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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

LORD BIRKENHEAD's treatment of the Indian demand for further reforms in his recent utterance in the House of Lords will arouse deep dissatisfaction in political circles in this country. He is not yet prepared to recommend the appointment of the Royal Commission, though he again assures us that he is no slave of dates. But the improved political situation as reflected in the results of the last general elections in India does not seem to have made the necessary impression upon him. Not that in our opinion it was necessary to wait until then for appointing the Commission; far from it. True the programme of uniform, continuous and consistent opposition inscribed on the Swarajist banner was a disturbing factor; but it was virtually abandoned after it had excellently served the purpose of sending the Swarajists in considerable numbers into the legislatures. Only in two provinces the Swarajist majorities bent upon obstructivism necessitated the suspension of the Reforms; but the general political sense was clearly in favour of working the Reforms.

But all doubts on this head have been set at rest by the results of the last general elections. The Swarajist strength has been very considerably reduced with the result that in all provinces dyarchy is in full operation; and the Reforms are indeed being utilised for "the better government of India." In the Assembly, the Swarajists, though out to give the Government a bad time, actually find themselves powerless to do so. Lord Birkenhead in fact goes so far as to admit that "the tone of the debates has been on the whole free from bitterness, that the relations between the members of the Government of India and the Opposition have been friendly both

inside and outside the House, and the Government of India has been able to find sometimes by extremely narrow majorities sufficient support for their considered policies, to secure the defeat of their opponents upon issues of first class importance." If so, does not wisdom clearly lie in postponing no longer the appointment of the Royal Commission? While nothing is going to be gained by delay, it will only make the situation worse. Lord Birkenhead seems to suggest that the Commission is sure to come out next year at the latest. If as he says he is not a slave of dates, why not this year? Surely Lord Birkenhead is too experienced a statesman not to know that in politics time is a very important factor.

In discussions relating to the grant of further reforms, the present relations between the Hindus and Mahomedans are invariably referred to as a great stumbling block. Lord Birkenhead has not omitted to do so. While nobody can deny that these relations are not of the most cordial nature, it seems to us wrong to utilise them as an argument to delay progress. Communal troubles cannot be said to be an altogether recent growth in this country, nor does it seem likely that they will stop in the immediate future. To make our constitutional advance conditional upon their disappearance would be in effect to defer it to the Greek Kalends. This is of course far from saying that the gulf at present dividing these two communities is unbridgeable. It would be a mistake to think so. If properly tackled, the problem is not difficult of solution and the recent Conference of Mahomedan leaders at Delhi is a happy augury for the future.

But a good deal will depend upon the man on the spot, Lord Irwin. Lord Birkenhead is careful to explain that when he asks for cooperation he does not mean servile co-operation. The events of the last few months ought to convince any unprejudiced observer that this will not be lacking. The rejection by the Assembly of the demand for executive councillors clearly proves the unanimity of Indian opinion on the subject. It is for the Viceroy to press upon the authorities in England the imperative need of setting up the Commission without delay.

* * *

MR. HORNIMAN bewails in his *National Herald* of the 3rd inst. the betrayal of the non-co-operation principle of which the so-called Congress party is guilty in the Legislative Assembly. The article suffers somewhat from the evident ill-will which the writer bears to Pandit Motilal Nehru and is apparently designed to assist in his dethronement from leadership in favour of Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar. Still one can disentangle from these personalities a good deal of sound sense and irrefragable logic in this article, which cannot but send a thrill of

horror and indignation among all hearts, few though they be, which are yet true to non-co-operation. For there is not the least question that if the Congress party in the Assembly is to be judged from deeds instead of words there is hardly a vestige of non-co-operation left in its programme. Already the Swarajists have succeeded in persuading the Congress to a considerable emasculation of its original policy so that the latter, apart from some equivocal expressions used, is indistinguishable from the policy pursued by the Constitutionalist groups in many particulars. In fact almost the only point on which the Swarajist platform still savoured of non-co-operation was the Congress mandate to the legislatures "to refuse supplies and throw out budgets" except in certain exceptional circumstances which we need not pause to consider at present. This mandate was ostentatiously thrown overboard by the Swaraj party this year, and when a none-too-influential member of the Party rather mischievously tried to remind the Party of the mandate he became such a thorn in the flesh of the prominent Swarajists. Well may therefore Mr Horniman and others who still believe in non-co-operation deplore the patent fact that "the Congress party has been caught in the net of co-operation."

The anguish of Mr. Horniman's exquisite soul is further deepened by another fact which is equally patent that the Swarajists are drawing very close to the Responsivists in their politics in the Assembly. The Responsivists, he knows, "are not going to give up Responsivism," and if in this condition the Swarajist policy is closely approximating to the Responsivist policy, it can only mean that the Swarajists have to all intents and purposes been swept into Responsivism and to Mr. Horniman this is the uttermost depth of degradation imaginable. The real facts, however, are even worse, for the voting on the Finance Bill showed that the Responsivists are more truly non-co-operating than the professed non-co-operators. While the latter shrank from voting against the Bill, the former felt no scruples in doing so. There is thus reason for Mr. Horniman to shed even more copious tears than he has done; but the Constitutionalist cannot find this any source of comfort, for it is to be regretted that the Swarajists, having entered the Councils on a programme of refusal of supplies, helped Government to carry the Finance Bill, it is equally to be regretted that the Responsivists, having entered the Councils on a programme of opposition to indiscriminate obstruction, withheld their support from a Bill which on merits did not appear in any way objectionable to them. It must not be forgotten that the Responsivists voted against the Finance Bill even after carrying the motion for the reduction of the salt duty, and this could only be justified on the ground of opposition for opposition's sake. The truth of the matter is that the Non-co-operators, so far as any rate as this particular question is concerned, gave up non-co-operation and adopted responsivism, while the Responsivists gave up responsivism and adopted non-co-operation. The only hope is that the Responsivists have not deliberately and finally changed their policy but were betrayed into the path of unwisdom by their desire, not entirely unnatural, to show themselves off as even more extreme than extremists.

HIS EXCELLENCY the Governor of Bengal replying to the address of the Bengal Landholders' Association assured the Zemindars that so long as land revenue was a reserved subject and

Permanent Settlement and State Interests.

the permanent settlement was not proved to be inimical to the best interests of the State, the Government would not look with approval upon interference with it. Disapproval of interference with a reserved subject is easily understood; but we feel sure that His Excellency will see before long that the present land laws of Bengal are inimical to the best interests of the State. There are not a few among the Zemindars who think that excepting escutcheons with motto in old French they are in all respects equal to the land barons of England. It would, however, be grievous mistake for any responsible person in the Government to accept such a view for alike in origin and in tradition the landed aristocracy of the two countries are widely different and the ideas about British landlords are wholly inapplicable to Zemindars here. Regarding the merits of the permanent settlement we can do no better in this connection than quote a part of the speech delivered by His Excellency the Viceroy in February last in reply to an address by the Talukdars of Oudh. His Excellency observed "There are moreover obvious objections to the Permanent Settlement. It involves a sacrifice of the share of the State in the growing values of land and perpetual assessments which must become more and more uneven as time goes on. Any measure which tends permanently to limit the share which any class is called upon to contribute to the general revenue is almost certain to result in an unfair burden on the other classes."

THE voting of demands for grants was characterized in U. P. by a series of defeats sustained by the Government; but none was perhaps so remarkable as the one on the Land Revenue demand. It seems a committee had as far back as 1912 recommended that the period of settlement should be between 40 and 50 years; but the Government knew better and simply ignored the recommendation. Since then the Joint Select Committee strongly pleaded for legislation embodying principles of land revenue policy. How little has been done to carry into effect this useful suggestion can be seen from the fact that in no province has such legislation been yet placed on the statute book. And be it noted it is over seven years since the recommendation was made. In the meantime the work of revision settlements was proceeding apace in U. P. as elsewhere. This was naturally resented by non-officials who in 1924 carried a resolution recommending the postponement of all such revisions until land revenue legislation was passed. But apparently this had not the desired effect. Since then however the Council has been year after year rejecting the entire demand for survey and settlement by way of protest. Last year the Government introduced a land revenue bill, which on account of some amendments not acceptable to Government being incorporated in it by the Council, was withdrawn. This added fuel to the fire of non-official indignation with the result that this year all non-officials, landlords and others, combined in throwing out by an overwhelming majority of 64 to 21 votes the entire demand. It may be said that if their object was merely to record their protest it might as well have been achieved by means of a token cut. Mr. Caintamani who was among those who voted for the rejection of the grant pointed out that "these token cuts had been proved to be ineffectual so far as the unreceptive mind of the Governor in Council was concerned" and therefore "a more demonstrative vote had to be recorded by the House."

REPORT OF THE SKEEN COMMITTEE.

THE report of the Indian Sandhurst Committee has been published simultaneously in England and India this week under very peculiar circumstances. A copy of the report is not yet in our hands and the meagre and the inadequate summary of Reuter's Agency at Delhi is all that we have before us of this important report. Our Bombay contemporary, the *Times of India*, makes the extraordinary statement that Reuter's telegram was the first intimation received by the Government of India that the Secretary of State had made up his mind to publish this report. We join our contemporary in condemning "the arrogant stupidity" of the India Office in the matter of the publication of this report and the way in which Whitehall has dealt with the Government of India and the Indian public in this matter. The report was signed four months ago and the members of the Indian Legislative Assembly were very anxious to discuss during this session the grave and important issues relating to the education of Indians for a military career and the Indianisation of the military services; and several questions were asked suggesting the publication of the report for discussion during the session. No satisfactory answer was vouchsafed in the Legislative Assembly. The Secretary of State has now stated that "he felt bound to consider whether we in India might not be well advised not to publish the Report until both the Government of India and His Majesty's Government had time to examine it and review the whole problem including the aspects of it which are beyond the range of the signatories." It then dawned upon His Lordship that "this would involve too long delay in its publication" and after consulting the Viceroy and those of his colleagues who are primarily concerned, he decided "to publish the report at once." This state of cogitation on His Lordship's part came to an end only just after the Delhi session of the Central Legislature was over. The publication of the Report immediately after the close of the session therefore creates a most unfortunate impression that it was withheld from the Central Legislature during the session either by accident or by design. Whatever be the reason, the Central Legislature cannot discuss the very important issues raised in the report till the September session at Simla. By that time the Government of India would have expressed its own views on the subject and in fact they have already begun to make frantic efforts to discount the recommendations of the Committee in advance. Lord Birkenhead has also promised to issue a statement containing preliminary indications of "the scope of the further inquiry to which the report points the way." His Lordship said that the next step afterwards would be for the Committee of Imperial Defence after receiving the Government of India's views "to examine the report as a whole in its relation to those vital aspects of military policy which they alone are competent to appraise." It is

difficult to forecast what all this is going to lead to. But neither the Government of India nor the Secretary of State make any reference to any steps for ascertaining public opinion in India on the subject matter of the Report and they do not even condescend to refer to the Central Legislature or the desirability of consulting it, before coming to any conclusion on the points discussed in the report. This attitude of mind is hardly compatible with the spirit of cooperation which has been so often preached both by the spokesmen of the Government of India and also by Lord Birkenhead.

We do not propose to deal at present with the recommendations of the Committee at any great length, but must reserve a fuller examination of all the points raised in the report for a future occasion. *The Englishman* which voices the views of the reactionaries in this country and of the European military services has been very much upset and regards the report as so revolutionary that in its opinion it is difficult for many years to come to put the recommendations into force. Our contemporary regards the report as a triumph for the apostles of Indianisation of the Army services. The very composition of the Committee precludes any such view. It included reactionaries of the type of Sir Abdul Quaum and Captain Hira Singh and a number of members holding very conservative views on the subject of the Indianisation of the military services. The only exponents of the Indian nationalist standpoint on the committee were Messrs. Mahamad Ali Jinnah, Ramachandra Rao, Sir Pheroze Sethna and Major Zorawar Singh. In these circumstances it is no wonder that the recommendations fall short of the full demands made by the Indian nationalists in the Legislative Assembly. At the same time so high an authority as Sir P. & Sivaswamy Ayer regards the recommendations so far as they go as very satisfactory, and we agree with him in this view. The proposal made unanimously by the Committee for the establishment of an Indian Sandhurst for the training in India of 100 cadets and for the opening of the other arms of the military service to Indians are so modest in their nature that it is inconceivable that they could be objected to by anybody. There is, however, no doubt that a determined effort will be made to whittle down the report and to delay the solution of the problem by starting other inquiries and by framing alternative proposals not covered by the Committee's inquiry. The Government of India and the Secretary of State and those that advise these high authorities are experts in these dilatory tactics. It was said that a high military authority stated some time ago that the Indianisation of the military services is bound to be an accomplished fact in the near future, but it would be his job to delay it as long as possible. General MacMunn and others have already started an agitation in Great Britain against the Indianisation of the Army to keep India as long as possible under the dominance of

the European Military Services. So long as this dominance lasts there can be no question that responsible Government in India, even if established, will be but a shadow. An Indian national army is, therefore, a sine qua non. It is time that our leaders take stock of the situation and organise ways and means to counteract the mischievous agitation now set on foot to nullify the proposals made by the Committee.

INDIAN STATES AND DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT.

HIS Excellency the Viceroy's visit to several Indian States during the last twelve months and the proximity of the next Statutory Commission on Indian Reforms have lately stimulated speculation and discussion regarding the position of Indian States in the future constitution of India both in British India and in the States. If the problem of Indian States has failed to stab us to a sense of its vastness and complexity in the same manner as the communal problem has done by means of intermittent riots, the reason is to be sought in the nature of the two problems. A question of constitution such as the future of Indian States can never arouse the passion of religious fanaticism. Yet few will fail to be impressed by a question which not only involves a quarter of the population and a third of the area of India, but is capable of influencing the pace and the direction of the development of the rest. The manner in which the States have reacted to the democratic awakening in British India consequent on the Reforms leave little doubt as to the nature of that influence.

We in British India were secure in our belief that the representative system of government was the best in spite of some of its defects and that it was a commonplace beyond discussion. The rulers of Indian States and the defenders of their rule have, however, awakened to a new and overpowering sense of the superior virtues of personal rule and benevolent autocracy. To give their defence a due flavour of patriotism, they have put forth the claim of the States to develop along their age-long line and thus to evolve a system suited to the genius of the people. It is but natural that those who hold power would make the maintenance of the *status quo* the definition of welfare and wisdom. But for us political history will have no meaning and human experience no value if we are to reject their verdict in our choice of the system of government best fitted to promote happiness of the people. Social thought has undergone radical changes and the change from the old to the modern system of Government has been not a change of emphasis but of substance. Self-government is preferable to benevolent autocracy not in pursuance of theoretic values but for its capacity as a system of government to promote public welfare. Assurances of that welfare may be held forth by autocratic rulers, but experience has proved such assurances of little value.

Any attempt, therefore, to glorify personal rule is worse than useless and all the gestures of miniature Mussolinis of the Indian States are unavailing. The subjects of Indian States will demand elimination of personal rule and its substitution by a democratic system of government. Behind the imposing mass of Sanads, treaties and their various and varying juridical interpretations there are seventy million Indians, inalienably linked by geography and history with their brethren in British India. It is inevitable that in the long run the will of the seventy millions will decide the system of government they would like to have for themselves; it is also inevitable that the content of British Indian citizenship as it becomes fuller and richer with the process of time, will mould the idea of citizenship of the State subjects. The smaller circles of state citizenship will in course of time, under the stress of circumstances tend to become congruent with the larger circle of Indian citizenship.

But even if it is assumed that all the 562 States agree to instal democratic government in place of personal rule, the question remains: can all of them afford to pay for it? The answer for most of them is, of course, that they cannot. The social, economic and scientific developments have rendered democratic government a very costly system. It is no more possible for a small State with an income of a few lakhs to have modern government than it is possible to have a shipbuilding yard in a village pond. With the best of goodwill the experiment will miserably fail. Of the 562 Indian States as many as 504 have incomes not exceeding ten lakhs; 374 States have incomes below one lakh.* Even granting that there is no extravagance in the courts of these States and that the rulers live the abstemious life of a holy hermit, is it possible for these States to offer to their subjects a modern system of administration under which alone they can grow to the full stature of modern citizenship? It is not implied that 58 States which have incomes exceeding ten lakhs are all capable of financially supporting a democratic government machinery. What we want to emphasise is that in the case of most of the Indian States democratic administration is utterly impossible for the lack of adequate financial resources.

What then of the life of many millions of State subjects? Are they to be content with the pitifully meagre civic life of the States? Are they to be condemned to a dwarfed growth in perpetuity? Are they to be compulsorily shut out from seeking and serving the higher ends in life? The rulers will trace back with pride their semi divine origin, they will point to the sacred and inviolate sanads

*Revenue	No. of States.
100 lakhs and over	10
50 lakhs to 100 lakhs	12
10 lakhs to 50 lakhs	36
5 lakhs to 10 lakhs	42
1 lakh to 5 lakhs	88
Below 1 lakh	374
	<u>562</u>

and treaties under which they rule and derive incomes, they will jealously guard their rights from encroachment and intervention, but what of the life of millions of State subjects ?

L'AVENIR.

PARTIES IN THE ASSEMBLY.

RECENTLY I spent a few weeks at Delhi and watched the proceedings of the Legislative Assembly from the visitors' gallery for a number of days. During the time some of the most controversial questions were discussed by the Assembly and thus I could get at least a rough idea as to how political parties in India worked, so far as India's Parliament, however limited in power it might be compared to the Mother of Parliaments, was concerned. At present there are four definite groups and a fifth non-descript group that compose the strength, 143, of the Assembly. In the order of numerical strength and importance in the public eye, the first group is made up of Swarajists. It is called the Congress party and its leader and deputy leaders are, respectively, Pundit Motilal Nehru and Mr. Srinivasa Ayengar. The second group is called the Nationalist Party. Technically its leader is Lala Lajpatrai and deputy leader, Mr. M. R. Jayakar. Practically, Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya is its supreme leader. The group includes several Hindu Sabha men in Upper India and all the Responsivists from Bombay, C. P. and Berar. While the Congress party includes a few Mahomedans, the Nationalist party contains none. Then, thirdly, there is the Independent party of which Mr. Jinnah is the leader and Sir Purshottamdas Thakordas the deputy leader. The party is a small one and the rest of the members are all Mahomedans. But for the presence of Sir Purshottamdas Thakordas, the party could be called the Mahomedan party in the Assembly. The fourth group is of course the Government group, made up of nominated officials and a good many of the nominated non-officials. The fifth group which I have described as non-descript, is made up of the rest of the nominated non-officials and a few of the elected members who own no technical allegiance to any of the first three groups. They call themselves Independent, but they have nothing to do, as should be clearly evident, with Mr. Jinnah's Independent party.

One thing that strikes visitors to the Assembly is the unreality of parties except in the case of the Government group and to some extent, in the case of the Congress group. The members of the Government group support the Government and stand by the policy of the Government. Roughly speaking, the Congress party usually opposes the Government and has decided according to the publicly expressed declaration of its distinguished leader to give a bad time of it to Government. But there is an exception to this general description. Somehow or other this party supports Government whenever there is a proposal before the House which would

benefit the industrialists and the mercantile community. People have been often puzzled how these non-co-operators who are in the Councils to destroy them run to Delhi or Simla as if under a mandate they dare not disobey, to support proposals for protection of industry. Whether one of the practical (if not theoretical,) principles of the party is to support capitalists as against consumers and wage-earners is an important part of the definition of the party is a delicate matter to write about because the party professes to be the People's party. But that it loves capitalists better than the people and breaks its vow of non-co-operation whenever Indian capitalists are in need of their active support, are matters that are evident to every onlooker. The Nationalist as well as the Independent parties like to be known as anti-Government. Their leading members often compete with the members of the Congress party in abusing Government; yet they claim that they are more reasonable than the latter and wish to utilise the Reforms. But they are so anxious to outdo the Congress members in abusing Government that to one, listening to their speeches, the difference between them and the Congress party appears to be without any distinction. There is one difference between the Nationalist and the Congress group. The Nationalists are clearly pro-Hindu; the Congressmen are not anti-Mahomedans; while, to carry the description further, the Independents led (nominally) by Mr. Jinnah are mostly Mahomedans and, therefore, pro-Mahomedans. The Assembly, however, being constituted as it is, leaves but little scope for the discussion of communal questions except on rare occasions, and thus this difference of communal attitude, though it is an important difference, has no practical significance on the floor of the Legislative Assembly. The real places where our communal battles are being continually fought are the Provincial Legislative Councils.

Unfortunately, opposition to Government appears to be the only operative principle underlying the political theories of the first three groups just mentioned. It must be stated, however, that the Independent party, nominally led by Mr. Jinnah and consisting, with the exception of Sir Purshottamdas Thakordas, of Mahomedans is really no party. In order that a group of members should become a regular party, the relation between the leader and the members must be regulated by a disciplinary code. As a matter of fact, the members of the Jinnah group voted consistently with the Government on all important occasions connected with the Currency Bill and the poor leader has apparently taken no disciplinary action. Why Mr. Jinnah retains the leadership of men who are really not led by him remains a mystery of the present Legislative Assembly.

We have thus found that the two characteristics of the three popular groups are an attitude of opposition to Government (as hot and boiling as it could be made) and an attitude of supporting proposals emanating from Indian capitalists. (In

the Independent group this description applies to the leader, the sub-leader and one or two members.) It is unnecessary to elaborate instances to prove the attitude of opposition to Government (in season and out of season, if I may be permitted to say so.) But regarding the second point, one or two recent instances might suffice. The Steel Protection Bill had really the support of all the groups in the House (in spite of holy excitement produced by the clause supposed to contain the principle of preference) and a man who condemns the principle of protection is looked upon by all the groups of the House as a crank. Then take the Currency Bill. While every group had members who objected to the lower Rupee on the ground that it would raise prices and make the life of the poor man unendurable, mandates from party leaders to support the Currency League views in the matter were ruthlessly enforced and it was thus that several elected members were constrained to vote in a manner that did not agree either with their personal opinion or with the dictates of their conscience. I know that such a statement is likely to be controverted and I am aware that politicians are capable of expressing opinions publicly which they repudiate privately. But my personal enquiries have satisfied me that in the matter of the Currency Bill, several elected members voted against their personal convictions just to satisfy the party bosses. Whether the latter were moved to adopt this attitude by some unseen power must remain an interesting subject for speculation. It was a sight, however, to see men like Lala Lajpatrai and Pandit Malaviya and members of the Congress party to stand side by side with the spokesmen of capitalists and profiteers and speculators to help in a conspiracy (conscious or unconscious) to raise the level of the prices and to sacrifice the interests of the masses to the selfish interests of the few. Of course, most of the members were as ignorant of the economic issues involved in the controversy as babes and I for one am content to believe that what they did was largely due to their lack of knowledge. Why men who know nothing about a subject should presume to dabble in it is a matter that need not concern us here.

These two common attitudes are responsible for the impression which a visitor to the Assembly gets that the differences in the three groups are really unimportant. There is a third common ground between the two and it is the result of their attitude to Government. That common ground is the lack of any constructive side to their politics. That is the most unfortunate feature of the present political situation. The so-called common ground of the parties is largely due to their common dislike of anything that the Government may do. Even helping the capitalists is a part of that game. As one honourable member told me, "of course, I know that these merchants are rogues. But do not the foreign merchants exploit us? I prefer that our own merchants should exploit us." It never entered the poor man's head that there might be

some plan by which the exploitation in both cases could be reduced substantially, if not eliminated altogether. Parties that have no principles and no programme, and that eke out their existence merely by opposition to Government in greater or lesser degree appear to be little capable of serving the true and the larger interests of the country. It is high time that our parties should be based upon definite principles and practical programmes.

I might refer to the non-official nominated members before I close. Members are nominated in theory to represent interests which have escaped representation in the process of election. I am constrained to observe that nomination in practice often departs from the theory. There are a few exceptions which exhibit the right attitude on the part of the Government. Mr. N. M. Joshi, for instance, is nominated for the third time to the Assembly and his work in the Assembly for labour has received unstinted praise on all hands. But this nomination of Mr. Joshi comes under the exception rather than under the rule. Nomination of dummies or nomination purely on the ground of safety does not appear to be either sound theory or useful practice. The consumers, the free traders, the nationalists, the social reformers, etc. have really no representation in the process of nomination. Government would do well to take into consideration not safety, but quality and utility in the nominations that may be made.

M. D. ALTEKAR.

REVIEWS.

A DISTINGUISHED FOREIGN SECRETARY.
SIR MORTIMER DURAND. By Sir PERCY SYKES. (Cassell and Co. Ltd., London,) 1926.
9½ x 6¼. pp. 356. 25s.

THE subject of this biography belonged to the class of civilians whose connection with the administration of India is hereditary. His father Sir Henry Durand was a distinguished soldier who held many important appointments in India including that of Foreign Secretary to the Government of India and ending with the Lt. Governorship of the Punjab. Sir Mortimer Durand was by instinct inclined to the profession of arms; but his father, who had suffered from the predominance of the civil service, decided that Sir Mortimer should join the civil service which, in his opinion, offered better prospects. The Foreign Secretaryship of the Government of India was one of the plums of the civil service, as it still continues to be and it was the dream of his life to fill that office—a dream which came to be realized when he had only been 12 years in the service. The promotion was rapid, but Sir Mortimer Durand was one of the most talented members of a gifted family and had no difficulty in making his mark in the service and rising to distinction. He had a large knowledge of the frontier problems of India acquired by his employment in the Second Afghan War as Political Secretary to Sir Frederick Roberts and by his early service in the Indian Foreign Office. The Foreign Department was then in charge not merely of external affairs but also of the Political Depart-

ment which deals with the relations between the Government of India and the Indian States. How important the appointment of Foreign Secretaryship was and is to this day may be gathered from the humorous remark of Lord Dufferin. Speaking to a high official about Mortimer Durand, Lord Dufferin said:—"Durand is a splendid fellow and I think he likes me, for he is beginning to let me into the secrets of the Foreign Office". Durand was a splendidly built typical Englishman who believed in working hard and playing hard, who always kept himself in excellent condition and who believed in the high destiny of England to conquer, civilise and rule over all parts of the world. The era of expansion of the Indian Empire had not closed before he severed his connection with India. He strongly favoured the annexation of Upper Burma and when the question of the disposal of Afghanistan was considered during the Second Afghan war, he favoured a policy of annexation. Sir Frederick Roberts recommended the division of Afghanistan into provinces ruled by Governors subservient to the Government of India. Sir Alfred Lyall was in favour of the disintegration of the country, but Durand condemned disintegration and advocated annexation. It is curious to reflect that in matters of foreign policy the high officials of the Government of India, who claim a monopoly of wisdom by virtue of their long service and personal experience, are not infrequently more liable to error of judgment than the British Cabinet. The Imperial Government decided in favour of leaving the country in the hands of a strong indigenous ruler and handed over the Government to Amir Abdur Rahman. The adoption of any of the policies advocated by the authorities on the spot would have entailed untold sacrifices on India in men and money and would have hung a mill-stone round India's neck. One of the most important achievements of Sir Mortimer Durand was the delimitation of the boundary between Afghanistan and the unsettled turbulent country lying to the west of our North-Western Frontier, a country which might be called "no man's land," the inhabitants of which are to this day eking out a precarious subsistence from their inhospitable country by raids upon the rich fertile provinces of the North-Western Frontier and the Punjab. The Durand line marks the limit of Afghan sovereignty on the east, but does not connote the exercise of internal control over the tribes on the eastern side of the country. Sir Mortimer Durand's term of office as Foreign Secretary was full of momentous decisions and he was probably more responsible for them than anybody else in the Government of India. His achievements were briefly summed up by Lord Elgin when Durand left the Foreign Office to accept the post of British Minister in Persia. Lord Elgin wrote:—"Besides the protracted and critical negotiations which have resulted in the settlement of the boundary and improved relations with Afghanistan, we have had to deal with many matters of the highest importance among which may be mentioned the settlement of the boundary between Afghan Turkistan and the Russian Dominions, coupled with the negotiations conducted with the Amir on the occasion of His Highness's visit to India in 1885: the conquest, annexation and consolidation of the administration of Upper Burma; the altered relations of the Government of India with Kashmir, the reconstitution of the Gilghit Agency and the extension of political influence in Chitral, Hazara and Nagar, the negotiations with China relative to the Sikkim border, the institution of a British Protectorate on the Somali coast and improvement of British rela-

tions with the tribes round Aden, the negotiations relating to the boundary of Burma with Siam and China and the association of Native States in India with the British Government in furnishing troops for the defence of the Empire". Altogether it is a record of fine service open but to few services in the world.

Durand belonged to the imperialistic type of Englishmen who with pride in their port and defiance in their eye consider themselves the lords of the humankind. It is open to serious doubt whether in spite of their long experience they could really understand the feelings and thoughts of men of other races than their own. We wonder whether Durand would have felt happy in these changed times when the Indian has begun to formulate and assert claims to equality. In connection with the Ilbert Bill, which gave rise to a most violent Anglo-Indian agitation throughout India that furnished a valuable lesson to Indians in the art of public agitation, he wrote that it was a useless and mischievous piece of claptrap on behalf of the Bengalee Babus, that Lord Ripon knew nothing of India and was filled with a desire to raise the natives in any way he could and that his line was to go with the native in everything and despise European opinion. He was horrified to find that Lord Ripon's private secretary was in constant communication, written and personal, with the editor of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, a low seditious scoundrel who wrote treason and the foulest billingsgate issue after issue. He advised Lord Ripon to refuse an interview to the editor and he remarked that the real native looks calmly on from the distance, wondering whether the English are mad and caring nothing for the supposed privileges. The obsequious noblemen of India and the humble ryots who prostrate themselves before the representative of the Almighty Sirkar, are the real natives of India who count in the eyes of Anglo-Indian officials and the Indian who ventures to claim equality of opportunity for service in his own country and maintains his self-respect is only the spurious article. Sir Mortimer Durand felt that Lord Ripon was most harmful in his dealings "with our own subjects" and that he had done immeasurable mischief. It is characteristic of the mentality of this class of officials that they seldom undertake the trouble of self-examination while they are keenly alive to the foibles of others. The defect in the law which was sought to be remedied by the Ilbert Bill stood in the Statute Book for about 40 years and it remained for the reformed legislature to abolish racial distinctions.

He believed that the Amir Abdur Rahman regarded him as his great enemy, apparently without justice, and he remarked that the Amir was madly jealous of his independence and was arrogant and suspicious as Afghans always were. But let us see what Durand himself thought and said about the Amir. In 1881 Durand expressed his conviction that Afghanistan must some day become British and that if he lived the normal time, he should see that day. Between him and Lord Dufferin, the Amir was spoken of as a 'strange strong creature'. At the durbar at Rawalpindi the Amir made a speech which caused much enthusiasm and he said some things which Durand, as interpreter, was obliged carefully to burke. The Amir promised to help the Government against the chiefs of India, as the British were going to help him in Afghanistan and he pressed Durand to declare this. Durand was of course quite justified in burking such a preposterous promise. That the Amir had good grounds for treating Durand

as hostile to him is quite clear. Sir Percy Sykes very fairly points out that in and about 1891 the British were steadily advancing; the Khojak Range was tunnelled and the railway station built at Chaman pointed unmistakably at Kandahar and that there was a scheme afloat for the construction of a railway from Quetta to Siestan. Need we wonder that in his exasperation the Amir wrote to the Viceroy: "Where is the frontier line of Afghanistan? Make up your minds and let me know the worst." In 1892 Durand complained that the Amir would not come to meet the Viceroy like an Indian Chief. If the Amir had no confidence in the friendliness of the Foreign Secretary, there was ample ground for it. It must be remembered however that the standards of dealing to be applied to Oriental Chiefs are regulated first and foremost by the supreme necessities of one's own country and nationality and that till recently the principles of international law were held to be inapplicable to dealings with non-European and non-Christian powers.

Sir Percy Sykes has done well in allowing the subject of his biography to speak for himself almost entirely throughout the book. Sir Mortimer Durand regularly kept a copious diary and wielded a vigorous pen. He was a man of fine culture and his style is characterized by verve and literary taste. His sketches of scenery, men and events are graphic and charming. Two anecdotes will bear quotation. When he first came out to India, a lady told him that when she first came to India she lay awake expecting the mosquitoes and when the jackals began howling, she said "there they are". When Durand went to America, a Catholic friar, who demanded a subscription to his monastery, was told that he could not expect Protestants to subscribe to a Roman Catholic institution. The friar replied that the monks made a special point of praying for the conversion of the heretical English.

P. S. SIVASWAMY AIYER.

HINDU VIEW OF LIFE.

THE HINDU VIEW OF LIFE. By S. RADHAKRISHNAN. (George Allen & Unwin Ltd. London) 1927. 7¾ × 5¼. pp. 133. 5s.

IN this book, Prof. Radhakrishnan gives us a very interesting account of the essentials of Hindoo Dharma. The book contains 4 chapters: (1) Religious Experience: Its nature and content. (2) Conflict of religions: The Hindoo attitude. (3) Hindoo Dharma I. (4) Hindoo Dharma II. Prof. Radhakrishnan starts by asking, what is Hindooism? His Answer is there is not a cult, but a culture. He then goes on to define the Hindoo attitude in religion. The Hindoo is very tolerant of other men's beliefs. What counts with him is spiritual experience. This experience is not confined to a particular sect. Vedas are accepted as authority by him only so far as they set forth the experience in question. The Hindoo has no mistrust of reason. Rather according to him, the true religious advance is from tradition to logic, and from logic to life. The tradition of Hindooism is always growing, as is evidenced by the periodical reform movements. These are however consistently related to the back-ground of the Vedanta. The Vedanta itself is not a religion, but religion in its most universal and deepest significance.

Prof. Radhakrishnan then goes on to consider the content of religious experience. According to him, what is experienced is not the real in itself

but the real already influenced by the ideas and prepossessions of the perceiving mind. The personal equation cannot be eliminated, but it does not vitiate the claim to objectivity of what is experienced. He thinks "it is a sound religious agnosticism which bids us hold our peace regarding the nature of the Absolute. But since man craves definiteness of some sort, the use of imagination in religion becomes a necessity. The highest category under which we conceive the Absolute is that of self-conscious personality.

This is no doubt a faithful account of the Hindoo attitude on the subject. But the question is, if our highest category, namely that of self-conscious personality, is not adequate to the Absolute, can the Absolute signify anything spiritual to us? The whole trend of Vedantic thought is towards the identification of the two. Even the ultra-monistic system of Advait Vedanta insists upon the essential unity of the individual Self and the Absolute. The Absolute may appear to be impersonal and distant, but by no stretch of imagination can the individual Self be impersonal; and when the two are identified, the only rational course would appear to be to interpret the unknown in term of the known, and not vice versa.

The key-note of the Hindoo spiritual growth is its freedom. This has resulted in a missionary spirit which is truly spiritual. Every cult can peacefully live within Hindooism, and partake of its general culture without surrendering its right to grow in its own way. The Hindoo method of religious reform is essentially democratic. It recognises the right of the savage to have his morality and his social code. The enlightened Hindoo sympathises even with him, and tries to refine his beliefs by quickening the elements of true spirituality in him. It is no use criticising the beliefs, so long as the mental defect is not cured. The Hindoo does not regard different religions as so many horizontal levels set one upon another, but as vertical pathways leading to the same summit.

The question however arises whether Hindooism does not distinguish between the higher and the lower forms of revelation. Prof. Radhakrishnan is of opinion that it does. But if it does, what is the highest revelation? Prof. Radhakrishnan has not tried to answer this question, and his attitude is easily intelligible. The highest revelation is too personal and to set it forth in the form of a dogma is to invite contradiction. Nevertheless Hindooism, like all other systems of religious thought has its own symbolic expressions for describing the highest. This is of course a controversial subject. But I think there will be good deal of agreement in the view that for Hindooism, the highest is not some distant God, nor even a God that is somehow in the world and yet beyond it. The highest is best described by the term *ātma*, or the self. No other system that I know has brought the Absolute so near the individual.

Prof. Radhakrishnan then proceeds to consider some problems connected with Hindoo Dharma. He first of all tries to meet the objection that the conception of Hindoo ethics is in conflict with the current doctrine of *Māyā*. Prof. Radhakrishnan does not accept the view that the world and all history is mere illusion, and thinks that Sankara himself did not hold the doctrine of illusionism and the theory of sense-perception upon which that doctrine is based, namely *Drishti Sristi Vada*. It is doubtful however whether his interpretation of the whole spirit of Sankara's philosophy will be generally accepted. But so long as he himself accepts the main thesis of that philosophy that the Absolute

or Brahman is the sole reality, and that the perfect cannot be made more perfect even by eternal duration, time, and with its history and all moral endeavour really become illusory. I think Hindoo ethics cannot be based on any interpretation of Vedantic metaphysics that will pass unchallenged. A system of ethical thought requires that we should take the universe to be really imperfect and as tending endlessly towards perfection. This hypothesis can never be reconciled with a philosophy according to which perfection is already realised in the only true being, namely Brahman.

Other objections are then taken up such as the pantheism of the Hindoos and belief in the doctrine of Karma. Prof. Radhakrishnan then proceeds to consider the individual and the social sides of Hindoo Dharma as such. The former leads us to the idea of āsramās, the latter to that of Varna or caste. The āsramās are in all four. Brahmacharya is followed by grihastha. The latter was binding upon all individuals, because the Hindoos realized that "repressed desires are more corrupting in their effect than those exercised openly and freely". Grihastha is followed by Vanaprasta and the latter in turn by Sanyās when the individual ceases to be bound in any way either to the family or to the state. "The last part of life's road" Prof. Radhakrishnan very happily remarks, "has to be walked in single file".

The last chapter is devoted to consideration of the problem of caste. The Hindoo law-givers had to face a very great diversity of races. As against extermination, subordination and identification, they chose harmonisation. Caste originated with the organisation of different ethnic types. It soon however settled into the four well-known stratifications of the Hindoo Society. There are many evils resulting from such stratification, but Prof. Radhakrishnan is of opinion that in the great days of Hinduism it had many advantages. It substituted harmony and co-operation for cold and cruel competition in social life. It was also based upon the scientific notion that one's duty in life should be in conformity with the endowed nature of each individual and the environment in which he has been brought up. Any change of svadharma was therefore discouraged as doing more harm to the individual than good.

The book is altogether instructive and gives a very good idea of Hindoo religious and social ideals. It would perhaps have gained even more in nature if Prof. Radhakrishnan had tried to keep Hindoo philosophy and Hindoo ethics apart. Indeed in defining the Hindoo view of life a panorama of Hindoo spiritual ideals has to be painted and this cannot be done without bringing in forms of thought with which metaphysics is concerned. But that is just the difficulty about anything "Hindoo." Hindoo philosophy and Hindoo religion cannot be separated; and the term itself calls up diverse systems of thought and diverse ideals. There is no specific form of thinking or of spiritual life which can be said to be appropriate to Hinduism as such, and so far any treatment of the subject is bound to be rather vague and unsatisfactory. It is however a safe rule to set down that he does not know the spirit of Hindooism who thinks that his own religion; whatever it may be, can in any way be in conflict with Hinduism.

G. R. M.

ALL ABOUT BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

THE ECONOMIC REVOLUTION IN BRITISH WEST AFRICA. By ALLAN MOPHEE. (George Routledge and Sons, Ltd., London.) 1926. pp. 322. 8½ × 5½. 12 s. 6d.

THIS book is a history of the economic development of the territory known as British West Africa. The importance of the work can be realised when it is said that Nigeria alone which is only one of the four Dependencies comprising British West Africa has a greater native population than the combined European population of Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. The process of civilization in a country which, till recently, was known as the "White Man's Grave," has been necessarily slow, but with the help of "Three R's—Rule of British, Railway construction and Ross's medical achievement", there have been revolutionary changes in the native life and economic condition of the country. The book deals at length with the Trade, Transport, Land Tenure, Finance, Currency, Education, Health and Administration of the region.

West Africa was acquired by traders and not by soldiers and administrators. Slaves were the only commodity which attracted the European traders to this unhealthy part of Africa. The African captured the slaves and bartered them to the Europeans for rum, tobacco, fire-arms and cotton goods. This continued for two centuries. After the abolition of slavery, the lucrative trade in slaves also came to an end. Palm oil was discovered as a substitute. During the nineteenth century "the key to unlock many doors was gin" (Anti-prohibitionists will remember it to their advantage!) Cases of gin were carried into the far interior and the desire for gin "to vary the deadly monotony and bad cooking of the native diet stimulated production and trade vastly, however undesirable in other respects the trade might be". So gin paved the way for European civilisation in West Africa without which "it would have been a matter of extreme difficulty". With the British gin went the Protestant missionaries who "prepared the ground for British administrators and trade that followed in their track". It is said that "the 18th century in West Africa was the Age of Rum, the 19th century the Age of Gin and the 20th century the Age of Whisky". The author has not prognosticated what the 21st century would be the Age of. Is it a process of Evolution?

Unlike other tropical regions of the world where European capitalists own and run agricultural plantation of cotton and food crops in West Africa alone the European capitalists confined in their operation to mining so far as production is concerned. The native cannot supply the necessary capital and specialised skill. The chief exports are:—Palm oil, groundnuts, cocoa, gold, tin and ginger. The country imports textile of various sorts, metal and metal wares, spirits, arms and ammunition and food stuffs for European communities. The English capital has built the railways and constructed the harbours. It has built roads, towns and established markets, it has introduced banks and currency. "West Africa" the author says, "is not likely to be hampered with the fatalistic anti-materialism of the Hindus and with a fertility of soil, a wealth of mineral resources, propinquity to the great world markets of Western Europe and Northern America and an energetic and intelligent population, trade should continue to expand until it has its title of a miniature India".

The basic social and economic unit in West Africa is the family. Then comes a tribe as a large political unit and the next stage is when a number of tribes form a federation. The policy of the British Government in West Africa in relation to the land has been to constitute the

natives outside the communal and tribal areas as virtual peasant proprietors. With the exception of Gold Coast, land cannot be mortgaged or be transferred to Europeans or other non-natives except by consent of the Governor.

The aim of British policy, as a result of work of men like Sir Fredrick Lugard, is "the development of native resources for the native by the native under British supervision." The English policy is not "static but dynamic." It aims "at the education of the native rulers in the principle of just and civilised government, so that the native rulers may obtain increasingly greater power and greater responsibility." Representative government is at present unthinkable.

Education is least developed. The principle on which education is imparted to Africans is that it makes the African natives "at once a better consumer and better producer." It is claimed that the English have changed the status of the native. "From being a commodity, an article of trade, he has become a person, a human being."

Sanitary reforms and medical revolution has increased the normal health. In 1920 there was amongst non-native officials only one death due to malaria and none at all to yellow fever in the whole of British West Africa.

People interested in the development of British Imperialism will find this book, which illustrates one phase, of it, very instructive. It is stated in the book, as observed in the beginning of this review, that '3 R's' are responsible for the uplift of the people and the economic development of the country, but I think it should be 4 R's.—Rule of the British, Railway construction, Ross's medical achievement and *Rum*.

S. A. WAIZ.

MISCELLANEA.

MR. SAS TRI ON WESTERN STANDARDS OF LIFE.

SPEAKING recently at Madras on the Indo-South African settlement the Right Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri said:—

"Western standards of life" was an expression which they all understood for ordinary purposes and it conveyed a very precise meaning to them. It was not easy for him or for any body else to define that expression logically, just as it was not easy to define the terms 'Hindu' and 'Hinduism,' though the courts of this land for all purposes dealt with the two expressions every day. The South African agreement was not a document for the discussion of the lawyer. He would throw out some suggestions by means of which they would be able to guess what was in the minds of the members of the Habibullah Deputation when they used the expression "western standards of life." Neither he nor the Deputation was responsible for the expression. The Deputation did not invent the expression, nor did the deputationists put it into the agreement. The Union Government, before they agreed to a Round Table Conference, laid it down as a condition that no solution of the disputes then existing between the two peoples would be acceptable to them which did not guarantee the maintenance, by just and legitimate means, of western standards of life. Lord Reading's Government accepted that condition and said that they would not ask the Union Government to consider anything which

would injure the standards of life that they had built up for themselves in South Africa. The delegation had to bear that condition always in mind and to help the Union Government to preserve the western standards from being lowered by a large Indian population living amongst them. Long before those troubles assumed an acute phase, in 1912, when Mr. Gekhale visited South Africa he made certain pronouncements the implication of which beyond all doubt admitted on the part of the Indian Government and the Indian people the central fact that, in the sub-continent of South Africa, Indians should go there for purposes of trade and agriculture and they allowed without question the right of the white population to determine the character and the civilization of that sub-continent and to determine the polity of that character; in other words, to fix the standards of life which ought to be maintained.

A question might be asked, "Let them maintain those standards for themselves. Why should they impose their standards upon the Indians?" Like practical people they would all admit that it was impossible in a population that consisted of varied elements for any one element perpetually to maintain standards of life different from those which prevailed amongst others. The standards of life of one community would inevitably affect them for the better or for the worse unless there was segregation carried to impossible degrees. To segregation carried to impossible degrees the Indians had always objected and they had asserted their right. By the dropping of the Areas Reservation Bill the right of Indians had been accepted by the South African Government, wherever the law allows them, to dwell amongst the white population, mixing with them in trade, in education and in all other ways in which civilised communities mixed one with another. After having stood against segregation of every kind, how could the Indians take up the position: "You, white population, keep these standards for yourselves and let us keep another set of standards for ourselves." That was an impossible position. To the Indian residents in South Africa it was nothing but beneficial to be permitted to rise to higher standards than that they now observed.

The Indian standards of life in the City of Durban were certainly inferior from the material point of a view, to the standards of life maintained by the European community. In spiritual equipment the Indians in India were superior to the Europeans. He would not dispute that proposition. There was difference between the standards of life of the Indians in Bangalore and Poona cities and the standards of life of the Europeans in Bangalore and Poona Cantonments. It was impossible for the white population reared up in places like South Africa to put up with a permanent population which refused, even when it was materially equipped, to raise its standards up to its own requirements. Let it not be understood that the standard of life of the Indians in South Africa was so low as that of the Indians in the Paracherries of the Tinnevely settlement. But he was comparing the standards of life of the whites and the Indians living in the same locality in South Africa. The Indians were, reasonably speaking, well-off in South Africa and they made money quickly. Nobody need be idle and no Indian starved there. In the Transvaal some of the richest Indians were to be found. He had no hesitation in saying that the children brought up by these people would rise to higher standards and that their children's children would rise to still higher standards. It must be said that there were

heaps of South African Indian, who earned pretty well, but were not still living lives that they might live. The South African Government would in future give them higher education. At present the Indian children could read only up to IV standard and as for any higher education they had to go to India, they entered business and began to earn.

If the children were given good education and were enabled to earn better they would certainly rise to higher standards. The white population did not wish that their standards should run the risk of being lowered by being in contact with the Indian population. Messrs. Gandhi and Gokhale had put it in writing that they did not ask on behalf of their countrymen for any political power or the power of determining or shaping the constitution of the South African Government and that they would never assume that ambitious role. Since 1914 circumstances had altered a great deal to the disadvantage of the Indians. The Class Areas Reservation Bill was introduced. If that were passed, Indians would be unable to live in South Africa and make the money necessary for their bare livelihood and they would be reduced to the state of uttermost dismay. It was a move to squeeze out the Indians and make their life intolerable. That Bill had now been abandoned by the South African Government. Could anybody expect that Government to give up that move unless the deputation gave something in return? The only price the deputation paid was this. Lord Reading agreed before he started negotiations that the Indian Government would help the South African Government to reduce the Indian population. The deputation admitted that it was their duty to help the South African Government in that direction and they did nothing destructive to their national self-respect or humiliating to the people of India or the Indians in South Africa. The deputation found it possible to show to the South African Government that the repatriation scheme did not work properly and efficiently because in parts of it it offended against their national pride. They enabled the South African Government to get rid of these parts and now it was possible for a man living in South Africa to come away to India and to have his birthright to return to South Africa within three years provided he returned the passage money given him by the South African Government. The South African people were extremely unwilling to grant this condition. The South African Government courageously changed their whole outlook and declared that India, instead of being a hated country, was going to be a friendly country and that Indians, instead of being a despised people, were going to be a friendly people. The South African Government were going to raise the standards of life of the Indians to the western standards of life. Such a government deserves to be treated with some consideration by the Indians as self-respecting people and by the Indian Government.

At this juncture the Indians in India or South Africa should say nothing that would make their difficult task still more difficult. For, in that democratic country the provincial governments and the local bodies were extremely jealous of their power. The Union Government had no powers in matters of sanitation, primary education etc. They could only advise and lay down the policy but the regular translation of the policy into daily acts vested in the local bodies. The prejudice of the local bodies against the Indian was deep and bitter. The Indians in South Africa had therefore a very heavy task before them in

conducting themselves properly so that the attitude of the local authorities too might be changed in favour of the Indians. The Indians should return love for hatred and conciliatory language for violent language. They should be guided by the wise counsel of Mr. Andrews and make the task of their friends in South Africa easy. Nothing should be done in India which would result in setting back the position of the Indians in South Africa. (Loud cheers).

None of the members of the delegation was so rash as to promise himself that measure of success which in the event had actually crowned their efforts. It was an agreement liable to revision hereafter when difficulties cropped up. He would dwell upon one other point. The Union Government for the first time consented to receive a representative or agent of the Government of India. No other dominion in the Empire had ever done so. It was the Union Government that applied to the Government of India for making the appointment. That was a point which some of them might dwell upon with satisfaction. That showed that that Government were really sincere in their desire to help the Indians in South Africa.

SIR P. S. SIVASWAMI AIYAR.

Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar in proposing a hearty vote of thanks to the lecturer and the Chairman said that the labours of the deputation had been attended with great and unexpected success. The deputation succeeded in securing as favourable condition as were practicable under the given conditions of the problem. Referring to his interview that appeared in the press he asked whether, considering the ruthless persecution to which his countrymen had till recently been exposed in South Africa and considering the spirit of hostility displayed against them which led South African statesmen to declare that they wanted to squeeze the Indians out of the country by some legislation or other, it was not pardonable on his part to entertain some doubt as to the possible elasticity of the interpretation of the term "western standards of life." If it meant nothing more than sanitary standards of life and decent standards of life it was all right. The expression was vague and might be associated with any mysterious element of western civilization which might possibly be used against Indians at some future time. That was the element of suspicion in his mind when he looked at the agreement. He was quite prepared to accept the answer of the Chairman that the feelings of suspicion were wholly unjustified in view of the change of attitude of the South African Government. Before Mr. Sasaki left India he, the speaker, wrote to him to say that he had no objection to meet the requirements of the western standards of life if the South African Government intended to apply it honestly and *bona fide* without the ultimate sinister intention of driving the Indians out. He considered it right that a Government should insist upon higher standards of life and he admitted that the Indian standard was deplorably low. What he wished to lay stress on was that it should be made possible for the Indians to conform to the western standards of life by the employers giving them work and paying them the same wages as they paid to white labourers as it was done in Australia. If it was the reverse it would be injurious to the Indians. From what the Chairman had said, there were no such disabilities intended to be imposed upon the South African Indians. Another point felt right to say that if the Indians were not prepared that the South African Government had a per-

pared to live according to modern sanitary standards, they would isolate them in particular areas. But the area should not be unhealthy or malarial. The next question was "would the Government place the Indians in a position to earn the wages necessary to maintain the western standards?" He had another doubt in his mind: If an Indian was able to live according to western standards with his existing resources would he be restricted in areas or would he be allowed to live in the same quarters as Englishmen? These doubts did not in any way detract his appreciation of the labours of the deputation. Another question was: Supposing the Indians were able to rise to the western standards of living, were the Government of India still committed to the position of reducing the number of Indian population in South Africa? To some extent the existence of this subject in the minds of the South African Government might militate against their policy of giving every possible encouragement to Indians, by educating them and giving them rights of citizenship. If the Indians were given opportunities and if they did not avail themselves of the same, they might be sent back. In conclusion he said that the members of the Liberal League were entitled to feel legitimate satisfaction that a prominent part in those negotiations was taken by their distinguished Chairman of the evening and a member of the Liberal Party. (Cheers).

RT. HON'BLE V. S. S. SASTRI.

The Right Hon'ble V. S. S. Sastri replied that in Transvaal a large number of Indians were found in well-established parts. Where people were permitted equality of wages they would be able to live up to better standards. The deputation had not specified any number of people that should be repatriated every year, nor had they undertaken that they would stimulate repatriation to any extent. It was impossible to give such an undertaking.

In answer to a question from another member of the audience he said that it was only agricultural labourers who suffered from seasonal difficulties who might avail themselves of repatriation. That was a problem into which he could not go into then. In conclusion he said that there was no fear that the Indians would be driven out of the country; for there was work for all, Indians and Europeans.—*The Hindu*.

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(SALEABLE FORM) SUMMONS FOR DISPOSAL OF SUIT.

(Order 5, Rules 1 and 5.)

In The Court of Small Causes AT ALIGARH DISTRICT.

Suit No. 3581 of 1926.

Ramsarup Reotilal.....Plaintiff.

Vs.

Firm Ishwardas Satramdas.....Defendants.
To,

FIRM ISHWARDAS SATRAMDAS

dwelling at near Adwani Lane,

Hyderabad (Sind).

WHEREAS Plaintiff has instituted a suit against you for Rs. 83/6/-, you are hereby summoned to appear in this Court in person or by a pleader duly instructed, and able to answer all material questions relating to the suit, or who shall be accompanied by some person able to answer all such questions, on the 25th (twenty-fifth) day of April 1927, at 10 O'clock in the forenoon, to answer the claim; and as the day fixed for your appearance is appointed for the final disposal of the suit, you must be prepared to produce on that day all the witnesses upon whose evidence, and all the documents upon which, you intend to rely in support of your defence.

Take notice that, in default of your appearance on the day before-mentioned, the suit will be heard and determined in your absence.

Given under my hand and the seal of the Court, this 25th day of March 1927.

Sd./-Illegible

MUNSARIM

Small Causes Court } COURT OF SMALL CAUSES,
ALIGARH. } ALIGARH.

NOTICE.

1. Should you apprehend your witnesses will not attend of their own accord, you can have a summons from this Court to compel the attendance of any witness, and the production of any document that you have a right to call upon the witness to produce, on applying to the Court and on depositing the necessary expenses.

2. If you admit the claim, you should pay the money into Court together with costs of the suit to avoid execution of the decree, which may be against your person or property or both.

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