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Topics of the Week.

Ingenious But Unconvincing.

LET it not be supposed that the Government's refusal to give effect to the Assembly's wishes in regard to the reduction of the price of postcards from nine to six pies had only financial considerations to support it. The non-financial considerations seem to have been put forward for the first time "in the upper air and calmer House," to borrow Sir James Grigg's characteristic description of the Council of State. When the Finance Bill in the form recommended by the Viceroy after its rejection by the Assembly came before that august body, Sir Frank Noyce attempted a defence of the retention of the price of the postcard at the existing level. As will be seen, the defence was more ingenious than convincing.

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IT appeared from his speech that the gap of Rs. 50 lakhs that would have been created by a reduction of the price of the postcard did not, comparatively speaking, have much terror for Sir Frank Noyce. His principal grouse against it was that it would benefit the town-dweller rather than the villager whose use of the postcard was proportionately smaller than that of those living in towns. But, may it be enquired, whoever really asked for the reduced price of the postcard in the name of the rural population? The demand for a lower-priced postcard is, as Sir Frank Noyce ought to know, based on a consideration of the economic difficulties of people of limited means, irrespective of the fact whether they live in towns or villages. To try to make it appear as if the concession, in the

event of its being effective, would conduce to the benefit of the town-dweller rather than to that of the poor villager and to oppose it on that ground is to be guilty of misrepresentation. The distortion might not have been intentional in the present case but is none the less blameworthy on that account.

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Sir G. H. Hidayatallah and Joint Electorates.

SIR GHULAM HUSSAIN HIDAYATALLAH'S presidential address to the first session of the all-India Local Self-Government Conference held at Delhi is full of constructive suggestions for the reform of local bodies. Whatever view one may hold about the new Reforms as a measure of political appeasement, it is hardly open to question that they will liberalise the constitution of our Legislative Councils and considerably widen the franchise. Since the legislatures are to be democratised, it follows that our local bodies too which are looked upon as a training ground for self-government should undergo a similar process. This, he remarked, could be brought about by the total elimination or at any rate the reduction to the minimum possible of the element of nomination in them.

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AS regards the extension of the franchise, Sir Ghulam Hussain made no secret of his preference for adult suffrage if that was practicable. Nor is his partiality for adult suffrage merely sentimental or irrational; it is based on sound rational considerations. Separate electorates, as everybody knows, ensure the return to legislative or local bodies of a stated number of representatives of the minorities. That anti-democratic and anti-national method of representation has to be tolerated because the franchise is not sufficiently wide. If it is so enlarged that the electorate becomes a faithful reflection of the strength of the different sections of the population, separate electorates will become needless. Sir Ghulam Hussain points out with great force that adult suffrage is such a device and that its adoption will achieve the very purpose which separate electorates are intended to serve. The plea as coming from an ex-Minister of an important and advanced province like Bombay will, we hope, not fail to attract the notice that it deserves.

* * *

FAILING adult suffrage, how is representation to be guaranteed to minorities? Sir Ghulam Hussain does not think that for this purpose separate electorates are an absolute and unavoidable necessity. He thinks that joint electorates with plural member constituencies and the cumulative vote with or without reservation of seats for minorities would serve the purpose equally well. With the admitted superiority of joint to separate electorates from the national point of view the method of representation advocated with such strength of conviction by Sir Ghulam

Hussain Hidayatallah deserves to be adopted not only in the elections to local bodies, but to the legislatures as well.

Compulsory Education in Cochin.

READERS of this paper need not be reminded of the fact that educationally Cochin is one of the most advanced States in India, in which nearly four-fifths of the total school-age population is in receipt of instruction. This can be said of only a few among the States, while British India cannot even be mentioned in the same breath—so woefully it is behind Cochin in the educational field. But though Cochin has such an admirable record it has still some leeway to make before the universalisation of education can be said to be an accomplished fact in that State. It was in order to hasten the advent of that day in the State that a bill seeking to make primary education free and compulsory was recently brought before its Legislative Council. The legislation was not intended to cover the whole State all at once but was to be introduced only in select areas. So keen was the Council upon the introduction of this reform that it expressed its readiness even to bear additional taxation for the purpose.

THE Dewan, though not opposed to the Bill, tried to press the claims of consolidation rather than of expansion of education in the State. His own view was that in stead of spending money on starting new schools and increasing the number of pupils, it would be better policy to concentrate the resources of the State on making the existing educational institutions more efficient by improving their housing accommodation, by improving the quality of instruction and by introducing similar other measures. But the reasoning advanced by the Dewan had little effect on the Council which eventually referred the Bill to a Select Committee with instructions to report in four months.

Attack on Hindi and Gurmukhi.

THE commotion aroused by the N. W. F. Government's circular against the use of any other language but Urdu as the medium of instruction in schools shows no signs of abatement. A representation protesting against the circular has recently been addressed to the wife of the Governor by a number of Hindu and Sikh mistresses in the province, in which her intervention is sought for preventing the perpetuation of this iniquitous arrangement. It is perhaps incorrect to describe the circular as banning the use of Hindi and Gurmukhi in the educational institutions of the province, as is done in some quarters. All that it does is to warn them against expecting any Government grant in case Hindi or Gurmukhi continues to be in use as the medium of instruction, which in effect amounts to asking them to discontinue the use of the non-Urdu languages. A little reflection will show how this would in practice be the result of the effectuation of the circular. Private enterprise in the educational field being what it is, it will not need much mental effort to see that in the absence of Government grant there would hardly be any schools which would be able to maintain a decent existence.

Review of Clove Legislation.

THE Zanzibar Government's experience of the working of the clove legislation during the last twenty-one months is apparently not very happy. Otherwise we would not be hearing about their desire

to have it examined by a competent authority. The desire has indeed already assumed practical shape and a chartered accountant from England in the person of Mr. Binder will soon be on the spot, subjecting the working of the legislation to close scrutiny. While we have no intention of prejudging the results of his inquiry, we should not be surprised if some of his conclusions bear out the contentions repeatedly urged by our countrymen against the legislation. In the meantime we strongly support the suggestion made to the Government of India by the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association about the deputation of a competent officer to Zanzibar with a view to helping the Indian community in the preparation and presentation of its case. The suggestion is timely and opportune, and deserves to be acted upon. There can be little doubt that the Indian community in Zanzibar will highly value the suggested help. In any case the Government of India should lose no time in asking for opportunities for being heard at the contemplated inquiry.

Right of Prior Consultation.

TWO European members of the Kenya Executive Council, Lord Francois Scott and Major Cavendish Bentinck, have resigned. The event is too important to pass unnoticed in England and has as a matter of fact attracted prominent attention in Parliament. Though the text of their resignations is not yet available to us it is gathered from the Kenya papers that the step was taken by them as a protest against their not being consulted by the Governor on his proposal to disband the Kenya Defence Force. As our readers are aware, this proposal has since received the sanction of the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

WE need not pause to inquire whether the Governor was legally bound to call the Europeans into consultation prior to the submission of his proposal to the higher authorities and whether in not doing so he committed a breach of the law. If this had been the case the Europeans would obviously not have resorted to this form of protest but would have challenged the Governor's action in a court of law. Apart from this, however, there can be no two opinions that the principle involved in the Europeans' protest is above reproach. It is that no action affecting the interests of any community, white or coloured, should be taken by the Government without the community concerned being allowed a hearing.

BUT the Europeans do not fight for the universal application of this unexceptionable principle. They want that right only for their own community. It is a pity that they should refuse to other communities a right upon which they insist with such vehemence. But it is no use blinking the fact that has all long been their attitude—an attitude which has alienated them from other communities. They ought in fairness to recognise that other communities have as much right to prior consultation about matters affecting their well-being as the Europeans. If they would hereafter not cavil at the extension of that right to other communities as well, the disbandment of the Kenya Defence Force without their being previously heard about it may be said to have been a blessing in disguise.

Jhabua.

A BROCHURE has been brought out under the auspices of the Jhabua State People's Conference in which is given an account of the misrule prevailing

in the State. The people of the State appear to be particularly unlucky in their rulers in that for a period of close upon forty years they do not seem to know what efficient and just administration is. The public discontent with the ex-Raja's reign extending over 36 years apparently rose to such a pitch that the Viceroy was forced to advise him to abdicate. It was fondly hoped by the subjects of the State that his abdication would see an end of their woes.

WHEN during the post-abdication period the form of the new administration was the subject of negotiation between the Political Department and the ruler, it was expected, not without reason, that the administration would be entrusted to a Dewan who would work under the general supervision of the Political Agent. Whether that plan was abandoned because it did not commend itself to the ruler we do not know definitely. All that is known is that at his instance a Council of administration was set up. In the words of the A. G. G. the Council was created to give the people "the benefit of just, efficient and honest government", and to tackle the "many grievances which will need attention and redress."

FAR from helping to pour oil upon troubled waters, the Council added fuel to the fire of public discontent by pursuing a repressive policy in relation

to public movements. It signalled its assumption of the charge of the administration by the issue of ordinances heavily penalising any attempt "to create hatred or discontent amongst the subjects of the State" and by declaring the Vyapari Sangh an illegal association. Once again the hope of the people of securing the benefits of good government has been dashed to the ground.

THE pamphlet abounds in instances of official high-handedness and wanton waste of the resources of the State, to which a reference is not intended here. But, broadly speaking, the quarrel of the State subjects is really with the constitution of the Council of administration which, it is loudly complained, is not managing the affairs of the State fairly and justly. It is therefore desired that the Council should be replaced by an Indian member of the I. C. S. with instructions to place the administration on a basis of justice and fairness and to organise local bodies in towns with a population of 1,000 and more. Whether the suggestions emanating from the People's Conference prove acceptable to the authorities or not, we hope it is not too much to expect that the state of affairs disclosed in the pamphlet will not pass unnoticed by them.

HOW TO FEND OFF THE NEW CONSTITUTION?

PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU has the heartiest congratulations of all sections of Indian opinion on his election to the presidential chair of the Congress. He needs, and will surely receive in full measure, also the sympathy of all progressive political parties for being called to this extremely difficult, though much-prized, office in a year which is the most crucial among recent years in this country. We are entering upon a new chapter in our history. Some of us thought, perhaps foolishly, that it was going to be a glorious chapter, in which the era of political struggle was to end and that of political achievement was to begin. We know now, however, that the new chapter is going to be far more sinister than any that we have left behind; it is a chapter in which political struggle will only be intensified and political achievement will have no chance. We are indeed entering a new danger zone—with more enemies to face and with fewer resources at command. The British Government appears to withdraw from a large sphere of administration, but only after taking good care that new vested interests are created which will constantly be looking to it for protection and that no constitutional avenues will be open to Indians to dislodge them from their position. The stranglehold of the British Government will be no less complete because it will leave the Indian privileged classes to meet the brunt of popular opposition in the first instance. If we are to emerge from this danger zone without shipwreck we need at the helm of our affairs a man who not only has supreme courage but who has a totally different outlook upon the questions that confront us—one who will fight privilege wherever it may reside, whether under a white or a brown skin. Whatever the final

outcome, we know that the fight cannot start under better auspices. Pandit Jawaharlal is just the kind of leader for whom the times have called. He will labour with flaming zeal and tireless patience to save the country from the blight that seems about to fall on it.

How to fend off the attack of the new constitution is the question before the country. We have no knowledge of the means that next week he will recommend his countrymen to adopt for the purpose. They may be different from those that we have been advocating. But of one thing we feel certain. He will not ask his countrymen in the altered circumstances of the country to look upon Swaraj—not oligarchic but democratic Swaraj—as but an irritating vision of what never can be. He will not ask them to put aside the yearnings of their heart since no prospect of their realisation appears in sight. And that is the most important thing. We want a leader who will fear not to rise up in defence of a cause which, though it appears to be almost lost for the moment, is worthy of the uttermost sacrifices on our part. We have no doubt that whatever be the particular policy that Pandit Jawaharlal will propose to the Congress, it will not be a policy of tame acquiescence in the new constitution, it will not be a policy of resignation—a policy into which several leaders are trying to manoeuvre the country. His will be a policy of which the main aim will be to keep up an attitude of opposition amongst the progressives. Let us hope that it will be as much informed by a sense of realism as by a spirit of idealism and that it will enable a Progressive Bloc to be formed—something like the Third Party in the United States—which will not falter in resisting the Indian oligarchy that will

come into power under the new regime, for it is by resisting this Indian oligarchy that we can at all hope to resist the British bureaucracy. What the result of such attempts at resistance will be no one can foretell. The times are much too grim for a facile optimism. But a benumbing scepticism will be even more fatal. It is far better to try nobly and fail than not to try at all. It will be easy to pour out scorn on any plans that may be put forward to defeat a constitution that is water-tight and sealed against all change. Let those who have criticisms to offer exercise their intelligence, not in ridiculing those who are engaged in finding their way about in a desperate situation, but in improving those plans so that we can put more dynamite into the measures that we may decide upon.

Destiny seems to have placed at the head of the largest political party in India this year a man who has small faith in constitutions in order to fight a constitution which is both reactionary and unalterable. Constitutionalists have failed utterly in securing from the British Government reforms which have any chance of being accepted by the country. If the reforms had made but a halting progress in the beginning but were susceptible of growth in the near future by normal constitutional means they would have had some chance. But reforms which are not merely a step back but which seek to make reactionarism permanent in the country can receive no honest trial even at the hands of constitutionalists. Even if the British Government had done nothing else but to refrain from imposing upon Indians a constitution which they have denounced with one accord but just left them where they are, constitutionalism might have hoped to keep its end up. As it is, even constitutionalists will be compelled to devise means of foiling the British Government's object in saddling the country with the new constitution. India is in some respects in a position similar to that in which Germany finds herself today. Germany has to fight the dictate of Versailles; India has to fight the dictate of the Hoare constitution. Moderate German politicians used all their sweet reasonableness in persuading the statesmen of victor countries to mitigate the severity of the terms of the Versailles Treaty in actual practice. But all their entreaties fell on deaf ears. The very failure of moderate politicians gave rise in Germany to Nazism, which knows nothing about the sanctity of treaties and which is prepared at the slightest provocation to tear up all the treaties in the world. Even Hitler they could have managed to keep from open acts of defiance if they had been more responsive to his fair and just demands. But they continued to be unresponsive, thus only adding to Hitler's truculence. Let the League of Nations Council pass any number of resolutions protesting against Germany's unilateral repudiation of treaties. They will make no impression upon neutral observers, for these observers know that treaties are sacred only in so far as they are based upon equity and justice.

Imagine a statesman of Mr. Lloyd George's standing and one besides who had a big hand in

drafting the Versailles Treaty declaring publicly that Germany is not wholly to blame in rearming in defiance of the terms of the Treaty. He said in the House of Commons on 10th March: "I do not think France is in a position to point the finger of scorn at Germany on the ground of treaty-breaking. Germany has been reckless, Germany has been rash, Germany has broken a treaty, but in a court of equity she could call evidence which any judge would say provided some mitigation of her folly. For twelve years or more France has refused to carry out her undertaking to disarm. Even after Locarno, which was intended partly to provide a basis for disarmament, France has increased her armaments year after year. She is not in a position to talk about treaty-breaking." The history of Germany's rearmament is very instructive. She began by proposing the abolition of air warfare. Her proposal was not accepted. Then she declared herself to be ready to accept 30 per cent. of the air forces of the combined European Powers who were her neighbours, or 50 per cent. of the French air force, whichever was less. She also proposed that she should have no bombing aeroplanes. That proposal also was rejected. Thereupon came her latest proposal for air parity, and this was accompanied by a public statement by General Goering, the German Air Minister: "When other countries decide to eliminate their air forces altogether we will not hold back. If they say they will do it within two years Germany will follow suit." In regard to land forces Germany first proposed land effectives of 300,000 men for herself. The proposal was not considered and Germany now claims 35 divisions, which means a maximum land army of 550,000 men. Thus expansion in armament is going on, and it will go on indefinitely—till she goes bankrupt—in order that Germany may successfully assert her claim to equality. First the humiliation of defeat, then the blockade causing starvation and death of large numbers of children, and the truncation of German territories—these things are burnt into Germany's mind, and there will be no forgetting them unless other Powers change their attitude towards her.

The dictate of the Hoare constitution will similarly give full rein to extreme elements in India, and the moderate elements will be thrown into the background so far as popular agitation is concerned, though in the government all vested interests will predominate. Moderate progressives can only hope to make their contribution by keeping popular agitation on practical lines. They would be powerless to oppose the movement for resisting the new constitution even if they wished to do so. If the Government feels that the accession of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to power is a danger, it has brought danger upon itself. So far as Indian progressives are concerned, they wish all strength to his elbow in giving fight to the bureaucracy and the reactionary elements in the country and will co-operate with him in devising ways which are at once sound and practicable.

RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT IN INDIAN STATES.

THE recent speech of Sir R. K. Shanmukham Chetty in connection with a resolution in the Cochin Legislative Council asking for constitutional reforms in the State has rightly attracted considerable attention in the Indian press. The standing of the erstwhile Swarajist and ex-president of the Legislative Assembly no less than the exalted position he holds in the State attaches a significance to his utterance far beyond what the moment and the place would themselves warrant. It is indeed difficult to imagine that such an important pronouncement on the relations of Indian states with the Paramount Power could have been made by him except after prolonged and anxious consultation with the British authorities. And thus the point raised assumes unexpected significance in the eyes of all those interested in the cause of responsible government in Indian States.

Sir Shanmukham's view had better be given in his own words: "The Ruler of an Indian State discharges his obligations towards the Paramount Power because legally he is an autocrat; and the problem was how far he could reconcile this with the divesting of that responsibility with regard to the internal administration of the State." In other words, there being a bilateral contract between the Ruler on the one hand and the British Crown on the other, neither party may transfer its obligations to a third without the consent of that other. The British Government first used this argument at the R. T. C. in stressing the impossibility of responsible government in the Centre without a Federation. In the other case, it argued that without the Princes releasing the British Government from its obligations, the latter could not transfer them to a democratically governed India. In particular, the duty of rendering military aid to the Princes could not be transferred for a long time to come because the Princes are not likely to be in a hurry in agreeing to such transfer. Thus the essence of the argument is that responsible government in India was not possible without the consent of the Princes. In short, no Central responsibility without Federation.

The same tale is now told by Sir Shanmukham but from the other end. He conjures up the British Crown as the power whose consent is needed if the Princes are to transfer any part of their treaty obligations to their peoples. Otherwise they would be guilty of breaking their part of the contract. Responsible government in the States is not indeed ruled out but it is made a distant consummation to be devoutly prayed for. Whenever it might be realised and at every stage of its realisation, the consent of the British Government would be a condition precedent. Thus in effect the Princes and the British authorities have entered into an unholy combination. When British India asks for responsible government the Princes are indicated as the party whose consent is necessary. And on the other hand, when States' subjects ask for responsible

government the Sovereign Power is pointed out and its consent is said to be necessary. In this manner, the treaties between the Rulers and the British Crown are being utilised to stem the progress of democracy in British India as well as in Princely India.

The Princes have always been complaining of the undefined rights claimed by the Crown by virtue of the treaties. They hoped that the Butler Committee would afford them some relief by specifying matters. But the response they got from that body on the point may correctly be summed up in Lord Reading's well-known dictum that Paramountcy shall remain paramount. Sir Shanmukham's recent pronouncement clearly shows that the vague language of the treaties is being availed of by the States as against their peoples. Nothing indeed in the treaties can be specifically pointed out as militating against responsible government on either side of the political borders in India. But within the range itself of those documents, the Rulers can deny, or at any rate postpone responsible government to their peoples on the score of Britain's consent being needed therefor. And on the other hand Britain can deny responsible government even at this stage to British India if an adequate number of States do not join the Federation. She will be fully entitled to do so on the ground advanced by her at the R. T. C. that without federation there could be no responsibility at the Centre. The sinister possibilities of the Government of India Act of 1935 however and in particular of the new interpretation of the relationship between the States and the British Crown are by no means exhausted with this. It is said that the Indian princes are opposed to the Indianisation of the Political Department. Perhaps they are; but in any case, Indians could be excluded on that ground from that Department. The same plea was advanced at the R. T. C. when the replacement, even gradual, of British troops by Indian was urged. Indianisation of the Army, even with its shrinking connotation is, as is well-known, pompously called an experiment today, the intension presumably being to have the reserve power in one's hand to be able to say, if and when the need arises that the experiment has failed and thus to hold up the transfer of military responsibility to Indians. The word "experiment" thus provides the first loophole for retreat in the matter. And the second would be to say that the consent of the Princes is needed before Britain could transfer her obligation to defend them to a democratically governed India. Thus both the Princes and Britain can easily support and strengthen each other in their reactionary roles while posing at the same time to be most solicitous about the progress and prosperity of the peoples under their respective charges. The game merely consists in each pointing to the other as the villain of the piece. Perhaps it was in one of his undress moments that Lord Morley once defined politics as neither a science nor an art but as a dodge.

An Indian Observer in the course of his "Political Comments" in the *Statesman* of the 8th March enters the lists as the unknown champion of

the "much-criticised" Dewan of Cochin. He holds that Sir Shanmukham's speech merely states a plain truth without sugarcoating it. And to buttress the position that Britain has every right to give or withhold her consent to the introduction of responsible government in the States, he invokes the support of certain Indian politicians in British India who at times urged Britain to see that the internal administration of the States was improved by the introduction of responsible government therein or to secure such introduction before they were admitted into the Federation. This argument is a brazen piece of sheer sophistry. Apart from the fact that the undefined nature of Paramountcy will easily admit of any attribute being added on to it, the mere invocation by British Indian politicians of certain powers of intervention by the Crown in the internal affairs of the States does not necessarily mean that such powers are acknowledged to exist. Far from Crown intervention in the cause of constitutional reforms in the States ever having been resorted to, it has not been either vigorous or timely even where there was gross misrule. On the other hand, where it did take place, the occasions have been hard to define with reference to any intelligible principle of law or custom. And the Princes themselves complained of this to the Butler Committee when they wanted a codification of the practice of the Political Department which was and continues to be as inscrutable as divine dispensation itself. British India roundly suggests that intervention is resorted to more often on political grounds than on those of misrule. Be that as it may, it is remarkable that the position now advanced by Sir Shanmukham does not exactly fit in either with the claim of Britain to be non-interfering or with the evidence the States themselves produced before the Butler Committee to the effect that British intervention was too frequent and too ill-defined.

Another aspect of the matter may now be referred to. It is undoubted that the power to prevent misrule does vest in Britain. But that does not mean power also to prevent good rule in the shape of responsible government, an equation, however, which is implicit in the position of the Dewan of Cochin. The former is purely a negative hold well recognised on all hands in the past. The supreme Power has also the right quite admittedly to advise the Durbars in political and administrative matters. But nobody till now claimed for it the additional right to sanction or regulate in any manner the development of responsible government in the States. That distinction had obviously been left for the renowned knight of Coimbatore to achieve and thus to contribute his mite to the heavy armoury of safeguards in the possession of the Viceroy, this being a safeguard against democracy to be worked through the Political Department. How the Princely Order will view this extension of the powers of Paramountcy still remains to be seen. On the other hand, Britain might not exactly relish the increased responsibility now sought to be laid on her shoulders for the not very creditable state of affairs obtaining in most

Indian states. When facts are so few, it is very hard to guess at the truth. But Sir Shanmukham's new reading of State treaties as well as the recent Press Law in the State both seem to suggest that his democratic days lie far far behind in his memory.

The concluding remarks of the "Indian Observer" may also be noted here. He cites the authority of Gandhiji and of Mr. Bhulabhai Desai in favour of nationalist India not meddling now with the question of constitutional reforms in Indian States. And he argues that the position of Sir Shanmukham is the same, that is "not yet". But the analogy is false. The attitude of the Congress is dictated by policy and not by lack of sympathy. But the position of most Princes is different. It pushes the era of responsible government in Indian States into the dim and distant future even as the British Government does the grant of Dominion Status to India. And it does so on the ground of the doubtful suitability of that type of government to India. The difference between the two positions is thus as great as between black and white. Moreover it is an open secret that the Congress has lost its one-time hold over the hearts of the States' people. Its attitude regarding their political improvement has been notoriously weak even as its tenderness for princely susceptibilities has been remarkably keen. The real feelings of the people of British India thus cannot be gauged from the attitude of the Congress which is guided by considerations of expediency. In truth therefore the Princes stand to gain whether they bargain with the Congress or with the British Government. These two have virtually, though perhaps unintentionally, entered into a compact against the States' people and their political advancement.

S. P. SHARMA.

Reviews.

SOUND MONEY.

100% MONEY. By IRVING FISHER. (Adelphi & Co., New York.) 1935. 21cm. 212p. \$2.50.

YET one more plan to secure sound money. Undaunted by criticisms against the compensated dollar plan Prof. Fisher has been persistently hammering away at the obtuseness of the public mind which declines to approve "a sound monetary system providing an adequate permanent currency scientifically calculated to expand consistently with the increasing population and the increasing ability to produce."

Quite recently an interesting historical account of the movement for securing sound and stable money free from the evils of inflation or deflation was published by him. Several members of the Congress have been attempting to secure sound money by ushering in the ideal of 100% money. Many bills are on the anvil advocating the above ideal and as this idea has been brought to the field of practical politics the present book outlines this new banking plan which aims at securing banking safety, eliminating booms and depressions arising in most cases out of debt and deflation and reducing the national debt of the country.

Apart from expounding the idea of 100% money in a simple and easily understandable style Prof. Fisher has outlined a model statute coupling the above plan with the stabilisation ideal. The two predominating ideas of the book are that a 100% money is infinitely better than the present 10% system of bank money and that to maximise its benefits it can be safely coupled with the stabilisation policy. The basic conception underlying both the ideas is that money and banking are two entirely different functions. The issuing of money is the prerogative of the State and the modern banks have silently and stealthily annexed this privilege with the resulting effect that each bank is acting as a "little irresponsible private mint" abusing the loan and the deposit functions. The monetary function has to be segregated by the State and nationalised and placed in the hands of a Currency Commission. The lending function alone is to be left to the banks.

At present the main monetary highway consists of cheques or deposit money and pocket-book money. The former is created by the banks and against the created "credit money" or "deposit money" or "cheque currency" banks maintain 10% cash reserve in "legal money". This "inverted pyramid of bank credit" or "wild cat issue of credit" is at times inflated or deflated thereby causing harm not only to the banks and the borrowing customers but also to the innocent third party, namely, the general public. Great booms and depressions resulting out of inflation of bank loans and the consequent cheque money based on them and the deflation created by calling in of loans which means the destruction of cheque money or bank deposits would be altogether eliminated. A timely and helpful mitigation of booms and depressions would result if the 100% money were to be duly installed by the Government.

So the proposed plan is to start a Currency Commission and nationalise the money management. The Commission currency will have to be issued against the rediscounted promissory notes of the F. R. Banks, to buy and sell Government bonds and eligible securities, to buy and sell gold and silver and to buy and sell foreign exchange. Any loans granted by the Currency Commission on purchases made by it will be given in Commission currency or by credit in the books of the Currency Commission. The Currency Commission has to buy all assets of all the banks so as to equip each with 100% reserve against deposits and notes. All bank notes have to be duly retired by circulating Commission currency. Henceforward bank deposits partake of the character of trust deposits. The present deposit banks can specialise in cheque-paying business. Saving deposits will not be subject to cheque-paying facilities. Cheque-paying banks will charge service fees or warehouse charges for undertaking cheque-paying business. The Currency Commission has to stabilise the retail price level of index number of cost of living at a constant level. The Currency Commission has constantly to improve the collection of the index-number data and make it thoroughly representative. After covering its expenses the excess profits would have to be ceded to the Treasury. Some of the minor changes to be adopted would be the appointing of the Post offices to conduct deposit-attracting and cheque-issuing business. This plan for reform would benefit the banks most. To quote the picturesque language of Prof. Fisher, "the change would be for the better, away from a precarious business with its terrific ups and downs and toward the safe business of which bankers dream, free from booms and depressions and free from a system in which an ostensibly short loan so often means a frozen loan". This one constitutional safeguard would render unnecessary any further banking legislation.

The 100% money enables the reaping of these substantial advantages. It incidentally solves the money problem by enabling us to pursue an internal managed currency system and cooperate with other countries in fixing the price of gold. By this method we can secure stable internal purchasing power of domestic currency and stabilise the foreign exchange rates at the same time. As the 100% paper money regulated by the Currency Commission would be less clumsy and troublesome than the 100% gold standard money it ought to be adopted without the least hesitation. The 100% paper money of the Currency Commission will still retain gold within the system. But its monetary use will be confined to serve as a bridge between currencies of different countries and for facilitating international settlements. It might be that "discretionary redemption" of internal currency into gold and "occasional changes in the price of gold" might also be provided for under the new and revised currency law of the country.

Mistaken recipes like nationalisation of banking which are so universally recommended will be unnecessary if 100% money issued by the Currency Commission were to be adopted. It is because banks have usurped the function of "minting money" that many evils have arisen. If banking and money are separated into two distinct things and money is controlled by the Currency Commission the banks can be left to handle the lending business alone. The essence of banking nationalisation is to put an end to the domination of the banks. Frederick Soddy and other thinkers have already inweighed heavily against the suggestion that "bankers should become rulers" which they generally become in times of great wars. The Currency Commission must rescue the Government from such bank control. The Central Banks have failed to secure this needed emancipation. Their personnel, inclinations and traditions entitle them to perform well the rediscounting on the banking function. For the money management business they are least fit. They cannot stabilise their currency units. The conduct of banking business and the control of money business are two incompatible things leading to vacillation, uncertainty and confusion. As the well-known adage says, it is difficult to serve two masters—both God as well as Mammon. While rediscounting on banking business can be entrusted to the Central banking authority the money-issuing and controlling business should be placed in the hands of an independent board called the Currency Commission. Both *private* as well as *Government* control over money should be put an end to.

The Currency Commission by insisting on buying Government bonds and substituting Government bonds for corporation bonds will be tending towards the reduction of national debt. A time might come when an embarrassment of riches might exist as a result of the increasing flow of money through the operations of the Currency Commission. A great relief in the direction of paying Federal or Governmental taxes might be forthcoming at such times. If after abolishing the federal taxes any further surplus were to ensue it can be safely used as a "social dividend" to be distributed among the people. Certain Socialist writers have described in glowing terms the above situation, namely money of the people, by the people, to the people. That day is far ahead when this rosy picture can be realised in actual life. The 100% money system can secure this ideal for it does not depend for its successful functioning on the continued existence of Government debt. The Government's financial condition can be vastly improved out of the remuneration arising out of the Government service of managing money and providing a stable currency unit.

The Currency Commission need not fail in this task nor can the manipulation of commodity prices be considered a bugbear standing in the way of the realisation of this task. Misquoting of prices need not be feared. A fairly satisfactory official index number can always be secured. The mob-rule management of currency by banks has to be eliminated. So also the irresponsible management of currency by banks has to be eliminated. Responsible management of currency with the definite object of achieving stabilisation can be safely entrusted to the Currency Commission.

The Currency Commission, while managing the nation's monetary standard can, of course, provide sound money but it cannot altogether prevent booms and depressions, runs and failures of savings banks and loan banks and the recurrence of the evils of the body politic, namely, labour problems, evils of monopoly, evils arising out of maldistribution of wealth. It must, however, be emphasised that unstable money, which is by far the most responsible cause for bankruptcies, unemployment and trade depression can be remedied. Unstable money has been aggravating the other economic evils, enveloping them in a dense fog as it were. The 100% money by providing stable money and a good monetary standard would enable the economic thinkers to visualise the economic evils confronting society in their true perspective. By seeing clearly the economic evils proper remedies can be devised. These can be made to operate alongside the sound monetary standard to provide a radical cure for the evils. Safeguards for savings banks, regulation of security issues, legislation for public utilities, for hours of labour, for minimum wages, for company unions and remedies for technological unemployment, remedies for maldistribution of wealth and maldistribution of political power can all be rendered effective if a good monetary system were to function efficiently in any society. Stable money allows the smooth functioning of the private profits system or the capitalistic system of the modern times. To safeguard the capitalist system no reform is so essential as the 100% money managed with the view of securing stabilisation of money. If capitalism is not to be swept away by State Socialism this remedy cannot be postponed any further.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU.

PROBLEM OF POPULATION.

THE GROWTH AND DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION. By S. VERE PEARSON, (Allen & Unwin.) 1935. 24cm. 443p. 12/6.

As population problems are now very much in the public eye a book on the subject by an eminent doctor naturally excites considerable curiosity and interest. The most cursory reading of the book is, however, enough to reveal the fact that though it is written by a doctor it is not primarily a medical or physiological essay. In fact in a book of over four hundred pages the only subject treated which may legitimately fall within the purview of the man of medicine is birth control and this does not occupy much of the author's attention. Dr. Pearson refrains from passing any judgment on the one side of contraception on which he is most qualified to decide. He appears to be unfavourably inclined towards the adoption of these methods and feels that these affect only the superior classes in each country and not the poorer classes to any considerable extent. In any case he is certain that the fall in the birth rate of several Western countries is not primarily due to the greater prevalence of contraception and abortion. Among social factors the advance in the marriageable age would be placed as the most important factor affecting birth rates by Dr. Pearson.

But the really curious part of the book is that it claims to be the result of a first-hand study from life's experience of psychology and economics that the author has made during his thirty years of practice. Following Henry George, Dr. Pearson feels that economics is the one science in which the specialist is out of place. Every person should develop his own economics by experience. Dr. Pearson's own observations and thought have helped him to write a very interesting though by no means a convincing book. The peculiar contribution of his book, which deals with a varied assortment of subjects and which is accompanied by several interesting charts and illustrations, consists in the importance that he attaches to rights of property, particularly in land, as the most important factor in the population situation. In effect his contention is that if the ownership of land is vested in the community and it is let out at short leases to individuals the rent being determined by the Ricardian principle of a net revenue, the problems both of poverty and bad finance will be solved. Each individual will have free access, that is to say, on payment of economic rent to land, and the State will be able to abolish all other taxes by getting all its needs from its own revenue in land.

This is a very old thesis first popularised by Henry George and long discarded not only by economists, who are *persona non grata* with Henry George, Dr. Pearson and their friends, but also by all practical reformers. That the access to land should be freer than what it is in countries of big landlord estates is a generally accepted view. But when Dr. Pearson quotes such eminent authorities as Sir Michael O'Dwyer and Mr. F. G. H. Anderson in support of his view that his ideal has been well-nigh realised in India we will get an idea of the disproportionate importance that he attaches to rights in land. Excepting the permanently settled areas the rights of private land-owners in India have been considerably curtailed. As Mr. Anderson claims, it is the elastic tenure and equitable assessment of land revenue that have brought about the improvement of the Indian people. Whether there has been such an improvement is doubtful; in fact Dr. Pearson himself does not feel that it is very pronounced. But his suggestions that the period of settlement should be greatly shortened and that the rise of middlemen landlords should be checked by enhanced assessments are based on an incomplete understanding not only of the Indian situation but generally of the working of the machinery of production and distribution.

Land is an important factor of production and property laws. In fact, as Dr. Pearson remarks, all social factors now play a much more important part in determining the relation between man and his environment than was done in the earlier stages of human evolution when primary natural factors predominated. But the school of Henry George has never seen two very serious limitations on its one-sided explanation of and prescription for economic ills. In the first place the complex economic structure based on scientific large-scale manufacture and international exchange can by no stretch of imagination be explained away by reference merely to land legislation. To this the Georgians would reply that the whole superstructure of modern industry is based in a fundamental error. Granting that it is, the remedy suggested, viz. to establish communal ownership of land, ceases to be very helpful. In the second place the Georgians do not seem to have appreciated the extensions and transformations of the theory of rent that have taken place since the days of Ricardo. Our conceptions of rent are no longer so definite nor fortunately so deadly as they were till a few years ago. Rent is an economic phenomenon that may arise anywhere in the course

of exchange, with land as well as with other property or services. Moreover, the proprietorship of this element can hardly be vested in the community except after the several knotty issues such as the equal treatment of all rents, the accurate determination of rents, the reward to labour have been properly settled. Though a freer distribution of land would be a welcome reform in the present landlord-ridden countries, it is certain that the complicated problems of maldistribution of wealth and population will not vanish even when land has been nationalised.

Dr. Pearson's book will prove very interesting on account of the large number of social, economic and geographical topics, on all of which he writes with ease and conviction. As an interesting essay on the population situation by an 'expert layman' the book should make a wide appeal to all interested in population problems.

D. G. KARVE.

INDIAN HISTORY.

AN IMPERIAL HISTORY OF INDIA. By K. P. JAYASWAL. (Motilal Banarsi Das, Lahore.) 1934. 28cm. 77+75pp. Rs. 8.

THIS work together with Mr. Jayaswal's earlier book entitled *History of India, 160 A. D.-850 A. D.*, unravels the mysteries of what has been rightly characterized as the Dark Age in early Indian History. In the work under review Mr. Jayaswal gives us a most valuable rendering of a text, not indeed for the first time, with the collaboration of the learned Venerable Rāhula Saṅkṛtyāyana. The text which is known as *Aryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa* was first published by the late Mahamahopādhyāya Dr. Ganapati Sāstri in the *Trivandrum Sanskrit Series* in 1925. But the present edition is a vast improvement upon the imperfect one of the great South Indian scholar. The *Aryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa* is a Mahāyāna work, and is the product of one man and not a South Indian forgery (p. 7). It was translated into Tibetan by the Hindu paṇḍit Kumarakalāsa in A. D. 1060 (p. 3).

The precise importance of this Buddhist work lies in the fact that it purports to give a continuous account of successive Empires in India from the times preceding those of the Buddha to about the middle of the eighth century A. D. where the work stops (p. 2). Before we proceed to deal with this phase of the question, we may mention certain defects in the work. The *Aryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa* is in a prophetic style which is put in the mouth of the Buddha (p. 4); it is not an historical work in the sense the Purānas are (p. *ibid*); in it the past tense is used for the future (p. *ibid*); it exaggerates the lives of many kings; throughout the whole work there runs a Buddhist vein (p. 5); dynastic names are omitted in it (p. 5); and there is a confusion between Aśoka of the times of the second council, who flourished a century before the Buddha, and the great Aśoka Maurya (pp. 11-12).

Notwithstanding these grave defects, the Mahāyāna text in question is a unique work because it contains a well-nigh complete account of the Imperial Gupta epoch (A. D. 348-A. D. 500). Further it gives us a full account of king Śaśanka of Bengal about whom so little is known, and it narrates the history of the later Gupta rulers with a description of the popular elections in Bengal and the rise of Gopāla. Indeed, this work may be said to fill in the blanks in the history of our country from A. D. 78 till the close of the eighth century A. D.

We may mention a few important and new details which the Mahāyāna work contains. The

independent evidence concerning the date of Panini confirming that of the Purānas (pp. 15-16); the fact that it was only in the times of Udāyin, the son of Ajātaśatru, that the Buddha's words were reduced to writing (p. 10); the various details concerning Mahāpadma Nānda (pp. 14-16); the remarks about Nāgārjuna and Aśvaghosa (pp. 75-76); the character-sketch of Viśnugupta, better known by his celebrated name Chāṇakya (pp. 16, 17, 76-77); the very many valuable details concerning the Imperial Guptas, especially the pen-pictures of Samudra Gupta, Kumāra Gupta I, and Skanda Gupta (pp. 35-36, 48-49); the account of the later Gupta, particularly after Harṣavardhana's times (p. 42), with useful details concerning Dhārasena IV, and Prakāśāditya (pp. 59-61, 65); the history of Nepal and Tibet in the north (pp. 20-23), of Kacoh, Sindh, and the Yādava country in the west (pp. 24-25), of Magadhadeśa, the Śakaland, the country of the Maukhāris, and the Srikanṭha-Sthāneśvara *visaya* in the centre (pp. 26-28); and of the many southern royal families (pp. 29-32)—all these and other details make Mr. Jayaswal's work an altogether indispensable source-book which no student of Indian history can be without. The value of the work is heightened by the brilliant exposition of the author, the careful manner in which he checks his statements with epigraphical evidence and the assertions of foreign travellers (*e. g.*, p. 56), and the originality with which he enlivens the problems which have hitherto remained unsolved. Although there may still be a plurality of opinion on some of the conclusions of the author, as for instance, his identification of Prakāśāditya with Buddhagupta (pp. 38-39), his assertion that Harṣavardhana made king Śaśanka remain in his own country without moving (p. 50) etc., yet there cannot be any doubt that Mr. Jayaswal has laid all students of the history of Hindu India under a deep debt of gratitude by his admirable performance.

B. A. SALETORE.

HINDUS AND EVOLUTION.

HINDU PHILOSOPHERS ON EVOLUTION. By BAL KRISHNA. (Taraporevala.) 1934. 23cm. 296p. Rs. 10.

DR. BALKRISHNA, who is already known to the world of scholars by his excellent array of books on Economics, Politics and History, now comes out with a very valuable work dealing with the contributions of Hindu philosophers to the theory of Evolution considered in a variety of aspects and applications—cosmological, biological, sociological and political. The presentation and interpretation of Indian philosophical systems have so far proceeded on philological and epistemo-metaphysical methods. Scant justice was done, therefore, to the contributions of Indian thinkers to the various positive sciences. Attention was first drawn to the scientific side of Indian philosophical speculations by Dr. Brajendra-nath Seal in his "Positive Sciences of the Hindus." Dr. Balkrishna, in the book under review, has made a very successful attempt to present, interpret and evaluate the Hindu ideas on Evolution.

The doctrine of Evolution is generally regarded as one of the greatest triumphs of the scientific genius of the West. But the learned author claims and maintains that "Three hundred milleniums before Spencer, Haeckel, Huxley and Tyndall and other modern apostles of the theory of spontaneous Evolution propagated this doctrine, firmly laid the foundation of scientific research and created a living fountain of an animating force in the conflict with the theistic doctrines of creation" (p. 41.) Dr. Balkrishna enumerates not less than 46 theories, physical, psycholo-

gical, physiological, biological and so on, all bearing upon Evolution in a wider sense, whose discovery must be credited to the Hindu philosophers. The Mahanarvaniya Upanishad boldly expressed the view that life came to this world in showers of cosmic life dust long before the modern scientist like Kelvin and Helmholtz propounded their theories. We are also informed that Hindus have taught the Darwinian doctrine of selection without having subscribed to the view of the transmutation of the species. Such catching formulations as Bhrigu's Nebular Theory and Aruni's Plunum theory will come to many as surprising revelations. The ideas about the stages of social evolution as contained in the Puranas will prove to be very interesting.

In the last Chapter on the "Hindu Theories on the Evolution of the State" we are told that Brihaspati's description of an anarchical state is a fitting parallel to the Hobbsian natural state, and the logic of the Fish anticipated the logic of the Wolves, and that Bhishma was the first discoverer of the Social Contract Theory. After a laborious attempt at comparing the Hindu estimate of the age of the world as given in the seemingly fabulous figures of Kalpas with the modern estimates of astronomers and geologists, as summarised by Reeves, the learned author, in the Second Appendix, only remarks that "Hindu speculations on the topic deserve as much attention as any one of the modern estimates." Such a conclusion probably shows only the futility of any attempt to read a scientific meaning in a pure farbic of fiction.

The book on the whole is a remarkable result of deep scholarship, width of vision, warmth on noble cultural enthusiasm, and sheds a flood of light of the scientific side of Indian Philosophy. Dr. Balkrishna certainly deserves to be congratulated on having made such an eminent contribution to the literature on Indian Philosophy.

D. G. LONDHE.

STABILISED MONEY.

STABILISED MONEY. By IRVING FISHER.
(Allen & Unwin.) 1935. 21cm. 442p. 10/6.

TO students of economics Prof. Irving Fisher needs no introduction. His name is closely associated with the movement for stabilisation of money. What he sketched out in 1911 as a plan for a compensated dollar which then received a halting intellectual support is now accepted in monetary practice, though not universally, as indicating a way out of the post-war monetary tangle. Prof. Fisher states in this book his theory of stabilisation in its historical background in a very comprehensive manner. He deals with the evolution of the idea of stable money and the different plans proposed since the times of Ricardo. The desire for stable money took different forms—stability of money in terms of precious metals, stability in terms of foreign exchanges and stability in terms of purchasing power—which the author describes in his usual lucid style. He states how the gold standard was at first hailed as establishing great stability of value, both internal and external, and how it failed to fulfil these expectations; for the instability of money even under the gold standard came to be noticed with the gold inflation since the beginning of this century which accentuated the problem of the 'high cost of living.' Yet the concept of stable money was only in its academic stage.

The stage for popularisation was however set with the recognition of the instability of money and its consequences by such economists as Warren and Mitchell in the U.S.A., Stamp and Hawtrey in

England and Wicksell in Europe. The Stable-Money League and the National Monetary Association were established. Distinguished economists and businessmen lent their support. The idea first received legislative recognition in the Federal Reserve Act of 1913. However, the general acceptance of the idea of stable money in practice came in only after the war. Prof. Fisher deals in greater details with the attempts made to stabilise money through the Legislature in America in particular from 1919 to the New Deal of President Roosevelt. It is no vain claim when it is said that Roosevelt was greatly inspired by the views of Prof. Fisher. His examination of the factors interfering with stabilisation in U.S.A. is exhaustive and suggestive. He devotes two chapters to the official recognition abroad of the stable money idea. The Swedish stabilisation experiment, as reviewed by the author in Sec. 2 chapter X, deserves very careful study by the students of monetary theory and practice.

Two of the appendices deserve special mention. Appendix II on the controversy about Swedish stabilisation is in fact a supplement to the views of the author expressed in the text itself. More important however is the appendix on the "personal views of the author" (sec. 3 of Appendix I), where he combats the imaginary and real difficulties of those who do not favour stabilizing money. He enumerates six reasons to explain his disagreement over stable money (p. 394). Of greater importance is his view on the immediate policy of stabilization. He is not for the postponement of stabilisation till international agreement is reached. "Under present circumstances it seems to me," he says, "that the quickest way to attain stable money throughout the world is for each country to choose its own price level, its own method of measuring the price level and its own method of attaining and controlling it. Incidentally when stable money shall thus have displaced our gold standard and our silver standard... the minor problem of stable international exchange will have almost solved itself". One might indeed say that the problem of stable international exchange is not so simple and insignificant!

Among the methods of obtaining stable money are mentioned a direct control of the total volume of cheque-deposits or cheque-money, open market operations, and occasional adjustment of rediscount rates under the supervision of a special monetary authority or commission. He further advocates that the Government should take away from the banks the entire function of creating or destroying the circulating medium and that the banks should be left with the strictly banking functions such as lending money. Though many may not agree with the author on the methods of stabilisation, one cannot but be grateful to Prof. Fisher for this extremely informative and suggestive book.

K. S. VENKATA RAMAN.

SHORT NOTICES.

MAN'S COSMIC HORIZON. By H. M. NATHAN.
(Rider.) 20cm. 157p. 5/-

THIS is yet another attempt at a synthesis of science and religion on the basis of a common hypothesis: "The great object of this essay then is to forge that one brief link missing in the chain that should unite science and religion." Modern celestial and terrestrial physics appears to have led men away from religious thought and righteous behaviour and it is our author's purpose, audacious indeed, so to exhibit

the "higher teaching" of late years in relation to science as to lead even the scientific once more back to them.

Now then the main hypothesis on which our author depends for the accomplishment of this stupendous task is that of the essential connection between mental effort and etheric vibration: "Once you have grasped the connection between mental effort and etheric vibration and find your mind can admit the fact that thought sends waves rippling down the ether, which are not merely similar to but most probably identical with those emitted by a wireless sending station—except as regards length and frequency—then you have grasped the kernel of the nut; all the rest follows quite easily. The electric laws of attraction and magnetism, the wireless laws of wavelength and frequency, all apply to the human spirit in etheric form."

Unfortunately however all this remains, like the mysterious and mystifying eschatological tales of the theosophists, in the nature of speculative flights of imagination and at least has not so far borne any scientific verification. Our author is happily conscious of this: "Science likes to be able to precisely measure all things done, and will not normally accept an observation as a fact till all workers find that an experiment to demonstrate this fact can be repeated anywhere and at any time, and counted on to give the calculated result. Unfortunately such a method cannot be applied to psychic inquiry. Our hypothesis is based on the teaching of spirit entities, the incarnate personalities of men who have once been on earth. They come back, after centuries or millennia of study whilst beyond the veil, to teach us what they have learnt in so far as we are able to comprehend that knowledge."

The nature of the general atmosphere and tenor of the book under review should be clear from what has been said above. The net value of the book to my mind is that it is a philosophical romance based on certain dogmatic postulates of belief; and the only psychological attitude that a reader develops towards it during the course of his reading of it is that of "supposal,"—neither belief nor disbelief, neither acceptance nor rejection!

D. D. VADEKAR.

TROUBLE ON THE FRONTIER. By DOUGLAS CHRISTIE. (Rich & Cowan.) 1935. 20cm. 278p. 7/6.

THERE never was a God just even by accident that ever cared to prevent propagandist degradation of a helpless race by the bullies in ruling authority. Were the Britishers so honourable and chivalrous as they claim to be, a book so galling to Indian self-respect as the one under review would never have seen the light of day. Douglas Christie may, true to British tradition, go on sharpening the racial instinct of his people to a provocative point, but the Indian ever loyal to the British connection treats the mischief-monger with silent disdain.

The trouble on the frontier is as old as British arrogance and love of "border foray." Inordinate pride of perfection and the incorrigible attitude that the Pathan is "a savage" is responsible for it. "Do martial stunts and waste the tax-payers' money as usual." Here are some of the pearls of unwisdom that are found scattered all through the printed nausea.

Why I ever came to this God-forsaken Blackman's country, I don't know.

I most intensely dislike the Hindu. He smells, he stings and he has no spirit.

Artful devils (for accepting bribes paid by the European), India all over.

Too damned oily and I always did instruct a westernised Indian.

She loathed India. Mother India? No! Old Hag India, country of graft, perspiration, dust, beggars—depravity, servility.

The book along with books of similar evil intent deserves to be set fire to rather than be allowed to breed ill-will in the hearts of fellow-citizens of the same Empire.

K. VENUGOPAL RAO.

HOW I FORETOLD THE LIVES OF GREAT MEN. By "CHEIRO" (COUNT LOUIS HAMON.) Ed. by HASMUKH M. KHAKAR. (Taraporevala.) 1935. 22cm. 111p. Rs. 6.

THIS is an interesting collection of the greatest predictions made during the life of the world's most successful palmist. Most of his predictions have become facts of history, but the book still reads like a novel. Relying merely on its narrative qualities one cannot help sharing the thrill of the author, when he takes us from one country into another, passing through various courts, from the intrigues of Russian Palaces into the mysteries of the Vatican in Rome. The book might be said to be a short but thrilling autobiography of a man who has lived too much but recorded too little. The author reveals with an unerring confidence the laws of pre destiny playing with the hands of fate, on man and his creations. He unfolds for the sceptic a future where, however, much he may doubt, his scepticism vanishes and his wonder turns into belief. The narrative reaches its climax when "Cheiro" gives him intimate glimpses into the Russian Court life of pre-revolutionary days. His meeting with Rasputin, the mystic monk of the Russian Court, and his influence over the Czarina and other Court ladies are facts recorded with an observant, keen and critical eye. "Cheiro" claims palmistry to be a subject not requiring any hazardous speculations but a science governed by laws and confirmed by experiments. His theory of numbers which appears to be his greatest support for belief in determinism might in its fully developed stage at one time puzzle the world as the results of psychological researches are doing today.

The price of the book is rather prohibitive. But the book itself on the whole makes refreshing reading.

P. N. KHOSLA.

RELIGION AND A CHANGING CIVILISATION. BY JULIUS F. HECKER. [The Twentieth Century Library Series.] (John Lane the Bodley Head.) 20cm. 1935. 160p. 3/6.

MY sensations while reading this book were similar to those I experienced while being hustled through a three days' tour in France by a terrifyingly expert guide, who maintained a remarkable indifference to the things he displayed to us. In the space of 152 pages of not very large type, Dr. Hecker presents to us—Religion. He does it with a magnificent gesture and, like my guide in France, he left me at the end gasping for breath and longing for freedom.

In the first two chapters he presents Religion, as it is for the believer and the theologian. These, as far as they go, are reasonable; but they are inadequate and do not go far enough. Then follows a chapter in which the author is concerned to show how religion has failed to solve social problems, and another, which explains that the four antagonists of religion are secularisation, mechanisation, modern society and

communism. By way of appearing to balance the harm which these chapters seem to bring to the cause of Religion, the next is devoted to 'What is aiding Religion', and people like Jeans, Eddington, Millikan and Thompson are brought to our notice. The conclusion from all this seems to be that 'Religion is definitely on the defensive,' which is a perfectly true statement and, as *Punch* would put it, 'another glimpse of the obvious.' For if A takes a stick to B, and B starts to defend himself and his interests, it is unnecessary for A to point out B's act of self-defence, and unreasonable for him to conclude from it that B is already knocked out nor even that he is likely to collapse. Yet that is what the author concludes in the last chapter.

Dr. Hoeker writes as a Communist, and therefore has no use for Religion, as such. That is a pity, because he could have written so much more shortly: "I dislike Religion as she is practised." That would have been far more honest. But it would not have taken our breath away. Hence this book.

OUTRAM WALSH.

THE DECEPTION OF THE PEOPLE BY THE SLOGANS OF EQUALITY AND FREEDOM.

By V. I. LENIN. (Martin Lawrence.) 20cm. 44p. 6d.

This is one of the many publications to help the spread of Communism. In the hands of well-informed students of economics and politics the book is not likely to do any harm, for they will be able to see through the many fallacies in Lenin's arguments. But it is a dangerous book in the hands of the ordinary man in the street for he will be carried away by Lenin's high sounding 'phrases'.

M. V. SUBRAHMANYAM.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

HOW TO BE A JOURNALIST. By ADGLON MYERS. (The Times of India Press, Bombay.) 24cm. 152 p. Rs. 3-8-0.

FACING TWO WAYS. By BARONESS SHIDGUE ISHIMOTO (Cassell.) 1935. 24cm. 397p. 12/6.

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