

# The Servant of India

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OFFICE : SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY'S HOME, POONA 4.

VOL. XIV No. 47

POONA—THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 12, 1931.

{ INDIAN SUBSN. Rs. 6.  
FOREIGN 15s.

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## Topics of the Week.

### Swaraj in instalments ?

THE R. T. C. situation was much complicated last week by persistent rumours as regards the intentions of the new Government in regard to India. The fear was freely expressed that owing to the complicated system of federal government taking time to be set up, the Government was thinking of introducing provincial autonomy as the first step. The report was officially denied and the Premier also in acknowledging the Viceroy's congratulations reaffirmed the Government's adherence to the policy of granting central responsibility adumbrated by himself in his statement made on the January 19th last in bringing the first session of the R. T. C. to a close. But these authoritative denials did not avail to dispel the cloud of misunderstanding and suspicion with which the Indian political sky was overcast. These eventually found vent in a letter addressed by twenty-nine delegates to the R. T. C. to the Prime Minister. This letter made it clear that the needs of the Indian situation can be met "only by a complete and comprehensive scheme of which responsibility at the Federal Centre must be as integral a part as the autonomy of the federating units." We have no doubt that the letter faithfully represents the general Indian feeling on the subject. It is time the British Government realised that the days when a policy of piecemeal swaraj would have satisfied Indian opinion are long past.

### Working Committee's Vague Instructions.

IF Mahatma Gandhi expected clear guidance from the Congress Working Committee in regard to his further stay in Europe, the instructions cabled to him must have sorely disappointed him. They are anything but explicit. The Committee considered the Mahatma's further participation in the R. T. C. un-

necessary, but left the final decision to him in view of his superior knowledge of local circumstances. All the same it wants him to return early to this country, even abandoning his projected continental tour. That the Mahatma himself is not expecting anything big to come out of the Conference has been made clear by him more than once. Nor can he be said to be alone in holding that view. But because the Conference may ultimately fail to yield all that one expects, that is no reason why having gone and attended it for the best part of its duration, one should withdraw from it before it comes to a close. And the recent utterances of the Mahatma happily leave no ground to suppose that he would act on the lines indicated in the Working Committee's instructions. His early return is desired by the Committee on the ground of the seriousness of the situation in the country. Events in U. P. particularly are no doubt taking a turn which gives much ground for anxiety. But we doubt if there is imperative need for asking the Mahatma to forgo his continental tour on that account. He may be trusted to so interpret the Committee's instructions as not to cut out the continental tour from his programme, if he thinks it will help the national cause.

### The British Cabinet.

THE New British Cabinet whose personnel was made public on the 5th inst. consists of 20, and not 10 members as its predecessor did. As was to be expected, it has a strong predominance of the Conservative element which carries off as many as 12 seats, the balance being equally divided between Labour and Liberal parties. There is no change so far as India is concerned, Sir Samuel Hoare continuing to preside over our destinies. With the return of a fairly large number of members who regard him as their leader, the inclusion of Sir John Simon in the Cabinet was a foregone conclusion; but few would have allotted the Foreign Affairs portfolio to him. And yet it is the unexpected that has happened in his case. When the last Parliament dispersed, the general expectation was that Mr. Philip Snowden owing to his indifferent health would altogether retire from politics. This expectation has been falsified by his being made the Lord Privy Seal in the new Government, which means his translation in due course to the House of Lords. Lord Sankey of course continues as Lord Chancellor; but it is an open secret that he would find himself out of this heterogeneous group the moment the Indian problem is disposed of. But the centre of public interest in regard to the formation of the new Government was the Chancellorship of the Exchequer which has gone to Mr. Neville Chamberlain who is known to be a strong advocate of tariffs. Thus though Mr. MacDonald will continue to occupy the exalted office of Prime Minister, the policy of the new Cabinet will be what commends itself to the Conservative Party. Whether such diverse elements will be able to pull

together for very long remains to be seen. But one may not be far wrong in hazarding the guess that internal differences leading to a disruption of the present Cabinet will manifest themselves before very long.

#### An Ominous Warning.

IF Mr. Villiers, President of the European Association, who was recently the target of terrorist shots in Calcutta, is to be believed, the Bengal Government seems to be busy forging weapons designed to crush the terrorist movement. That this movement should be crushed out of existence there can be no difference of opinion among sensible men. But if in its attempts to deal with it the Bengal Government take to themselves arbitrary powers of restraining the personal liberty of individuals, it is almost certain they will not receive the support of public opinion. In regard to the possible recrudescence of the civil disobedience movement also, Mr. Villiers had been used by the Government for warning the public that its revival would be met with prompt and strong measures. It would obviously be as futile to try to repress the civil disobedience movement as it would be to expect a disease to be cured by merely treating its symptoms. The civil disobedience movement, were it re-started, would be but an outward indication of the people's desire for self-government. So long as that desire is not gratified by the grant of suitable political rights, the popular discontent is sure to manifest itself in different forms; and no amount of repressive action intended to suppress such manifestations of the popular will can make a people with their heart set on swaraj give up their yearning for it. The experience of the use of repressive measures in the past on the part of British administrators in relation to the Indian national movement should by now have indelibly impressed this lesson on their hearts. But Mr. Villiers' warning does not give ground for the hope that they have even yet learned it, which is so much the worse for them.

#### The Separation of Sind.

THE report of the Committee appointed to consider the financial aspect of the separation of Sind which was published last week confirms the public impression that its separation from Bombay would be a financial impossibility. The Committee consisted of two officials who cannot be said to be either in favour of or against separation but seem to have considered the question on its merits. Their examination of the problem shows that while the revenues of a separated Sind would not exceed Rs 182.42 lakhs, its expenditure would not be less than Rs 279.82 lakhs, leaving a basic deficit of Rs 97.49 lakhs. If to this is added the cost of separation which is expected to come to Rs 11.05 lakhs and the net cost of expansion which, the Committee estimate, will amount in the first year to Rs 1.97 lakhs, a separated Sind will start with an initial deficit of Rs 110.42 lakhs. In these days when the cry for salaries of high Government officials being considerably lowered with a view to their being brought in relation to the national income is so insistent, the provision of Rs 3.13 made by the Committee for the head of the proposed province might appear to many to be erring on the side of extravagance. Objection may perhaps be taken on the same ground also to the other figures on the expenditure side in the Committee's report. However even granting the full validity of such objections, it would be too much to expect that economies thus brought about would be enough to wipe out the large gap between the income and expenditure with which, according to the Committee, the new province is sure to be faced. The separationists have always built high hopes of the productive nature of the Lloyd Barrage, on the strength of which they were fully

confident that the separation would be a complete financial success. But the detailed calculations on the point appended to the Committee's report show that they apparently counted without their host. Far from this being the case, it is the Committee's fear that "the financial prospects of the project (Sukkur Barrage) would be precarious in the extreme and on the criterion utilised in the case of Irrigation Schemes, it would be classed as unproductive work," only Rs. 24 lakhs being the ultimate net profit that may be expected out of it 30 years after its completion. And even this is problematical if the present economic slump continues for some years more with the result that the Barrage water and Government waste lands will not yield suitable prices. But even were the income from the Barrage to be calculated not at the best or worst rates, but on an average basis, the Committee's calculations show that the initial deficit of Rs 110.42 lakhs may in the thirtieth year after separation go down only to Rs 63.71. On the other hand if the Barrage proves to be a financial fiasco and does not yield the expected profit, the deficit will mount up to Rs 144.19 lakhs in thirty years after Sind is separated from Bombay. When this question comes up for consideration at the R. T. C., it will be up to the spokesmen of Sind to suggest ways and means of balancing the Sind budget, so that the new province on separation may be able financially to stand on its own legs.

#### Travancore Investiture.

THE investiture ceremony of the young Maharaja of Travancore which took place on the 6th inst. serves to focus public attention on the administration of that State. The rapid survey of the administration of the State given on the occasion by the Agent to the Governor-General fully bears out the reputation deservedly enjoyed by the State for progressive and well-ordered rule. Education has been much better diffused in the State than in any Indian province and it has carried out some social reforms of great importance which in British India will take some time to be accomplished facts. The abolition of the evil custom of animal sacrifice in Hindu temples and of the Devadasi system are the latest among such reforms. Yet in spite of its progressive nature, its historical importance and its sound finance the State, as the Maharaja rightly complained in his reply, is not as well known here and outside as it deserves to be. This is partly due to its inconvenient geographical situation, which of course cannot be helped. But it is sure to come into greater prominence before long if it joins the proposed Indian federation and gives a wise lead to the Princely Order by allowing the Travancore representatives in the federal legislature to be elected by the people. In this connection we are sure the Maharaja will receive patriotic guidance from Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer whom he has appointed as his legal and constitutional adviser. The Maharaja signalized the occasion by announcing his intention to place the Popular Assembly on a statutory basis and to enlarge its functions and powers. We hope that in the reformed Popular Assembly the elected element will be given a dominant position so that the will of the people will find real expression therein. The Maharaja has also announced his intention to pay Rs. one lakh out of his private funds to serve as an initial capital for the Travancore Land Mortgage Bank and another half a lakh for the starting of a home for the destitute and the infirm. We congratulate the Maharaja on his accession to the gadi and trust his regime will be characterised by important reforms in all fields of the State administration calculated to conduce to the greater happiness of his subjects.

## A PLEDGE—AND ITS FULFILMENT.

ON his own showing, Mahatma Gandhi has given a threefold pledge to the people of the Indian States: (1) to secure elective representation for them in the federal legislature, (2) to obtain a federal guarantee for the protection of their elementary rights of citizenship, and (3) to get access to the federal court for the redress of the violation of these rights.

Now that we know precisely the part that the Mahatma took in the Federal Structure Committee in respect of all these three matters time has come when we can form an estimate of the extent to which he has fulfilled the pledge.

In judging of his performance it would clearly be wrong to base one's judgment upon the result. This depends upon many factors of which his own action is merely one. If it be the case that the Mahatma upon his part did all that a single individual could to uphold the cause of the States' people, he must be held to have redeemed his pledge, even though the final outcome may be wholly unfavourable.

He can be convicted of betrayal only if it can be proved that his own action fell short of what in reason he could have done to support the cause espoused by him, and that he paltered with it or surrendered it without adequate effort on his own part. His Mahatmahood should make no difference to the verdict; only it should earn for him a heavier sentence than would be imposed upon a mere politician with no pretensions to especial moral virtue.

Nor is it possible to extenuate the Mahatma's failure (if failure there be) on the plea that the interests of the States' people can well be postponed to those of British Indians. This plea may avail others; it cannot avail Gandhiji. There are a number of delegates who are honestly of the opinion that the interests of the people in the States must be sacrificed in order that British India may make the desired political advance, since this advance can be secured only at the cost of the sacrifice of the States' people's interests. This sacrifice, however, will be, according to them, only temporary; for the very advance of British India's political status, which necessitates the sacrifice, will help to uplift the people in the States as nothing else will. If this reasoning is faulty the delegates can be blamed at most for political misjudgment, but no moral guilt would attach to them, as it must attach to one who has given his word that he will not sacrifice the interests of the States' people even temporarily.

Now, what did Mahatma Gandhi do in fulfilment of his pledge? Did he press for the election of the States' representatives in the federal legislature? No, he did not. On the contrary, he opposed those who did and supported those like Mr. Gavin Jones who would not. He began by plastering the Princes with praise: he was sure they had the interests of the ryots at heart; and that they would of their own motion do all that was needed to make their people

happy. To this we need not object, for even a holy man may be allowed a little diplomacy. But he went on to say that British Indians had no right to say that the States' representatives must be returned by election. They could only make their pleadings, and the only suggestion which he for his part could find courage to make was that the Princes "would find a place for" the people in the federal scheme. Instead of the whole of the States' representation being composed of officials, he would like to see some non-officials included in it too. This was the extent of his own recommendation.

The theory of the "free hand", to which the Mahatma gave such unctuous approval, was naturally embodied in the Sankey Committee's report. The day on which the draft report was discussed in committee happened to be a day of silence for the Mahatma, and though he managed to make his views known on certain other subjects by passing a note to the Chairman, on this particular subject he kept his counsel—merely saying that he had a lot to say. If he had a lot to say, why did he not say it on the 17th September when he was called upon to do so, or why did he not jot down his views in the note itself? Anyhow, the fact remains that the Federal Structure Committee has finished with the discussion of this subject without Mahatma Gandhi even mentioning election in respect of the States' representatives.

Would it be an unreasonable interpretation of the pledge to expect Mahatma Gandhi, not to secure, but just to plead for the election, real straightforward election, of at least a certain proportion of the States' representatives in the federal legislature? Should not the pledge at all events have precluded him from giving a "free hand" to the Princes to do what they pleased in the matter of the selection of the States' representatives? Even the *Leader*, a Liberal paper under no promise to stand up for the rights of the States' people, felt constrained to write in the interest of British India alone: "It is our view that there must not be any nomination to the lower house even at the start. We shall have no insuperable objection to a transitory provision in the future Government of India Act which will enable the governments of States to adopt any device of election for a stated term of years. But as a permanent feature of the constitution we can only agree to equality of provision for all the federating units. *There must be direct election from everywhere on a population basis. This must be a substantive provision.*" The organ of the Liberal party thus says, while commenting on the Sankey Committee's report in its issue of the 5th inst.: "Direct Election of all the States' Representatives from the very beginning. The actual method of election may be different for a specified period. All this to be inscribed in the constitution and not to be left to convention." In saying this the paper was merely carrying out the mandate of the Liberal Federation.

One might have thought that what is here advocated for the States' people but primarily with a view to the safeguarding of the interests of British India

and of democracy by the organ of a party of reputedly moderate political ambition would not be found too radical by one who claims, "to be a full-fledged democrat" and under a vow to protect the interests of the States' people by three specific means, one of which is election. If it was too much for Mahatma Gandhi to ask for all the States' representatives to be elected by the direct method, as the *Leader* does, and if his "full-fledged democracy" compelled him to allow a certain number of representatives to be nominated and the rest to be returned by the indirect method, he might have at least done one thing: he might have insisted upon a guaranteed number of seats to be filled by persons elected by the elected representatives in the States' local councils, and this might have been secured by convention instead of by a statutory provision, as urged by the *Leader*. But the entire "free hand" which the Mahatma allows to the Princes is in flat contradiction to the promise made by him.

On the question of the fundamental rights too Mahatma Gandhi gives to the Princes the same "free hand" which he gives them on the subject of election. While discussing the jurisdiction of the federal court the Mahomedan delegates made it clear that the constitution must contain a declaration of fundamental rights empowering the Court to set aside any law which infringes any one of these rights. What the Mahomedans wanted to secure was the rights of minority communities. It would have been easy for Mahatma Gandhi to extend those rights to civil liberties in general and get the protection of the federal court for the elementary rights of the States' people. He did make an attempt at such extension too, but again he left it entirely to the sweet will of the Princes to set out and define these rights. We will give his own words on this point :

If there is something in common between all of us, naturally the Supreme Court will be the guardian of the rights that we may consider to be common to all. What those rights should be I am totally unable to say. It is entirely for the Princes to say what they can be and what they cannot be.

It is well known that in the best of circumstances a constitutional guarantee of fundamental rights is apt to be illusory, for much discretion has necessarily to be left to the legislature and the executive. But if the Princes are themselves to determine the content of these rights, and the British Indian collaborators are to have no say in the matter or are "totally unable" to have a say, then surely the declaration will be evacuated by them of all substance and will become entirely valueless. And it should be noted that Sir Mirza Ismail, when speaking on the federal court on behalf of the States' delegation, had not a word to say on fundamental rights. Can it by any stretch of imagination be contended that Mahatma Gandhi's advocacy in this respect met the requirements of his pledge?

It is usual for publicists to speak more respectfully than candidly of the Mahatma. If expediency

were one's sole guide one would never depart from that rule. One does not enjoy the pastime of sticking one's irreverent weekly pins into the Great Soul, and it certainly does not pay. But after all Truth has its claims which cannot wholly be disregarded and one ought to be follower enough of the Mahatma to pursue it at least occasionally. It will be driven home to those who wish for understanding instead of illusion on this subject that real democrats are not to be found among the disseminators of a clamant and truculent nationalism.

S. G. VAZE.

### THE SUPPLEMENTARY FINANCE BILL.

SINCE the 4th inst. the Legislative Assembly has met in its special session, the first one ever held, which shows the seriousness of the economic crisis with which the country is faced, and has been considering the supplementary finance bill some features of which are being stoutly resisted by non-official members. The discussion has revealed a consensus of opinion which objects to the imposition of fresh taxation before all possible avenues of retrenchment had been explored. This cannot even yet be said to have happened. That there is still considerable scope for the reduction of public expenditure is clear from the speech, among others, of Sir Abdur Rahim who, it will be remembered, was Chairman of the General Purposes Retrenchment Advisory Committee. He rightly made a grievance of the fact that the recommendations made by his and other Committees had not been fully carried out. Without disputing the correctness of this statement, the Finance Member defended himself by saying that a very large volume of the suggested economies had been given effect to, which of course was not the same thing as carrying into practice all the economies suggested by these committees.

To turn to Sir Abdur Rahim's specific suggestions for retrenchment. He too shares the public view that with the transfer of medicine and public health to popular ministers in the provinces, it was a sheer waste of public funds to maintain at the Centre a highly-paid Director-General of the Indian Medical Service and a Public Health Commissioner. His complaint also was that though the different committees and commissions appointed by the Government during the last ten years had swallowed no less than Rs. 150 to 200 lakhs, the report of every Commission or Committee was considered afresh by the authorities. He told the Government: "I want you to treat these committees and commissions, if you appoint them, as your subsidiary agencies, whose opinions should prevail; instead you go over the ground over again." Who can deny that there is considerable force in his contention? The Government might plead want of unambiguous lead in case of committees and commissions who could not recommend particular lines of policy with the backing of a decisive majority of their members behind them. But the number of such committees was very small and Sir Abdur Rahim's complaint would appear to be substantially correct. He also correctly voiced Indian

feeling when he said that the expenditure on the Ecclesiastical Department was quite unnecessary. It was cited as a justification for the maintenance of this department that every military regiment had provision made for the religious ministrations of its Hindu, Muslim and Sikh members at public expense. But the Finance Member need hardly be told that two wrongs do not make one right. And there is no justification for India being saddled with the heavy expenditure on account of this department.

Another point on which there was almost complete unanimity of opinion among non-officials related to the Indian military expenditure. The Finance Member made much capital out of the fact that though the Incheape Committee had laid down a Rs. 50 crore limit, he had been able to bring it down to Rs. 46½ crores. But the fact cannot be gainsaid that if the Incheape limit had been reached earlier, the volume of saving under military expenditure during all these years would have been quite considerable. Nor, as pointed out by Sir Abdur Rahim, does the figure of Rs. 51 crores shown as military expenditure in the budget fully represent the amount of expense incurred on that account. There are a number of items which ought really to be chargeable to that head but are scattered all over the budget under different names. If all such items are added to the amount provided for army expenditure, the total would be nearer Rs. 60 crores than Rs. 55 crores. What the Finance Member has succeeded in doing is in reducing the amount of Rs. 51 crores set apart for army expenditure to Rs. 46½ crores. But what about these other items to which Sir Abdur Rahim drew pointed attention? So long as these items remain undisturbed, the Finance Member's talk of the limit of reduction in military expenditure being already reached will not be taken seriously by anybody. In this connection the Finance Member announced that the question of reduction of troops upon which, according to him, any further retrenchment in military expenditure depends had been remitted for consideration to a committee of experts—an announcement which unfortunately has not received the attention its importance deserves. We wish we had been told something about the personnel of this committee, its terms of reference, and the time within which it is expected to finish its labours. In the absence of this information it is difficult to say whether we may expect anything considerable as a result of its work.

The Finance Member's proposal to impose a flat cut of 10 per cent. in all salaries above Rs. 40 a month naturally aroused much strong criticism. It should however be noted that it is not proposed to allow this exemption in the case of railway and postal employees which is a very unfair and iniquitous arrangement. We yet hope the Assembly will prevent this inequity being perpetrated by the Government. The Finance Member's justification for a flat cut of 10 per cent. was "essentially financial," by which he meant that if he had resorted to the graduated scale of reduction, it would have

yielded a smaller saving. All he need have done in that case is to have made the scale still steeper in the case of higher salaries. Instead of doing that he tried to justify the 10 per cent. cut on grounds which were hardly convincing. But as will be presently clear, the reasons he publicly put forth in support of the proposed 10 per cent. cut were mere camouflage. The fact is that his proposals for reduction in the case of the higher salaries are designed mainly to subserve the convenience of the British members of the all-India services and indeed closely follow the lines laid down by the All-India Service Associations which met at Simla in September last, for an insight into the proceedings of which we are obliged to the enterprise of newspaper correspondents. These Associations would appear to have clearly told the Government of India that the proposed cuts should not be of a voluntary nature, that their effectuation should be sanctioned by a special Act of Parliament, that the Act should automatically expire on the 31st March 1933 if indeed it is not repealed earlier and that it should provide for nothing more than a flat 10 per cent. cut *including* the increased income-tax introduced in September last. It will be seen that in whatever way the Finance Member may publicly defend the proposed 10 per cent. cut actually he seems to have found himself quite powerless before the combined strength and influence of the members of the All-India services to whose dictation he has had to bow. The demand for the withdrawal of the Lee concessions to the services he dismissed as involving "palpable injustice" to the members of those services. As a matter of fact however he was already committed to resist such a demand; for we find the joint meeting of all U. P. Service Associations held at Nainital on Oct. 3 expressing satisfaction at the assurance given by the Finance Member to the effect that "under no circumstances will the benefits received from the Lee Commission recommendations, e. g., a certain number of free passages, be interfered with." It may be added that the reference is to the assurance given by the Finance Member in September. In these circumstances would it not have been more straight if he had candidly told the Assembly about the intractability of the superior services and frankly confessed the Government's incapacity to displease them? After this, he must excuse those who look upon his public stand in support of the retention of the Lee concessions as lacking in reality and as being put forward merely as a make-believe. There is of course nothing criminal about Service Associations fighting for their salaries and emoluments being kept intact, but surely the Government owes it to the Assembly to take it fully into its confidence as regards its commitments. In this case they have chosen to keep the Assembly completely in the dark and it is only by a sheer accident that the public has come to know of the happenings behind the scenes even before the introduction of the supplementary finance bill in the Assembly in its last session. This is anything but fair to the Assembly which, we doubt not, will mark its resentment in a suitable manner at the cavalier manner in which it has been treated.

## Reviews.

### MORE BOOKS ABOUT THE MAHATMA.

**MR. GANDHI—THE MAN.** By MILLIE GRAHAM POLAK. 7 × 5. 186p. 3s. 6d.

**MAHATMA GANDHI AT WORK, HIS OWN STORY CONTINUED.** By C. F. ANDREWS. 8½ × 5½. 407p. 12s. 6d.

**THE DAWN OF INDIAN FREEDOM.** By JACK C. WINSLOW & VERRIER ELWIN. 7½ × 5. 224p. 4s. 6d.

HARDLY a week passes, without a new book on "The Mahatma" being published, since the great man has come to England. The above-named three books are issued by one publishing firm alone—Messrs. Geo. Allen & Unwin Ltd.—between the first week in September and the first week in October: and other publishers are not far behind.

Most of the books published for the English reading public just now come of course under the classification "Incense" and the three books before me form no exception: though in fairness to Mrs. Polak it must be said that, being a woman, she has been able to add a considerable pinch of commonsense to her hero-worship. In fact, her little book is a real contribution to the knowledge of "The Mahatma".

"The value of Cabbage", Mr. Gandhi went on, "is in the water the cabbage is boiled in; one could drink that and throw away the cabbage itself."

"We have tried cabbage water", I said, "without salt or anything added. Henry said it tasted nice, and drank about a pint and a half of it, but he could not go to office afterwards, he was too unwell . . . ."

This is not only a very humorous passage—and it could be matched by many another from her book: it is also a very valuable one, because it portrays Mr. Gandhi's mentality and illuminates one side of it which those who worship at his shrine are wont to neglect. It is a very lovable mentality, often very childlike in its cocksureness, its obstinacy, its absurdity—as the above sample exemplifies—, yet at other times it is very involved, very far from simple, in fact often that of what in an ordinary mortal one would call splitting hair: and yet again that of a saint, with profundities of a spiritual insight as sure as it is rare. Mrs. Polak's book reveals, how difficult however and trying a saint can be for his *entourage*. "Why", she once asked him, "do you always want to choose the most uncomfortable way of doing a thing?" Mrs. Polak, who spent so many years in the Gandhi mirage, knows something of that side of his "experiments with Truth"; and she has rendered a real service to history in setting down in her little character sketch her experiments with Mr. Gandhi—both as a saint and as—let us admit it—a wee bit of a crank.

As for Mr. Andrews' book, it is simply an English edition of Mr. Gandhi's "Satyagraha in South Africa" (published in India by S. Ganesan) and therefore contains nothing really new, though its re-arrangement and editing make it a valuable source-book for English readers.

Finally there is the volume by Rev. Frs. Winslow and Elwin, the well-known Anglican *sannyasis* of the "Christa Seva Sangh," who as English missionaries entirely in sympathy with Indian Nationalism, obviously ought to be able to make an original contribution to their subject and cast upon it new light.

But though their book is delightful to read and gives an English reader a very fine description of and insight into the Mahatma's personality, his philosophy of life and his method of *satyagraha*, it lacks altogether any attempt at a critical evaluation of his principles in the light of their own: if only, because they would seem to be identical. The bulk of the book has been written by Mr. Elwin, who as a deeply religious man, naturally feels attracted to the Mahatma and to his self-chosen poverty, discipline, truthfulness, love, purity, sacrifice, joy, humility, fortitude and prayerfulness. What spiritually-minded person would not be? Satyagraha, again, is such a novel, such an inspiring, way of carrying on political conflict, that one may well feel tempted to see in it the dawn of a new age. And yet, even Mr. Elwin is constrained to echo the alarm of Mr. Jamshed Mehta that a point has been reached in the public and private life of India, where "if anything is done which does not suit anybody else, there is this dagger of Satyagraha pointed at you." Himself a Gandhist, Mr. Mehta plaintively adds: "Discrimination where to use and how to use Satyagraha seems to have been entirely lost in the whole nation." Lost? But the point is and necessarily must be, that "the whole nation" can never have and never has had this power of "discrimination." Mr. Gandhi discriminates: and the nation has followed him. What if other individuals now also discriminate? There being no general, absolute, rule, when, where, and how to apply Satyagraha, its application naturally devolves upon the private judgment of the individual.

And this is the inherent weakness of the whole system, through which it is bound to collapse. Mr. Gandhi usually speaks and preaches, as if Satyagraha was a panacea which was universally applicable and which to apply is a moral duty, wherever a truth-love is confronted by evil. But Mr. Gandhi himself discriminates in applying it. An "Indictment of Patiala" may be drawn up by some unimpeachable followers of his own and allege the *prima facie* existence of a government based on murder, rape and theft: the Mahatma discriminates and lifts not his little finger in this case whilst the allegation of one hundredth part of such misgovernment makes him proclaim it a moral duty to non-cooperate with so evil a system in British India. The agrarian wrongs of the peasants of Bihar impel him to action against the British indigo-planters, the actual serfdom of the pulayas has never even been mentioned by him against the Indian landlords of Travancore. Discrimination right and left! This is a point which those who get carried away by Gandhism as if it were synonymous with Ethics, would do well to consider.

And it must be frankly admitted, that it is easy to be so carried away. The nobility of the aim and the moral earnestness of him who proclaims it are such, that just the noblest hearts most readily respond and come under the spell of his winsome personality—even to such an extent, as to accept him as their infallible guide. Against this it is an ungrateful and yet not superfluous, task for an admirer of his to warn: but just because one admires Mr. Gandhi as a man and finds him to be possessed of such often heroic virtue and gifted with often quite prophetic insight, it is all the more necessary to stress that all this does not make Mr. Gandhi a perfect saint and still less a statesman. Mr. Gandhi is a great patriot and has done more than anybody else for India's immediate emancipation: and as such, as Mr. Elwin finally says, he should also prove England's greatest friend—for "if he takes away her empire, he will at least restore to her her soul." But a balanced, critical, appreciation of Mr. Gandhi, from an objective spiritual point of view, these two Anglican missionaries have

not provided, necessary though it be. And perhaps it is only fair to repeat, that to them, as Protestants, such would indeed be impossible.

For like all Protestants, Mr. Gandhi depends on his "Inner Light"—which expression stripped of its trappings however means just his personal judgment: and this after all nobody can feel obliged in conscience to accept. Hindus have their external authority in Tradition, Catholics in the Catholic Church: but Mr. Gandhi and Protestants, as subjectivists, have no objective norm and therefore are in the last instance guided by their caprice. Mr. Gandhi, as a true Protestant, is rather apt to imagine that every private judgment of his own is the voice of God speaking to him through his "inner voice". There is no guarantee, however, that such is the case; on the contrary he has himself admitted Himalayan mistakes. One must therefore insist on the Mahatma's private judgment being weighed in each single case as private judgments in politics have hitherto been; as possibly right, but just as possibly wrong. Personal saintliness is no guarantee of political wisdom: the historical examples of the "Reign of Saints", from Thomas Muenzer in Münster to John Calvin in Geneva and the Puritans in New England, are not such as to encourage one in believing that a mystic apotheosis of the Inner Voice is the best method of achieving the particular goal of all legitimate politics—the Common Weal.

H. C. E. ZACHARIAS.

## MOTIVES OF INDUSTRIAL COMBINATION.

**THE DYNAMICS OF INDUSTRIAL COMBINATION.** By H. A. MARQUAND. (Longmans, London.) 1931. 22cm. 206p. 12/6.

EVERY new idea generally passes through four stages. At first it arouses interest, specially among the "cranks;" then hostility among a few, gradually spreading into the many; subsequently there is a period during which it is thoroughly analysed and studied in all its implications; and finally it is either rejected or assigned a permanent place. "Industrial Combination" does not form an exception to this general rule. The days of the Sherman Act and of President Roosevelt's "busting the trusts" are over. This phase lost its intensity during the War. "The habit of co-operation, enforced by the State to ensure increased and cheapened production of the materials of warfare, survived the cessation of hostilities" (p. 5). We are now in the midst of the third stage of investigation, or possibly towards the end of it, the entry into the fourth stage being hastened by such books as the present one.

The author is the Professor of Industrial Relations at Cardiff and has made a detailed and valuable survey of the subject. His purpose is interpretation rather than mere description. He has set out to examine "the motives which lie behind the outward act of combination and the problems of administration and control to which that act gives rise." (p. 5). Curiously enough, his background is not Germany and America, providing lessons for Great Britain, but simply Great Britain and the U. S. A. For, as he himself points out on pp. 190-91, "the history of Great Britain has been so markedly a history of commerce and not a history of industry that the development of financial institutions has been different from that in other countries." It is finance which has been the main spring of industrial combination in different countries, which cannot therefore be usefully compared, unless the financial institutions of those countries are somewhat similar. The author's contention that "the rationalisation movement in Germany has already received much atten-

tion from writers in English" (p. 13) ignores the fact that combines in the U. S. A. are equally well known to English readers,—at any rate in its descriptive aspect, if not in its interpretative aspect.

Apart from the financial motive, already referred to, there are three other motives of; industrial combination, (1) personal, (2) technological and administrative and (3) commercial or strategic (p. 29). The first, although not so much economic as psychological, cannot be overlooked. For, "a strong desire for power, or an artist's impulse to construct a concern whose efficiency and administrative organisation should be to its creator a source of aesthetic satisfaction" (p. 30) cannot be ignored. In the author's opinion, the motives classified as commercial or strategic "have probably been, on the whole, the most powerful incentive to the formation" of horizontal combines. Unfortunately, in the struggle to secure and maintain a monopolist position, such combines "have frequently bought up antiquated, inefficient and badly located plants, which were usually promptly closed down." (p. 38). They "have frequently purchased patents similar to their own, not in order to use them, but to avoid litigation and to prevent the entry of new firms into their industry." (p. 39). Furthermore, they "quickly incur the active hostility of public opinion and even of the law." The author therefore favours the vertical combination and observes that "the differentiation of function and then the integration of parts into a co-ordinated whole is the key to industrial as to biological evolution (p. 41)... To an unusual degree, it may benefit from the economics of eliminating the middleman, of plant utilisation, of standardisation of all kinds, of the utilisation of by-products and of the adjustment, with the aid of elaborate statistics, of production to carefully and accurately anticipated demand." (p. 42). It seems that the author has been carried away by his enthusiasm for integration. On the one hand he has unduly magnified the evils of horizontal combines, and on the other, painted too rosy a picture of vertical combines. In any case, from a careful survey of many large integrated undertakings, he himself concludes that, "after a certain limit of size has been passed, these advantages tend, particularly where human skill and organising ability is concerned, to make for disintegration rather than integration." (p. 70)

To increase human skill and organising ability is thus the crux of the problem. The author rightly points out that at present it is not so much in the application of new inventions and machinery, but "by developing executive efficiency and revolutionising managerial methods" (p. 43), that improvements may be expected. He suggests that "for the education of the executive personnel of great undertakings, entry into the business at an early age is not satisfactory. Training of the mind and character in such an institution as a University, until manhood is reached, affords, on the whole, the best results." (p. 194). "...All that is required is that the teachers to whom the training is entrusted shall be given by industry such full and free information as will enable them to make their instruction thoroughly realistic. The teacher and the research worker must be trusted as the accountant and the solicitor" (p. 195). Wise words these, specially for India on the threshold of industrial development.

In the third part of the book on the Financial Motive, there are many points of interest to students of Indian industrial finance. For instance, it has been argued by some Indian economists that because Indian capital is shy, freer use should be made of fixed-interest bearing securities such as debentures rather than of ordinary shares subject to fluctuating

yields and therefore of changing values. It has also been said that industrial banks should make large advances for considerable periods to make for the deficiency in fixed, not to speak of working, capital. Says the author, "the business policy of deferring liquidation is . . . encouraged by the action of banking interests which frequently hold a large share of the fixed-interest bearing securities of the firms in difficulties . . . these interests seem to prefer to maintain the *status quo* in the hope that eventually things will improve (p. 97) . . . The effect of their reluctance is reinforced by a desire of the controllers of embarrassed companies to hold on as long as may be, to their seats on boards of directors, which bring in a certain income, even though no dividends be paid" (p. 98.) Thus the issue of fixed-interest bearing securities is a policy which requires caution. At the same time, the legitimate interests of their holders must be safeguarded.

The author has made a number of valuable and important suggestions for company management, of interest to India. For instance, he advocates "the compulsory appointment of one or more Government-selected directors upon the boards of great undertakings" (p. 190). He further suggests that "Proportional Representation or cumulative voting might be introduced into the election of directorates and holders of fixed-interest bearing securities might have their contingency-voting-rights increased so as to give them a greater voice in the direction, as soon as earnings fall below an agreed proportion. There seems to be no reason why elections of directors should not be conducted by postal ballot, instead of by the antiquated machinery of 'general' meetings . . . Legislative standardisation of company accounts might reasonably be made more detailed. Regulations concerning company flotation and the sale of securities might be made more stringent" (p. 190). These are not vague personal opinions; these are the conclusions to which the author has been driven as a result of his intensive studies of many industrial combines. For instance, the interplay of the financial motive is graphically described with numerous illustrations. The author has no difficulty in showing that "the desire for immediate pecuniary gain on the part of financial interests has been and still is a leading and often a dominant motive in the formation of combinations. These pecuniary motives frequently act to distort the character of a combination and to impair its prospects of success." (p. 114).

The success or failure of industrial combines is no longer a matter of minor importance. For good or for evil, they have come to stay. Surely we have outlived the time when Marshall wrote:

They present a succession of picturesque incidents and romantic transformations, which arrest public attention and seem to indicate a coming change of our social arrangements now in one direction and now in another; and their importance is certainly great and grows rapidly. But it is apt to be exaggerated; for indeed many of them are little more than eddies, such as have always fluttered over the surface of progress.

J. C. SINHA.

### THE BACKGROUND OF THE WORLD CRISIS.

**BRITAIN AND WORLD TRADE. QUO VADIMUS AND OTHER ECONOMIC ESSAYS.**  
By A. LOVEDAY. (Longmans, London.) 1931.  
22cm. 229p. 10/6.

NOT only the professional economists, publicists and business men but even the men-in-the-street of all

countries are at present realising that something is wrong with the economic organisation of the world. Whether you call it a crisis, a depression, over-production or deflation, the fact remains that nations, firms and individuals have felt the pinch of diminishing earnings and uncertainty during the last two years in an unprecedented measure. The most reliable method of understanding all the bearings of the present situation which is rich with all kinds of good and evil possibilities is to study the effects of the last World War on the economic organisation of the various countries of the world. It is against the background of such a study that the significance of the continuing crisis of the last two years and of its most recent and most serious symptom—the suspension of the gold standard in many countries—can be correctly appreciated. Especially in India, the need of emphasising the bearing of international factors on the internal situation is very urgent. The attention of many people is now set on the position of Britain in India and in the world. Mr. Loveday's book is the best reference that we can indicate to a serious student of the present world economic movements and of the position of Great Britain therein. Mr. Loveday has been for the last ten years the head of the Economic Intelligence Service of the League of Nations, and therefore speaks with unparalleled authority and detachment.

The book under review is a reprint in a collective form of independent articles on world economic problems contributed by Mr. Loveday to various journals since 1927. Still there is a substantial unity of thought traceable in the book as a whole. In the first chapter the author traces certain outstanding tendencies of economic development that loomed large during the period that elapsed between the end of the War and the eve of the great crisis. It is pointed out that though it was the endeavour of all Western nations during this period to go back as expeditiously as possible to the state of things prevalent in 1913, it was gradually realised that the post-war economic alignment of nations was radically different from that prevalent in 1913. The growth of industry in Far East, South American and other former European markets, the development of New York as a rival financial centre, and the dependence of Europe on American capital, the excess of war plant, the isolation of Russia, all these were new factors in the situation which were destined to have a decisive influence on the course of economic and political events. To this list may be added the new role of France as a would-be leader in financial domination and political prestige seeking to divide the honours with Great Britain and America. By the year 1925 things seemed to have attained stability and from then to 1929 till the very eve of the crisis there was a continuous rise in the productive capacity of nations, particularly in Asia and America. The rate of growth in the production and exchange of wealth during these years was of quite exceptional rapidity. Obviously the rate could not continue indefinitely; a reaction was inevitable and did occur. But the growth of wealth created some special problems in the exchange and distribution of wealth which are treated in the next two chapters. The increase in the income per head of the population diverted the course of demand from the primary staple products to the secondary and specialised articles. This shifting and uncertainty of demand is a new speculative factor in industry that requires to be understood and regulated in an increasing measure. The two great problems of the trade cycle and the shortage of gold are dealt with in the next chapter. Mr. Loveday throws much useful light on the various influences affecting trade fluctuations. Particularly his delineation of the effects of saving and prices on the course of industrial



production is one of the best that we have come across. So also the irrational currency system which allows the vital fortunes of nations and classes to be the butt of some geological phenomenon as the supply of gold and of the unintelligent handling of the available stocks by narrow-minded currency authorities is neatly exposed by Mr. Loveday. We entirely concur, and wish that other students of economic affairs do the same, in the view that now the choice lies not between socialism and capitalism, but between a planned economy and drift. The old economic policy of "let alone" is entirely unsuited to the needs of the new world, created by the war. Whether we agree with the contents of the Five Years' Plan in Russia or not, the idea of conscious and deliberate ordering of the nation's economic life underlying it is worthy of imitation even by the most orthodox among capitalist nations. The need of planning our economic policies on the basis of reason and justice is all the greater today, when the suspension of the gold standard in England and the likely adoption of a tariff by that country seem to have given a new lease of life to exchange chaos and trade restrictions.

The chapter dealing with Britain's position in world trade is of peculiar importance both to Englishmen and foreigners. On a dispassionate observation of the course of British trade during the last few years Mr. Loveday comes to the conclusion that the adverse influence of depreciated exchanges and deliberate dumping on British trade has been exaggerated as also the special influence of a high pound. The real explanation of the weakness of the British export industries is traced to the relative rigidity and backwardness of the industrial equipment and organisation of Great Britain. So long as this state of things continues no amount of devaluation of the currency and the raising of tariff walls is going to do any real good to Britain's position. Mr. Loveday refers to the relative inelasticity of wages and other costs of industry. As a matter of fact this is one of the most challenging problems of practical economic policy that today face the world. In view of the known deficiencies of the gold standard as a regulator of economic transactions are we going to perpetuate the injustice of endowing with legal and moral permanence certain economic obligations, such as wages, salaries, interest, debts and taxes? We must either revise our conceptions of the currency standard or render elastic the execution of economic contracts, or in a measure we can do both. Failure to do this would be a condemnation of the sanity and justice of the present economic order which it would not be easy to survive.

To all students of the major economic ills of the present-day world and to all interested in the formulation of practical economic policies we wholeheartedly recommend this very valuable book of Mr. Loveday.

D. G. KARVE.

### THE RUSSIAN ECONOMIC ORDER.

RED BREAD. By MAURICE HINDUS. (Cape.) 1931.  
21cm. 348p. 12/6.

THE book under review is by one who claims to have been born in a Russian village, to have lived in it for a considerable period and who therefore claims to possess an intimate knowledge of the life and ideas of the people. He pictures the lives led by the Russian peasants before the advent of the Revolution and after its advent and shows by contrast the vast and significant transformation that has come over them in recent times. He takes one by one the various aspects of Russian peasant life and vividly

brings out how their old-world contentedness, isolation and lack of contact with the outside world has changed and yielded place to a new life full of hope, full of romance and full of enthusiasm for the new order of things. The change is of course not all pervasive and everyone in Russia cannot be said to have taken to the Revolutionary doctrines with kindness; there are in fact many who feel the oppressiveness of the new order, who consider the changes now being introduced as changes for the worse and who are dead opposed to the regimented life sought to be imposed by the Communist dictatorship. The "Kolkhoz," the new phenomenon in Russia and the very nerve centre of the Communist offensive against the bourgeois landholder, is hotly opposed by a section of the people, especially old men who have become so accustomed to their individualist existence that they find it impossible to reconcile themselves to the collectivized life which is the main plank of the Revolutionary Communists. But, as the author remarks, the soviet system does not make any exceptions. "Every thing and everyone were to be drafted into the service of the Proletarian Leviathan. There were to be no exceptions: there was to be no love. As in war, there was to be fierce discipline of man's thoughts and actions, with no mercy for the non-conformist, the doubter, the objector and the deserter." The younger generation are taking more and more to the new order with enthusiasm and with a considerable amount of satisfaction albeit its disadvantages, its drawbacks and the difficulties of its incidence in regard to procuring adequate food supplies and other necessities. What sustains them is the hope that the completion of the Five-Year-Plan will bring about a millenium which will exhibit the soundness of their economic system and will remove all its defects. Mr. Hindus reports the speech of Mr. Stalin, the Communist Russian dictator, who says: "We are marching full steam ahead on the road to industrialization, to socialism, leaving behind our age-old Russian backwardness. We shall yet see which lands (whether capitalist or communist) will merit the designations of "backward" and "advanced." The people of Russia are working with feverish anxiety and speed to make themselves independent of the outside world markets as rapidly as the best engineering talent in the world and the regimented effort and sacrifices of the nation can achieve the result. And they want to achieve the result before the capitalist countries organize a boycott of Russia—a thing which they most apprehend and which is the spectre which goads Russian leaders to a determination to speed up their plans to fruition regardless of costs. As regards agricultural conditions, Mr. Hindus speaks with enthusiasm of the Russian efforts to collectivize land, and he says that the Revolution had indeed enlarged the peasant's appetite for material enjoyment and the Kolkhoz is destined to further feed this appetite. Other changes noted in the people's outlook are: (1) They have become more politically-minded and consequently more self-assertive, (2) They have come to realize the importance of organization and co-operative effort in order to improve their condition, and (3) They are beginning to abandon the old-world individualism and separation.

But the one defect and that which may prove the weak spot of the Revolution leading to a reaction is the undue importance attached to the proletarian worker in the city and the disproportionate negligence of the interests of the peasant. This defect threatens the very foundations of the soviet system unless its warning is taken betimes.

C. V. HANUMANTHA RAO.

## AMERICAN PARTY SYSTEM.

**THE AMERICAN PARTY BATTLE.** By CHARLES A. BEARD. (Macmillan.) 1928. 20cm. 6/-.

TO a student of modern democracy the subject of party is one of profound interest. Parties form, in Bryce's words, the unofficial government of the State; and the actual working of the government, as President Lowell points out in his *Governments and Parties in Continental Europe* is largely determined by them.

The working of parties in the U. S. A. is again of unique interest. For, to quote Bryce once more, "in no country have political parties been so carefully and thoroughly organised. In no country does the spirit of party so completely pervade every department of political life". Bryce himself gave an unrivalled exposition of American parties in the second volume of his *American Commonwealth*; but Bryce's work was written more than forty years ago; and later works on the same subject are anything but handy. We therefore welcome the present volume from the pen of the distinguished American authority, Prof. C. A. Beard, describing in a few bold strokes the main lines of American party history down to 1928 A. D.

The author begins by a chapter on the 'Nature of Political Parties.' Why do political parties arise? The question is hard to answer. Sir Henry Maine traced the origin of parties to the primitive combativeness of mankind. Another fairly obvious explanation is that difference of parties is due to difference of views and temperament. Macaulay said that men divide *naturally* into two groups: some are devoted to order, others to progress. In America one party represents centripetal, the other centrifugal, forces. The difficulty in this view is firstly that political issues are seldom so simple that they can be classified as making purely for order or for progress, and secondly that parties are seldom consistent in upholding their creeds. "If", says the author, "either party to the struggle has ever sacrificed a substantial interest to consistency in political theory, history gives no record". The result is that the essential difference in principle between parties is often hard to discover. One thinks of the passage in Lowell's *Government of England*, where he describes how an unsophisticated Persian sage, "if he should casually stumble upon current English politics, and try to discover the essential difference in principle between the two great parties", would be sorely perplexed:

"From their names", he might say, "I suppose that the Liberals are the party of progress, and the Conservatives are opposed to all change. I have, indeed, heard that an extension of the franchise was once brought about in some unexpected way... by a Tory ministry; but surely the other organic changes, the reform of country government in 1688, for example, must have been made by the Liberals, and resisted by the Conservatives. No! How strange. Perhaps it is on social problems that the parties are divided. Liberals, no doubt, favour, and Conservatives denounce, Labour laws... What? Am I wrong again?... Is the difference between the parties religious? Ah! That I can understand. The Conservatives, perchance, want to extend their Established Church over Scotland, and the Liberals are pledged to disestablish it in England. No! Well, the Conservatives are called the Imperialist party. The Liberals, as Little Englanders, probably want to reduce the empire... You say that both parties talk about a common political organ for the whole Empire, and neither has been able to think of one? How very odd. There are boats across the Channel, are there not? I think I had better begin my observations in some country where politics are less hard to comprehend." So the sage would consult Bradshaw, brush up his French and depart."

Yet another view seeks the origin of parties in the division of classes and interests. This is the explanation which the author is on the whole inclined to adopt, though he is careful to point out that "it does not by any means exhaust the science of the subject". In America it is the conflict between agriculture and capitalism which has been at the heart of the party battle.

The rest of the book is a rapid summary of American party politics in its three phases—Federalists against Republicans (1789–1816), Whigs against Democrats (1830–1856) and Republicans against Democrats (1856 to the present day)—which shows how in spite of the changing issues of the moment, there is an essential continuity in the basis of the two parties. Here, too, some interesting questions are raised, and answers suggested: e. g. why there is no strong Socialist party in America;—or why there are only two parties in America;—but we recommend the reader to turn to the book itself for the answers.

R. P. PATWARDHAN.

## THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

**PRINCIPLES OF JUDICIAL ADMINISTRATION.** By W. F. WILLOUGHBY. (The Brookings Institution, Washington.) 1929. 22cm. 662p. \$5.00.

GOVERNMENT is a machine and it certainly ought to be capable of improvement by conscious and thoughtful changes. Careful and scientific study of the existing machinery and of the special needs of the governed will in no small measure help in making this machine perfect. With us few have the means, the inclination and the opportunities to do so but in America things are different. There exist in America numerous institutions devoted to the study of these problems. They work singly or in co-operation. They afford adequate facilities to scholars and research-students for the exhaustive study of the various branches of public life and they also undertake to publish their works under their auspices. Leisure, talent and money are suitably used for improving and widely disseminating ideas of better governance.

Mr. Willoughby's book is claimed by its sponsor Mr. Harley as the one that was really needed among the thousands that may have been published alongside of it in the year 1929. The claim sounds fantastic. And if we judge by the number of readers who care to read it the claim is no doubt untenable. Not the worth of all books however can be judged by the number of their readers: and scientific and philosophic books in particular ought not to be so judged.

The subject handled in this exhaustive treatise is one of vital utility and the author deserves thanks for combining clarity with elegance in setting forth the results of his research work. He has studied carefully from a historical as well as a progressive standpoint the systems of judicial administration in his own country as also those in England and on the Continent. He has with a characteristic independence justly criticised the existing arrangements and has suggested improvements in all departments. They deserve to be carefully studied by those in power and several of the improvements are sure to be adopted in course of time.

Despatch of work, certainty, independence and cheapness are among the most important objects to be achieved in every improvement of judicial machinery. But the progressive complexity of our modern life seems to outrun all efforts at scientific simplification which is relied on to achieve these ends. Coupled

with this are the retrograde forces of civic and political prejudices. They always retard and sometimes undo a good deal of work otherwise accomplished. But that is after all the nature of human activity.

It is impossible to give in a short review an idea of the various topics dealt with in the book. They could be divided into two classes. Most of them are of universal interest while some are special to the United States. With a Federated Government a conflict of federal and state laws and a conflict of jurisdiction are inevitable. Similarly a fond imitation of English Law and the Feudal system has contributed not a little to the artificiality, multiplication and expensiveness of judicial administration. These stilts and hindrances are specially unsuited to a commercial and busy country like America. We in India are somewhat fortunate in this respect. We have begun almost with a clean slate, have had the advantage of the experience of Europe and America, and had a unitary and effective government. Except for political interests things have been better and easier with us than elsewhere. Most of the adverse circumstances with which America has to grapple are absent here.

To give some idea of the helpfulness of the book we shall mention a few special topics. The description of the Juvenile and Domestic Relations Courts might appear a novelty to us. But they show only a proper realisation of the fact that a wise society can and should help its unfortunate members out of their difficulties rather than punish them. They are mostly unfortunate and perhaps tactless and foolish. It is easy to drive them to still further misery and then to crime. But the loss is of the whole society as much as theirs. Ordinary courts can render them no real help. Friendly and sympathetic advice, removal of misunderstandings, working out secrets, restoring confidence, rehabilitating them into respectability, providing means and opportunities are among the numerous ways of setting things right. Good and noble men in society often do that individually. But the work also ought to be undertaken systematically as a duty of the state.

Then there is a chapter on Administrative Courts which are almost unknown to us. Land Acquisition, Railway Boards, Trade Disputes, Customs Grievances, Patents and the like in which the individual is pitted against the State are matters that always create so much difficulty. Ordinary courts are no doubt independent but they have not the technical knowledge and find serious procedural difficulties. In the case of governments worked by the will of the people Departmental Courts should no doubt ensure an effective, cheap and speedy hearing in these matters.

There is again a very interesting chapter or two on the appointment and removal of judges. Should they be elected? Should they be removable by local or assembly votes? What should be their tenure? Should they be stipendiary or honorary? Should there be any special training for the office of the Judge? How to ensure efficiency and maximum work? Is specialisation of judges in different branches of law desirable? These are among the interesting points discussed with some useful hints thrown out.

To conclude, the book represents a very valuable and exhaustive study of one of the most important branches of governance. No one who is even remotely connected with judicial administration should fail to read it.

B. R. DAMLE.

### LIFE OF EKNATH

**EKNATH. A MARATHA BHAKTA.** By WILBUR STONE DEMING. (Karnatak Printing Press, Bombay 2.) 1931. 18cm. 117p.  
THIS small book is an attempt by Dr. Deming,

the author of *Ramdas and the Ramdasīs* to narrate in brief the life and miracles of the great saint Eknath, and give his teachings. The author also proposes to form an estimate of the saint as a poet and a *bhakta*.

The book divides itself into five chapters. The first, which is of an introductory character, points out the influence of the saint-poets of the Deccan on the last few centuries as also on the present-day social and political movements of the Maharashtra. Undoubtedly the saints played a great part in the past. But when the author observes that institutions like the Servants of India Society, the Hindu Widow's Home and the Indian Women's University in Poona owe their existence to the same influence, it becomes a debatable point. One is inclined to think that the spread of western education and the influence of the sincere and selfless work of Christian missionaries are a good deal responsible for the existence of these institutions. If they at all reveal any influence of the saints, it is very remote and indirect. The same chapter sketches very briefly the lives and principal tenets of the leading saints, Dnyanadev, Namdev, Tukaram, Ramdas and Moropant. It is strange that Moropant, who is never spoken of as a saint, is classed as such.

The next two chapters are purely narrative and describe the life and miracles of Eknath. The title of the fourth chapter is a misnomer. It bears the title "The Poet," and one naturally expects to read therein the author's critical appreciation of Eknath's poetry. But the chapter contains nothing beyond a meagre synopsis of his works.

The next chapter, "The Teachings of Eknath," is the only important chapter in the book. It sketches the philosophy of Eknath, and it may be said that, in general, the author gives a fair treatment to the subject. One of his observations, however, cannot go unchallenged. He remarks on pp. 103-104,

One cannot read the poetry of Eknath without feeling that he was a sincere theist. He was a worshipper of God, the Spirit and spoke of there being but one true spiritual God.

But after a couple of quotations in support of this view, he continues:

Notwithstanding such verses, Eknath worshipped idols continually and in view of the miraculous events narrated by Maphipati, one wonders whether Eknath did not at times attribute miraculous powers to the idol itself. Was it merely a meaningless symbol? To the present writer, it seems certain that Eknath did at times have faith in spiritual significance of the idol itself. At other times, the idol was doubtless a mere symbol, calling the spiritual God to mind.

The author makes a similar observation on p. 107. This is not a correct representation of Eknath's doctrines. Like other *bhakta* poets of the Deccan, he is an *advaita bhakta*. His philosophy is typical of the *Bhakti* school. *Saguna* God and *nirguna* God are one and the same to him, and the idol is but a pure symbol. All the saints of the *Bhakti* school worship their idols with extreme reverence though every one of them fully realises and observes in his works their symbolical character. Eknath is not an exception. He has often expressly stated this view in his "Eknathi Bhagawat" and other works. Christian missionaries often fail to appreciate the point of view from which saints like Eknath look at idolatry.

The last chapter of the book mentions the saintly virtues of Eknath and is only a partial repetition of the chapter on his life.

Generally speaking, the present work on Eknath is rather disappointing. It has a scrappy appearance. A major part of it is stuffed with mere information.

which is of course not without its use. But a good work on Eknath must be something more. It should evince a close and critical study of the saints' works on the part of the author. This Dr. Deming's work does not do. Still it will be helpful to foreigners who wish to get some knowledge of Eknath but are unable to read his original works.

G. V. TULPULE.

### SHORT NOTICES.

**TWENTIETH-CENTURY ADDRESSES.** By F. C. DICKINSON AND DIWAN CHAND SHARMA. (Macmillan, Bombay.) 1931. 20cm. 252p. 3/6.

THE easiest way for a "professor" in an Indian college to turn an honest penny, some say, is to get to work with scissors, gum-bottle and half a dozen anthologies by other hands, and to produce out of them a new patchwork. The anthology under review, notwithstanding the admission of three pieces found in more than one other "selection," escapes the stigma. In their choice of addresses, marked by a new literary grace and a delightful morning freshness of form, Professors Dickinson and Sharma give proof not only of a fine individuality of taste but also a genuine desire—which we expect of all anthologists, pot-boiling and otherwise—to bring the average college student to corners of great literature beyond his range by visiting which his soul would be touched to fine issues and the slumbering artist in him awakened. For the first time in any such prose bouquet, we have here addresses by Sir Asutosh Mukerjee, Sir J. C. Bose, the Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Sir Rabindranath Tagore—Indians of acknowledged eminence in law, science, letters and politics, who combine the Indian genius for reaching after towards the spirit behind the shows of things with a world-outlook, and who, in their addresses, give us a sense of the solidarity of the race and the unity of life. Mr. Sastri's Convocation Address at the Mysore University was delivered in the teeth of and as a challenge to shattered health. Though it well harmonizes with the other addresses, it does not quite *represent* him. The volume of his eloquence is a "well of English undefiled" and we hope that future anthologists will follow the lead of this book in selecting from his golden pages.

Figuring here for the first time are also classical performances by Englishmen, most of them late Victorians. It is quite refreshing to see here "Q" on "Jargon," Mr. Stanley Baldwin on "Truth and Politics," the Earl of Balfour on "Bacon," to mention a few. I gladly repeat here what I said, five years ago, of Archbold's *Twentieth-Century Essays and Addresses*, that the book deserves to be prescribed as a "rapid-reading text-book" for the Intermediate class in Indian Universities. And as Archbold's book was prescribed at the Bombay University last year, this one will have the same good luck next year, we hope.

R. SADASIVA AYYAR.

**A HISTORY OF INDIAN LITERATURE.** Vol. I By M. WINTERNITZ. (Trs. from the original German by Mrs. Ketkar.) (The University of Calcutta.) 24cm. 634p.

THAT a history of Indian literature should be first written in German and then translated into the English language for the benefit of Indians is an anomaly—not to say an irony—that only belittles the

land or the literature that the book is meant to deal with. Most of us are getting to be rather sick of the peans of praise that are periodically and dutifully sung by sympathetic Europeans who wish to be kind, but are, in spite of themselves, betrayed into an attitude towards "the glorious heritage of India" and all that sort of thing, which Pope has called "damning with faint praise, and assenting with civil leer." As an Indian, I am profoundly disappointed in the work under review, because it is written for the interested and curious scholar and student and not for the hundred-per-cent. full-blooded Indian youth, who would have nothing short of a history of this kind written only by an Indian scholar steeped and grown up in his own country and culture. If a Fellow of the Madras University were to write a History of English or German literature for the students of Oxford or Berlin, there would be an intellectual reaction—or even revulsion—against such an attempt: and for good reasons. An assiduous student may admire and capture the beauty of a national literature other than his own; but he never can impart his appreciation of it to a degree that an ordinary layman born and bred in that culture can.

This does not mean that I find anything to be condemned in the book. The author has treated the subject with great learning and experience of Indology; but what we would like is not so much of Indology but India—not the ability to discuss and expatiate upon the probable date of a particular manuscript or the possible name of a certain mythical author with elaborate erudition, but the soul of a devotee thrown unreserved and passionate into the treasures he has inherited.

Anyway we should, be grateful to the author for the infinite pains he has taken so that we should have an accurate account of our own national literature. This publication is a monument of the indefatigable industry of the writer and a silent comment on the inability of Indians to assess their own wealth.

A. MADHAVA MENON.

**INDIA UNDER BRITISH TERROR.** Published BY PERCY GLADING. (23 Great Ormond Street, London, W. C.) 1931. 21cm. 96p. 3d.

IN their handling of the civil disobedience movement of last year the Government and their subordinates did not always keep their head cool. Indeed many instances of police and magisterial excesses which came to light last year must still be fresh in the minds of our readers. Some of the more discreditable happenings were those at Peshawar, Midnapore, Ranpur and Dacca. These were gone into by non-official committees, which held the police mishandling of crowds largely responsible for the breaches of public peace that followed. Extracts from their reports are brought together in this handy little book for the edification of the British public. It also reproduces some samples of the treatment meted out to satyagrahi prisoners in Indian jails. Nor has Mr. Glading forgotten the Meerut Conspiracy case which has been dragging on for over two years and a half now, and nobody knows how much longer it will still take to see its end. This book reproduces facts which have gone far to blacken the British administration in this country and should serve as an eye-opener to those simple-minded folk in England and other foreign countries who have nothing but unmixed admiration for the achievements of the British people in India.

T. R. V.