

The Servant of India

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Topics of the Week.

The Viceroy's Address.

THE Viceroy's address to the Central Legislature on Wednesday last was nothing more than a mere survey of the Indian situation. In a major part of it the general public can have but very little interest, while the portion dealing with the internal political situation and the question of constitutional revision was too hackneyed to require detailed notice. Speaking about the future, Lord Willingdon stressed the importance of a proper atmosphere in which "progress can develop", and asked his hearers to help in its creation by telling the people what a great political advance the White Paper proposals embody. The Viceroy must indeed be blind to the realities of the situation if he has even yet failed to grasp the unmistakable fact that so far as advanced opinion is concerned, it finds little in those proposals to enthuse over. How can the leaders carry to the masses a conviction which they themselves are far from holding?

But apart from this, the clarification of the political atmosphere has a good deal to do with the Government. In fact it is largely, in the power of Government themselves to restore peace to a distracted land, if they are so minded. If, as the Viceroy says, constructive work rather than non-co-operation and civil disobedience powerfully sways men's minds at present, the Government would only be making a fur-

ther contribution to the country's political improvement by withdrawing its repressive policy. It does not need a very close study of contemporary events to observe that even in Congress circles civil disobedience is looked upon as "virtually dead." Is there really need for further humiliating the Congress? Is it the part of statesmanship to insist upon a formal and unequivocal admission by that body of a phenomenon patent to everybody who does not wilfully shut his eyes to facts, before the Government for its part can call off its repressive measures? The Government's victory over the Congress, which is hardly open to serious doubt any longer, is not likely to be mistaken for defeat simply because they show the magnanimity and eagerness to initiate measures for resolving the present deadlock between themselves and the Congress. Considerations of prestige should not be allowed to complicate an already difficult situation—a requirement which needs to be impressed no less on the Congress than on the Government.

Sheer Madness.

ANOTHER British officer has fallen victim to the bloody activities of the terrorists in Bengal. On Friday afternoon last Mr. Burge, District Magistrate of Midnapur, drove to the local police lines with a view to playing a foot-ball match. He had not walked a few paces after getting down from his car when he was shot at by three terrorists at close range. The shots did not miss their mark, as has providentially happened in similar cases in the past, resulting in instantaneous death of Mr. Burge. Out of the three assailants, one was shot dead by Mr. Burge's police guards, while another received serious injuries and has since died in hospital. The third one was however arrested. The outrage is one of the most daring ones perpetrated by the terrorists and is sure to arouse feelings of horror and detestation in the general public. It is a strange irony of fate that such a daring attempt on the life of a British officer should have been successfully made in broad day-light when as a result of repressive measures adopted by Government against terrorists improvement had been officially claimed for the terrorist situation in Bengal. Whatever that be and however patriotic the motive of the perpetrators of the outrage, it is time they realised the inefficacy of violence as a political method which retards, instead of helping forward, the country's progress towards swaraj. How is it they do not see the simple fact that it is activities such as theirs that have provided a plausible excuse for opponents of Indian reform to press for the non-transfer in Bengal of law and order to popular control, and to ask for even more stringent special powers for heads of provinces than are contained in the White Paper? Surely the terrorists could not have desired this; and yet it is undeniably the direct outcome of their nefarious activities. The reminiscences of Mr.

Barindra Kumar Ghose, a believer till recently in political assassination as a means of achieving self-government which are at present being published in the Calcutta press, if nothing else, should be enough to bring home to them the utter inutility of their methods in the nation's march towards swaraj.

* * *

Aden.

TRUE to their word, the Government allowed the Council of State an opportunity to discuss the problem of Aden before the transfer of its administrative control to the Colonial Office takes effect. The discussion showed how strongly public opinion is opposed to the proposed separation of Aden from this country. An advantage authoritatively claimed for it is that it would relieve Indian revenues of an annual charge of Rs. 20 lakhs on account of the political and military administration of Aden. Sir Phiroze Sethna, who took the lead in voicing Indian sentiment, had little difficulty in showing how what was advertised as actual saving would be found in practice to dwindle down to only a half of it; for the contemplated non-association of Aden with India would deprive the latter of about ten lakhs which she now receives by way of the proceeds of different taxes collected from the residents of Aden. But apart from this question of financial relief to India, there can be no doubt that justice will be made more costly to the people of Aden on its transfer to the Colonial Office by reason of the fact that judicial appeals, instead of having to come to Bombay as at present, would have to go to the British Government. Moreover, there is an unmistakably deep-seated suspicion based on the differential treatment that is being meted out to Indian nationals in some parts of the British Empire that the lot of Indians in Aden will be made more difficult—a suspicion which the categorical assurance of the Government about not tolerating any racial discrimination in Aden has done nothing to allay. Without wishing in any way to belittle the force of these arguments urged against Aden's transfer to the Colonial Office, the real determining factor should, it seems to us, be the wishes of the people to be vitally affected by the transfer. Have any steps been authoritatively taken to ascertain how they themselves view the prospect of their being made subject to the control of the Colonial Office? It would be a sheer mockery of the principle of self-determination for whose vindication the last Great War was professedly fought by England if a change of hands of the destinies of a people without their being given any opportunity of having their say in the matter and behind their backs, as it were, is not even now made impossible. We hope that when the matter comes for consideration in the Lower House, this aspect of the question will receive even greater emphasis at the hands of speakers than it seems, from telegraphic reports, to have done in the less popular House.

* * *

"Call Off C. D. Movement."

THE *Bombay Chronicle*, by no means a relentless opponent of Mahatma Gandhi, characterises the public response to his campaign of individual civil disobedience as "very poor" and thinks that the Mahatma must by now have been convinced that "no good purpose will be served by continuing this movement any further." In these circumstances, it proceeds to say,

"Gandhiji would be well advised in calling a conference of Congressmen, and if possible, a regular meeting of the A. I. C. C. to call off the Civil Disobedience movement unconditionally. If this is done, and we have no doubt the A. I. C. C. will readily agree to the withdrawal, the next

move will lie with the Government of India, and if they do not take the hint they will place themselves in the wrong." (Our italics.)

Further:

"But we have always held and may emphasise it again now that Congress should act in this matter regardless of what Government may or may not do as a result. We strongly deprecate any more attempts on Gandhiji's part to seek an interview with the Viceroy in the present circumstances. The Viceroy has repeatedly, and almost contemptuously, refused to discuss the political question with Gandhiji.... If and when Civil Disobedience movement is finally called off, the Viceroy believes that he can usefully discuss the whole situation with the Congress then it will be time to consider the matter."

The paper does not think much of the argument that it is not fair to convene a meeting of the A. I. C. C. for the express purpose of making any radical changes in Congress policy when several important Congressmen are in jail.

"In the first place, only a few of the A. I. C. C. members are now in jail. Secondly, during every serious political struggle Congress bodies must be prepared to work without their full or normal strength. Finally, the Congressmen who are out of jail fairly represent all schools of thought in the Congress, the President himself being strongly represented by Gandhiji himself."

* * *

Sangli State People's Conference.

THE Conference of the subjects of Sangli State held at Sangli itself on Saturday and Sunday last under the presidency of Mr. S. G. Vaze, of the Servants of India Society, attracted a larger audience both from the city and the mofussil than has been the case for several years past. The reasons for it appear to be two: first the Durbar is contemplating certain measures of taxation which, touching as they do the mass of people, have created something like a sensation among them; and second, the unfortunate discord between Brahmans and non-Brahmans in the State, which broke out in May 1924, when Mr. Jayakar presided over a similar Conference and which had almost paralysed public life in the State ever since, has now been composed, thanks to the good sense shown by leaders of both communities. The unity and concord now established, showed themselves prominently in the resolutions adopted by the Conference, urging upon the State authorities to give due recognition to the claims of non-Brahmans for a wider diffusion of educational opportunities and admission in larger numbers to posts in the public service and representative institutions. The presence of Mr. Amritlal V. Thakkar at the Conference also helped to draw the pointed attention of the delegates to the many serious grievances of Harijans and to make an appeal to the authorities for their early redress.

A heated discussion took place at the Conference on the necessity or otherwise of levying an income-tax on the State subjects. That the income-tax is more equitable and just in incidence than land assessment was acknowledged by everyone. If it were a question of overhauling the system of taxation, so that, along with the imposition of the income-tax, land revenue demand were reduced, the Conference would have voted unanimously for such a proposal. But what the Conference was to face up to was an addition to the existing pitch of taxation, to which the Conference was vehemently opposed. This was only to be expected in view of the unconscionably large proportion of the State revenue which goes into the privy purse of His Highness and the very stringent restrictions laid upon the power of the Ryot Assembly if only to discuss the financial position of the State. The proposed Entertainment Tax was

similarly condemned in severe terms by the Conference. Another measure of the Durbar that excited great interest among the delegates was the Market Bill, of which the ostensible object was to protect the producers from the malpractices of the traders. Here again the soundness of the principle embodied in the bill was fully acknowledged by all, but the fear in the mind of the delegates who were opposed to it was that the State would exploit the measure only for the purpose of adding to its revenue. The Conference did not adopt a hostile resolution on the subject, but only appointed a committee for the purpose of hammering out a scheme which would enlist the co-operation of all sections of the Committee and which would be incapable of being exploited by the State to its own advantage. The Conference may thus be said to have proved a great success, inasmuch it brought together Brahmans and non-Brahmans who were drifting apart for a long time and prevented a wedge being driven between agriculturists and merchants.

Working of Governor's Special Responsibilities.

GREAT emphasis was laid in the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme of reforms on mutual consultation between the reserved and transferred halves of provincial governments, so much so that it was in fact generally regarded as the linch-pin of the dyarchical scheme. In the White Paper scheme too, as will be clear from Sir Samuel Hoare's evidence, great importance is attached to the Governor keeping himself in touch with the whole field of provincial administration. To enable him to do so he will be assisted, in the presidencies, by a Secretary of the status of an Executive Councillor or Member of the Board of Revenue and in other provinces by one who would be of a senior Collector's or Commissioner's rank. Sir Malcolm Hailey, giving evidence on behalf of the Secretary of State, considered it essential to give the Governors such competent assistance in view of the very responsible nature of the duties that would fall to the lot of the Governor's Secretary. In indicating the nature of these duties he added: "when the Governor is away on tour there will need to be somebody who can consult on his behalf with the Ministers, not in any definite or formal manner, but in case the Ministers wish anything to be brought specially to the Governor's notice. Also, I assume that he will have to see various visitors officially, and otherwise, on the Governor's behalf." It will be through this

officer that the Governor will keep himself *au fait* with the Ministry's doings so that, the Secretary of State expects, he will know some time in advance when a crisis threatens which might necessitate the exercise on his part of the special responsibilities vested in him. He would then talk the matter over with the appropriate Minister and, if necessary, with the whole Cabinet with a view to preventing the crisis occurring. In most cases Sir Samuel Hoare's expectation is that the Governor would be able to avoid resort to his special powers of intervention. Supposing he fails, what then? According to the Secretary of State, this is how his special responsibilities would work:

"If the situation does arise, then the Governor will have to take what action he thinks fit. He will have to give his direction to the Civil Service; he will have to give his direction, if necessary, to the Ministry, and if there is then a cleavage, it may lead to the Minister's resignation or dismissal. It may lead eventually to the Government resigning, to an election taking place, and eventually to a breakdown of the Constitution altogether and to the resumption by the Governor of full powers; but, I believe myself that that kind of contingency is very unlikely to happen. If it does happen, we have given both the Governor-General and the Governor full powers to deal with it..."

It is thus clear that under the guise of making the provinces autonomous, what the new constitution provides is not the ultimate effectuation of the popular will but that of the Imperial Government. Now contrast this with the manner prescribed under the dyarchical constitution for the handling by a Governor of a ministerial crisis. It is true it has, during all these thirteen years, occurred nowhere in India. But had it occurred and had the right kind of men been returned by the electorate, there is no doubt that, according to the unambiguous provision, the popular will would have prevailed. In commenting on clause 4 of the 1919 Government of India Bill, the Joint Select Committee clearly stated:

"... In the last resort the Governor can always dissolve his legislative council and choose new ministers after a fresh election; but if this course is adopted the Committee hope that the Governor will find himself able to accept such views as his new ministers may press upon him regarding the issue which forced the dissolution."

In these circumstances it is necessary to assure ourselves that we are actually not going backwards while being comforted with the belief that we were making a forward move.

FRONTIER BOMBING.

THE motion for the adjournment of the Assembly with reference to the aerial bombing of the tribal village of Kotkai in the first week of August was talked out. The debate turned both as to the cause and the character of the punitive expedition. According to the Government, some "agitators whose activities were likely to disturb the peace of the Frontier and be a source of embarrassment to our neighbours had come to Bajaur and that the most important of them was being harboured in the village of Kotkai." The Government of India invited the Khan of Kotkai to surrender the agitators by the 1st of August, failing which they would take such action as they thought fit. The Khan having declined to meet the wishes of the Government, his village was bombed from the air.

Was the Government of India called upon to take action in this matter? In a press statement recently issued, the Afghan Consulate in Bombay stated that "the Afghan Government, as an independent neighbouring Government, can demand on the basis of international obligations and reciprocity, from its neighbouring Governments the arrest of such culprits as the Liwanal Faqir who may have taken refuge in their territory." It has been alleged that there is a "pretender" to the throne of Afghanistan, whose identity is however unknown, who was embarrassing the Government of Afghanistan, and had taken refuge in Kotkai, in Bajaur on the Indian side of the India-Afghanistan Frontier. The Afghan Government requested the Government of India to arrest him. The demand was defended on the

ground of international law and reciprocity. Differences of opinion are possible as to the implications of international law and as to the applicability of such law to the tribal peoples, more accustomed to the reign of the rifle than to the reign of law. The exact status of the tribal peoples in international law is uncertain. Though Bajaur is on the Indian side of the Indo-Afghan Frontier, it is not included in the "administered" area under the Indian Government, and the Bajauries are not British subjects owing loyalty to the British Crown and subject to the laws of the Government of India. Often they have been spoken off as "independent" tribesmen living in the independent corridor between India and Afghanistan. If that were so, the Afghan Government would not have asked for the intervention of the Government of India but would have itself perhaps declared "war" against the Khan of Khar or taken such other action as it felt necessary without reference to the Indian Government. The action of the Afghan Government effectively proves that the tribal areas are not independent, nor subordinate to Afghanistan. It will be futile to discuss to a nicety the international status of these "independent" tribes; they have none. Their status is analogous to that of the subjects of the Indian States in India—not British citizens, but subject to the "paramountcy" of the British Government, exercised through the Government of India. As such, the Afghan Government was not unjustified in asking the Government of India to prevent the anti-Afghan campaign within the territory over which, if any civilised Government had any jurisdiction, effective or otherwise, it is the Government of India.

Granting that the Government of India had jurisdiction over Bajaur, did international law require them to arrest the "pretender" who had taken refuge in Bajaur? It has been argued that England herself has been the refuge of political exiles of all nations. Was it incumbent on the Government of India to arrest and perhaps surrender, a political refugee, who sought shelter not in the administered area under their direct and immediate control but in the tribal area? It has been recognised, and with much appreciation, that the tribal custom forbade a Pathan to surrender a refugee who had sought his shelter. A Pathan may not harm even his own personal enemy if he entered his house or garden and requested hospitality. He was bound to treat his enemy as his honoured guest. It was only after the guest had passed beyond his gate that hostilities could be resumed. Was it right of the Government of India to compel a Pathan to violate a custom which is binding on him, and which is in itself so admirable? It must be noted however that it is one thing for a political exile to seek asylum in foreign territory and quite another for a "pretender" to utilise foreign territory as the base for fomenting an active campaign against his own Government.

Apart from international law and obligations, there is the question of reciprocity between the Government of Afghanistan and of India for mutual safety, particularly when trouble is fomented in

the tribal areas. If the "pretender" had gone to England or France, for instance and there attempted to foment trouble against Afghanistan, he could not do much trouble; he would not be able to inflame the local populations necessitating action on the part of the Government of England or France. But it is quite different in the inflammable tribal areas. Trouble meant for Afghanistan may and, most probably will turn on India. Thus though the "pretender" or his friends have not committed any overt act against the Government of India and though the demand for their surrender violates one of the most admirable traditions of the Pathans, the Government of India had no option but to make the demand.

It must however be somewhat humiliating to the Government of India that the petty Chief of Khar defied the wrath of the mighty Empire and refused to surrender the "agitators". The Government assuaged their wounded pride by stating that the "pretender" had left Kotkai! The Khan of Khar has scored; he did not surrender his guest; nor did he prolong the provocation to the Government of India. He apparently saw to it that his embarrassing guest departed from his jurisdiction.

The punitive action of the Government took the form of aerial bombing by the Royal Air Force. In resorting to it the Government have drawn on themselves much public criticism both in India and in England. As a result of the discussions at the Disarmament Conference at Geneva public opinion is more critical today than it ever was of aerial bombing. Great Britain, by refusing to give up such bombing, had materially hampered the consummation of the purpose of the Conference. It has been argued for the Government of India that the aerial bombing of Kotkai was justified for several reasons. The village was situated in remote and inaccessible mountain fastnesses. Land operations against it were very difficult and would be very costly, while aerial operations were at once economical and effective and the most humane. The village was a small one with less than 150 people in it, so that at the worst not much loss of life was possible. Forty-eight hours notice was given of the bombing and most of the people had abandoned the village and betaken themselves to caves and other protected places and that as the result of dropping 90 bombs only 20 houses were destroyed or damaged and only one man slightly injured. To what extent this estimate of the damage done is true it is difficult to say, particularly when it was claimed by the spokesman of the Government that remarkable accuracy has been attained in aiming bombs. Were 90 bombs necessary to damage 20 houses of loose stones and thatched roofs? The Viceroy stated that the bombing of the kind practised at Kotkai was not "directed against the inhabitants of the villages, much less against women and children. It was never undertaken without the express authority of the Government of India and without due warning and it seldom results in the destruction of human lives. Its effect lies in the economic loss inflicted by the destruction of dwellings and

by the inconvenience and disturbances caused to normal everyday life." This, of course, is very different from what aerial bombardment means in Europe, particularly when no notice is given of the impending danger. Destruction of life and property, of women and children and other non-combatants on a large and appalling scale are there inevitable and inescapable. The aerial bombardment of London, for instance, will mean the destruction mostly of non-combatants and of property which cannot be easily reconstructed. The bombing of a village on the Indian frontier, particularly after notice, is, however regrettable in itself, not on a par with the bombing of London.

Our London Letter.

(BY AIR MAIL.)

(From Our Correspondent.)

LONDON, August 25.

MAHATMA GANDHI WINS.

THAT "there is a tide in the affairs of men which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune", is known to many and is a well-understood axiom. Unfortunately, Governments seldom are aware of it and even when they are, they miss the tide. That seems to be exactly what has happened in India. Had the very smallest particle of imagination been exercised by the authorities, advantage could easily have been taken of the relief felt throughout India, just after Mahatma Gandhi's first fast, last September, to release him unconditionally, and then cast upon him the burden and responsibility of devoting himself, immediately and entirely, to the task of removing untouchability to which he was then committed, and when the exaltation of the circumstances would almost certainly have forced him to this unique duty. Moreover, it is recalled here that he was particularly anxious to ensure that the Poona Pact should be implemented by the caste-Hindus, whom he continued to adjure to carry out their pledges to the Harijans. Lord Willingdon and his official advisers failed to realise the special opportunity provided for them by this god-send to set the stage for a realignment of forces hitherto united, under Mahatma Gandhi, to a common end.

Before Easter, when civil disobedience had reached its lowest ebb which remained up to the time of his next great penance, a further occasion arose for the Government to give positive encouragement to the realistic Congressmen to seek fresh allies and a new method with which to achieve Congress policy. Again the Government failed to seize the propitious moment, and prohibited the special session of Congress.

Yet again, the Mahatma himself provided an opportunity to direct political activities into more fruitful channels when he undertook his greatest ordeal, at the onset of which the Government, for reasons, let us assume, of mere decency, released the Mahatma unconditionally. He had never undertaken to devote himself, if released, solely to a programme of social reform, and the authorities chose to take offence because he reaffirmed his belief in civil disobedience as a specific to enable the citizen to seek the redress of grievances. They took no notice of his suggestion that, having asked Mr. Aney to suspend civil disobedience for a period of six weeks, the Government might use the time to

find, with Congressmen and other well-wishers of Indian peaceful progress, a means of reconciliation that would put an end to a period of strife and ill-will. Nothing would have been easier or more graceful than for an intimation to have been sent to the Mahatma by the Viceroy or the Home Member to go to Simla for an informal talk in order to seek a way of peace. On the contrary, there was a complete silence in official circles.

A fresh opportunity occurred when the Mahatma himself asked for an unconditional interview with the Viceroy with a view to explore the possibilities of peace. Lord Willingdon and his advisers, though of course they were aware of what was transpiring at Poona among Congressmen in private session, might well have turned a blind eye and a deaf ear to the secret reports that reached them, and have acceded to the Mahatma's request. Instead, they chose to take full advantage of all the legal formalities to refuse the request and to demand unconditional surrender on the part of the Congress. It was easy to cast opprobrium upon the Mahatma's tentative programme of individual civil disobedience. It would have been still easier, with ordinary prudence and diplomacy, to have heard the Mahatma, to have placed the true onus of failure to achieve peace upon his shoulders, had the conversations resulted in a dead-lock, and to have left to his compatriots the task of dealing with him, it being known that the Congress conference had already turned down individual civil disobedience and had recognised that mass civil disobedience had been a dead failure.

Every possible blunder appears to have been made by the Government, and if things have worked out as they have done, the authorities at Simla and elsewhere must, in the eyes of all but faithful approvers of official action, right or wrong, bear their full share of responsibility. That is not, of course, to approve all that the Mahatma has done, but it does mean that the necessity for Congressmen to adopt a clear-cut policy was deferred and the real political issues, blurred on account of the absence of effective personal relations between Simla and Poona and, as it is generally reported here, the existence of personal antipathy to the Mahatma himself in the highest official circles.

When, therefore, Gandhiji was about to lead his forlorn hope to Ras, it was certain that he would be in prison in a matter of hours. That the Government did not then treat him as a State prisoner and detain him during pleasure was another mistake, though they were, of course, fully within their rights in dealing with him as an ordinary law-breaker, even if the offence was a technical one and the purpose of the imprisonment inflicted was merely preventive.

But why play fast and loose? The Government have charged—it would seem unfairly—the Mahatma with inconsistency in preferring political agitation to social reform when free, though he had professed devotion to the latter when in jail. There was no inconsistency, though most of his friends here felt that he, too, was missing a great opportunity in returning to the political field and thereby making things much more difficult for his political associates instead of throwing all his immense influence into the struggle for equality of social opportunity that is Hindu India's greatest task during the next few years.

But the Government have been certainly inconsistent, for they refused to treat him as a State prisoner and yet accorded him facilities far beyond those falling to an "A" class convicted prisoner. They wanted to have the best of both worlds and omitted to note that, having surrendered the principle for

which they pretended to stand when deciding not to intern him, the Mahatma, if he chose to do so, could put them into a cleft stick. He did so choose. He demanded the same facilities for conducting his Harijan propaganda as he had enjoyed as a State prisoner. When the Government refused to go more than half-way, he determined to fast. Only two alternatives were open to them, if they did not wish him to die on their hands—to release him unconditionally or to accord him the full facilities for his social reform work that he demanded. Faced with these alternatives, the Government again blundered by offering to release him conditionally upon his agreeing to abandon political activity. Anything more fatuous, as anyone in the least degree in touch with him could have assured them, could not be imagined. He refused the offer, and as a result, the Government have chosen the alternative that least redounds to their credit. They need not have had him convicted. They could have dealt with him as a State prisoner. All these difficulties could thus have been avoided. They chose otherwise, they refused to exercise ordinary commonsense and forced the Mahatma into the position of having to oppose his will to theirs in order to get what he wanted. As nearly always happens, a clear-headed, determined individual, capable of making great sacrifices, is in a situation of superiority over a Government that really does not know its own mind and cannot apply its technique quickly or flexibly enough to meet circumstances as they arise. So the Mahatma has won again and is once more a free man. How will he use his freedom? That remains to be seen. Suppose he abuses it, from the official viewpoint, what will Government do next and how will they maintain their prestige?

BRITISH OPINION ON THE FAST.

It is impossible to judge of British opinion on these events. Their true sequence and meaning were never put before the public, which is now enjoying its holiday, until Miss Muriel Lester wrote to the *Manchester Guardian* on Monday and Mr. Hy. S. L. Polak's letter appeared in Wednesday's issue, with strong editorial approval of his plea for the grant of the fullest facilities to the Mahatma to carry on his Harijan work. The *Daily Herald*, which printed brief and unilluminating telegrams from India in obscure positions in its columns, was silent editorially until after the Mahatma's release, when it urged official discussion with him or those whom he represented in his opposition to official policy. The *Guardian*, too, yesterday published a long and interesting interview with Raj Kumari Amrit Kaur, sister of Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh, in which she emphasised the grave danger to the two countries of the premature demise of the Mahatma, who represented the spiritual basis of the nationalist opposition to alien rule in India and whose moral character is held in veneration by all who know or have heard of him throughout the sub-continent. Gandhi news appeared once more on the principal news-page of the *Times*. Apart from this, and occasional editorial comment in the provincial press, usually based on ignorance or lack of precise information, the British public has had no means of knowing anything of what has really happened, and, of course, official hints have been in the direction of magnifying both the Mahatma's inconsistency and the Government's generosity. Whilst, on the one hand, a truly ruthless Government would probably have let him die in jail, if he so wished, a truly wise Government, on the other, would not have left in doubt its real motive in releasing him. It is not at all certain that his death as a prisoner would have relieved the Government of an uncomfortable liability. It might and probably would, equally well, have released such

a flood of hatred and bitterness as would have compromised the relations between India and Britain almost beyond redemption.

COST OF DEFENCE OF INDIA.

Mr. C. R. V. Coutts has rendered a valuable service in answering Lord Rothermere's claim that "the least return the people of India can make to ourselves for protection against sea and land-aggression is free access to the Indian market for all British manufactured goods". Exactly the same argument was used, and acted upon, by Parliament in the case of the American Colonies. Parliament claimed to tax the Colonists against their will, in order, in part, to recoup the British Exchequer for its expenditure upon their protection. Quoting—in a sense very different from the *Morning Post* and its votaries of the India Defence League—Warren Hastings's saying that England would lose India "in precisely the same way as she lost America—through the people in Parliament, in no other way," Mr. Coutts aptly declares: "Lord Rothermere's attitude to India approaches dangerously near that of Parliament to the American Colonies in the eighteenth century."

Reviews.

INDIAN NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY.

RENASCENT INDIA. FROM RAM MOHON ROY TO MOHANDAS GANDHI. By H. C. E. ZACHARIAS. (Allen and Unwin, London.) 1933. 304p. 10/6.

IN Western countries the hunger for knowledge about India remains unabated; the appetite seems to grow with the feeding. We have yet another book on India, but this time we are pleasantly surprised to see the subject treated from a new point of view. Dr. Zacharias, Associate member of the Servants of India Society, and Lecturer on Modern Indian History at the Catholic University, Lille (France), ought to be congratulated and thanked for having made available to the public the results of his deep study of Indian history during the past 100 years. Unlike other books, which concern themselves more or less superficially with the main events of Indian nationalism during the past 20 years or so, Dr. Zacharias appreciatively records the preparatory work done by great Indian leaders starting with Ram Mohan Roy. In evaluating the rapid march of events during the last decade or two one is apt to forget the enduring work of the social reformers of the nineteenth century. It is very appropriate that Dr. Zacharias should have given a timely reminder, as it were, of our debt of gratitude to persons like Ram Mohan Roy, Dayanand Saraswati, Ranade, Ramkrishna Paramhansa, Gokhale, Karve, and other distinguished national leaders of the past century. A unique feature of the book is that it is well documented and for such of the students of history, as would like to delve deeper into the subject, references to original literature will be found very handy and useful.

When chronicling historic events one will have to be necessarily restrained and impartial and Dr. Zacharias has, on the whole, kept back any personal bias he may have and when trying to be strictly impartial the narration of events sometimes reads like Government notifications. This is from one point of view an advantage, since the reader is left to form his own judgment.

The early part of the book shows very clearly how difficult it is to build up national institutions and how great were the sincere and patriotic efforts of the national heroes of the nineteenth century, how

patient, persevering and unremitting were their efforts and how they had to carry on the fight with fervent hope and courage against all kinds of opposition engendered by ignorance, obsolete religious beliefs, and an indifferent foreign government. This part of the book incidentally proves the common-place saying that it is so easy to talk and so difficult to build.

It is but natural that any book on modern India should devote a large amount of space to Mahatma Gandhi. Dr. Zacharia's interpretation of Gandhian Satyagraha is lucid and illuminating. While the author of the book may not agree with Mahatma Gandhi's politics or the results of the Mahatma's political activities, yet the Sage of Sabarmati is held in reverent and loving admiration by Dr. Zacharias. This affectionate regard is surpassed in the case of only one other prominent political figure, namely, the late Mr. G. K. Gokhale, to whom the author dedicates the book, as his political Guru. Dr. Zacharias' description of Mahatma Gandhi's work during the last ten years in India, how he dominated the Congress every time by virtue of his magnetic personality and how he went on from triumph to triumph, making use of every opportunity irrespective of consequences, even facing death, his sole view being that he should win Purna Swaraj for India within a measurable distance of time—these pages form fascinating reading and the reader leaps from page to page eagerly devouring the contents.

Events are happening in India in such rapid succession and the speed at which India is politically and socially advancing is so great that it requires an effort of the memory to realise what all India has achieved during the last ten years and how one single man has contributed to this progress more than any other. One is apt to remember the words of the poet that "we live in deeds and not in years..."

Dr. Zacharias has given us some very interesting observations when comparing the work of Gokhale with that of Tilak; of Gokhale with that of Mahatma Gandhi; of Montagu with that of Chelmsford; of Montagu with that of Lord Reading or Lord Birkenhead; of Mahatma Gandhi with that of C. R. Das or Motilal Nehru or Jawaharlal Nehru.

The great progress made in India during the last half a century in the industrial and commercial spheres of work; the contributions made by the different universities of India; the work of the Christian Missionaries in India; the benefits of posts and telegraphs and railway communication in India; and the powerful part played by the public press of India—these and many other subjects also have made their own contributions in the Indian renaissance, but Dr. Zacharias seems to have confined his attention only to social reform and political activities.

We are grateful to Dr. Zacharias for his splendid book. He might have given some such subtitle to his book: "Renascent India or The Indian National Portrait Gallery."

S. G. SASTRY.

PROBLEM OF JAPANESE LABOUR.

INDUSTRIAL LABOUR IN JAPAN. (International Labour Office, Geneva.) 1933. 25cm. 413p. 10/—

THIS publication contains a comprehensive study of conditions of industrial life and labour in Japan and is the first of the Series that are being published on the service conditions of labour in Asiatic countries as a result of a resolution moved by Mr. N. M.

Joshi at the Seventh International Labour Conference in 1925.

The book is divided into six parts and the first part deals with the economic structure of modern Japan and surveys briefly the historical background of this wonderful country. The present volume mainly deals with the conditions of Labour of an industrial population numbering 4.7 millions.

The second part contains an important study of the development of Trade Union and Employers' Organisations replacing the old feudal system. It has been stated that 65 per cent. of Japanese capital is invested in 1.5 per cent. of the total number of Companies while 2.1 per cent. of capital is invested in nearly 60 per cent. of all the industrial and commercial companies of Japan. The influx of new ideas in Japan resulted in revolutionary changes in every field of life in the Meiji era, 1868-1912. The Government modelled all its departments on Western lines and from that date Japan rose to be a world power. In the economic field, the workers also came under the influence of socialist doctrines. The development Japanese Trade Unions since 1880 has been marked by three stages. The first stage is well described when the earliest Trade Union was organised by the rickshawmen for the purpose of carrying on the strike in 1893.

During the second stage of development beginning with 1895, the Japanese Unions were modelled in Tokyo on the lines of the American Federation of Labour by a group of Japanese who returned from San Francisco. During the third period, there was no open Trade Union activity as a result of promulgation of the Police Act in 1900. During this period various riots occurred but from 1912 the Japanese Trade Union Movement followed definitely Western methods of organisation and as a result of the founding of the International Labour Organisation, Japanese Unions received fresh impetus which consolidated their position. Incidentally, the communist influence in the Trade Union groups made itself felt and the introduction of manhood suffrage in 1926 resulted in accession of strength to the Japanese Trade Union Movement.

It is also noteworthy that while there is no legislation statutorily recognising the right of association for workers' organisations, special legislation exists providing for the constitution of employers' organisations. Chapter 5 deals with the present legislation governing labour disputes and the present state of organisation of Works Committees. Part 3 deals with labour legislation and administration in this country. Details regarding the recent changes in regard to limitation of working hours, minimum age for admission to industrial employment, social insurance, etc., have been described. It is stated that the latest Trade Union Bill introduced by the Government in February 1933 and passed by the House of Representatives provides inter alia for penal clauses making the discharge of a worker by an employer on account of membership of a Trade Union unlawful and invalidating a contract of service which requires that the worker shall either withdraw from or refrain from joining a Trade Union.

Part 4 deals comprehensively with the conditions of work and contains numerous statistical tables. The chapter on the wages and cost of living is most interesting and useful as furnishing important material for comparison of standards of living of workers in other countries. It is stated that among transport groups, the lowest wages are paid in railway services while tramway workers and motor bus drivers are paid relatively higher wages. Women's wages are much less than half of the

wages of men workers. Information regarding hours of work contained in chapter 2 of part 4 shows that the existing legislation provides for limitation of working hours to a maximum of 11 per day without a specific weekly limit, but in practice in the textile industry the hours of work averaged ten hours eighteen minutes a day and in other industries about nine hours per day. It is also interestingly recorded that the existing Factory Law provides for dismissal or discharge wage of two weeks' pay and according to Japanese custom, illness of the workers' parents constitutes an "unavoidable circumstance" entitling a worker to enjoy the same freedom from civil responsibility towards the employer as if he himself were ill or injured. Japanese legislation takes into consideration the necessity of paying to the worker the expenses for his journey from the place of work to his native town on discharge. The remaining chapters of the book on Unemployment, Migration and Workers' General Welfare, deal with varied activities of the State, Employers' Organisations, Public Bodies, etc., in conducting welfare work among the labourers. The interesting chapter on the dormitory system according to which the majority of the textile workers (who constitute women) are housed in separate dormitories provided by the employer and subjected to severe discipline, will show the baneful effects of this system on the growth of Trade Unionism in that country.

A careful study of the working conditions of industrial labour in Japan will show that the usual plea that Japanese Industry is a sweated one as compared to other industrial countries, will lose much of its force. This publication deserves a place in any library dealing with comparative industrial economics.

V. V. GIRL

THE GERMAN PARADOX.

THE GERMAN PARADOX. By A. PLUTYNSKI.

(Wishart & Co., London.) 1933. 20cm. 230p. 6/-.

THIS is the Polish side of the question of East Prussia. The author has taken great pains to show with the help of official German statistics that the policy of economic nationalism—of self-sufficiency in food-stuffs and manufactured goods—followed by Germany (as by all nations in the world to-day!) is proving a great barrier to economic recovery. Although it has been recognised by everybody that Germany could never expect to supply enough food materials for her population, every attempt has been made in recent years, by very high tariffs, not only to reduce imports to the very minimum but also to raise the prices. The natural consequence of this has been a general rise of wages and the standard of living, with the result that the capacity to export cheap manufactured goods has been seriously weakened. Those parts of Europe, which are mainly agricultural and which would be the natural buyers of German manufactured goods, are thereby rendered incapable of doing so, on account of Germany's unwillingness to buy corn and meat from them. That is the author's main line of argument. In passing he also draws pointed attention to the "flight from land" which is taking place in Germany and which is bringing about a depopulation of the agricultural parts and an overcrowding of the industrial areas owing to the high wages paid to industrial labour as compared to land labour. With all this, German propaganda for the regaining of the "corridor," as so much land for the overflowing German population, is going on unabated. Even as it is, East Prussia has a population density much lower than other parts of Germany and is constantly exporting able-bodied workers to the latter. The

whole trouble, according to the author, is due to the tremendous investment of foreign capital in Germany after the war and the consequent abnormal development of its industries, without an adequate opening for the manufactured goods being available. The natural customers of German goods, the eastern and central European countries, could not buy them, as Germany refused to buy their agricultural produce in return. An over-production of costly industrial goods was the result and hence the large number of unemployed workers.

The costliness of the German administrative system and the vast sums of money invested by the Governments and municipalities alike in building palatial structures all over the country at a time when Germany was the principal debtor nation, has also been well brought out. (Thus the expenditure on public services, excluding social services has gone up from 7 milliard marks in 1913 to 20 milliards in 1929-30.)

The book is, in fact, a very good example of how this poison of nationalism (called patriotism in order to pretend that it is something desirable) is making the world miserable. Thinking in terms of nationality or race to-day is to show that one has not understood the very fundamentals of human history. The paradoxes of the world to-day, which is starving amidst a plentiful supply of everything that is needed, where people are trying to kill each other simply because they have differently coloured skins or differently shaped noses and lips, are mostly due to this vice of patriotism. We in India are also learning all the jargon from the others. We already stand up while the national anthem is being played, have our own flag and will probably be as chauvinistic as any Mussolini or Hitler, when the time comes. Could we not accept internationalism, humanism, without passing through all the intermediate stages of acute nationalism?

In fact, although I am afraid the author may not have meant the book as such, it is very good propaganda for the idea of internationalism and gives a vivid picture of what happens if natural geographical conditions are neglected in favour of racial and cultural aspects which are, after all, man-made and artificial.

D. D. KARVE.

MYSTERIES OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE PRACTICE OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE. By H. E. EVITT.

(Pitman.) 1932, 23cm. 102p. 3/6.

THIS is a revised report of a series of four lectures delivered to the members of the London Institute of Bankers. The book is a practical one covering the details of foreign exchange business actually carried on by the Exchange Banks. The mysteries of foreign exchange are delightfully stated in these "talks" which have been published in book form.

Foreign exchange, as every school boy knows, is the conversion of one country's national currency into that of another. Foreign exchange banks act as clearing houses for these international debts. Each foreign exchange bank necessarily maintains foreign balances in important centres. T.T's are sold against these balances and these represent the truest value of one currency in terms of another at any given moment.

Chapter II enables the novice to have an easy "walk-over" across the difficulties of the ordinary practical exchange problems. The exchange-dealer rapidly decides as to the prices at which he buys and

sells and takes care to cover his own position by undertaking operations on behalf of the market.

The arithmetic of foreign exchange which is usually considered to be the select field of a senior wrangler is explained. The simple additions, subtractions, multiplications and divisions needed are set out in Chapter III. The collection and negotiation of bills in foreign currency are referred to in the succeeding chapter. Forward exchange swaps and "option forwards" form the subject matter of Chapter V.

Exchange arbitrage in the important exchange markets is dealt with in Chapter VI. The exchange brokers have not only to be highly efficient and to maintain a high standard of ability and conduct but to specialise in few chosen currencies to render better service to the banks, accepting houses and financial houses or other constituents of the foreign exchange market. The somewhat hectic rush through the medium of the telephone and the cable in carrying out exchange operations is lucidly dealt with at pages 65-83. An interesting and enjoyable description of the exchange broker, exchange dealer and exchange banker's life in the London Foreign Exchange Market is to be found in the final chapter. The model answers to a few select questions on Foreign Exchange will undoubtedly stimulate the interest of the reader and lead him on to more comprehensive works.

Indian students can indeed master these details by studying this practical guide which describes fully the operations of these foreign exchange banks. As we have very few monographs on this subject we heartily commend this book to all interested in the subject.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAO.

LIBRARY CLASSIFICATION.

COLON CLASSIFICATION. By S. R. RANGANATHAN. (The Madras Library Association, Madras.) 1933. 22cm. 15/—.

"To learn to classify is itself an education"

Jevons

THIS work is a new volume of the useful publications of the Madras Library Association, the earlier ones of which have been duly reviewed in these columns. It is the work of the talented librarian of the Madras University, and was produced primarily for the purpose of classifying the works of that University. This fact gives an actuality to the work, and we have the author's assurance that during the ten years during which the system has been in use it "has behaved admirably, in spite of the large number of specialised books and monographs which the library possesses."

Classification has been studied by the logician from the earliest times, and Bacon, Comte and Spencer had dealt with the subject at some length. The librarian is concerned with classification when arranging his stock in some systematic order. Anyone who has any occasion to do research work, whether as a university student or a research worker, can realise the difference between using a library which is arranged on some intelligent and logical plan and one in which, e. g. just a few main headings are used, so that he has to labour through hundreds of titles under some such general heading as "Science" when searching for a book on "Relativity" or a heading such as "Economics" for a book on "Guild Socialism."

In the west some admirable classification schemes have been devised, the most outstanding of

which are Dewey's Decimal Classification, Cutter's Expansive Classification and Crown's Subject Classification. There are also numerous modifications and imitations of these schemes. Dewey is in use in many Indian universities e. g. Bombay, Benares, Punjab and Calcutta.

Mr. Ranganathan's scheme has some affinity with Cutter and also with the Brussels Expansion of Dewey. For the notation of the Colon Classification, there are employed the 26 letters of the Roman alphabet, capital and small, the arabic numerals 0 and 1 to 9, the period (.) and the Colon (:). The Roman capitals are used for the 26 main classes, with a separate class, without any symbol, for the class of General is, i. e. books of a comprehensive nature such as cyclopaedias, general periodicals, etc. which cannot be placed in a special class.

Subordinate to these are the common sub-divisions and other special devices, of which there are 8, any of which may be employed at need. Thus "N" represents Fine Arts and "Nv" may be used for history of Fine Arts. "L" stands for Medicine and "Lv" for history of Medicine. The eight devices, which can be made use of in constructing a class, number are used for dividing a subject chronologically, or geographically or alphabetically, or in some other useful way.

The author, contrasting his scheme with others of the same kind, states that it differs in that ready-made Class Numbers are not assigned to topics. In fact he compares his scheme with a box of Meccano pieces from which the owner may build up any model at need, whereas Dewey gives the full class number of any required topic. However, if the Colon scheme is to come into general use it will be well for the enterprising author to compile an appropriate scheme for a small or moderately large library setting out ready-made class headings for a library of say 5,000 or 10,000.

NEWTON M. DUTT.

HISTORY OF ENGLISH CIVILISATION.

HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION IN ENGLAND, VOL. I. By HENRY THOMAS BUCKLE. (Watts & Co., London.) 17cm. 242p. 1/—.

THE volume under review needs no introduction. It is only a reprint of the well-known edition of 1899 and contains the most important chapters which were originally intended by the author to be a part of the general introduction to an ambitious and gigantic scheme—the history of the civilization of mankind. Unfortunately Buckle's delicate health did not allow him to finish the task to which he devoted himself with such unremitting diligence and unwearied patience. Buckle's fame wholly rests therefore on his "History of Civilization in England." It is a great work of a master mind which approaches the problems of human history and human civilization in all their comprehensiveness and seeks to establish a unity of thought and ideal towards which the whole human pageant is gradually advancing.

A study of history to many has often been a dull business, a dreary task of collecting facts and figures from scattered chronicles and worm-eaten parchments. To Buckle however history is a science—a rational approach to the varied and complex relations of mankind, their natural evolution and steady progress. A study of the movements of man, he points out, discloses a distinct plan and a regular uniformity of sequence, in the same manner as the seed put into the ground bears to the corn when arrived at maturity. History, according to Buckle, is there-

fore the modification of man by nature and of nature by man. With the scalpel of his analytical studies, he exposes the nakedness of theology and metaphysics and being armed with the findings of stasticians, he bangs to pieces the goddess of chance; nor does he ever believe in the vague dogmas of Predestination or of Free-will of mankind.

It is true Buckle has not achieved anything new in the science of history and most of his ideas have now become common-place truths. To his credit, however, it may be said that he has with great lucidity of style and easy flow of language, popularised the belief in the possibility of applying scientific treatment to historical problems. The first six chapters of the book under review state the general principles of the author's method and the general laws which govern the cause of human progress. The last chapter, which we think to be the most important one, exemplifies with great lucidity these principles and laws by an "outline of the history of English intellect from the sixteenth to the end of the eighteenth century." Beginning with the supreme importance of scepticism in all intellectual movements, the author traces the influence of this new spirit of inquiry, on church and government, and the sudden impetus it gave to the development of arts and sciences, literature and political philosophy. The period selected is also a momentous one in the history of England, for the proper understanding of which the book is bound to be extremely helpful. No student of social history can afford to neglect it.

S. G. PURANIK.

CHINESE VIEW OF ENGLISH CULTURE.

A CHINESE PHILOSOPHER IN OUR MIDST. A PSYCHO-DIALOGUE IN TWO SCENES.

By WILCOX ARNOLD. (Stockwell Arnold)
1932. 20cm. 54p. 2/6.

THIS little book makes refreshing reading. It ought to be more particularly so to the average easy-going Westerner who just takes for granted the civilization in which he is born and bred, and the sense of satisfaction with which he believes that the whole world is hungering for it. The author succeeds in gripping him tightly and forcing him to examine himself and his associations, as also the moral, material and spiritual values of the Western life of today.

The book is presented in the form of a dialogue, most of which takes place in the bed-sitting room of a London Boarding House, between Chang, a Chinese philosopher on a visit to London, and his English admirer, Andrew Blair.

Chang has decided opinions to offer on everything he observes in the English Metropolis—about their religion, their parliament and government, their trade and industry, their economic and social affairs. Andrew Blair hears him most respectfully, occasionally inquiring and explaining. In India Chang's criticism of Western life and its standards will be easily understood. In this country this view may be considered to be more or less familiar, if not typical. He is naturally more thought-provoking to the Westerners.

We have to bear in mind that Chang's discourse contains both his credo and his criticism of what he sees in London. We should look at the philosophy of the Chinese philosopher as a whole, in order to appreciate its worth. The general outlook and the trend of his thought are the essential parts, the spirit of the sermon. Parts of a picture are, however, not the picture itself. For example, his attack on democracy and parliamentary system may be easily accepted, but

not perhaps the practical value of Chang's alternative for them. It would appear he does not take into account the moral argument in favour of disarmament. His estimate of the worth of the League of Nations is inadequate indeed. Nor would it be believed by any body that the chief motto on the colours of the modern Youth Movement is "A gay life and a short one."

The book as a whole, it must be repeated, is of inspirational value. The writer's sincerity and earnestness are seen in the force and the directness of his sentences. Nowhere are they dull, not even where the views contained in them are impracticable or reactionary.

The second scene is indeed a piece of art, and impresses us with the philosopher's sense of the beautiful. How clearly he sees a divine purpose in the loveliness of nature!

The value and the object of such a book as this lie in making men think and not goad them into a particular line of action or into joining a particular party. Its purpose is "the right education of the mind."

MOHAN SINHA MEHTA.

SHORT NOTICES.

BANKING AND CURRENCY. By W. J. WESTON.
(University of Tutorial Press.) 1932. 20cm.
295p. 6/6.

THIS book is one of the best introductions to the complicated subject of banking and currency. It is designed for "students reading for examinations in economics and commerce such as those of the Intermediate and Degree examination for the University of London" and for specific professional examinations in banking and currency". The book serves the purpose to some extent admirably. It is well-arranged and ably written. Moreover the subject is brought up-to-date (1932).

But the book has one serious drawback. It is elementary and can therefore serve only as an introduction and not as a complete text-book for the degree examinations. It has no bibliography and gives no guidance for further reading to a student who wants to know more of the subject. The importance of select bibliography on subjects of this kind cannot be exaggerated. Hints for further study at the end of each chapter would make the book under review invaluable.

M. H. G.

ORIGINS OF SACRIFICE. By E. O. JAMES.
(John Murray.) 1933. 23cm. 314p. 10/6.

THE origin and development of religious sacrifice is one of the important as well as fascinating subjects for anthropological study. It is surprising therefore that though an enormous amount of spade-work had been done and the subject had been touched upon by various authorities from various points of view, no one had yet attempted to survey the whole field of numerous rites comprehended under the name of "sacrifice," or belonging to the complex of ideas out of which the institution arose from anthropological, historical and psychological points of view. The author, who is a distinguished authority on folklore etc., has attempted it very ably in this volume. He has subjected the complex rituals and beliefs comprehended in the term *sacrifice* "to a detailed critical analysis with a view to a determination of (a) the origins and fundamental character of the institution, and the principles underlying the rituals.

as a whole, (b) the primary and the secondary elements in the cult complex, and (c) the main lines of development, and the effect of the new movements in the first millenium B. C. on the ancient law of sacrifice." The investigations have been carried through successive stages to the higher ethical manifestations of the ritual, e.g. fasting, asceticism, charity, etc. in the attempt to bring out the fundamental principle inherent in the institution as a whole. In doing so the author has brought together a mass of facts in a perspective which will be very useful for the serious student of comparative religion. It can be wished, however, that the style was less obscure and the subject treated from a more humane point of view so as to make it a really interesting book for the average reader.

M. AHMAD.

A SHORT HISTORY OF DEMOCRACY.
By ALAN F. HATTERSLEY. (The Cambridge University Press.) 21cm. 273p. 6/-

THIS is no exposition of political philosophy but a simple historical sketch of the growth of Democracy from the very beginning. In the primitive tribal life, the Athenian City State, the Roman Empire, the ultimate authority of the people had been accepted and worked out in various ways. The middle ages, though generally feudal and monarchic, had its own democratic phases. The Reformation shattered the unquestioned authority of the people, and gave an impetus for independent thinking in all matters. The theory of contract was given various interpretations by various writers, and Rousseau established by his Social Contract the unqualified sovereignty of the people. The French Revolution, the English constitutional progress, the colonial forward march—all had democratised the State. The idea of democracy has been growing, and it has spread throughout the whole world. But at the same time, the tendency to shelve it off, by creating dictatorships as in Facism and Bolshevism, shows that Democracy has not achieved what it should have. The author quotes profusely from political philosophers and gives necessary details of the working of various democratic constitutions, with a useful chart at the end. The book is most interesting.

N. S. S.

ARMS AND THE WOMEN. By E. V. H. S. CULLING. (Murray.) 1932. 20cm. 223. 7/6.

AMID the sordidness and squalor of the Great War one hears sometimes of splendid courage, uncomplaining endurance, and unostentatious service. The book under review gives us an interesting picture of the splendid work done by Mrs. Culling and a group of British women near the battle-fields of France. It appears that while the British soldiers on the Western Front were well supplied in their hours of rest with canteens, reading, rest and recreation rooms, the French *poilus* had no comforts beyond the food supplied by the War Department. Mrs. Culling and a group of self-less workers went to Revigny, 13 miles from Verdun and gave refreshments to and amused thousands upon thousands of *poilus* going to or returning from the war front. The book is very interesting and contains many a valuable episode which will be missed in military documents.

M. V. SUBRAMANYAM

THE RANI OF JHANSI. A HISTORICAL PLAY IN FOUR ACTS. By PHILIP COX. (Allen & Unwin, London.) 1933. 20cm. 119p. 5/-

THIS is a historical play which gives us the thrilling story of the heroic Rani of Jhansi. The book has the charm and the interest of historical drama. The author's presentation of the theme is remarkably well performed. His knowledge of Indian conditions and customs and his descriptive powers give to his work literary value. He has succeeded in presenting the story "in a pictorially vivid fashion." The characterisation is a special merit of the book, although one may say that the heroine's part disappoints the reader at two or three places, particularly when she hesitates and calculates. For example, the Rani's offering the second temptation to Major Ellis (p. 49) appears, from its suddenness and general setting, rather unnatural. Another instance is seen when she converses with Risaldar Lall Muhammad and Jemadar Lall Bahadur (Act III Scene III)

The author does himself or his book little good by comparing (in his preface) Joan of Arc to the Rani of Jhansi. The two differ vastly not only, as he himself admits, in "their racial background and social setting" but, what is still more important, in the sources from which the two draw their greatness. The peasant girl of Orleans in the middle of the fifteenth century has deep faith in the messages she receives from the "King of Heaven" through her visions and dreams; while Lakshmi Bai comes to us as a brave nineteenth-century Maratha nationalist, exactly four hundred years later.

The writer may be assured that he errs neither towards excessive caution nor towards undue exaggeration.

This play ought to be staged in India. It is sure to draw large audiences.

M.

SPEECHES AND WRITINGS OF MAHATMA GANDHI. (4th Edn.) (G. A. Natesan, Madras.) 20cm. 1072p. Rs. 4.

IF all the speeches and writings of Mahatma Gandhi are collected together, they would easily occupy over twenty thousand pages. The publishers therefore deserve every praise for having, in a handy volume of nearly eleven hundred pages, given all that was important in Mr. Gandhi's speeches and writings. They have shown exceptional skill in the selection of their material. They have rightly confined themselves to such speeches and writings of Mr. Gandhi as were fairly representative and as directly bore on his public activities. They have as a rule avoided the purely emotional as well as the purely philosophical speeches and writings of Mr. Gandhi; they have also exercised great care in making their selection from among the rest.

The volume before us takes us rapidly through all the important movements led by Mr. Gandhi from 1896 right up to 1932. It furnishes us with a kaleidoscopic view of Mr. Gandhi's politics since the good old days when Mr. Gandhi "was a believer in the Politics of petitions, deputations and friendly negotiations" to the present times when he has "devised a new method not known to history, namely, that of civil disobedience."

Miscellaneous.

ADULT EDUCATION IN MALABAR.

ACTIVITIES OF DEVADHAR RECONSTRUCTION TRUST.

THE Adult Education Scheme prepared by the Devadhar Malabar Reconstruction Trust was sanctioned by the Government in June 1930. A batch of workers was accordingly given special training by the Trust in the different items of rural welfare work. In consultation with the District Educational Officer five centres were opened in 1930-31, two of which did not work properly, and were closed by the end of September 1931. A new centre was later on opened. Thus by the end of 1932-33 the Trust was conducting four centres three of which had completed three years' existence.

The worker in charge of each centre took special care to study the conditions of the village and to understand the needs of the people. He came in contact with the different classes of people to enlist their support for making the work of the centre useful and successful. Advisory committees were started consisting of the prominent men of the village, interested in the welfare of the people. In each centre there was a night school, a reading room and a small library of vernacular books and also occasional lectures and magic lantern demonstrations for educating the adults. As the adult class consisted of students of varied attainments, it was difficult for one worker to engage the class, so an assistant teacher had to be appointed in each centre. The students came after a hard day's work, so the fixing of a regular time for instruction was found impracticable, but sufficient care was taken that each student got at least three hours of instruction every evening, the number of holidays being as few as possible. The three years' curriculum approved by the Educational department was adopted in all the centres, not only with the purpose of teaching the three R's but also to give sufficient knowledge and training to the adults in useful subjects like civics, history, geography, health, sanitation, cooperation, agriculture, music, etc. Above all it was the object of the centre to attract the adults of different communities in order to make their outlook broad, life cheerful and habits healthy. The worker lived amidst them to be their friend, philosopher and guide. In times of distress he was not to spare pains to render relief. It should be said that the adults realised to a great extent the advantages of the centre and sought admission in large numbers. The total number of admissions in all the centres during the three years was 1040 out of which 728 left after acquiring literacy. The rest are continuing their education. The visitors to the reading room and library were larger in number. On an average 400 adults made use of the reading room in each centre every month. The number of books issued every month ranged from 40 to 200. As these reading rooms were the first of their kind to which all classes of people were admitted the poor people who could not afford to purchase newspapers or books resorted to them in large numbers. The habit of reading had been created and the reading rooms helped to a great extent the retention of literacy and widening the outlook of the adult. Nearly 500 lectures were delivered in the centres, most of which were with the aid of magic lantern on subjects that concern the life of the villager. The adults

were also trained to think and speak about rural problems through the debating societies started in each centre.

Besides the adult education work in each centre, other problems also attracted the attention of the worker. Every opportunity to help the villagers was availed of. The workers helped the officers of the different departments of Government like agriculture, health, cooperation, education, labour, etc. During times of epidemics the workers by prompt action checked the spread of the contagion and made the task of the health department easier. They took active part in conducting cooperative societies and propagating improved seeds and implements. A defunct society was revived at Kottakal. Timely relief was rendered to the ryots when their gardens were attacked by pests like Mahali. Sports and games were organised to provide recreation and to create the team spirit by bringing together the people of different castes and creeds in the villages. Health week celebrations and exhibitions had become a regular feature in all centres. The usefulness of the centre for the improvement of the condition of the villagers had been testified by the ready cooperation offered by the different departments of Government and the words of appreciation that the officers in charge of these departments had been kind enough to place on record whenever they visited the centres.

It could not be said that the leading people in each village had done their best to make the work of these adult education centres a success. Except Feroke no other centre had been fortunate enough to secure public support of a substantial nature. The example of Mr. Nataraja Mudaliar, the Managing Director of the Standard Life Works, Feroke, in placing a beautiful hall at the disposal of the Trust for conducting the Adult Education Centre and agreeing to meet half of its expenses is worthy of praise. Through Mr. Mudaliar's kindness was found it possible to start a medicine chest for the relief of poor labourers and a games club to provide recreation to those who attend the Adult Education centre. A cooperative store was also started for the benefit of the labourers.

The lot of the poor and unhappy villagers could be improved only if men of philanthropy and public spirit like Mr. Mudaliar come to the aid of the Trust and render hearty support to carry on its welfare work for the rural people. The workers of the Trust are ever willing to cooperate with all agencies working for the rural population. The economic aspect of the village life yet remains to be trackled in one organised manner. But the circumstances are not propitious and the means are wanting. The villagers are still slaves to the belief in fatalism. The divine discontent has yet to be created. The force of human will can overcome all difficulties if only the villagers are persistent in their efforts for their own improvement. The Devadhar Malabar Reconstruction Trust as a result of its past experience has come to the conclusion that any scheme of rural welfare can be worked successfully if only the officials as well as the non-officials cooperate. Appeals are coming from many villages to start centre of work by the Trust. The results of work so far achieved are encouraging. More substantial work can be done if there is satisfactory response from the people. It is hoped such response will be forthcoming and that the Trust will be able to improve the material as well as the moral condition of the rural population.