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Topics of the Week.

Agra Liberals in Conference.

FROM all accounts the first session of the Agra Divisional Liberal Conference appears to have been a complete success. It had for its President Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru and the number of delegates exceeded 250. In his presidential address Mr. Kunzru showed that while the Liberal policy was consistent and unchanged, the Congress had to change its policy more than once during the last fifteen years. The Congress began with complete non-co-operation with the Montford reforms but has ended with full co-operation in their working. The Liberals on the other hand had all along stood for the maximum public good being extracted out of them.

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THAT attitude held good even with respect to the Hoare reforms. The resolution passed by the Conference makes no secret of the keen dissatisfaction felt by the Liberals with the new constitution. Indeed they consider the Hoare reforms so inadequate that they would not have shrunk from advocating their boycott if it had been a practicable proposition. But as an effective boycott was obviously out of the question there was no alternative before the Liberals but to work the reforms for what they may be worth. But this would be done by them with the two-

fold purpose of utilising the constitution for the utmost public good it may be capable of yielding and of accelerating its revision with a view to the attainment of Dominion Status by India as soon as possible.

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AN election programme was also adopted by the Conference. This pledges the Liberal party to work, amongst other things, for the economic development of the country, removal of the problem of unemployment, improvement in the condition of the working classes, agrarian legislation for the benefit of tenants, spread of education, removal of untouchability, etc. All Liberal candidates, while free to make common cause with other candidates whose policy may be similar to that of the Liberal party, will be appeal to the electorate on this programme. An influential committee was set up to select candidates, to issue an election manifesto and to arrange for all matters connected with the election.

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Renewed Disturbances in Bombay.

THE recrudescence of communal disorder last week in Bombay establishes the need for sleepless vigilance on the part of the Government. The disturbances, though not of a very serious nature, may at any time assume an ugly form and in any case are calculated to shake public confidence in the security of life and property. Their presence has the undoubted effect of impeding trade and commerce. No wonder that a number of commercial bodies dealing in foodstuffs have felt it necessary to wire to the Governor expressing their grave concern at the continuance of disturbed conditions in Bombay City. This, as can be easily imagined, interferes with the free movement of merchants and their staff in the disturbed localities much to the inconvenience and discomfort of those inhabiting those parts.

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THAT the Government are ceaselessly feeling the pulse of the situation is clear from the promptitude with which measures to deal with the sudden outburst of disorders were put in force. The first improvement in the situation had led to a relaxation in the operation of the curfew order. On the reappearance last week of communal tension a strict observance of the order has come to be insisted upon. A large part of the credit for the cessation of disturbances on the last

occasion was given to the combing out of the affected localities of rowdies and bad characters. We trust the process is being mercilessly pursued. Seeing that any abatement of effort in that direction results in a worsening of the situation it is fervently to be hoped that the process will be continued till all the mischievous elements are safely kept out of harm's way.

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Compulsion for Girls.

THE proceedings of the Women's Conference of Hyderabad State must have come as a great eye-opener to a section of opinion in the State which would postpone the introduction of compulsion in respect of girl's education till it proves a success in the case of boys. This is how persons holding such a view argue: It is necessary, in the interest of the success of compulsion itself, to restrict it to boys, to begin with. If it proves success in their case, its extension to girls is not a difficult matter. If, on the contrary, an attempt will be made from the very start to comprehend in the compulsory scheme children of both sexes, its success will be jeopardised owing to the widespread opposition it may engender. Why not, therefore, go slow and step by step? Let the boys be first compulsorily brought to school and in due course girls. One of the two compulsory education bills pending consideration by the Legislative Council of the State is framed on this basis, as its Muslim author frankly explained in our correspondence columns on a recent date.

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THE discussion on the problem of compulsory education which took place in the Conference clearly shows that the women in the State thoroughly disapprove of this pragmatic mentality. Far from endorsing the proposal to leave girls out of the compulsory scheme, the Conference extended their whole-hearted support to the bill framed by Mr. Naik whose death last week will be widely mourned. His bill authorises the use of compulsion in regard to children of both sexes and expressly provides for the inclusion of girls in all schemes of educational expansion. The cost of compulsion for both boys and girls would, it was pointed out, be very heavy, so that the reform stood in serious danger of being indefinitely postponed. Would it not be advisable from that point of view to restrict its operation to children of one sex only instead of extending its scope to all children in the State? The Hyderabad women's reply to this poser was characteristic. If on the ground of cost children of only one sex are to be compulsorily educated, let the girls reap the advantage rather than boys. This is what the Conference said in effect. And the Conference is by no means an irresponsible body composed of visionaries. It was presided over by none other than a daughter-in-law of the Nizam and had the good fortune of receiving the blessings of His Exalted Highness himself. A view expressed by such an influential body cannot but have due weight with the authorities.

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Mr. Andrews and Fiji Indians.

MR. C. F. ANDREWS who was recently in Fiji for the study of the Indian problem there on the spot gives expression to the Indian dissatisfaction at the new constitution offered by the Colonial Office. It may be recalled that this provides for the election of three Indian representatives to sit in the Fiji legislature and for the nomination of two more by the Government. The arrangement is likely, in his opinion, to do harm to the Indian community. "This division," said Mr. Andrews, "is almost certain to create a divided opinion in the Indian community where unity is of the utmost importance." The ostensible ground for the retention of nomination is the remedying of inequalities in representation as a result of election. Mr. Andrews has no doubt in his mind that if all the five seats had been thrown open to election the Indian community would have failed to put forward candidates representing all sections of the Indian community.

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THE constitution failed to come up to Indian expectations even in other respects. It does not provide for the inclusion of any Indian in the Executive Council, nor for the higher grades of the Civil Service being thrown open to Indians, for which the Indian community has been asking. As things stand, no Indian holds an appointment of a higher status than a second grade clerk, while a Fijian has only recently been appointed District Commissioner. To show that education has made much headway amongst Fijians Mr. Andrews drew pointed attention to the fact that this Fijian had obtained an honours degree in history at Oxford. Thanks to the exertions of the Arya Samajists and Sanatani Hindus, much was being done for the spread of education in the Indian community. It is satisfactory to learn from Mr. Andrews that the relations between our countrymen and the Fijian natives were all along characterised by harmony and concord.

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District Councils.

GIVING evidence before the Decentralisation Commission more than twenty-five years ago the late Mr. Gokhale pleaded for the establishment of District Councils to be associated with Collectors in an advisory capacity. When the U. P. Government were urged in 1922 by means of a non-official resolution to carry the suggestion into effect, a promise to work it out as an experimental measure was forthcoming on behalf of the Government. The promise having remained unfulfilled to this day, the advisability of action along the lines originally suggested by Mr. Gokhale was last week once more sought to be thrust on the Government's attention by means of another non-official motion. One would have expected that the opportunity would be taken by them to account for the non-fulfilment of their earlier promise or at any rate to explain the circumstances in which it could not be translated into action. Far from this being the case, an attitude of downright opposition to the

idea in sharp contrast to their earlier one of understanding sympathy was adopted by the Government. Even so the resolution was carried by the Council.

THIS is good so far as it goes. But from the practical point of view, one wonders whether the passage of the resolution will make any difference. The old constitution will soon give place to the new. This does not, of course, prevent the bureaucracy from giving effect to the reform if it is so minded. But that it is not favourably disposed to it is clear enough from the manner in which the Government have failed to implement their own promise. It will hardly cause surprise if the change-over from the old to the new order of things is used by them as an excuse for refraining from effectuating the reform. Anyhow the U. P. Legislative Council deserves to be complimented on placing the Government once again in possession of its views on this important subject.

Municipalities in the Punjab.

WITH six municipalities under suspension, the year 1934-35 cannot be said to be a very successful one from the point of view of the working of local self-government in the Punjab. Out of the total of 111 municipalities in the province, only 72 had for their presidents elected non-officials, and as many as 38 municipalities had officials, elected or appointed, at their head. That officials are not yet legally debarred from offering themselves for election as presidents, as in some advanced provinces, constitutes a measure of the backwardness of local self-government in the Punjab. Nor was the proportion of the nominated to the elective element as low as it might well be, the total of elected members being 957 as against 357 nominated members, which works out to more than 37 per cent. When under the coming reforms the nominated bloc is going to be eliminated from the composition of more important bodies like the legislative councils it seems utterly incongruous to tolerate its retention, and that too in such strength, in the municipalities.

IT is worthy of note that the educational expenditure of municipalities rose during the year by Rs. 1.22 to nearly Rs. 22 lakhs, of which Rs. 6.90 lakhs was contributed by Government. It is also gratifying to learn that the number of compulsory areas increased by 5 to 62. About the success of compulsion a divergence of opinion seems to prevail in some quarters. But that it leads to a direct improvement in enrollment and attendance hardly admits of any doubt. We are relieved to find that that is the view held by the Education Department. Municipal expenditure on the education of girls increased by about Rs. 69,000 to Rs. 4.45 lakhs. It is quite in the fitness of things that the demand for female education is continuously outstripping the supply. We hope the provision of facilities for the purpose by the municipalities will keep pace with the requirements of the situation.

IT is disquieting to learn that municipalities are still very far from taking kindly to the operation of

the Executive Officers Act. So much so is the case that when an occasion arises for a new appointment to be made it has generally to be made by the Government under its special powers. Many committees are still mistrustful of their executive officers who in some cases are actually obstructed in their work. We hope the Government's appeal to municipalities for their co-operation and support to these officers in their work will not fall on deaf ears.

Jails in the Punjab.

THE Government resolution on the administration report of jails in the Punjab during 1935 makes interesting reading. A matter which is causing some concern to the authorities in the Punjab relates to the provision of adequate accommodation for the total jail population which cannot be said to be consistently on the decline. The problem will be better understood when it is remembered that the number of inmates of jails last year exceeded 22,000, while the accommodation in the existing jails is meant only for less than 17,000 prisoners. While the construction of additional jails is being seriously thought of, the transportation of prisoners to the Andamans in larger numbers would be welcomed by the Punjab prison administration as a convenient way out of the difficulty.

BUT the prior consent of the prisoner, which under the present rules is a *sine qua non* for his despatch to Port Blair, is officially looked upon apparently as a needless and inconvenient requirement. Indeed, reading between the lines of the resolution, one is left wondering whether the Punjab Government might not be already trying their hardest so as to secure a relaxation of the (to them) obnoxious rule. All we can say is that if the Government of India were to yield to the importunity of the Punjab Government, they would make themselves liable for a stern rebuff at the hands of the Indian legislature, which will stand no shilly-shallying on their part on such an important point.

THE average cost of maintaining the prisoners was, we observe, Rs. 112 or so per annum per head. This is not to say that most of this amount was spent on feeding and clothing the prisoner. As a matter of fact, even with the increase in feeding charges to which the resolution refers, the item does not swallow any but a very small part of it. In 1935 the cost of feeding was less than Rs. 28, that is to say, less than a fourth of the total cost of his maintenance. It is not clear how much additional expenditure is incurred for clothing the prisoner. But we cannot believe it would be much in excess of Rs. 20. Which in other words means that while a sum of Rs. 50 or thereabouts is spent on the comfort of the prisoner, more than Rs. 60 per head is needed to cover the charges for administration and supervision of jails. This is without doubt a very disproportionate charge, which must be kept within reasonable limits by all possible means. Will it be too much to hope that the matter will be looked into by the local Government?

THE STRUGGLE AHEAD.

“KEEP your big stick behind the door” accurately represents the aim of the British Government in its energetic support of federation in India. It knew that some move towards self-government was inevitable. A stand-pat attitude was no longer possible. The only question was how, consistently with a show of a large transfer of power to Indian hands, the reality of all power could be retained by the British. The answer to the question was federation. In the provinces minorities and vested interests could be relied upon without much risk to check the progress of democracy. But in the centre it would be unwise to take any risk. Therefore the minority communities and the propertied classes in British India, though powerful in themselves, were to be reinforced in the central sphere by a Princely bloc from the Indian States. These three forces, which by their natural affiliation would always combine, would make a hash of any popular movement, however strong. In this allotted task of destroying democracy pride of place was given by the British Government, and quite rightly too, to the Indian States. It insisted therefore upon federation; it invented the theory that without federation self-government could not be conferred upon British India, whether in the provinces or in the centre; it assured the Princes that, like British India, they need not adopt popular election and other technique of democracy as members of the federation; it assigned to them far more seats in the legislature than they could rightfully claim. The object throughout was so to reconstruct the polity of India that, while it would wear the appearance of a democracy, it would really be an oligarchy and a plutocracy, the governing classes in it being themselves under the domination of the British Government. In this aim it must be confessed the British Government has succeeded beyond the wildest dreams of avidity and intrigue.

The Princes know exactly what rôle they are intended to play in the federation. The rôle is not particularly honourable, and therefore they are rather shy about it. But occasions arise when such shyness must be discarded. The Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, seeing that some of the Princes were still hesitating to accede to federation, thought that the recent meeting of the Princes and Ministers was one of such occasions and, in order to induce the wavering members of his fraternity to come down on the right side of the fence, had to tell them what the paramount power expected of them. He could not say, of course, that they were merely to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for the British Government. That would only increase the disinclination of the self-respecting Princes to join the federation. He therefore rested the case for the States' entry into federation upon self-interest. “Just imagine what a glorious future federation would unfold for us! We have only to make common cause with others who are somewhat similarly situated in British India, viz. the landed magnates and the aristocracy of wealth, and we shall be masters of the destiny of the whole of India. We must not let

such a golden opportunity to slip.” This was the argument he used. He could not very well bring out the fact that though power would outwardly fall to the Princes and the privileged classes in India, it would really stay—only much more firmly—where it exists at present, viz. the British Government. But he was undoubtedly right when he said that the federal constitution was so framed that all ostensible power would belong to the rulers of the States and to a clique of special interests in British India. Nor would a combination between them be a forced one by any means; on the contrary it would be the most natural and almost inevitable development under federation.

But by a section of the Princes this utterance of the Maharaja Rana of Dholpur is considered to be impolitic. The Princes have a keen sense of the judicious and the opportune. The Maharaja of Patiala has now come forward to condemn the Dholpur speech. He does not object to the substance of it very much, but he takes strong exception to certain phrases used by the Chancellor. A party of vested interests, whose formation the Maharaja Rana advocated, sounds provocative and invites reprisals (says His Highness of Patiala) from “every shade of opinion (in British India) from the most moderate Liberals to the most extreme Nationalists.” Patiala would therefore like the Princes to use words of a more neutral tinge, words which would be less offensive to progressive British Indians. Why not say, “The Princes are meant to be a stabilising element,” “They will provide the conservative material which is required in every society to keep it in proper balance”? Did not the Joint Select Committee itself urge federation on the ground that “the ruling Princes who in the past have been the firm friends of British rule” may be expected “to give steadfast support to a strong and stable central government and to become helpful collaborators in policies which they have sometimes in the past been inclined to criticise or even to obstruct”? These words mean substantially the same thing but they did not create the same furore as those used by the Maharaja Rana have done. British Indian politicians are hyper-sensitive, but they are easily taken in. Select your words with care, and you can give utterance to the most sinister sentiments without rousing their ire. Such is the Patiala Maharaja's reasoning.

He thus deprecates the too open way in which the Chancellor spoke of the part the Princes were designed to fill in the federation and puts his own gloss on it thus:

It was always intended, while safeguarding our common interests and working for the benefit of our country and people, that we should exercise a stabilising rôle in the federation which, by our tradition and by our experience of government, we are eminently fitted to do; that we should do everything in our power to avert the collapse of social discipline and fight subversive movements. This indeed is the natural and legitimate function of all parties claiming to be conservative. . . . Ours is a legitimate rôle, that of a stabilising influence in the affairs of our motherland.

May we take leave to inform the ruler of Patiala that British Indians have intelligence enough to know that the difference between him and the Maharana of Dholpur is just a difference between tweedledum and tweedledee? They know that what the Maharaja of Patiala is saying is nothing less than this: "Here is the Congress which wants to make short work of the constitution, and many other parties in British India appear friendly to the idea. Let them come along and have a try at this destructive manoeuvre. We shall see to it that all their efforts come to nought. We shall determine the climate of the federation: it will be rankly conservative. The Congress prates of independence. We shall draw even tighter, if that be possible, 'the strong golden ties' that bind together India and the Crown. Non-co-operation is talked of; leave it to us to crush the movement." In whatever garb the idea of a Tory front from British India and the States may be dressed up, we all know that it is the idea for which the Princes will work, and that they will have behind them the whole might of the British Government.

This serves to remind all the progressive groups in British Indian politics of the magnitude of the difficulties which they will have to encounter in future.

The ultimate fight will no doubt be with the British Government, but the immediate fight will be between the different classes of Indian society, between progress and reaction, and we cannot afford any longer to think only of political freedom in the terms of nationalism. We must begin seriously to think of economic and social freedom, to achieve which is a much tougher job than political freedom. Our task is of unparalleled complexity, because the economic and social problem is intermixed with the political problem, and we have to solve both together. They cannot be isolated. It would be foolish to underrate the obstacles in the way; the obstacles may in fact seem in the early stages insurmountable. If the progressive elements in the country fail to wrest power from the vested interests and give effect to the measures of social reconstruction that are so urgently needed to bring peace and contentment to the country, fascism is apt to make its appearance in India, which will be such a dire calamity for everyone concerned. But there is no alternative to it, unless the elements that stand for popular freedom and progress obtain at least a moderate measure of success in their plans for the amelioration of the conditions of the masses of our country.

ELECTIONS IN THE UNITED STATES.

ON the 3rd inst. the election of the President, of the entire House of Representatives consisting of 435 members and of 34 out of the 96 members of the Senate in the United States took place, and the result was a sweeping victory for the Democratic Party. So far as the presidential election went, the choice was only between Franklin Roosevelt, the Democratic candidate, and Alf Landon, the Republican candidate. These two candidates polled 97 per cent. of the votes between them. Out of more than 70 million persons who are eligible to vote, 42,647,567 voters cast their votes, Roosevelt receiving 60·8 per cent. of them. At the last presidential election he had received 57·3 per cent. His popularity, therefore, has not waned in any way, in spite of the defection of the Jeffersonian Democrats. In fact, the revolt of this section of the Democratic Party against the New Deal may be said to have helped Mr. Roosevelt in obtaining a signal success by attaching Left-wing parties the more firmly to him. If we consider the number of electoral votes that the President won, his triumph appears sensational, for he obtained 523 out of the total 531 votes, Mr. Landon receiving only the remaining 8. But the popular votes that were cast in favour of Mr. Landon were nearly 16 millions as against 26 millions in favour of Mr. Roosevelt. This appears a strange electoral system, but that is what prevails in the United States. The election in that country goes not by the total popular vote but by the electoral vote of the States which a candidate carries. Every State has assigned to it a number of votes, determined by its population, in the Electoral College which consists of 531 votes, and the candidate who obtains a majority in a State receives the whole of

the electoral vote to which the State is entitled. Mr. Roosevelt had a majority of popular votes in 46 out of the 48 States of the United States, and the two States, Maine and Vermont, in which alone Mr. Landon could obtain a majority of popular votes, have a representation of only 8 votes in the Electoral College.

That the Democratic star is still in the ascendant is best seen from the results of the Congressional election. In the last Congressional election which took place at the time of the presidential election, the Democratic Party returned 313 members to the House of Representatives, the Republican Party 117 and the other parties together 5. Thus the Democrats were in a majority of 191 in the House. In the present election, the Democrats obtained 334 out of 435 seats in the House, thus increasing their majority from 191 to 233. The composition of the Senate after the election of 1932 was as follows: Democrats 59, Republicans 36 and others 1; after the present election the composition has improved considerably in favour of the Democratic Party. This Party will be represented by 75 members, the Republicans by a bare 17 and others by 4. Left-wing parties had no choice in the presidential election this year, but it was hoped that they would be returned in sufficient numbers to Congress to be able to exert pressure upon President Roosevelt, but this hope has been disappointed. The Socialist Party, the Lafollette Progressive Party, Labour's Non-Partisan League and the People's Party—these have not fared well in the Congressional election. This would be considered by many to be a misfortune, for the presence of such radical politicians in full strength in Congress is necessary to keep President Roosevelt straight.

Yet, seeing that the election of Norman Thomas the Socialist candidate, was out of the question, it is best not only for the United States but for the world that Mr. Roosevelt has been re-elected and his measures of recovery and reform have received emphatic endorsement at the hands of the people of the United States. For, after all is said and done, the Democratic Party is the more progressive and the Republican the more reactionary of the two parties. The distinction often appears shadowy, and it appeared recently more shadowy than ever just because the Republican Party was compelled, with a view to election, to adopt some of the Democratic measures in its own platform. In fact the Republicans had to accept as desirable the objectives of the New Deal in general, and they could quarrel only with the methods in which the objectives were carried out. This itself is a great tribute to the Democratic Party and the nomination of Mr. Landon in the primaries in preference to better known leaders speaks volumes for the widespread recognition of the fact that a frontal attack on the New Deal would not be popular. Mr. Roosevelt himself has not been uniformly successful in carrying out his reform measures; he has been blamed, and blamed severely, for compromising where he should have stuck out. In fact he is described in some circles as the Kerensky of the American revolution. But this is a wholly uncharitable view of his doings. The majority of the American people are convinced that he has the good of the broad masses at heart, that he has the courage to stand up to big business, that he is making earnest efforts for securing a larger share of the country's wealth for the working-man, and that if on occasions he yields it is because he has good reason to believe that if he does so now he will be able to champion the cause of the underdog with better results in future. His tactics may be open to question, but his sincerity in fighting the moneyed classes in the interest of the poor and lowly is above a breath of suspicion. Mr. Roosevelt's achievements must be measured not so much by the total output of social legislation passed or executed, but by the amount of opposition which he had to encounter in getting even so far in the right direction. And those who know how powerful bankers and industrialists are in the United States will alone be able to appreciate the heroic battle that he gave to them. One would have liked him to go farther, but it certainly redounds to his credit that he tried with might and main, and with a certain measure of success, to beard the lion in his own den.

Control of the security markets, legislation to regulate holding companies, the Social Security Act, protection of the right of labour to bargain collectively are some of the measures of reform which, though none of them is far-reaching enough, it was no easy job to carry. The Social Security Act, for instance, is a halting step, but it is a step which not many could have taken in the United States. If it has done nothing else, it at least has laid the foundation for bigger and wider measures for unemployment insurance, old age assistance, pensions, etc. in future. The N.R.A. and the A.A.A. were vetoed by the Supreme Court, but they show the willingness of President Roosevelt to

effect what amounts to a revolution in the present practice in the United States of leaving everything to private initiative and competition in the economic sphere. It is this attempt to impose social control that is most bitterly hated by the Republican party, though it too has had to pay lip service to the enactment of minimum wage laws, collective bargaining of labour and so forth. The Republicans complain that "the New Deal Administration constantly seeks to usurp the rights reserved to the States and to the people." To this complaint Mr. Roosevelt in his acceptance speech gave a stinging reply. "The economic royalists complain," he said, "that we seek to overthrow the institutions of America. What they really complain of is that we seek to take away their power. . . . In vain they seek to hide behind the flag and the constitution. . . . In this world of ours in other lands there are some peoples who in times past have lived and fought for freedom, and seem to have grown too weary on the fight. . . . They have yielded their democracy. . . . here in America we are waging a great war. It is not alone a war against want and destitution and economic demoralisation; it is a war for the survival of democracy." Here was a challenge thrown to Big Business; here he declared his readiness to give battle to Wall Street in behalf of the working classes. He has not been able to carry out much of what he had planned, but he who can form such plans and honestly try to work them out deserves the suffrages of the people, and we must all rejoice that he is at the helm of affairs again to carry forward the great work that he has begun so well.

Reviews.

BOMBAY UNIVERSITY REFORM.

WHAT'S WRONG WITH BOMBAY UNIVERSITY? By S. G. WARTY. (Sister India Office, Jogeshwari, Bombay.) 1935. 20cm. 102p. Rs. 1.

SINCE the University of Bombay was reconstituted under the new Act, its affairs have been more in the limelight and therefore more talked about than they were in the pre-Act days. Fellows who found that they were put out of action by the creation of the Academic Council or who were elected for the first time, naturally used the discussions in the Senate meetings for criticising the doings of the Syndicate and that criticism has had its echo in the public press and on the public platform. Mr. Warty's book consists of some of the articles which he wrote for the *Times of India* or the speeches which he delivered in Bombay, as well as a few chapters written for inclusion in the book especially.

The book is thus full of criticism and therefore points only one side of the picture and that the dark side. Even this presentation is at times out of its correct perspective and gives a distorted view. On page 80, for instance, there is a reference to the action of a head master—a member of the Senate—who is said to have "got himself appointed examiner for the Matriculation without mentioning in the application that his daughter was appearing". It would be but fair to the gentleman to note that he had not applied for examinership which was thrust on him by his friends. Mr. Warty is apparently conscious of the

unwanted effect that his book would produce on the readers' minds, and in the preface pleads that if any body should "from the impression made by some of the ugly disclosures of University life, draw the conclusion that the University is a rotten institution, he should be sadly mistaken.....do not condemn the University, do not condemn me, condemn no-body". He says, "love is jealous and the greater we love our Alma Mater the more impatient we are of any blemishes that have impaired her name".

Mr. Warty, however, is expecting his readers to perform a miracle for it is difficult for a reader to continue to love his Alma Mater or not condemn her, on reading Mr. Warty's tirade. The modern B. A. is not what he should be, the University's aims and ideals are misconceived, the method of appointing examiners is a misuse of office, election methods are corrupt, bullying and even men who ought to be examples of unblemished character are engaged in scheming. A reader ignorant of the other and the brighter side of the picture and therefore ignorant of the distortion will cry in impatience, "why not remove this cancer by a surgical operation instead of trying the slow and uncertain cure of administering doses of reform which Mr. Warty has in mind." Mr. Warty, we are sure, means well, but his writings have done serious harm to the University of Bombay.

The fact that University affairs have been in recent years submitted to a fire of criticism is no doubt an evidence that the University Administration is not what it should be; but the criticism is also an indication that the University administration is getting more responsive to the public view. Before 1929 the discussion of the University budget seldom took more than ten minutes; now it takes about two days, and the elders in the Senate look upon this as waste of time and money. Somebody had once calculated that a cut of Rs. 10 passed after a discussion of 10 minutes was responsible for an increase in the Fellows' T. A. bills by about Rs. 16. But the presentation of the budget to the Senate was a farce so long as the Fellows accepted it without discussion. Secondly, the replacement of nominated members by elected representatives of different interests made it difficult for many a white collared Fellow to retain his seat in the new Senate and he added the weight of his prestige to the mud-slinging which is inevitable in elections. One can hardly do real work unless one has a seat in one of the University authorities and when the seats are few and the contestants are many one has to do a certain amount of canvassing and in doing it one may wittingly or unwittingly use questionable measures. It is impossible to avoid them altogether; one can only try to check the evil so far as possible. It is one thing to point out the evil and urge upon the University authorities the need of speedily doing something to check it; it is another thing to suggest that the majority of the Fellows participate in the use of questionable methods and even take delight in their use.

Much has been said about the methods of appointing examiners, but what evil is noticed now has been in existence for over a generation at least and one hears of it most now because of the need of appointing a much larger number of examiners every year. At one time, it was easy to pick out persons of recognised merit only; to choose a larger number the selection had to be made from a wider field and among those who are not selected there have been persons of qualifications not inferior to those of the selected ones. It is never possible to select all and therefore it is never possible to avoid criticism of the method of appointing examiners. It is a noteworthy fact that the critics usually describe the qualifica-

tions of persons who are dropped; seldom do they point out that the choice made is bad. The nature of the criticism and its motive are easily understood when one scrutinises the suggestion of Mr. Warty that the examiners should be selected by drawing lots. He and others like him regard the problem as of distributing the gains over a larger group. If only the problem is viewed (as it should be viewed) as one of securing skilled workers the criticism will disappear to a great extent, and the work of examination will be more satisfactory.

Much of the present discontent about the University affairs is again due to the very defective character of the new Act; and the inherent defects of the Act have been greatly exaggerated by the equally defective statutes framed under that Act. The cure lies with the Government. The Act should be re-drafted in the light of the experience gained in the last seven years and when that is done the present statutes should be replaced by a new set prepared with greater care. A glance at the agenda papers of the different Senate meetings during the last seven years will disclose that many of the items consisted of amendments of Statutes, but this sort of piecemeal amendment cannot eradicate the evil.

Everybody admits that the newly constituted Senate and other University Bodies have not proved as efficient as it was hoped they would. The presence of elected representatives has brought with it the evils of canvassing and the frequent changes in the personnel have deprived the University authorities of some of the veteran workers. It is at the same time true that the system of election has brought in men of independent views and they have done much in the direction of controlling University finance and supplying a new outlook to the Fellows of conservative tendencies. Every change causes disturbance and that makes things look muddy. Time alone can improve the aspect and the process of clarification is already noticeable.

Mr. Warty's criticism, though it presents the view with distorted perspective, is not altogether pointless and is very valuable to those who know the other side also. But the general impression created by it, in this as well as other Provinces, is detrimental to the University and by the publication of the pamphlet Mr. Warty has probably done much harm to the reputation of the Alma Mater whom he so intensely loves.

M. R. PARANJPE.

AURANGZEB.

AURANGZEB AND HIS TIMES. By ZAHIR-
UDDIN FARUKI. (Taraporevala.) 1935. 21cm.
596p. Rs. 8-8-0.

A COMPREHENSIVE history of Aurangzeb and his times by Sir Jadunath Sarkar is already before the public and it is generally admitted to be a standard work on the subject. But the volume before us shows that some scholars, or to be more accurate, some Mahomedan scholars, are not satisfied with Sir Jadunath's views and interpretations of facts. Mr. Faruki, therefore, has thought it necessary to publish a new work to controvert and, if possible, to reverse the current historical judgment regarding Aurangzeb.

Viewed from this standpoint the work under review is bound to attract the serious attention of.

critics as well as admirers of Aurangzeb. Though it is open to every investigator of truth to expose the weakness of and point the finger of scorn at any historical personage like Aurangzeb, the author warns his readers that "the memory of Aurangzeb is still enshrined in the hearts of Muslims and he is assured of immortality as a great man." We realize the importance of the above statement and also wish to give him full credit for his appreciation of Maratha feeling for Shivaji which he expresses in the book.

We can likewise concede that the shortcomings and failures of Aurangzeb cannot prove the inherent defects of the Islamic faith.

The 29th verse in the ninth chapter of the Quran, for instance, has been wrongly interpreted by some later writers as a general command for "making war . . . until they pay jizyah with their hand and be subdued." But the author points out that when the verse is read in connection with the context and the general tenor of the chapter it is found to refer to the particular case of the Jews of Khyber who had broken treaties with Muslims (p. 142). Regarding proselytisation, the author confidently remarks that "the Quran never advocated proselytisation by force; on the contrary the recognition of different revealed religions gave to Islam a religious ground for toleration."

Leaving aside questions of a general character the particular thesis that our author tries to propound seems to be aimed at finding out a satisfactory explanation of the religious fervour that dominated Aurangzeb from his youth and that turned the secular state founded by Akbar into a powerful instrument for the propagation of the Islamic faith. Our author rightly points out that in dealing with the period of Aurangzeb's reign the spirit of the times and the mental attitude of the Muslim theologians have not been minutely studied in connection with the historic background created by the changing religious policies of Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan. Mr. Faruki wants to supply this deficiency by tracing the evolution of the reactionary forces that surrounded Aurangzeb throughout his reign. It is not generally known, for example, that Akbar found pleasure in innovating acts of offensiveness against Islam and that "he not only destroyed Mosques but also forbade the construction of new ones" (p. 565). In fact Akbar's toleration did not extend to Muslims. Naturally there was a strong reaction in the minds of religiously inclined Musalmans. They took a vow from Jahangir that he would do his utmost to defend Islam; and during the next reign they succeeded in inducing Shah Jahan to issue a general farman according to which the construction of new Hindu temples was forbidden while old temples were suffered to exist. But the pro-Hindu religious tendencies of Dara and his influence over Shah Jahan roused the worst fears of Muslim ecclesiastics who began to look to Aurangzeb for championing the cause of Islam. "Aurangzeb's reign is thus dominated by a feeling of reaction against the indiscretions of Akbar and Dara" (p. 564).

As to the war of succession and the supersession of Shah Jahan it must be remembered that a Mughal

prince from Jahangir onwards was reduced to "the cruel alternative of sacrificing his brother that he may himself reign or of suffering his own life to be forfeited for the stability of the dominion of another." Rigid rules of morality are therefore out of place in considering the conduct of Aurangzeb who was guided by the instinct of self-preservation. But it must be remarked, in passing, that the author insists upon dubbing the conduct of Shivaji towards his avowed enemy Afzal Khan as treachery.

If Aurangzeb prostrated himself on the ground after a hard-won battle, to offer thanks to the All-Powerful for the success of his arms it was because he sincerely believed that he had been selected by God to exterminate heresy, to rejuvenate the Muslims and to give them strength and solidarity (p. 560). But if Shivaji invoked and received the blessings of his deity the proper explanation, according to our learned author, is that "Shivaji was afflicted with a curious mental phenomenon" (p. 353).

For some years after his accession Aurangzeb seemed to follow comparatively sound principles of administration and toleration. He did not allow religious enthusiasm to dominate over political considerations. He was therefore prepared to entrust Jaysing with high authority and to seek the co-operation of Shivaji for extending the Mughal empire at the expense of the Bijapur kingdom. But his puritanical tendencies thereafter began to gain the upper hand and he felt himself called upon to undertake the duty of reforming the Muslim community by not only prohibiting gambling and drinking but also by prescribing the length of a man's coat (p. 560).

Muslim officers and even ordinary members of the community were unconsciously influenced by the changed ideas of the emperor. Local officials began to improve upon Aurangzeb's own farman by adding a prohibitory clause about the repair of old temples and as to ordinary people they took the law into their own hands and demolished old as well as new temples; but our author insists upon noting that "communal riots and not Aurangzeb was responsible for the demolition of temples at Benares" (p. 129).

The state of affairs about Surat in 1668 has been described by an English factor in these words.

This king's (Aurangzeb's) every daies more precisenes in his Mahomedan religion hath greatly disturbed the whole kingdom. . . . They (i. e. cozzies) are become so insolent by the countenance received from the king that beggars do daily enter into Banians houses using great immodesties. . . . This king not at all minding anything of the kingdom, but gives himself wholly upon the converting or rather perverting the Banians &c. and pulling down places of their idolatrous worships, erecting muskeets (mosques) in their roome." (English Records on Shivaji, p. 119).

It may be a fact, however, that Aurangzeb "was opposed to conversion by pressure" (p. 184); but Mughal officers knew that they could "gain the emperor's good will by doing a little missionary work on their account" (p. 182). All these things seem to have created a wrong feeling of superiority among the Muslims and to have increased the difficulties of

administering justice and preserving peace in the vast empire; but Aurangzeb "was too adamant in his attitude and disdained to surrender to popular agitation when political expediency demanded liberal treatment" (p. 558). But the author fails to note the corroding influence that later on deadened the sharp edge of Aurangzeb's intellect on which important calls of political expediency could not produce the slightest effect. The fact, however, is obvious that during the earlier period of his reign Aurangzeb's ambition, though occasionally showing signs of religious fervour, was predominantly political. But after his 50th year thoughts of 'other-worldliness' began to obsess him. The influence of theologians and ecclesiastics had helped him in securing the throne and with lapse of time they grew in strength and power. "Their delectable remarks were followed by the suggestion that the Jizyah should be revived" (p. 150). The idea thus first originated not with Aurangzeb but with the learned theologians. But the emperor, who was now sixty years old when as the proverb goes 'the intellect gets muddled', accepted the advice of theologians and imposed the Jizyah.

The succeeding 28 years of Aurangzeb which he spent in incessant warfare and which ended only with his death, undoubtedly brought to light some of his remarkable personal qualities, viz. his perseverance, his courage and his solicitude for turning every minute to account. But with all these the fact cannot be denied that politically he proved a failure. The logical conclusion seems to be that Akbar who kept the learned Muslim theologians at an arm's length could hand over to his successor a political structure that contained seeds of union and strength; while Aurangzeb who relied on the zealous support of a small ecclesiastical minority only succeeded in starting a general storm that ultimately wrecked the ship of the Mughal empire. The author would like to brush aside the above conclusion as 'post factum wisdom' (p. 565), but the arguments advanced by him are not at all convincing.

Regarding the author's references to Maratha history we wish to point out that the chronology of Shivaji's early period can now be based on reliable contemporary Marathi documents and in the light of these, pages 350 to 353 of the present work must be thoroughly overhauled. We can assure him that his opinion about many Maratha documents being spurious (p. 353) is entirely mistaken. A careful reading of some of the important letters will also convince the author that Shivaji wished to form a strong coalition of the Deccan powers for opposing Mughal forces.

The instinct of self-preservation led Shivaji to take a broad view of the situation and to formulate the policy of bringing about an alliance of the Maratha kingdom with the two Deccani kingdoms of Bijapur and Goalconda. Aurangzeb, of course, did not wish that such an alliance should take shape and he tried his best to dissolve the idea by appealing to the religious sentiments of the Muslims in the Deccan. In short while the imperial policy of Aurangzeb was dictated by religious sentiments and worked on the

principle of divide and rule, Akbar and the Marathas stood for an empire in which Hindus and Mahomedans were expected to be equal partners.

Before concluding we wish to add that in spite of our difference of opinion with the author on some points we find the book extremely interesting and thought-provoking.

D. V. APTE.

INDIAN POLITICAL THOUGHT.

HISTORY OF POLITICAL THOUGHT. VOL. I: BENGAL. BY BIMANBEHARI MAJUMDAR. (University of Calcutta.) 1934. 23cm. 509p.

THIS is an interesting book. The author at the outset rightly points out that "in the modern academic sense" political thought is only possible in a free state working out its destiny or in a new state in process of formation out of the chaos of political strife; but if this be so, it is difficult to see why the author should have chosen such a high sounding title to a study of the activities of Indian political organizations and the changing attitudes of Indian public men towards the Indo-British administration.

Mr. Majumdar rightly gives considerable importance to Raja Ram Mohan Roy. But too much of space is given to the non-political ideas of the Raja—as the founder of a school of comparative religion, as a Vedantist, as the founder of a monotheistic revival in India. In the 70 odd pages the author devotes to Ram Mohan the reader finds the contribution to *political* ideas not very striking or democratic though undoubtedly the Raja was an influential man. It is difficult to understand how the Raja could go into hysterics over the establishment of constitutional government in Spain or the success of the second French Revolution and yet not demand political liberty for his own people. Mr. Majumdar claims that the credit for making the distinction between law and morality must go to the Raja and not to Austin. Raja Ram Mohan held that "every man is entitled by law and reason to enjoy the fruits of his honest labour and good management." Ram Mohan's views on the desirability of English colonization in India and his anxiety that the government should consult the aristocracy of wealth and intellect, the trial of persons of high rank by a special commission are all interesting side-lights on the attitude of the writer.

It is almost impossible to go into an appreciation of the many writers introduced in this book by Mr. Majumdar, but it does appear a little curious to think of a Muslim School of political thought in Bengal in the period under review with so little material and very few Muslim thinkers. The title of a school seems hardly justified by the facts. While it is possible that the idea of agitating for "separate consideration" from government originated with the Bengal and Behar Mohamadans it does prove that communal electorates were much anterior to the Minto-Morley Scheme. In p. 401, the author writes: "It is a great tribute to the democratic spirit of Islam

that one of its followers was the first to claim political rights for Indian women." One is unable to see the connection between the democratic spirit of Islam and political rights of women.

The author gives attention to the views of Sisir Kumar Ghosh about the necessity for industrialisation of India (p. 375), the need for a protectionist policy (p. 377). Sisir Kumar's views on the claim of special privileges for Muslims are also interesting: He wrote, "Those Mussalmans who are for special privileges must not forget the interests of India. It is a serious affair when the unthinking Mussalmans cry for special privileges the effect of which can do no good to themselves, but would be very weakening to the country." (p. 339). The author, however, appears to claim too much when he concludes his review of Sisir Kumar: "Thus did Sisir foreshadow that anti-imperialist movement in India which has become almost a part of the Congress activity to-day." (p. 388).

Mr. Majumdar's appreciation of a literary critic like Bankim is very interesting reading and Bankim's tendencies towards Socialism, his views on the necessity of the subordination of the individual to the society (p. 443), of the necessity for social coercion in some special cases are all worth intimate study. But Bankim Chandra was not essentially a political philosopher as such.

The reviewer cannot help feeling that on the whole there is far too much of irrelevant information crowded in, and the author suffers at every stage by his inordinate desire to find that this or that Indian writer anticipated this and that Western politician or philosopher. There could have been great economy of words and less obtrusion of Western writers in a book essentially devoted to finding out what Bengal writers of the nineteenth century thought on the relation of the individual to the society. It is difficult to agree with Mr. Majumdar when he valiantly claims: "The political ideas and theories of the greatest leaders of Bengali thought in the pre-Congress era have been presented here for the first time in a compact and comprehensive form." Certainly *not* in a compact form! The author's modesty need not be commented on when he claims that the book will "enable the general readers as well as the statesmen and administrators to come to a *better* and *quicker* understanding of the trend of current politics."

On the whole it must be said that Mr. Majumdar has laboured much to get at many details about the writings of quite a number of Bengalee writers of the nineteenth century, but he often claims a little too much for his thinkers. A little restraint in language, a more modest claim to originality, would have given a better scientific value to an otherwise laborious and useful volume.

S. V. AYYAR.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS. By KATHLEEN E. INNES. (Hogarth Press.) 1936. 20cm. 166p. 3/6.

MRS. INNES has already written four small books to popularise the League. The present covers the

whole story and brings it up-to-date and is written in a simple and attractive style for young people. Indeed many schools and colleges will be well advised if they introduce it to their students as a sort of text-book on the subject.

It must not be supposed, however, that the treatment is only elementary or propagandist in its character. It is really surprising how within so short a compass, the author has managed to say all that is worth saying about the League and that too in a way which would do credit to a critical student of the League's affairs.

The book is divided into five parts. The first deals with the history and the growth of the League idea, gives an account of several attempts to forestall it, until the point was reached when the favourable moment was seized by President Wilson to put it into practical shape. The next three parts give us a brief outline of the machinery of the League, the close inter-relations of its various parts, and the ramifications of their workings, and deals with its principal achievements and failures by way of illustrations. The Council, the Assembly, the Court, the I. L. O. and the Secretariat with its many sections—all get their proper share of attention.

The fifth part is a sort of epilogue specially intended for the older readers and tries to give a reply to the two main objections raised against the League. Mrs. Innes has successfully replied to those that say that the League is a costly machinery. To those others who dwell on its failures in regard to the major disputes submitted to it and wish for reducing its status if not for its abolition, she brings home the fact that the world has really outgrown their ideas of 'real-politic' and it will inevitably call for a substitute, the moment the present League is abolished.

For, even the critics agree in saying, "We want an organization that can prevent War, that provides for change, and that will develop international co-operation for the common good." All these possibilities are there in the League and the only question that we need ask ourselves is "Why do we not then work to secure for it 'the intelligent support and the intelligent criticism of well-informed people' for want of which the young League has hitherto failed to realise the promise held out by its founders?"

R. H. KELKAR.

AGRICULTURAL LABOUR.

LABOUR IN AGRICULTURE. AN INTERNATIONAL SURVEY. BY LOUISE E. HOWARD. (Oxford University Press.) 1935. 24cm. 339p. 18/-

THIS work, the subject matter of which is wage-paid agricultural labour, is a pioneer effort as no such international review has so far appeared. The work deals with the agricultural labour situation mainly of Western countries with occasional reference to the problem of the Eastern and tropical countries. In this connection the author states that though the problems of oriental and tropical agricultural labour have been constantly in his mind direct illustrations have been taken mostly from facts relating to the western world owing to want of reliable information for those countries. The difficulties of the author are no doubt insurmountable. Labour in general of the oriental countries is yet unorganised, whereas even agricultural labour was lost sight of when industrial labour was organised under trade unions of the West.

which forms a reliable source of information pertaining to labour. Russia has been deliberately excluded under the plea that a great deal of information exists on the Russian social experiment.

The work has been very well arranged under five parts: Introductory, Agricultural Economy, Conditions of Work and Living, Economic Conditions and Conclusions. The author describes at length the importance of labour in agricultural economy and the relation between population and efficiency of labour, the conditions of work and living, education, housing, the economic condition of agricultural labour and the agricultural labour contracts along with their historical developments.

The chapters on agricultural labour contract, on wages, on efficiency and on the employment situation are thought-provoking. In the chapter on education she has drawn attention to the important assumption that children attending elementary schools in rural districts must enter agricultural occupation and has suggested that it should be avoided.

In attempting to arrive at some coherent views on the problem the author has suggested some remedies for the betterment of the agricultural labour situation such as shortening hours of work, protection against industrial risk, higher wages, elimination of fatigue, better education, better housing, etc., and has laid greater emphasis on bargaining strength. The author has emphasised the disabilities in agricultural industry and pointed out how the ineffective bargaining power of agricultural workers has tended to let wages drop below their economic level. While so doing, she has also suggested that general measures such as more access to the land and freedom from indebtedness etc. would be more useful to countries wherein the labour has remained unorganised.

The treatment of the theme is very lucid. The work should be of great use to those interested in the problem of agricultural labour.

M. B. GHATGE.

GENEALOGY OF SEX.

GENEALOGY OF SEX. By CURT THESING. Trs. from the German by EDEN and CEDAR PAUL. (Emerson Books, Inc. New York.) 1934. 22cm. 286p. \$ 2-95.

THE author traces the development of sex from the lowest forms of animals to the highest: asexual and sexual reproduction, genuine hermaphrodites who fertilize themselves or those in which a couple can impregnate each other, fishes in which there is no intercourse, but a chemical attraction makes the male release his sperms over the spot where the female has previously released her eggs. All kinds of curiosities are described, such as copulation in chains among some hermaphrodites, each individual in the chain serving as a male to the one in front and as a female to the one behind, except the first which serves only as a female and the last which serves as a male; animals such as spiders, scorpions, the mantis religiosa, among which the male is eaten up by the female after intercourse or even before it is finished unless the male has energy enough to run away; different means of sex-attraction in various animals and different modes of love-play previous to copulation. All this is illustrated by numerous drawings and photographs showing sex habits and curiosities.

The book ends with a chapter on Love in Human Beings, describing in particular the habits of Trobri-

and Islanders, of whom Malinowski has made a special study, exploding the myth of woman's innate faithfulness to one man and showing among other things, as the author quotes in the last sentence, that: "There is nothing either good or bad, but thinking makes it so", and that "We shall, however, attain to juster views by ridding our minds of conventional prejudices." The author shows that even among animals governed by instinct, habits are found which amount to what are mis-called perversions among human beings.

Among Trobrianders, "the adults let the children do as they please. It does not appear, however, that an adult man or an adult woman ever indulges in sexual practices with children. The Trobrianders would regard such a grown-up as little better than an idiot. It is in fact noteworthy that perversions such as are common in most civilised countries—homosexual practices between adults, sodomy, exhibitionism—are extremely rare in the Trobriand Islands. The island codes do not forbid these practices. They are not punishable offences, nor are they regarded as unwholesome. They would simply be looked upon as ludicrous and contemptible". The reason is that these people lead a natural sex life and that perversions are a result of unnatural restrictions introduced by so-called civilisation, which are called the moral code. It would appear that a more appropriate name would be "immoral code" since it leads to practices which civilised people themselves consider immoral. For instance, there is no prostitution in these islands simply because natural needs are satisfied in a natural way without artificial restrictions, which shows the only way to get rid of an acknowledged evil. But the so-called civilised people will take some time to learn the lesson, if they ever do.

R. D. KARVE.

SHORT NOTICES.

CONGRESS PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESSES FROM 1885 TO 1910. FIRST SERIES. (Natesan, Madras.) 1935. 19cm. 873 + xxxviii + xii p. Rs. 4.

FOR a correct appreciation of the national struggle for freedom in India, the annual reports of the Indian National Congress are the best guide. But most of these reports, being now out of print, are not readily available to the average reader. For such readers, these two volumes of the Congress Presidential addresses are eminently useful. The second volume was first published on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of the Congress and it has been duly reviewed in these columns. The volume under review is in several respects more important than that one in that it records the work, achievements and aspirations of those stalwarts who founded the Congress and nurtured it during its early years. This volume can fitly be called "The Case for Indian Home Rule or Self-government." The National Congress owes not a little of its prestige to the selfless labours of the Moderate and Liberal leaders who originally guided the policy of the Congress. The addresses of Dadabhai, Gokhale, Mehta, Dutt can even now be read with interest and profit. In these days when every political party in India is issuing its manifesto, it is refreshing to come across this closely printed volume of nearly nine hundred pages which tells more of the aims and methods of the Liberal Party than any sketchy and loosely drafted manifesto. We heartily congratulate the publishers upon this noble and patriotic venture.

A.

A BOOK OF ESSAYS. Comp. By N. C. DAS. (The Cuttack Trading Co., Cuttack.) 1936. 20cm. 333p. Rs. 2.

THE compiler writes in his preface to the book that his object in compiling the book has been "to present in a nutshell the product of the highest intellects of the land". This object seems to have been eminently fulfilled for not only does the book contain articles of well-known and learned professors but it also contains the writings of such international personalities as Dr. Tagore, the late Dr. Annie Besant, Mr. Ramanand Chatterji and Dr. Kalidas Nag. The compiler, who is a clerk in the Cuttack Collectorate, had obvious difficulties in undertaking a work of this kind. But he has successfully overcome all these difficulties and has approached many people of renown from all parts of India to enrich his little publication. As is natural with a compilation of essays written by people of different mental calibre, the book does not maintain the same standard of style and ideas throughout. In some cases, we are constrained to say, the essays have come down to the level of school boy's productions. If the compiler were a little more careful, he could have rejected these essays and made his compilation an ideal essay book for the I. A. and B. A. students for whom it is intended. As it is, the book is a great tribute to the perseverant labours of the compiler. We hope that the success of the present compilation will lead on the compiler to more praiseworthy and sustained efforts. We commend the book to students for their careful perusal.

S. S. MISRA.

HOW TO BE A JOURNALIST. By ADOLPH MYERS. (The Times of India Press, Bombay.) 24cm. 152p. Rs. 3-8.

WITHOUT stressing the pose of omnipotence or beating the big drum of self-advertisement, Mr. Adolph Myers has published in book form under the above title ten useful talks on journalism which he broadcasted some time back.

Knowing as we do the importance of journalism to-day we cannot but welcome this useful little book which gives us in brief a fairly good idea of many important problems such as the qualifications needed for the profession, the lions in the path of the new recruit, the duties and functions of some of the leading functionaries in a modern newspaper office, the technique of news writing, etc. He tries to prove that "a journalist must have in him the making of a hunter, an explorer, a soldier, an aviator".

Mr. Myers believes that the average university in India does not provide the best training for journalistic honours, a view which we all share with him, although he is not entirely right in thinking that the would-be journalist would do well to avoid the university after matriculation.

We can say without much hesitation that this book is bound to be useful to all beginners in the profession. It has been also well illustrated. There is a certain straightforwardness about it which will make it popular. The author has been frank and honest in his views on such matters as censorship, the wants of the public, etc. His concluding remarks on the future of India and journalism are unexceptionable. We are inclined to believe that the book would have been much more useful had it been a little more exhaustive, although this volume is certainly worth its price.

P. N. DRIVER.

SEX IN HUMAN RELATIONSHIPS. By MAGNUS HIRSCHFELD. (John Lane.) 1935. 22cm. 218p. 8/6.

THE author died on 14th May 1935, his 67th birthday, when this book was being printed. It was originally published in French, as the author was in exile from his own country owing to Hitler's barbarity which destroyed his life's work embodied in the famous "Sexual Science Institute", which was burnt down under Hitler's orders.

This book treats of such subjects as the functioning of the sex centre in the brain, sexual selection, harmonious marriages, love between similars and dissimilars, fetishism, sex symbolism, Freud's theories, dancing as a sex expression, etc.

He also deals a blow at Freud's theory of sublimation, which helps pseudo-moralists to pretend that sex energy can be sublimated to any extent and that consequently continence leads to high ability in art and science. Hirschfeld maintains that there is nothing to show that sex energy is sublimated at all, that it is transformed into any other form of energy as heat is transformed into light, nor has any such mechanism been shown or explained by Freud or his disciples. There is also no evidence to show that abstainers have done greater artistic or scientific work than non-abstainers. Great artists have hardly the reputation of ascetics, and he further warns people against assuming that celibates are necessarily abstainers.

About dancing, he says :

Dancing, in my opinion, is the most ancient, the most natural and the noblest form of physical culture. It should help to smooth the way to the relations of the sexes, but not to the sexual relation. Any book that deals with the biology and psychology of dancing should consecrate a special chapter to the individual who does not like dancing. Very frequently grave anomalies will be found in the love-life of such persons. For dancing is the homage the psyche pays to the body, to love and to existence.

There is another point besides sublimation on which he differs from Freud, namely that Freud attaches great importance to the circumstances of the childhood of a person and the particular accident which reveals sex to the child, while Hirschfeld attaches far greater importance to the psycho-sexual make-up of a person, which has its origin in the germ-plasm, depending on heredity rather than environment to furnish an explanation of sex peculiarities. He does acknowledge, however, the immense service rendered by Freud in giving prominence to sex repressions and the unconscious.

R. D. KARVE.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

FORCES IN MODERN POLITICS. By E. ASIRVATHAN. (Upper India Publishing House, Lucknow.) 1936. 20cm. 216p. Rs. 3.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS. By KATHLEEN E. INNES. (Hogarth Press.) 1936. 20cm. 166p. 3/6.

A CIVILISATION AT BAY. By K. KUNHIKANNAN. (Natesan, Madras.) 1936. 20cm. 504 KVIp. Rs. 3.

ECONOMICS OF LAC INDUSTRY IN THE PUNJAB. Inquiry conducted by Roshan Lal Anand under the supervision of Ram Lal. (The Board of Economic Inquiry, Punjab, Lahore, Publication No. 47.) 1936. 24cm. 78p. As. 8

UNCONVENTIONAL ETHICS. By ASIAS L. SCHWARZ. (Perennial Publications, Washington.) 1936. 26cm. 276p. \$3.50.