Mr. Churchill's extreme right wing accepted representation on the Committee. There is no doubt that the diehard faction provided with 'ample funds largely by, it is stated, a donor whose name is already well-known in connection with Himalayan flights other than those of diehard imagination, is doing its utmost to stampede Conservative opinion in the constituencies against the Gover nment's proposals.

Those Tory members who have given loyal and enthusiastic support to the proposals are already marked down for attack in their own constituencies. A large body of neutral Tories are being approached and undermined in every possible way. Of the former class Lord Winterton has already had to suffer from an adverse vote on the White Paper by his own party organisation in his own constituency of Horsham. How far it was a genuine as distinguished from a snatch vote, is still uncertain. The Chairman of the Joint Select Committee, the Marquis of Linlithgow, has, of course, no constituency, but that has not protected him from a sneering attack in the Morning Post, because he has, on the whole, bestowed in the official organ of the Conservative Party his general blessing upon the White Paper proposals. Mr. Baldwin will find himself faced with insubordination in his own constituency of Bewdesley in Worcestershire, where a large number of retired Anglo-Indians appear to have settled, and where Major-General Sir Alfred Knox has been trying to fire the Tory stubble. A meeting of prominent Conservative women in the constituency has in consequence passed an adverse vote upon the proposals. and Mr. Baldwin will be under obligation to defend himself against undermining influences in his own constituency. It is not exactly dry-rot that is sharply dividing the Conservative Party. It is more like the depredations of white ants. And there is no doubt that whilst the Joint Select Committee may be carrying on its work and probably recommending to Parliament in favour substantially of the White Paper proposals, the White ants, under the leadership of Mr. Churchill, will be quietly carrying on their work of erosion, whilst their few speakers will be appealing to Imperialist and Fascist elements in the country, that have lately derived renewed inspiration from Mr. Roosevelt's dictatorship in America and Herr Hitler's semi-Fascist revolution in Germany. It would be most unwise if in India the difficulties of the Government, even in regard to the present limited proposals, were to increase. Those difficulties are very real and are not, I think, artificially inspired by an official desire to pull wool over the eyes of the Indian public. I have this week had the opportunity of talking to certain public men, whose names are household words in India. They appear to have little doubt that the most important and urgent thing is to ensure that the White Paper proposals.

even approximately in their present form, should reach the Statute Book, with the minimum of delay, failing which they foresee all kinds of difficulties and obstacles to constitutional progress in India, both there and here. In a world in which liberalism is on the defensive, and in some places in exile, and in which there are strong signs of a landslide away from the reality of democratic and representative institutions, the view is authoritatively held that it is in the highest degree unwise and lacking in statesmanship to look a gift-horse too closely in the mouth, or to forget that in the new circumstances in which India will find herself when the revised constitution comes into operation, the future of India will lie much more largely in the hands of Indians than the statutory restrictions and limitations would appear to indicate. Theory and practice have a nack of separating widely at an early stage of their common pilgrimage, and it is pointed out that just as the most perfect constitution worked out in the most favourable conditions of academic quiet have often failed to work, or at least have produced results very different from those anticipated by the theorists that devised them, so constitutions full of contradictions apparently irreconcilable have been worked, at least moderately satisfactorily, because of the practical common-sense of those charged with the responsibility of running them, aided by what I have often described as the compulsion of circumstances. All that, of course, will not prevent the Indian delegates from doing their best to secure the maximum advance upon the present proposals, and in convincing their colleagues of the Joint Select Committee of the advisability, if not of the urgent necessity, of such changes. But India ought not to be either downhearted or disappointed if the efforts of her representatives do not appear to bear much immediate fruit. Weakness and disunity in India will have their repercussions, not only internally, but in wide areas outside India, and if diehard resistance is relatively so strong, it is not a little due to the fact that India's internal cohesion is to-day relatively weak. Nature has a way of dealing with realities realistically, and just as she takes revenge in the long run upon overweaning pride and base self-interest, so she makes the weak and disunited and the effortless pay the price of their moral and material limitations.

#### GERMANY.

The ancient game of Jew-baiting proceeds merrily apace in Hitler's new Germany. There is ample material to prove that this new outbreak of German anti-semetism is not the direct, immediate and spontaneous product of revolutionary ardour, basely directed. The destruction of the Jews in Germany has been openly preached by the Nazi organisations for more than twelve years without remission and with increased intensification. Attacks of physical violence upon the Jews have openly been preached and advocated in Nazi songs and Nazi Press for years. For the first time in centuries the Weimar constitution gave to the Jews of Germany equality of status and of opportunity under the law. Before that, in the days of Kaiserdom, no Jew could be ap-

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pointed to high office. He was denied a seat on the bench and a commission in the Army, and to such a degree had this gone that I remember being told by an English Jewish lady settled in the Rhineland before the War, that if she had had children who had to live in Germany, she would have brought them up as Christians, in order to give them a reasonable chance of honourable employment, and to avert from them the economic fate of orthodox Jewery in Germany. Unfortunately that would not have helped them at all under the new regime, which has not only arranged to sweep out of all avenues of employment in the professions, learned occupations and commerce professing Jews who have taken advantage of the privileges and prospects opened up to them under the Weimar Constitution, but also ordered that no one, even if Christian, any of whose four grand-parents is not pure German, can retain any position of distinction or importance. Thus, to-day, it is learnt that the second in command of the Stahlhelm, Hitlerite allied organisation, has just had to resign, because it has been discovered that one -of his grandfathers was half Jewish. The result of all this anti-Jewish zulum is to create in Germany a new problem of untouchability, based upon race and religion, comparable with that of race and colour to which Mr. C. F. Andrews points in South Africa; where, under the Act of Union, no person is eligible for membership of the Union Parliament unless he can prove pure European descent from his grandparents, according to a dictum of the South African Supreme court, Whilst, therefore India is endeavouring to emancipate herself from the dark stain of untouchability, the disease is ravaging large areas in the Western world.

A good deal of the anti-Semetic feeling has been generated by the assiduous assertion that, since the War, the Jewish population in Germany has been enormously increased, largely by the entrance into Germany of great numbers of Jewish Communists from Russia. Indeed, Communism and Judaism in the Nazi terminology have become almost interchangeable terms of abuse, resulting from fear. In reality the official census figures show that there has actually been a reduction since the last pre-War census in the numbers of the Jewish population in Germany. It is true that a number of Jewish refugees have entered the country from time to time as a result of anti-Jewish persecution in Poland, where in some respects, the Jewish problem is far more acute than it could possibly become in Germany. But these Polish Jews are, if one may be forgiven the pun, poles apart from Communism. It is incidentally of interest to know that the Polish Government has entered a strong protest in Berlin against the ill-treatment of Polish subjects of Jewish origin.

Whilst, however, all decent-minded people outside of Germany, and very many who dare do so in Germany itself, deplore this blot upon the Nazi revolution it is pointed out by people like Sir Evelyn Wrench that it would be quite wrong to associate Nazism and its excesses solely with the persecution of the Jews. Had this been its sole purpose and

content, the revolution could not have succeeded. In: essence Herr Hitler has derived his support from-Young Germany, whether or not it belongs officially to the Nazi organisation. It was impossible to expect that sixty-millions of energetic and virile people would submit indefinitely to the suppression and the limitations imposed upon them by the Treaty of Versailles and the immeasurable pressure maintained against them by France, for reasons that are well understood. This year is the fifteenth of the post-War years; A new generation has sprung up in Germany, largely deprived of the controlling and moderating" influence of those, their parents, who died during the War. It is impossible to conceive that these young Germans, who naturally have no sense of War-guilt. would for all time consent to the burdens imposed by defeat. They have been taught to regard the Treaty and the Weimar Constitution as the consequences of defeatism, and the German spirit has sought release in the picturesque irresponsibility and romanticism of the Nazi cult. Sir Evelyn, Wrench tells us that he was last in Germany in August, 1932, and wiring from Berlin now to The Times, he declares that he is now in quite another country, and that Europe must that Hitlerism embodies, all the understand hopes and aspirations of resurgent Germany. He bids us understand it, and notwithstanding its excesses, which he admits, to welcome it. He tells us further that, the new Germany regards itself as having a great contribution to make towards the salvation of Western civilization, and other observers add that the true emphasis in National Socialism, the official title of the Nazi cult, is to be placed: rather upon Socialism than, upon Nationalism, but, that German Socialism will be a very different thing. more constructive and less corresive than Bolshevism, which it regards as anathema. Whilst this, may be so, it is at the same time unwise to forget. that those who are to day professing internationa-, lism and passivism are being hunted down in: Germany, or are being forced into involuntary exile. But, whilst this is so, to go to the further extreme of. saying that the very rigours of the Versailles Treaty that have done so much to produce the present revolution, which, it is admitted, has come to stay, should be preserved intact, because it is unsafe to relax. them in the face of the undesirable phenomena upon which the outside world looks to-day with amagement and disgust, is to do nothing to solve the dilemma of how best and quickest Germany may be helped to get back to normal and to restore her customary sanity and moderation.

## Leviews.

## PROBLEM OF WORLD PEACE. THE WORLD CRISIS AND THE PROBLEM OF PEACE. BY S. D. CHITALE. (International

Book Service, Poona 4.) THE present are admittedly times of unusual stream and strain. Exhaustion and desperation are visible.<sup>1</sup> mo less in the sphere of thought than in the sphere of action. The failure of the world economic system to settle down to 'normal' after the 'abnormality' of the Great War has been the principal cause of the prevailing feeling of unsettlement. The prospects of positive success before the League of Nations, brought into being as an integral part of the Treaty of Peace, were never very rosy; a combination of economic and political disasters of the first magnitude has now rendered them distinctly gloomy. Only those who can read the actions of the League-and its inactions -against the historical background of a human evolution of twenty-five centuries can refrain from writing the League down as an unmitigated failure. The present state of international relations does not induce, it must be admitted, a feeling either of confidence or optimism among writers.

The real significance of the present economic and political crisis, can be appreciated only by presenting it against the historical background. Mr. Chitale ensures an appreciative reception of his book by presenting his main thesis in historical perspective. In a remarkably lucid and attractive style the author traces the rise of 'Imperialist' policies among the leadig nations of the world. The inevitable confict that emerged from this competitive grabbing is ably described both with regard to its inception and its sequel. Mr. Chitale rightly devotes the major portion of his book to a discussion of the Peace Treaty, Reparations and War Debts. His outline of historical facts is accurate and his criticisms of the politicians who shaped the course of events at different stages are just. Mr. Chitale is voicing the opinion of same and peace-loving people in all countries when he lays the blame for much of our present misery at the doors of those who deliberately violated the spirit of Mr. Wilson's Fourteen Points. on the basis of which the surrender of the ex-enemy countries was secured. The complete demilitarisation of Germany unaccompanied by any serious disarmament on the part of the ex-allies indicates the persistence of much of the victors' prejudices. In the light of these facts Mr. Chitale's gloomy forecast of a world heading towards disaster is at least plausible. In fact the situation is so baffling to most minds that almost any solution that is suggested as a remedy might be entitled to receive our attention. Mr. Chitale suggests the setting up of a permanent Peace Committee conisting of a single representative each from all countries of the world, and a permanent Board of Judges consisting of the following .-Kinstein, Upton Sinclair, G. B. Shaw, Tagore, Romain Rolland, Maxim Gorky, Gandbi, Gilbert Murray, Sidney Webb and Harold Lasky !

As Mr. Chitale is himself aware of the limitations and difficulties in the way of the successful working of the suggested bodies much need not be said in their criticism. In fact, as will be conceded by all careful readers, such suggestions beg the whole question. The politicians and war lords who have come in for much deserved rebuke at the hands of Mr. Chitale are symptomatic of a deeper reality. The political and social evolution of the world has not as most readable, attractive and thought-provoking.

yet crossed the boundaries of a nation-state. Hence any conflicts, and these are inevitable, between states cannot in the last resort be referred to a juridical body having a compelling sanction. If it were not so the League of Nations itself would not have been as powerless as it actually is. The principles of equality and justice that are offered by Mr. Chitale as a foundation of his Peace Committee and World Court are identical with the pronouncements of President Wilson. But the practical difficulties in the way of their success which have been luridly exposed in the book would make the Peace Committee as great a. failure, if not a greater one, than the present League. As politicians can be wrong on occasions, the sentimental pacifists can also err. Nations would, therefore, be justified in choosing the band on whom responsibilities can be constitutionally enforced.

It appears that the author has not quiteappreciated the role of Economist as a newspaper dealing with contemporary events. It does not suffice for a journal to pronounce its obiter dicta; it has to comment on and guide events from week to week. In doing so it has often to offer advice which, though not ideally good, is yet the best possible under the circumstances. As early as December 1918 the Economist had urged with obvious justice that the only payment that can be justly demanded from Germany was a compensation for damage done to thecivilian population. But as the demands of the Allies came to be based on making Germany pay for the whole cost of the War, the Economist denounced such a claim as running against the pledged word of the Allies and the country's honour. Whenever during the last fifteen years or so this subject was publicly discussed the opinion of the paper has been thrown on the side of moderation, sanity and justice. The politicians and peoples of the world have learnt something, if not much, from the travails of the War and the Depression. If it be conceded that conflict: between nations is not the outcome of the crimes and follies of particular nations-be they victors or vanguished-but that it is an indication of a 'nationworld ' in pains, a less impatint outlook than that of the author would appear to be justified. Though the prospect of a renewal of armed conflict is never to be ignored, recent utterances and activities of leading statesmen in Italy, France, Great Britain and America seem to indicate that the superiority of community of power,' over 'balance of power,' of 'organised peace 'over 'organised rivalries ' is not entirely absent from their minds. Lausanne far from being an indication of the survival of the old spirit of Imperialist jingoism was a step forward on the dimly lighted path by which the western world is groping its way to peace and solvency.

There is much in the present day world to justify a feeling of desperation and an attitude of pessimism. But if the events of the last quarter of a century are read against the background of a much longer period than the last two hundred years the shades of our pessimism and the intensity of our desperation are bound to grow thinner. Mr. Chitale has written a

book on a subject of imminent interest to the whole world. As Professor V. G. Kale says, in his scholarly preface, Mr. Chitale's examination of the world problem and the conclusions it suggests ought to provide a valuable guide, whatever one may think about their immediate practicability.

D. G. KARVE.

## FUNDAMENTALS OF ECONOMICS.

AN OUTLINE OF ECONOMIC THEORY. BY R. M. JOSHI. (The Author, Sydenham College of Commerce and Economics, Bombay.) 1932. 20cm. 112p. Re. 1.

THIS is substantially a reprint of a course of six lectures on Economic Theory delivered by Professor Joshi in 1930 to the members of the Indian Institute of Bankers, Bombay. The student will find the book a useful introduction to a more ambitious and thorough study of the subject. It has long been a common complaint among economists that while the ordinary man will desist from dabbling in such things as medicine and metaphysics without special training he will often pass dogmatic judgments on economic matters undeterred by his complete ignorance of economic theory. And in these democratic days his views, however foolish and ill-considered, must influence practical policy. In this book therefore Prof. Joshi has taken that difficult animal. "the-man-in-the-street", by the ear and into its depths he has poured the fundamental principles of economics, an understanding of which is the first essential of a sound judgment in the realm of practical economics. In his Preface Prof. Joshi states that for his knowledge of Economic Theory he is almost entirely indebted to Dr. Edwin Cannan of the London University. As this little book will show, Prof. Joshi has also learnt from his master the art of combining simplicity of expression with scientific soundness. There are however a few statements to which the economic purist may be inclined to take exception as not quite clear or accurate e. g. "This self-interest ... that economics postulates ... is selfinterest of an enlightened character". (p. 14). "However much we may try in these days to restrict the exchange of goods and services produced by us with the goods and services produced by people beyond our political frontier. ... the volume of exchange of goods always tends to increase". (p. 9).

"... in order to keep the convertibility of paper notes into the standard gold coins. ... it is not really necessary to maintain a quantity of gold coins in the reserve fully equivalent to the value of the notes in circulation. To do so would of course be the best, and theoretically that is what should be done." (p. 77).

G. B. JATHAR.

#### INDIAN POLITY.

THE MAKING OF THE STATE. BY M. RUTHNA-SWAMY. (Williams and Norgate.) 1932. 23cm. 503 p. 21/-.

MR. RUTHNASWAMY has rendered a valuable service to students of political science by writing

this work on the making of the State. One of the difficulties which the average student of political science faces in approaching problems of the State is in reference to its historical origin. Various theories have been advanced on this difficult subject, but nearly all of them seem so unconvincing. They are either too abstract and remote or altogether onesided. Recent sociological investigations leave one in the dark as to the first beginnings of the State. The author under review goes a very long way in removing these doubts and in making the way clear to a correct understanding of the origin and development of the State. He supplements the splendid efforts of Jerks in accounting for the origin of the State and in reconstructing the factors that have helped in its development.

Many of the books written on this subject do not provide easy reading to the Indian student. The present volume, however, is written lucidly and has the advantage of choosing its facts and illustrations largely from Indian and Eastern political experience. It has been written largely from the point of view of India and particularly suits the Indian student.

The work is divided into 14 comprehensive chapters. They are all well-written. In chapter I the author discusses the various theories connected with the historical origin of the State and traces the gradual development of the modern nation-State from its crude beginnings. It is, as he calls, an outline history of the State. The remaining chapters discuss in detail such nation-building factors as religion, custom and law, civilization and culture, industry, &c. The best chapter deserves special mention-"The Making of India." In this chapter the author brilliantly sets forth the making of the State in India from very early times and gives special attention to such social factors as the caste system which have intertwined themselves with the State life. He also deals with the various attempts at the unification of India together with their success or failure.

The book is got-up very nicely. But its price is beyond the reach of the average Indian student. It is to be hoped that the publishers will see their way to reducing the price so that the book may have a wide criculation among Indian students and the reading public in general. The author deserves our warmest thanks for this splendid work.

E. ASIRVATHAM.

## THE STATUS OF INDIAN WOMEN.

PURDAH: THE STATUS OF INDIAN WOMEN. By FRIEDA HAUSWIRTH (MRS. SARANGADHAR DAS.) [Kegan Paul, London.] 1932. 22cm. 289p. 10/6.

IT is a truism to say that no enlightened man in India cares now-a-days to read books written by a foreigner, on India or on some aspect of Indian life, because such books, as a class, are either too shallow and superficial in character or they are written with a biassed mind with a view to carry on propagan da. One sometimes avoids even a good book if it is written by an outsider on account of the fear of being

hoazed into purchasing another worthless book. Mrs. Sarangadhar Das has written three very good bocks on India and they do not belong to the category of publications named above. A lady born in Switzerland and educated in United States, who was working in India as an artist and married an Indian, has had excertionally good opportunities of observing and studying Indian life at close quarters, and in addition to her own observations she has acquired extensive knowledge of Indian history, philosophy, and religion, and whatever view this lady has to put forward before the public should receive our respectful consideration. The book entitled "Purdah" is her late st publication in which she traces the historic development of the position and status of Indian women from Vedic times till the year 1932.

A lady, who is associated with "the Swiss immaoulateness in municipal and domestic house-keeping on one hand, and Californian college-town spaciousness and neatness on the other," sees many things in Indian life which are revolting to her and hence she is relentless when condemning such aspects of Indian life as have crept in on account of the corrupted selfishness of religion and priest-craft. Many of t he things she describes belong to Northern Indian conditions, more especially those prevailing in the Punjab, U. P., Bengal, Behar & Orissa. Things are not so bad as she depicts them to be, anywhere in South India and the author has on one or two occasions in the book frankly admitted this to be so. While she condemns undesirable aspects of purdahlife unsparingly, she is also very generous in her appreciation of all the charms and graces of Indian womanhood. The main plea in the book is for the emancipation of the women of India, something on the pattern of the women of the Vedic times, only modified to suit modern conditions.

"Only by setting their women free and opening wide to them the door to absolute self-determination in all forms of expression and development, by restoring to them their Vedic status—the unrestricted use and training of all bodily, mental, and spiritual faculties both in the home and in society, will Indian men be able to achieve their own personal emancipation? Only free adult girls will be able to become true mates and balanced mothers, break through the vicicus circle of misdirected emotional and psychic strength, and in addition, restore the wasted physical forces of the Hindu race. Only sons reared by such fully and freely living mothers will have the inner independence and assurance needed to lead a normal healthy life of social constructiveness."

Mrs. Das analyses the situation in India to-day as it affects women and comes to the conclusion that the present state of women's condition is due to illiteracy, the burden of priest-rule, the mother-complex, and purdah. She makes a powerful plea for the removal of all these things and even though one feels that she is a little over-harsh on the Brahmin priest, yet one is compelled to admit the reasonableness of her arguments. When one is revolting against the existing state of affairs some over-statements are apt to be made. Even though one does make some allowance in favour of the author, a statement like the following is hard to be accepted as a general condition of affairs in India. "It is astonishing to what an extent mothers-in-lawand husbands had come to face the prospect of a littlewife's death with callous indifference. Rarely were energetic efforts made to save her life; the people around her let 'Karma' take its course. Why be disturbed? It was so easy to procure another wife!"

To quote once again her own words, which give a key to the whole book, she is of opinion that the road to the healthy life of social constructiveness "is blocked by no outside force, political or otherwise, but by barriers erected by Hindu men themselves. These must first crumble or be torn down; the joint family system must go, caste in its narrow sense must go, priest-rule must go, illiteracy, untouchability, all artificial inequalities, must go. This will release the dormant force of woman and turn it into a powerful agent of social reconstruction and nationbuilding. Then only can Indian men hope to win, for if won, for ever retain, a true national consciousness and national freedom."

The old order is rapidly changing and there is a newly quickened life in Indian womanhood. They have commenced to take active part in the national struggle for freedom. Lathi charges hold no terror for them and undaunted they go on shouldering their share of the burden side by side with men. The three incidents related in the introductory chapter are clear indications of the renaissance of Indian womanhood "defying the foreign Government at Bombay, its own priesthood and caste system at Munshiganj, and the hoary purdah regime at Calcutta"!

The last chapter entitled "Personal Observations" is perhaps the most interesting. One feels the author had more chapters containing more personal observations. The descriptions are vivid and the moral is always clear but never forced on the reader. These personal reminiscences indicate that Mrs. Das is a very good woman and means well by India. Hers is not simply a case of marriage to an Indian but it is a case of "a marriage to India."

We all owe a debt of gratitude to Mrs. Sarangadhar Das (Frieda Hauswirth) for having written. books on Indian women with intuition, sympathy, and helpful suggestions. The title of another book of hers, namely, "A marriage to India" will give a, clue to her sympathetic interest in Indian affairs, especially in the women of India.

The name of Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., Ltd., is a guarantee of good publications. One barrier for a good book like "Purdah" being read more widely, in India at all events, will be its price which is put down at 10/6d. net. A more popular edition for the Indian readers is indicated. S. G. SASTRY,

## JUVENILE DELINQUENCY.

## FACTS ABOUT JUVENILE DELINQUENCY. ITS PREVENTION AND TREATMENT. (United States Dept. of Labcur.) 1932, 23cm.

45p. 10 cents. THIS small pamphlet deals with some of the important espects of the problem of juvenile delinquency. The question of the treatment and cure—and not punishment or detention-of young offenders is attracting more and more public attraction. The State and Society are happily beginning to realise their responsibility in regard to young offenders. The time is long past when it was thought that there should be no distinction in the treatment of young children and adults brought before the Courts for the breach of the law; and to-day-to put it in the words of the authors of this pamphlet-the attempt to give to each individual the treatment demanded by the particular circumstances involves an attempt to know, to understand the delinquent and to modify those influences in his environment that were held responsible for his delinquency. This has led to social investigations; the children's courts, the probation system, and the child guidance clinics. As a result of this it is found more and more necessary to study the delinquent not only as an individual but as an integral part of his environment; his family; his school; his job; his company; and such other influences of the community upon him. The importarce of the problem from the social point of view is great inasmuch as the young delinquent of to-day, if not cured, would certainly be the hardened criminal of tomorrow and if the criminal were to be cured of his tendencies in youth it would mean sure and effective prevention of crime.

The first few pages of the pamphlet are devoted to a general statement of the problem, the nature and extent of juvenile delinquency and the causes of the same. It may be noted that among the various factors that contribute towards the increase of juvenile delinquency the most important are unhappy home conditions due to the death, desertion, sepsration or divorce of parents, the failure of the parents to understand the child and the ignorance on their part of child training and character development; poverty and unemployment, overcrowding and bad housing conditions and the existence of large, dirty, filthy, areas popularly known as slums, and housing industrial labour in big cities. It has been proved by correct and reliable statistics in western countries that when the numbers of the unemployed go up the number of criminals also increases. Economic conditions and crime are very closely correlated and there is a direct variation between the two. It has been rightly but rather in luke warm fashion stated in the pamphlet that an effective programme of crime prevention must include movements for the improvement of conditions affecting family and child life; securing of a basic income within the attainment of every family sufficient enough to insure a depent standard of living; solution of the problem of unemployment and better housing conditions and lessening of over--crowding and congestion ; in short the establishment of an altogether different social order than the one in which we are at present living. This is followed by a detailed description of the various means by which the many items included in the preventive programme could be put into practice.

Having dealt with the prevention of juvenile delinguency in the first part, the second part concerns itself with the treatment of the same. The necessity for statistics. Every brunch of human science needs.

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a scientific and sympathetic study of the delinquent, his background, environment, associations, mental attitudes and physical characteristics, is once more emphasised in this connection. The ways of working of the chief agencies-the police, the juvenile courts and the correctional institutions on which the State depends for the treatment and apprehension of juvenile delinguency-are fully discussed. Their present defects are stated and the likely improvements suggested.

Proposals for the improvement of the police include among other things, the establishment of specialized bureaus or departments for dealing with juvenile problems or for crime prevention. In one of the States of the U.S.A. the co-operation of the Police with community agencies like schools, boys' and girls' clubs, social workers' associations has proved very effective in the prevention and treatment of juvenile delinquency. This example may well be copied at other places and specially in a country like India where there is very little, if at all any, or operation between the public institutions and the officials in the direction of the solution of any problem-social, economic or political. The juvenile courts whose jurisdiction extends till the age of 18 in most of the States have to look at the act of the delinquent as a symptom and think about the futurelife of the child and his usefulness to society in prescribing treatment for his offence. It is now a. generally accepted principle that young offenders, should be dealt with by courts as wards of the State rather than as criminals. They are, therefore, committed to the care of correctional institutions or placed in foster homes. The correctional institutions are no more viewed as places of confinement for those who have endangered the peace, tranquility as also the security of society but it has been recognised that their fundamental purpose is to adjust the children committed to their care who for one reason or another did not obtain the needed opportunity for development during the formative period. of their lives.

The aim of the publication of the bulletin under review as stated in the Foreword is to present in an easily available form something of the newer philosophy in regard to the whole problem of delinquency. After a careful perusal of the bulletin one is convinced that the above object is very well fulfilled. The bulletin contains in a nutshell an exposition of the principles underlying the present system of treatment of the juvenile delinquent in a clear and concise form. It would be worthwhile for every student of criminology to study carefully the contents of this pamphlet,

K. G. S'PANI.

## SHORT NOTICES.

STATISTICS IN THEORY AND PRACTICE. BY L. R. CONNOR. (Pitman, London.) 1933, 23cm, 371p. 12/6.

THIS, as the author rightly observes, is an age of

statistical treatment and deals with the same. This book purports to help the less mathematically endowed but practical economist, businessman and the social worker to collect his respective statistics in the proper manner and to interpret them rightly. The first seven chapters are devoted to an exposition of ideas on classification, tabulation and diagrammatic presentation, and this is done with perfect clearness. The next seven chapters introduce the reader, though briefly, to elementary ideas on central tendencies, methods of dispersion, skewness and sam-That the product-moment brings out the pling. correlation between measured traits is explained in the simplest manner possible and the usual method of calculating the measure of correlation for a rect-angular array is also indicated. Two chapters on index numbers and elementary interpolation followed by one on miscellaneous theorems such as Yule's coefficient and Lorenz curve complete Part I.

Part II puts us in mind of Marshall's dictum that "statistics are the straw out of which every economist has to make his bricks". Besides the usual bricks such as population, prices, wages, production eto, the newer bricks of Business Barometers and Business Activity Indices are also discussed, each in a separate chapter by itself with considerable statistical data to elucidate the principles. Supplemented by corresponding notes from Indian statistics, this should prove a very good text-book for most of our Indian Universities where a knowledge of elementary statistical method is being increasingly associated with the study of economics.

#### M. NARAYAN AIYANGAR.

## GANDHI-THE MAN OF DESTINY. A PASSION PLAY. By T. V. Thadani (Bharat

Publishing House, Karachi, ) 23cm. 55p. Rs.2.

ALL of us know how dramatic Mr. Gandhi's career has been; but nobody ever thought of actually reducing it to the form of a drama. It was reserved for Mr. Thadani to undertake the difficult task, which within the limits set by himself, he has performed with commendable skill. Poets and dramatists have always claimed the privilege of straying from strict historical accuracy and Mr. Thadani has held himself free to do the same. Knowing that it would not be possible to dramatise the whole life of Mr. Gandhi, he has rightly selected only a few phases of that life; the first is the experimenting phases, cover-ing Mr. Gandhi's career in Africa. The second is the phase of co-operation, the third that of disillusionment and the last that of satyagraha. This is, as Mr. Thadani rightly says, 'not a political play.' 'If by an extension of the application of the domestic laws to the political field, a man's noble passions are accentuated and thereby attract the notice of the whole world, it can hardly be said that those passions are made use of for political purposes.' Great credit is due to Mr. Thadani for having emphasised certain phases of Mr. Gandhi's thought and life and we have no doubt that his interpretation of Gandhiji's personality and philosophy will attract the attention it richly deserves.

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## JND IA AND THE NATIONAL CONGRESS. By M. K.GANDHI. (Commonwealth of India League, London.) 1932. 19cm. 8p. 2d.

THIS bocklet gives Mr. Gandhi's statement of India's demands and was the parting message of the

Mahatma to the British people when he left England for India in December 1931. It is, as the publishers say, a simple and direct statement of India's plight, its causes and the remedy. The Mahatma has herein made it plain that while the minimum demand of India is complete independence, a voluntary partnership and safeguards in the interests of India would not be unacceptable.

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#### BOOKS RECEIVED.

WHITHER, ENGLAND? The Letters of a Conservative. By E. HUGH SELLON. (Peter Davis, London.) 1932. 20cm. 314p.57/6.

THE GREAT WALL OF INDIA. By IAN HAY. (Hodder & Staughtor, Lorden.) 1933. 20cm. 96p. 2/6.

THE STRUGGLE FOR FIVE YEARS IN FOUR. Ed. By [...L. KOGAN. (State Publishing House of Fine Arts, - Moscow.) 20cm.

- GANDHI VERSUS THE EMPIRE. By HARIDAS T. MUZUM. DAR. (Universal Publishing Co., New York.) 1932 26cm. 352p. \$3.50.
- RE-THINKING MISSIONS. A Laymen's Inquiry after one hundred years. By William Ennest Hocking. (Harper Bros., New York.) 1932. 24cm. 349p.
- THE INDEPENDENT ARAB. By HUBERT YOUNG. (John Murray, London.) 1933. 22cm. 344p. 15/-
- RECONSTRUCTION AND EDUCATION IN RURAL INDIA IN THE LIGHT OF PROGRAMME CARRIED ON AT SRINIKETAN. By PREM CHAND LAL. (Allen & Unwin.) 1932. 22cm, 262p. 10/-
- BRITAIN'S AIR PERIL. By C. C. TURNER. (Pitman, London,) 1933. 22cm, 132p. 5/-
- INDIAN DEFENCE PROBLEM. By Capt. G. V. MODAK. (Author, Poons 4.) 1933. 22cm. 429P. Rs. 7/8.
- STILL MORE TOASTS. Jokes, Stories and Quotations. Comp. By HELEN M. MULLER. (The H. W. Wilson Co., New York) 1932, 22cm, 505p. \$1.80.
- THE WORLD OF MAN. Chosen and Arranged by L. J. CHENEY. (Cambridge University Press.) 1933. 21cm. \$13p. 7/6.
- ISLAM VERSUS CHRISTIANITY. By M. HUSSAIN. (Modern Book Agency, Calcutta.) 20cm. 232p. Rs. 2/8.
- PLANNED MONEY. Py BASIL P. BLACKETT. (Oxford: University Press) 1932. 20cm. 194p. 5/-
- MODERN BIRTH CONTROL METHODS OR HOW TO AVOID PREGNANCY. By GEORGE RYLEY SCOTT. ( John Bale & Sons, London.) 1933. 20cm. 209p. 7/6.
- THE EXPANDING UNIVERSE. By ARTHUR EDDINGTON. (Can bridge University Press.) 1933. 20cm. 128p. 3/6.
- SEX EDUCATION IN SCHOOLS. By THEODORE F. TUCKER. & MURIEL FOUT. (Gera'd Howe, London.) 1933.20om. 144p. 3/6.

NATIONALISM IN THE SOVIET UNION. By HANS KOHN. ... (Routledge, London.) 1933. 20cm. 164p. 7/6.

- BARODA ADMINISTRATION REPORT, 1931-32. (Baroda-State Press.) 1953, 26cm. 278p. Rs. 2/1.
- THE MARINE FISHERIES OF THE BOMBAY PRESI-DENCY. By H. T. SCRLEY. (The Government Central Press, Bombay.) 1933. 24cm. 174p. As. 13.

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