

The Servant of India

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Topics of the Week.

Ordinances in the Assembly.

AS is only natural, the first item of business which the Assembly considered on its reassembling was the Ordinance Rule in the country. The resolution tabled by Sir Hari Singh Gour expressed the Assembly's opposition to a civil disobedience or no-tax campaign, but blamed the Government for not giving the Congress leader an opportunity of discussing with the Viceroy the necessity for the Ordinances which he had promulgated. The resolution further condemned the Government's action in leaving the Central Legislature out of the business altogether, taking its stand on the fact that Ordinances would be justifiable only when the legislature was either not in session or could not be convened before the emergency became too dangerous to follow the normal procedure. Whatever the situation might have been at the end of last year, the resolution demanded that emergency legislation be now brought before the Assembly to take the place of the Ordinances which were used not merely to keep the civil disobedience movement in check but in such a way as to hamper unnecessarily the normal activities of the people and in some cases wantonly to harass and insult respectable men and women. In the discussion of the resolution which received the enthusiastic support of all progressive members, several glaring instances were brought forward of the misuse of the Ordinances and so far as the reports received by now show, the Government made no sign of exercising greater restraint, in their application, not to speak of withdrawing or even modifying them. The resolution was eventually lost, but public opinion has been thoroughly roused all over the country and demands are being made everywhere, even in quarters with no sympathy with civil disobedience, that nothing be done which is not obviously and demonstrably necessary to control the civil disobedience movement and maintain law and order. The Western India Liberal

Association has already submitted a representation in this connexion, and we have no doubt that the executive committee of the Liberal Party, which is to meet in Allahabad on Sunday next, will once again urge Government to stop wholesale arrests and all other kinds of abuse of the power which it has taken to itself.

* * *

Excesses Under Ordinance Regime.

THE celebration of the Independence and Frontier Days which occurred last week was widely observed and naturally served to swell appreciably the number of arrests. Firing also had to be resorted to in some places and led to some loss of life. The only member of the Congress Working Committee in India whose movements were so far unrestricted, Mr. M. S. Aney, was arrested last week and has since been sentenced to six months' imprisonment, while the late Mr. C. R. Das's sister has been interned in her own house which is closely guarded by the police.

Loud complaints are heard from different parts of the country about the harsh and excessive use of the Ordinance and the happenings of the last month during which they have been in force go to show that the complaints are by no means groundless. Participation in a hartal which did not attract the attention of the authorities so far has now come to be looked upon as objectionable as the arrest of a number of merchants at Cawnpore and Surat who closed their places of business in connection with the celebration of the Independence Day will show. The objection seems to be based on the reasoning that since Congress is declared to be an unlawful body, participation in hartals for the organisation of which it may be responsible is tantamount to helping the activities of an unlawful association.

The mere sale of khaddar and the distribution of leaflets exhorting people to buy khaddar and swadeshi goods only has earned for the offending Congressman of Rajahmundry severe thrashing by the police followed by arrest, while at Samalkota even the mere receipt of handbills preaching swadeshi, boycott of foreign goods and the abandonment of the drink habit made a number of people liable to sound beating by the police. Nearer home, an inhabitant of Dharwar has been sentenced to three years' imprisonment for no graver offence than that of singing civil disobedience songs in a public street while a boy picketer in Bombay was punished last week with whipping, which clearly goes against the trend of current thought on the subject of penal reform. The forcible closure of the Congress hospital at Allahabad which, as the U. P. Liberals point out, was not necessary in the interest of law and order and the lathi-beating administered in Madras to an ambulance corps man about to render first aid to a Congress volunteer made unconscious by police lathi blows clearly show that the

administration of these Ordinances is not even guided by considerations of humanity.

An instance of the gross abuse of the powers vested in the executive by the Ordinances is the case of Dr. Paton who was recently prosecuted in Madras on the charge of active participation in the picketing of foreign cloth shops, but the prosecution against whom has had since to be withdrawn, the police apparently finding themselves unable to substantiate the accusation. According to Dr. Paton himself, he came to Madras from Tirupattur, the place of his permanent residence, in order to find out if it was necessary to start an emergency hospital there under Christian auspices to afford relief to the injured. Having come to Madras, he was anxious not to go back without seeing for himself what was happening there in connection with the picketing of foreign cloth shops and went to the business area. While observing things from a distance he seems to have been set upon mercilessly by two sergeants who gave him many lathi blows and also turned the hose containing coloured water on him. The charge sheet represented Dr. Paton as having been accompanied by Congress volunteers whom he posted at different shops, all of which he repudiated as a pure myth in his statement before the magistrate. Commenting upon his case, Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, an ex-Advocate General and an ex-Law Member of the Madras Government, wonders "whether this case will open the eyes of Government and make them see that it is not always that they get a true unvarnished tale from their policemen. What happened in this case might and does happen in many another. The facilities which Dr. Paton had of changing the mind of Government, others may not possess. The Government cannot proceed on the comfortable belief that what their police tell them cannot be untrue or that they cannot be guilty of unjustifiable excesses."

As if the wide powers enjoyed by the executive under the Ordinances were insufficient, section 144, Cr. Pr. C. is freely impressed into service. To what extent its provisions are prostituted will be seen from the fact that at Rajahmundry the police did not allow the holding of even the business meeting of the Co-operative Central Bank there. Who can say that all this will engender a spirit of sweet reasonableness among the people, which is so needful for a proper working of the projected reforms?

* * *

Excessive Use of Force by Madras Police.

PUBLIC indignation at the excessive and heartless use of the lathi by the police found expression in the last session of the Madras Legislative Council over an adjournment motion intended to draw attention to what may without exaggeration be called a public scandal. The motion was talked out, the Government being particularly anxious that it should not be voted upon. Indeed the Home Member seems to have deliberately prolonged his speech in order to make voting within the time limit impossible. But the non-official speeches made in the course of the debate leave no doubt in one's mind that the merciless handling of Congressmen by the Police is deeply resented by all sections of opinion and that if the Council had been given an opportunity to vote, it would have carried the vote of censure against Government by a large majority. But what is creating dangerous embitterment of public feeling is more the humiliation which the police try to heap upon respectable Congress workers than even the relentless way in which they wield the lathi against them. One of the worst of such cases referred to in the debate was that of Mr. B. Sambamurti. He, it seems, was addressing a public meeting officially banned

when the police came and beat him till he became unconscious. But they did not apparently cease their attentions to him even after he had fallen down. The Superintendent of Police is reported to have kicked him with his foot! This, if true, is really too bad. One would have expected that when the case was thus pointedly brought to notice by responsible popular representatives the Government would at least express its readiness to make due reparations to the aggrieved party and to take suitable notice of the police officer's reprehensible conduct. But the Home Member merely contented himself with professing ignorance of those happenings. If the Government is at war with the Congress, as was officially stated in the course of the debate, there is no reason why the war should be fought by methods which contravene universally accepted notions of humanity and justice.

* * *

British Opinion on the Indian Situation.

BRITISH newspapers published after the Indian Government had launched upon a campaign of repressing the Congress and the civil disobedience movement early last month having been received by the last mail, it is now possible to judge correctly as to the reaction of British opinion to the new situation created in this country. The views of the British Press as cabled by Reuter at the time made it appear as if British opinion was unanimously behind the Indian Government in the coercive action they had taken to deal with the Congress. That is however far from the truth. The fact is that true to its traditions the die-hard section of the Press in England was full of joy that the Government had at last moved in the direction so earnestly desired by it. But there is also a large volume of sober and thinking British opinion which seriously doubts the wisdom of the substitution by the Government of their wise policy of conciliation by one of relentless repression in their dealings with the Congress. The *New Statesman and Nation* of January 9, e. g., comments on the Indian situation as follows:

"Shootings and riots, raids and arrests, have begun in India. The Congress is proscribed and its leaders are being bundled into prison. We are trying, in short, what our whole policy since the war has been designed to avoid, the policy of 'resolute government.' Mr. Gandhi, of course, may be quite pleased to be in prison; he was in an impossible position, torn between his desire for moderation on the one side and the violence of his supporters on the other. But for us and for those out of prison in India things look about as black as they can be. There are two very remote possibilities of avoiding chaos and bloodshed. One is that the imprisonment of the leaders and the dissensions among the rank and file will cool the ardour of the Nationalist movement throughout India. That apparently is what the Government of India hopes. But what case is there in the whole course of history of a Nationalist movement yielding for any considerable length of time to a policy of repression? The other possibility is that the Round Table Committees, when they get to work next month, will satisfy Indian aspirations. But is that really a chance while so many of the leaders of Indian opinion are being put into gaol?"

The paper proceeds: "Our die-hards, of course, are pleased by these swift and stern measures of repression. They only want rather more of them: deportations, seizures of funds, and other vigorous methods of stamping out sedition or protecting our good friends the Mohammedans." But where does all this get us to in the end? It is absurd to talk as though the problem in India is how to put down a mutiny. The India of to-day is not the India of the 1850's. Nor is India Cyprus. We are confronted

with a national movement such as we had to face a few years ago in Ireland and again in Egypt. It is, no doubt, far more complicated, but fundamentally it is the same, and we shall have sooner or later to give way now as we did then, for the simple reason that we cannot afford the cost, even if we had the stomach for it, of governing by the sword. For the moment we are responsible for order in India, and we must keep order. But if in the next few months we can make no progress in coming to terms with the Indians, the Hindus as well as the Moslems, the Congress party as well as the Princes, then in our own interests we had better give ourselves notice to quit".

* * *

Mr. Brailsford on the Situation.

IN a characteristically dispassionate analysis of the Indian situation in the *New Leader*. Mr. Brailsford refers to Mahatma Gandhi's letter in which he sought an interview with the Viceroy as "tactless" and says: "His (Mahatma Gandhi's) rule is to conceal nothing, and he plainly said that his Committee was considering, in certain eventualities, a return to "civil disobedience". Everyone knew it, but this plain dealing offended Lord Willingdon, a smaller man than his predecessor. Apart altogether

from this question of tact, the Viceroy bluntly refused, under any circumstances, to discuss the Ordinances. That was on his part a pose as petty as it was unreasoning. If a Government asks the leaders of Indian opinion to co-operate with it in combating terrorism (as Lord Willingdon did) it cannot reasonably refuse to discuss with them the methods by which it should be fought. The case for consultation was all the stronger, since in fact these Ordinances are being used as much to repress an economic movement of a normally patient peasantry as to deal with a revolutionary conspiracy. One can govern India with Indian opinion or against it. If one desires to enlist its support, one must consult its leaders. It is fantastic to summon Mr. Gandhi to London to discuss the rights which Indians shall enjoy tomorrow, and at the same time to refuse to listen when he would defend such rights as they ought to enjoy to-day. A year hence we shall all have forgotten this trifle of punctilio which led Lord Willingdon into this needless folly. It was more than an accident—something more fatal than one man's inadequacy. The fact is, I suspect, that the bureaucracy, or that part of it which has the police mind, was eager for a fight to the bitter end with Congress."

SETTLING THE DETAILS.

THE Consultative Committee, through which the R.T.C. is to be kept in being during the vacation period, met in New Delhi on Thursday last under the chairmanship of the Viceroy. It consists of a number of selected representatives of British India and the Indian States, but contains no representatives of the parties in Great Britain. This defect in its composition, which will obviously make it impossible for any decisions to be taken, even though these decisions can only be provisional, to be accepted or rejected by the Conference itself, was adverted by Mr. Joshi in the interview which he gave in Bombay. But according to Government's plans, this is not to be the only body which is to carry on the work of the R.T.C. A counterpart of the Consultative Committee in India is to meet in London. It will consist of the Premier, the Secretary of State, the Lord Chancellor who presided over the Federal Structure Sub-Committee and the experts who helped him in drawing up the reports which he presented to the Sub-Committee. These two bodies together may be said to constitute the Working Committee of the Conference; and they will be discussing, as far as possible, the same questions at the same time, so that the non-official Indian members will know what the Government's view is on any particular point which may be under discussion in India and will be able to urge modifications in that view. Such a consultation carried on in two continents must necessarily suffer from serious drawbacks, but in view of the impossibility of Cabinet Ministers like Mr. MacDonald and Lord Sankey coming over to India, this is the best arrangement that could be devised.

The Viceroy in his opening remarks said that being a business committee, there was no room in it for set speeches such as were delivered in the Federal

Structure Sub-Committee, but that work there would be done mostly by informal and conversational methods. This is as it should be. The work of constitution-making has not proceeded beyond the broadest outlines. A great many details on a great many important points have yet to be considered, and they can be considered satisfactorily only if the desire of making elongated speeches is put under severe restraint. The questions that will receive consideration at the Committee's hands are stated to be such as were either not discussed at all at the R.T.C. or were discussed but without reaching "a measure of agreement." The questions on which there was a consensus of opinion on one side or the other would be left out, and the other questions taken up. This seems at first sight a very sound procedure, but the difficulty of determining whether general agreement was arrived at or not is so great that this rough and ready method cannot be applied in practice without leaving serious deficiencies in the discussion. No questions were voted upon at the Conference; nor were the various sections of the population or interests in the country given proportionate representation. It may be that only one member of the Federal Structure Sub-Committee dissented from the opinion expressed by the others. But he may in fact count for more than several of the rest put together. We have not only Mahatma Gandhi in mind. Take the depressed classes or labourers, who had only one representative each on the Sub-Committee, or the peasants who had no representative at all. These classes have a meagre voice at present both in the legislatures and the constituencies, and were therefore given a meagre voice at the R.T.C. too. But the franchise is now to be widened. It may be extended from three to eight times, even if the recommendations of the Franchise Sub-Committee are accepted. The classes

who could not make their influence felt at the R.T.C. will in the future constitution be in a fairly strong position. We must therefore attach to their feeble voice at the Conference a weight and a value far in excess of what would be attached to a single dissentient vote at the meeting of the Committee or the Conference. This one vote may conceivably outweigh the votes of all the others.

We are afraid that this point of view was ignored at the Conference itself and will be ignored at the Consultative Committee. To take but one illustration, the necessity of an elective representation of the States in the federal legislature was emphasised by only a few members of the Federal Structure Sub-Committee, viz. Messrs. Joshi and Zafrullahkhan and Drs. Ambedkar and Shafa'at Ahmed Khan, and all others, including Mahatma Gandhi, seemed agreeable to nomination so far as the States' representation was concerned. To superficial observers therefore it might appear that the Sub-Committee and the Conference as a whole approved of the principle of the States choosing their representatives as they liked. Lord Sankey himself was misled by the "measure of agreement", that he could observe and embodied this principle as an agreed provision in his draft report. This matter however must be regarded as one of those on which a general agreement could not be reached. Like the communal problem, it still remains a contentious subject awaiting an agreed solution. It ought to be possible for members of the Consultative Committee to raise this and such-like questions. It is no use saying that if such questions are to be argued afresh no progress is possible in the work of the detailed formulation of the constitution. If such be the case it would certainly be regrettable, but real progress will not be facilitated by imagining agreement where there is none. A constitution framed on such a basis would be so unstable as not worth bothering

about. A federation at any rate must certainly have a surer foundation than that.

We are moved to stress this point because we find that the Viceroy in his introductory speech incidentally says that it is an "accepted position that the States are to be free to select their own representatives." It is not an accepted position. It is the contention of the Princes which is acceptable to some British Indians and totally unacceptable to some others. The number of the latter may be smaller but they represent a larger mass of people than the former can claim to do. The acceptance of such a provision even by Mahatma Gandhi does not make it less open to controversy than, e.g. financial safeguards to which all States' representatives and several British Indian representatives agreed, but which Mahatma Gandhi and a few others contested. To proceed on this basis is to court failure. The part of wisdom is to discuss all the questions that may be raised by members and to let the course of discussion show whether there is agreement or not. Possibly on some matters differences will be obstinate and will not yield to any process of persuasion, whether in the Consultative Committee or in the Round Table Conference itself. In such cases it would be infinitely better to admit our failure to arrive at an agreement than to go forward with framing a constitution and pretend the differences had been reconciled. It must be possible at every stage of the proceedings for every dissident minority to represent its point of view, and it must not be said at any stage that it is too late to represent that point of view. The need for speedy constitutional reform cannot justify our acting on false pretences, and where a federation is concerned, which cannot be easily amended, the force of the good old adage may quickly be brought home: the more haste the less speed.

INDIAN LABOUR AND THE R.T.C.

By N. M. JOSHI.

INDIAN labour stands for full self-government, as does any other class of people in the country, but whatever may be the meaning of self-government for the other classes the Indian workers do not want a mere replacement of the rulers of one race by those of another. They want real self-government in which they themselves and the masses in general will have their due share. From ancient times there have been several changes in the race of the rulers of India, but the condition of the workers and of the masses did not undergo any change on that account. Whatever the British Government may or may not have done to alleviate the condition of the workers and of the masses in the past, it is clear that no irresponsible British Government will have any power hereafter to improve their condition without the co-operation of the people of the country; therefore the sooner full responsible government is established in which the workers can pull their weight the better for them. But they will not be satisfied

with a mere change of masters; what they want is a really democratic constitution in which their voice will prevail in proportion to their numbers.

ESSENTIALS OF FEDERATION.

The Indian workers welcome the idea of a government common to the whole country, whether unitary or federal, exercising authority over both the British Indian provinces and the Indian States. A division of India into British and Indian India militates against the adoption of measures for improving the condition of the workers. Under the present capitalist and competitive economic system no part of the country can progress very far by itself unless the other parts also progress with it. But the All-India Government or the Federation which the workers desire must be a real one, a strong one; they have no use for a loose Federation with very limited powers. They would like the whole of India, including the Indian States, to have a common citizen-

ship, implying full freedom of movement from one part of the country to the other for following their respective occupations or trades; they would also like to have a common civil and criminal law for the whole country; they would like common labour legislation such as the Factory Act, Minimum Wage legislation and Social Insurance legislation; furthermore, they would like the Federal Government to have full power to levy direct taxation. Above all, the Government they wish to see established in India must be a Government responsible to the common people.

Judged by these tests, the form of government which is being evolved at the Round Table Conference must be pronounced to be defective in many respects and will be regarded with dissatisfaction by the workers. In the proposed Federation a common citizenship is not guaranteed, nay, it is not even thought of; under the new constitutional arrangements the workers will not enjoy full freedom to move from British India to Indian States for pursuing their occupations or trades; they may have to live under different systems of civil and criminal law; the Federal authority would have no power to regulate the civil and criminal law in Indian States which at present is based purely on the autocratic power of the rulers of the States. The Federal Government is not expected to have much power of direct taxation, which is the only system by which the burden of taxation can be equitably arranged. The power of the Federal Government is practically limited to indirect taxation, which naturally falls unduly heavily upon the masses and workers. The iniquitous nature of this burden becomes even more glaring when it is remembered that most of the revenue so collected is and will be spent on the army which is maintained more for the protection of the propertied classes than for the benefit of the workers.

AN UNDEMOCRATIC CONSTITUTION.

Let us now examine the composition of the proposed federal legislature. Whatever else it may be, it is certainly not democratic. If the government of the country is really to conform to the wishes of the majority of the people there is absolutely no need for a bicameral legislature. If the Second Chamber is intended to avoid hasty legislation, the object can be secured by other means. The proposed Second Chamber will consist as to 40 p. c. of its total membership of representatives of the States with only 25 p. c. of the total population of India. The States will thus enjoy weightage which can only be given at the cost of British India. We are opposed to the principle of weightage for the simple reason that it involves unfairness to an important constituent of the federation. That precedents are found for it in other constitutions can be no solace to us. It would perhaps have been a different matter if the representation allotted to the States had been really conferred on the people of the States. One can understand representation being given to well-established popular governments which join the Federation, but this form of government is conspicuous by its absence in most of the States and

it is really difficult to understand how the Princes' nominees can represent the people of the Indian States in a democratic form of government. Besides the so-called States' representatives there will be those of the propertied classes in British India, another conservative block. Their exact number is not known; but it may be taken for granted that the Second Chamber will be dominated by representatives of the propertied classes, as it is intended it should be.

If such a reactionary Chamber is to have equal power with the popular Chamber in which also the propertied classes will be strongly represented, it is clear that the will of the common people will never prevail in the conduct of the government unless they are bent upon making themselves heard by some form of direct action. For the popular Chamber to command the workers' favour it must consist solely of representatives elected by the people on the basis of adult franchise.

ADULT FRANCHISE REQUIRED.

The Franchise Committee of the Round Table Conference has recommended that not less than one-tenth and not more than one-fourth of the total population should be enfranchised. Even if the expert Franchise Committee which is carrying on the necessary investigations under the chairmanship of Lord Lothian adopts the maximum proportion of 25 per cent, nearly a half of the adult population will not be enfranchised, and this unenfranchised half will almost wholly consist of the workers and the masses. It goes without saying that a constitution which virtually excludes the workers and the masses from the franchise cannot be acceptable to them.

Adult suffrage is resisted mainly on practical considerations. It is said in its disparagement that the constituencies will be unwieldy; but this will be a permanent difficulty with us. Neither the population nor the size of the country is going to be reduced at any time in future. Therefore this difficulty must be faced some time or other, if the Indian government is to be a democratic one and there is no reason why it should not be faced now.

It is also pointed out that the workers and the masses are illiterate. But illiteracy is not their fault; it is rather the result of their not having had political influence so far. Thus their present illiteracy is an argument not for depriving them of the franchise but for its conferment upon them. Moreover, illiteracy is not considered a disqualification in the case of those who possess property. It is difficult to understand how the mere possession of property can remove the disadvantage of illiteracy, if it is really regarded as such. Even illiterate people are able to judge as to the fitness of a person to represent their interests.

If it is necessary to restrict the number of voters in order to prevent the constituencies from becoming unwieldy, it can be more justly done by a restrictive qualification common to all economic classes, such e. g. as the qualification of age. If persons above 21 or even 30 only are enfranchised, the number of voters would be restricted without penalising any

single economic class. The workers are by no means against the enfranchisement of women, but it will be very detrimental to their interests if, as is proposed, the wives or widows of those who are enfranchised are given the right to vote, specially when the total number of voters is to be limited to a certain percentage of the population. This is virtually doubling their voting strength. It would be well, therefore, if the advocates of female franchise join hands with those who stand for adult suffrage, so that the enfranchisement of women will not come in the way of the enfranchisement of the workers and the poorer classes.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION IN MULTI-MEMBER CONSTITUENCIES.

What is called the communal problem has proved to be a formidable stumbling block in the way of the solution of the Indian question. From the point of view of the workers and of the masses however the problem practically does not exist. The most important questions with which a Government and a Legislature have to deal are not religious or racial questions but economic. And for their solution the community cannot obviously be divided according to religion or race. The communal problem has really been created by that section of the community which depends upon Government appointments for its livelihood. The workers and the masses have nothing to do with this, although in the present circumstances it is possible that even they may be somewhat affected by religious or racial conflicts when their religious or racial frenzy is roused.

For the proper solution of economic problems which are much more important than the religious or racial, the division of the community for the purpose of government and legislation ought to be on the basis of occupation or trade. The workers, therefore, would prefer occupational electoral constituencies to religious or racial, or even to territorial constituencies. But unfortunately this idea seems to be too revolutionary to the present-day Indian politician.

The next best type of electoral constituencies is the multi-member territorial constituency with a simple form of proportional representation. In the elections to the Bombay Municipality, communal representation is equitably secured by the method of cumulative voting, allowing a voter to cast as many votes as there are seats allotted to the constituency, the voter being free to cast all these votes in favour of one candidate or divide them among several, as he likes. But in order to have multi-member constituencies of reasonable size, the number of members of the proposed legislature must be much larger than that proposed by the Federal Structure Committee. It is for this reason that the Labour representative on this Committee insisted upon not less than 600 members for the popular chamber, which would give about four members for a constituency of one revenue district.

It must be admitted that if we have single-member constituencies, it is only the majority community,

based upon either religion, race or economic interest, which will have representation, while the less numerous ones will have hardly any. This is bound to happen if the number of members of the Legislature is kept as low as is at present proposed. If however the community is to be divided on the basis of religion or race, then it will certainly be wrong not to give the benefit of such a division to the depressed classes. If there is any community which deserves special protection more than another, it is the untouchables. There is no justification for giving weightage to any community; if weightage is to be given to a community it will have to come out of the due share of some other community, and there is no reason why any community should be deprived of its due share. As regards the proposal for special constituencies for landlords, merchants and traders, and labour, the workers have no particular objection to it in principle, and if any special constituencies are created the workers will naturally insist that adequate representation should be reserved to them by this method. The number of pure wage-earners in India is estimated to be about 60 millions, and the special representation reserved for them must be in proportion to this number. The best method of providing this representation will be by election through the constituencies of trade unions, as recommended by the Whitley Commission.

NO COMMUNAL ELECTION.

The proposal made in the pact which has been made by some of the minorities, that each community based upon religion or race should separately provide for its own workers, is a mischievous one. If such a proposal is adopted it is bound to divide trade unions according to religion or race, which will be a calamity from the point of view of the workers. The workers greatly appreciate the need for representation in the Legislature, but they value the solidarity of their organisation much more. If it becomes necessary for them to lose representation in the legislature in order to maintain the solidarity of their organisation, they will gladly do so, placing full reliance on the strength of their organisation outside the legislatures to protect their interests. The proposal in the minorities pact is thus not a very desirable alternative. It will lead to resort to direct action where parliamentary methods may be used with less sacrifice being required of the workers and less inconvenience being caused to all sections of the community.

If communal electorates are to remain, provision will have to be made by creating some general constituencies for adequate representation of those who have a conscientious objection to being placed on the communal register. For the benefit of such persons general constituencies must exist for their representation in both the Federal and Provincial Legislatures. The number of such constituencies should be increased when the numbers on such register increase. This provision will help in the gradual elimination of the constituencies based

upon religion or race when the bulk of the population expresses its desire to be transferred to the general register.

(To be concluded.)

Reviews.

A UNITED WORLD.

THE UNITY OF THE WORLD. By GUGLELMO FERRERO. (Cape) 1931. 20cm. 188p. 5/-.

THIS is one of the most startling books of modern times. It grips you and you slavishly read on to the end, all the while feeling you are a willing victim to the magnetism of the arrestive interpretations of world events. You gasp for breath when you are told "By its catastrophes the world is achieving unity." But how pleasant you feel when the idea is worked out.

"In former times the world was divided into many independent sections. Empires might fall to rack and ruin in the Far East without the mediterranean area being aware of it; the mediterranean area might sink into anarchy without unduly upsetting distant Asia. . . . But isolated destinies no longer exist among the nations. The repercussions of events whether direct or indirect from one end of the earth to the other are as unforeseeable as they are inevitable. The world while its individual parts are in conflict with one another is allowing itself to be bound little by little by invisible bonds produced by the conflicts themselves"

The world is to-day disunited. At the same time it feels that its different limbs should work together in several aspects. The instability of Europe and the muffled ferment of Asia threaten the mechanism of the rest of the world. Going off the gold standard is an infectious panic that affects the whole world. "Banks and Business are far more international than the Banker." Does it not show that a country however independent and hostile to the other has still to depend upon other countries for its stability? Consequently is not each country contributing to world peace by every act it does or it has to do to save itself? In the very act of a nation trying to keep itself off any calamity, it is trying to unite with the other countries in preserving the harmony of the world. This attempt is not explicit, not pre-ordained or prearranged. Even in the apparent disharmony, racial or cultural war, this element comes into play. Cultural conflicts lead to cultural union. Nations prosper on a new understanding, traditions get a new colour, ideals get an orientation. A Max Muller or an Andrews binds India and the West much stronger than any armies can hold them together. So also the creed of non-violence has to be thought of in its details as an event in a political struggle.

"The world today which is now almost a physical entity requires a single conscience in which there will be room for all that is the best of the civilizations already existing to reside in harmony" That is why we are to-day having talks of world disarmament. Whether we are going to succeed in that as a *fait accompli* one thing at least we can be sure of. Ninety per cent. of the people who compare the several nations have at least agreed on the goodness of the principle and we can say now at least that "intellectual disarmament" has been possible.

If an united world is possible does it require a ruler? Is a superior force necessary to keep order? The comparative merits of the claims of United States and Japan are canvassed. But the question is

left unanswered that the world of tomorrow would be a repetition of the Tower Babel.

Americanisation of Europe is passed on as one of the best methods of European, nay world, unity. But

"It can only be a useful phase of the unification of the world if Europe achieves a solid internal equilibrium and international peace. It cannot go on indefinitely. It will have to stop at the point beyond which it will work to our destruction . . . Europe cannot become a carbon copy of America, because certain elements of its former civilisation are bound up with its very existence and when they are destroyed Europe too will cease to exist and then it will not be dissolution but annihilation in other parts of the globe."

Is a force at all necessary to keep the world unity?

"As it will have no single master, the world will never be governed by a single force. Where the greatest religions have been defeated money will never succeed. In certain general common tendencies the world is approaching unity but it demands the retention of all its autonomies and individualities whether they be local, national or continental."

An institution like the League of Nations can act only as long as a stable order, a unity solidified between certain groups of Powers is plausible and necessary at one and the same time. But even that League will have little to do in America and avoid such danger of convulsions which have been agitating Mexico for several years.

The last chapter is a brilliant conclusion to a fascinating study of the question. Universal suffrage is put down as the safeguard of civilisation, it is ever the rampart of God. "The concept of Liberty will have to change with the times. All our energies should unite. It is necessary to-day to adjust and balance our energies in an order wherein the divine rights of the many will be the supreme safeguard of the most precious treasures of civilisation."

In conclusion, I have to confess to an abiding faith in the gospel vouchsafed in the book. The thesis has been well written, is remarkably clear and delightfully outspoken. One puts the book aside with a feeling of intellectual triumph, a conviction that he has grown wiser. Still I should say that literary merit and appreciation should be properly stated. I felt a little bit taken aback when in the introduction it was stated: "If I am not grievously mistaken, this book will become one of the universal classics to be read with Plato and Aristotle by the long generations to come. Its structure of thought symbolises the solid masonry of Rome and its philosophy the brooding spirit of the Acropolis". Surely Mr. Charles A. Beard could have spared the author and us this overpowering, shall I say a slightly exaggerated, estimate, and Aristotle and Plato this comparison. All the same I confess I fell a ready victim to its (book's) "essential power".

E. S. SUNDA.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN KESHAB AND RAMKRISHNA.

KESHAB CHANDRA AND RAMKRISHNA.
By G. C. BANERJI. (The Author, Gyan Kutir, Allahabad.) 1931 19cm. 402p. Rs. 2.

THE present work concerns two of the most eminent men of modern India, especially in regard to the mutual relationship that existed between them. The author has been led to write it at an age—he is more than seventy years old—when few people at least in India would think of doing it had there been no great

moral urge behind, especially as the book deals with a great deal of controversial matter in which unfortunately the question of this relationship between Keshab and Ramkrishna has been involved. He has done his work, however, in a commendable spirit, and although he is a staunch follower of Keshab, his respect for Ramkrishna is as great as for his master. He prefaces the book with this statement :—

"This narrative is from the pen of one who holds both of these great men in the highest estimation. They are dear to him, but truth is dearest of all and it is this compelling sense of truth that has led him to make these statements to dispel illusions and combat half-truths and falsehoods that have grown round the sweet relationship that subsisted between these voyagers of the uncharted ocean of spirituality. We have not taken in hand this publication in an offensive spirit but on the contrary we are on the defensive."

As it turns out, however, the book is not merely defensive. Were it only that it would not be worth writing. It is because it is something more that the book will have a permanent place in the religious literature of modern India. It is true the first part is critical and sometimes very much so: critical of the claims made on behalf of Ramkrishna as against Keshab.

When one contemplates the holy friendship between Keshab and Ramkrishna, it looks like a sacrilege to speak of one as being a disciple of the other. Both these men were friends in the best sense of the word and they did no doubt influence each other, but that was all that could be said of them. If, however, Keshab learnt more of Ramkrishna than the latter did of the former, it does not necessarily mean that Keshab was a disciple and Ramkrishna the master. It may very well rebound to the credit of Keshab to be more of a learner, and Romain Rolland has independently agreed with me in taking this view of the matter as he has said in his book on Ramkrishna. It is, therefore, very unfortunate that many among the disciples of Ramkrishna should have persistently claimed all these years that Keshab owed the idea of the New Dispensation with its constituent doctrines of Harmony of Religions and Motherhood of God to the influence of Ramkrishna. This is far from the truth and looks like robbing Peter to pay Paul. The entire ideal of the New Dispensation is a legitimate development of the seed that was sown long ago by Raja Ram Mohan Roy, and all the activities of Keshab ever since 1866 i. e. long before he came to know Ramkrishna, were tending in that direction. I have traced this development in general in my own books on Ram Mohan and Keshab and the Brahma Samaj. The same is done, however, in greater detail by the present author, especially as this development took place in Keshab's own life.

The essence of Keshab's greatness lay in his being a true disciple of every great and good man in the world. In this he was unique and had his affinity with such noble spirits of modern times as Goethe, Emerson and Carlyle. Long before he came to know Ramkrishna he had imbibed the catholic spirit of these men and what was cultural in them had become religious in him. In this he went farther than those men and was true to the genius of India. It was also because of this that he came to see the spiritual genius of Ramkrishna before any body else in Bengal had recognised the Paramahansa and it was mainly through the writings of Keshab that the people became conscious of the greatness of Ramkrishna. It is in this deeply reverential spirit that there lies the essence of the New Dispensation and it

was this that discovered Ramkrishna to Keshab. It must be said here that the latter was also possessed of the same spirit and it was that which made him seek out Keshab. It was because of this that both of them were bound to each other from their very first meeting in the closest ties of spiritual friendship and fellowship, and they remained so to the very last.

A question might well be asked: whether this feeling of reverence is reciprocated in any way by the followers of the great Paramahansa. I am afraid the answer has to be in the negative. Not only has there been no recognition of Keshab's greatness but there has been on the other hand a feeling towards him as towards the head of a rival school. There has even been a sort of belittling of Keshab. In all the literature of Ramkrishna-Vivekanand movement we rarely come across a spontaneous breath of genuine admiration for Keshab who was loved and honoured so much by the Paramahansa himself. I was reading recently the three-volume biography of Vivekanand and was pained that the author never even once made mention of Keshab by way of paying tribute to him for the great work he had done for his country, work which was in many respects the foundation of some of his own ideas and work.

There is however no doubt that there is need for better relations between these two movements viz., the Nava Vidhan and Ramkrishna Vivekanand Mission, both of which represent some of the deepest elements of religious life in India. A new era dawned upon Hindustan when Keshab and Ramkrishna met together and became friends in God in spite of their widely different temperaments and environments, and it is but due to their united and most precious memory that their followers should come together and appreciate one another even as their masters did.

MANILAL C. PAREKH.

SHORT NOTICES.

THE REPORT OF THE CHAMBER OF SHIPPING OF THE UNITED KINGDOM FOR 1930-31. (Chamber of Shipping of the United Kingdom, London; E. C. 3.) 1931. 22cm. 346p.

THIS finely got-up report gives a wealth of valuable information about the shipping industry of the United Kingdom. The information cannot but be of interest to Indians whose attempts to develop the same industry in this country are, as those in touch with public affairs need not be reminded, systematically frustrated by foreign vested interests. The report incidentally shows how seriously the work of such bodies is taken by those responsible for their conduct.

G. M. M.

THE GREAT PROPHET. OR SHORT LIFE OF THE FOUNDER OF ISLAM. By F. K. KHAN DURRANI. (Quami Kutub Khana, Railway Road, Lahore.) 1931. 19cm. 166p.

THIS is a short sketch of the life of Mahomed the Prophet written by a Muslim for Muslims. The language of the book is simple, and the narrative natural. Other successful traders and tribal leaders were many, but Mahomed alone had the sense of justice, humanity, truthfulness and mercy which made him the Great Prophet. The others have perished, but he alone, living what he preached, has left for the Arabs and the world at large the unsurpassed brotherhood of Islam.

N. S. S.