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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

Lord Olivier and
Kenya.

OUR readers will no doubt read with interest and a measure of satisfaction the report of Lord Olivier's Branbury speech which we have reproduced elsewhere from the *East African Standard*, the organ of the Kenya white settlers. That speech has naturally created a great stir among the settlers, and one sees much indignant writing in the *Standard*. In one article we find:

In fact, he took the "White paper," and told his hearers—"Gentlemen, you see this paper? It is called a white paper. It is not a white paper, it is a black paper!"—and his audience believed him.

This speech and the appointment of the Crown Colonies Committee are together described as "the betrayal of Kenya", and the *Standard* warns the settlers to gird up their loins and "be prepared again"—which of course means being prepared for armed resistance—against Indian claims and "Labour's dangerous aims." And it has the hardi- hard to describe Indians as preaching disloyalty in Kenya!

* * *

Mr. Duncan's
Speech.

THERE was one distinguishing feature in the speech which Mr. Duncan, Minister for Interior in South Africa, made on the second reading of the Class Areas Bill. He admitted plainly that its sole object was to protect the white trader and artisan from Indian competition. The Indian community in South Africa was not growing; on the other hand it was diminishing, owing to immigration being prohibited and repatriation being encouraged. But the Indians there, said he, were improving in efficiency and skill, and therefore had to be segregat-

ed both for residence and trade purposes. After this avowal he need not have troubled himself to say that there was no idea whatsoever of ruining Indians or making it impossible for them to live decently; or that the Smuts-Gandhi pact was not violated. Mr. Gandhi on this side has emphatically declared that the pact has been violated, and indeed no one here has ever had so much faith in the honour of the South African Government as to attach any importance to what its spokesmen say. The Boer spirit is that of race dominance. What the Boer cares for is its maintenance. Means are absolutely immaterial—fair or foul, with or without honour, pledges or pacts notwithstanding. That spirit was voiced by Sir Abe Bailey who said in the debate that rather than consent to social, political or economic rights to Indians, South African Europeans would go out of the Empire and that they wanted to repatriate Indians, compulsorily, if the voluntary method did not succeed. Yet they are vain enough to speak of justice and decency.

* * *

THE Asiatic Enquiry Commission,
the personnel of which was by no means pro-Asiatic, examined the

proposals for compulsory segregation and emphatically pronounced against them. In doing so they observed:

"As was said by the Chief Justice in Montan's case if the commercial dealings of the Indian Trader were to be restricted to the location, in which he lived situated outside the town proper, and peopled only by men of his own race, then he might for practical purposes as well not trade at all. The result is, however, precisely what is aimed at by some of those who are responsible for the suggestion. Several witnesses who advocated compulsory segregation both as to trade and residence candidly stated that they supported it only as a means to an end, that end being to drive the Asiatics out of the country."

The Commission inspected some locations in Transvaal where racial segregation is in force, and this is what they say regarding the state of things within the municipal limits of Johannesburg:

"There are two locations, one for Asiatics and the other for Natives. They adjoin one another and are separated from the European portion of the township by a single street. But no effort seems to be made to keep the inhabitants of the two locations apart. We found as many natives and Cape coloured people as Indians in the Asiatic location. The members of the Commission were guided through the location by the Municipal Medical Officer of Health and made a close and thorough inspection of its conditions which were found to be appalling. It is difficult to conceive of a worse slum existing in any

part of the world. We found the inhabitants crowded and huddled together in small hovels amidst indescribable filth and leading a most insanitary mode of life. And this was the state of things existing within the Municipality of Johannesburg, the wealthiest and the most popular town in South Africa and within a little more than a mile of its magnificent Town Hall.....the place continues to be a serious danger to the public health in Johannesburg. It is said to be the favourite haunt of illicit liquor dealers and criminals of the worst character. In the circumstances it is not surprising to find the Indian Community point to the so-called bazars or locations as examples of what may be expected if they are to be relegated to such places at the behest of Municipalities in the Transvaal. Any attempt to enforce compulsory segregation would result in failure and would lead to a resurgence of the Passive Resistance Movement."

* * *

THE above observations of the Commission were urged on the attention of Mr. Duncan recently in a closely reasoned memorandum against the Class Areas Bill by a deputation of Natal Indians. Apparently it did not have any effect on him. The Government of India, strengthened by the opinion of the legislature, are no doubt going to make or have already made a strong representation. Let us hope that as a result the Bill will be vetoed after being passed by the legislature. Otherwise the Indian Community is bound to start passive resistance, and we are glad to be told that preparations are already afoot. In such a contingency what should the Government of India do? Should it content itself as hitherto with sending dispatches or should a stronger line be taken? Mr. Sastri hoped in the Council of State recently that a time would come when the Viceroy and his Executive Council would resign as a protest against the unjust treatment of the people of one part of the Empire by the Government of another part of the Empire. This frightened some people and made the Indian Members of the Viceroy's Council uneasy. But we hope Mr. Sastri's reasoned article which is published elsewhere will convince them that his suggestion is not wild or revolutionary as imagined by some people, but a recognised mode of expressing one's strong disapproval of a policy and drawing public attention to it. When the occasion demands it we hope the Indian members will act together and resign in a body, so that the British Government may be made to respect Indian feeling to a greater extent than at present.

* * *

WITHOUT compromising principles, the conscientious objectors or Satyagrahis of Vaikom are attempting to be as reasonable as they could. They are peacefully courting arrest in batches of threes, so that there is no show of force and no desire to embarrass the Government of Travancore. To remove all misapprehensions about their object they have issued a statement to the press that their object is only to assert the right of way of the depressed classes to a public road in which a temple is situated and not to enter the temple

itself. That road is not a private road as the representatives of orthodoxy misinformed Mr. Gandhi, but a public one maintained by the State out of public funds through a secular department. Every citizen has the right of way to it in the eye of law, and if it is denied to some people, the denial is illegal and illegitimate. Some time ago the Travancore State threw open its public schools and public service to the low castes against old usage and a person belonging to one of these castes is now presiding over a civil court in the State. When that has been done, it is simply ridiculous on the part of its officials to deny the right of way to a public road to those castes. The Satyagrahis readily suspended their movement for a few days when a responsible offer was forthcoming to bring about an amicable settlement. They have resumed it only after the negotiations have failed. When that is so, we cannot understand how a paper like the *Indian Social Reformer* could pour ridicule on them.

* * *

A Chief Appreciated. KATHIAWADIS resident in Bombay presented an address to H. H. the Chief of Rajkot on the eve of his departure to England, in appreciation of his enlightened administration and the constitutional reforms he has introduced. It will be remembered that some time ago he issued invitations for a conference of Chiefs, which, however, was discountenanced by the Political Agent and did not therefore materialise. That shows that he is actuated by a progressive spirit. In the address mention was made of the fact that he had conferred a liberal franchise on his subjects, so that nearly 50 per cent, of the adult population was enfranchised and that Rajkot was the first Indian State to confer the vote on women. Practically full responsible government is said to be obtaining there, in proof of which it is mentioned that during the absence of His Highness on the present tour the affairs of the State will be managed by a Council of three persons two of whom are non-official elected representatives of the people, differing in no respect from Ministers in British India. Rajkot is a small State; nevertheless the Chief Sahab is entitled to the fullest credit, for the small Chiefs are as jealous as, if not more than, the big ones about power and prestige. May we hope that Rajkot's example will be widely followed?

* * *

Polling Statistics. IN reply to an interpellation by Mr. R. G. Pradhan of Nasik at the last session of the Bombay Legislative Council, various statistics were given by Government showing the total number of voters in each electoral constituency and the proportion of them that went to the polls in November last. Omitting special constituencies, almost all of which were uncontested except the University, the total number of voters in all constituencies, Mahomedan and non-Mahomedan, urban and rural, was close upon 6,12,000, out of whom about 2,94,000 or

48% exercised their franchise. Thus with all the keen contest that the Swarajist candidates had with those of other parties everywhere, even half the number of voters did not go to the polls. But the state of things in urban areas was still worse. The six cities of Bombay, Ahmedabad, Karachi, Poona, Surat and Sholapur, which form separate urban constituencies, did not send to the polls more than 39.6 % Moslems and 37.6 % non-Moslems, while from rural areas and small towns 48.5 % Moslems and 47.9% non-Moslems went to the polls, which shows that both classes of voters were equally keen. With regard to the University seat, as is well-known, there was very keen contest, both the candidates made a tour of the whole of the presidency, and the result was that 2,828 out of 4,677 graduate voters, or 60.4 %, registered their votes. As compared with the late elections in Great Britain, where 74% of the electorate (including a large proportion of female voters) voted at the polls our results are disappointing.

The Mote and the Beam.

It will be remembered that some time ago British manufacturers raised a howl against the Indian High Commissioner in London for placing an order for a few locomotives with German manufacturers because their quotations were lower, and the British manufacturers asserted that as they were working even without profit just to keep the men employed, the German locomotives were bound to be inferior in quality and not worth the money. Nobody here attached any importance to this interested criticism, but piquancy certainly is lent to it by a question in the House of Commons by Viscount Curzon, from which it appears that not only the Governments of India and some of the Colonies, but public bodies in England like the Manchester Corporation and the (London) Metropolitan Water Board are preferring continental manufacturers to British ones, owing to the difference in price, which in some cases, according to Viscount Curzon, was as much as 30 per cent. Mr. Sidney Webb gave the only possible answer :

"If the British manufacturer cannot do his business more closely to the bone than that, I think that the British engineering industry is seriously open to criticism as, in fact it has been criticised by official bodies."

IN presenting a farewell address to the depressed classes Lord Willingdon the spokesmen of the depressed classes said that they would far rather have European officials in charge of public affairs than Indian Ministers. It is easy to condemn this statement as unpatriotic, but one must remember the provocation which the Non-Brahmin Ministry in Madras has given them by crippling the Labour Department, at the instance of landed interests. The Department was enthusiastically helping members of depressed classes to acquire house-sites in Tanjore District, which did not suit the landlords who wanted to keep a check on their agricultural labour by threat of eviction from houses. Lord Willingdon has often described his Ministry as having formed a 'happy family' with him. But the happiness, if it really existed, was acquired at a sacrifice and the sacrifice was not made by the Non-Brahmin Ministry.

A GOOD OPPORTUNITY.

THE Swarajists of Bengal, under the lead of a visionary of a highly poetical but narrow mind, have got into a quandary. Wishing not to wreck the transferred services, they have, however damaged them. Wishing to avoid harm to their countrymen, they have been the unwitting means of several hundreds of educated Bengalees being in imminent risk of unemployment. Wishing to earn the goodwill of their electors, they have almost certainly incurred their odium. As happens on such occasions, interested criticism is flagrantly inconsistent. If any official or liberal politician had even remotely hinted at a Governor being constitutional, he would have been ridiculed as a purblind student of political institutions and the very idea of an Indian constitution held up as an instance of the morbid self-delusion of optimists. As soon, however, as Lord Lytton, harassed by deluded politicians and anxious to protect the administration from their mischievous pranks, sends for the saner elements in the Legislature and takes counsel with them how the C. P. imbroglio can best be avoided, they turn on him with rage and rend him to pieces for what they call an unconstitutional act. A cursory perusal of the Act and the Rules under which a province is governed will show that a Governor has many important duties and responsibilities thrust upon him, that he regularly presides and votes at his executive council and is answerable both for policy and for measures. If the rules of debate exempt him from personal attacks in the council, it is merely the recognition of the rank and special distinction of the head of the administration. It does not follow that he is a person apart and aloof from the course of affairs, that he must preserve an air of equal indifference to the proper working or the debasement of the political machinery, to the wholesome or unwholesome state of the proceedings of the legislature, to the efficiency of the great services or their disorganisation and demoralisation. When events take a sinister turn in the political sphere, it is his interest and business, as it is nobody else's interest and business, to use all available means for restoring the normal course. It is a commonplace that in the Indian constitution such as it is, the Viceroy and Governors are King and Prime Minister combined, arbitrators between the two halves of the Government and regulators of the legislative bodies, without being of them. It is a great public advantage that in personal and social relations the head of a province should make no distinction and keep his table and his drawing room open to men of all parties alike. The hospitality of the State is a common blessing and from it none may be excluded who possesses standing and character. Within our experience we do not know that this standard of impartiality has ever been violated in India. But is a fantastic misapplication of this rule of propriety to extend it to a meeting at Government

House called together expressly for the purpose of shielding the administration and public interest from a grave danger. Those who willfully caused the danger have no place there.

We go further. In our opinion, Government, whether at the centre or in the provinces, expects the impossible when it expects a regular and constant following. No self-respecting politicians, who have obtained the confidence of constituencies, would agree to be reckoned among the supporters of Government of which they cannot shape the policy and control the projects. The Anglo-Indian Press and the official world generally must have a very low estimate of the calibre of the liberal politician in the country to be annoyed with him on the ground that he does not consistently—slavishly would be the better word—support a Government which stands ostentatiously aloof from all parties and schools of thought, which still governs in complete isolation, which boasts of its exclusive responsibility to the Imperial cabinet and Parliament and which often thinks nothing, as in the very recent instance of the salt duty, of defying all Indian opinion. There is no likelihood of the present Governments or their immediate successors—nurtured in the exercise of autocratic and nearly irresponsible power and still retaining the belief that that is the right and proper state of things for India—spontaneously recognising the changed aspect of affairs brought about by the establishment of an electorate and large popular houses of legislature. The difficulty of the Bengal Government, wherever the blame of it may rest, is a providential stroke of misfortune. Let our independent and liberal friends turn it to good account while it lasts. Let them give nothing for nothing, treat with Government on an honourable footing and obtain from them, before giving them assistance, a promise that they will yield to all their reasonable wishes and not pose even under the semi-democratic regime of to-day as a superior agency appointed by divine authority to rule according to their own lights. What the Bengal Government is compelled to learn to-day other Governments, not excluding the one at Delhi, will learn sooner or later, if only the independent and liberal legislators stood on their dignity and legitimate rights and did not hold themselves and the interests of their constituents too cheap. The Government's difficulty is the liberal's opportunity.

OFFICIAL RESIGNATIONS.

DURING the debate on the Class Areas Bill of South Africa in the Council of State last session, I happened to suggest that the difficulty in the way of the Indian case was so enormous that I could not see any prospect of arresting the attention of the British public until the advent of that great day when a Viceroy and his executive council would throw up their exalted offices on the express ground that they could no longer govern

India in the name of His Majesty, if His Majesty's Government could not protect Indians from ill-treatment at the hands of another class of His Majesty's subjects. Sir Muhammad Shafi thought it necessary to reply at some length the next day. His main point was that resignation would betray cowardice and amount to an admission of defeat. His Punjabi spirit would not tolerate such a proposal and he must repudiate it with scorn. I prefer to overlook the immediate application of my remark to himself and to his colleagues, though I had been careful to disavow it. It is necessary, however, to point out that, if his self-defence was well grounded, every resignation of office would be wrong. Sir K. Srinivasa Iyengar, member of the Madras executive council, resigned office because the local legislature refused him leave to introduce an irrigation bill. In a Minister it would have been taken as a matter of course, but the public applauded the action specially, as it indicated a voluntary submission to the legislature on the part of one who owed no responsibility except to the Crown. To members of executive councils all over India it would naturally have appeared a highly inconvenient precedent. But one does not remember that Sir K. Srinivasa Iyengar was blamed for cowardice in any quarter. When Messrs. Chintamani and Jagat Narain resigned last year from their positions as Ministers, some critics called them excessively sensitive, while others said that they had not adequate cause of action, but no whisper was heard of lack of courage. Personally I not only gave my thorough approbation, but greatly rejoiced to hear that at least one gentleman declined to take office after them, while the conditions remained unchanged. When the unconscionable prolongation of the martial law regime in the Punjab drove Sir Sankaran Nair out of the Government of India, a chorus of applause greeted his resignation of office in Indian circles, with muttered imprecations from Anglo-Indians; but if any one had hinted of Sir Sankaran's precipitate flight from the scene of battle, he would have been laughed to scorn. The cases of Sir Bampfylde Fuller and Lord Curzon were much debated at the time, because, while they regarded themselves as champions of a principle in danger, considerable sections of the public attributed their relinquishment of office more to personal pique than to anything else. But of neither did his worst enemy say that he abandoned his post in fear. Going yet further back in our history, the famous case of Lord Northbrook presents a meritorious instance of a Viceroy giving up his exalted office rather than be compelled to pursue a provocative policy towards Afghanistan which he considered improper, or to repeal the low duty on cotton imports which he and his council regarded as an unjust sacrifice of the interests of India to those of Lancashire. Who would dare to suggest a faintness of heart in the case of this high-souled Englishman? The equally honourable case of Sir Charles Trevelyan before him is an instance of recall rather than of resigna-

tion. In one attendant circumstance, it affords a striking parallel to the recent retirement of Mr. E. S. Montagu; the immediate cause of offence was the irregular publication of his protest against the piling up on the heads of the poor people of Madras of oppressive taxes, the most odious of which at the time was an income-tax. The high character and conspicuous ability of Sir Charles secured him a further spell of conspicuous office under the Crown. May we not look forward with confidence to a renewed career of distinction to Mr. Montague? Even the tongue of envy has forbore to impute deficient moral courage in either case. In fact, Sir Muhammad Shafi may rest assured that not even in a college debate would he be stigmatised as a coward if he had thought it necessary to retire before his time whether on account of South Africa, or for some equally valid reason. On the contrary, there are circumstances common enough in the official world when a man may justly be accused of timidity or a feeble sense of public spirit for continuing in the service of Government. The public opinion of the great organised services is not a trustworthy guide for non-officials who obtain what may be called political appointments. Even in these services, however, as in two instances quoted above, there are limits beyond which compliance with orders from above becomes impossible to those whose conscience is fully developed. Two years ago, when the hope of developing our constitution by means of conventions was stronger than it is to-day, I remember unfolding to some English politicians a line of advance that had occurred to some of us as a practical anticipation of responsibility in the Central Government. This was to the effect that the executive councillors of the Viceroy chosen from the public life of the country should voluntarily assume responsibility to the Assembly; that is, should, as a rule of honour, submit their resignations whenever they would have done so if they had been regular Ministers chosen from the elected representatives of the people. The idea seemed to find favour. I see now what a lot of crude thinking in high circles would have to be eliminated before a convention of that kind could become established. Besides the fear, of which Sir Muhammad Shafi seemed to be a victim, there are certain other considerations that deter people from giving up office. One of these is the fear that Government would only find a successor too easily. Another is that that successor will not be so good as yourself. Against the latter fear no provision can possibly be made, for it is a morbid form of self-love which is part and parcel of our nature. The former arises from a misapprehension. No resignation, unless it be that of a whole battalion of officers, is ever recommended in the hope that Government would be put to a serious difficulty in filling up the vacancy. The effect intended is generally the satisfaction of one's own conscience or the vindication of a high principle. In cases similar to that which has given

rise to this discussion, an added motive is to disturb the general attitude in inattention, indifference or callousness on the part of those in whose hands lies the remedy of a great wrong or grievance. It is well known, for instance, that the British public is seldom roused to a sense of its duty to India till there is a mutiny, wide spread famine or catastrophic event of that kind. Such a mode of arresting public attention is beyond the reach of those who seek calculable results on the ordinary political plane. A surrender of high office as incompatible with honour or duty is an event comparable to a cabinet crisis and in the case of the Viceroy's council or of the Indian part of it, transcending a cabinet crisis as a portent of Imperial significance. No sordid or selfish consideration can attach to it. No desire to intimidate or paralyse administration can be supposed to inspire it. It can only mean that a great wrong has long defied ordinary treatment and now cries out for an extraordinary remedy.

The question—how can the Class Areas Bill in South Africa be affected by the rousing of the conscience of His Majesty's Government and the British public?—was not raised by Sir Muhammad Shafi. In fact he seemed to imply that the results wished for could be attained by persevering in the kind of representations that the Government of India have hitherto been making on the subject. Still, though he might not have raised it, the question must occur to any one who has followed the subject so far. I regret I cannot pursue the subject very far here. Two or three observations must conclude this article. In the first place, once the British public are convinced of the essentially unjust and invidious nature of the colour bar, they will not allow it to be applied as it is today under their authority in Kenya or any of the Crown colonies and dependencies. Secondly, South Africa being thus morally isolated, India should be left free to deal with her and for this purpose, if for nothing else, she must be raised to the full status of a self-governing dominion. Thirdly, India should be allowed freedom to examine the possibilities of the Covenant of the League of Nations in order to bring the conduct of South Africa before the bar of the world's public opinion, seeing that the "lesser league of nations" has confessed its impotence to deal with such internal squabbles.

V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI.

NATIVE TRUSTEESHIP COMMITTEE.

THERE will shortly be two Committees at work in England on Kenya: first, the Committee appointed by the Government of India to confer with the Colonial Office with a view to revising the White Paper policy towards Indians, and, second, the Committee to be appointed by the Colonial Secretary for investigating the question as to how the principle of "native trusteeship" should be applied to Kenya. The first has already commenced work in London and is the one through which

we in India expect to see justice done to us. But in fact the second one, to which very little attention is paid in this country, is of greater consequence inasmuch as it will handle bigger problems, and may, if its personnel is well selected and its inquiry thorough and comprehensive, do more good to India than the Committee appointed in terms of the Imperial Conference resolution. For the Indian Committee presided over by Mr. Hope Simpson, has after all to negotiate afresh on the same old facts, and our hope of a better success this time depends on the grater show of political strength that we can make. But the African Committee will bring to light in an authoritative manner, almost for the first time so far as England is concerned, the cruel exploitation to which the original inhabitants of Kenya are subjected by the white settlers, and if, on the very basis of the White Paper policy which the Europeans hug to their bosoms, the Committee condemns the present methods of European farming, it will redeem the native Africans from semi-slavery and rescue Indians from white domination. Thus it may be that a Committee which is not directly concerned with Indian grievances will prove a more efficacious, though a less immediate, means of our obtaining a satisfaction of our demands. It is of course possible to be too sanguine even about this Committee, but in any case it will be a serious mistake on our part to disinterest ourselves in the proceedings of this Committee when we have such a splendid opportunity of hoisting our enemy with his own petard. The Committee, to command public confidence, must be composed of men like Messrs. E. D. Morel and John Harris and Lord Olivier. Officials or white settlers should have no place on it, but they, as well as the Africans and their champions, should be allowed to put forward their respective views before the Committee.

The charge which we have to bring against the whites' policy towards the natives is pithily expressed in one sentence by Mr. Morel: "There is no doubt that what between the taxation imposed, the whittling away of the native reserves, the Master and Servants Ordinance, and the Labourers Ordinance, you have a condition of affairs in Kenya which approximates to forced labour of a very bad kind." (House of Commons, March 3, 1924.) This is a charge which the white settlers will find it most difficult to disprove, and without pressure of one sort or another on the natives the farming operations of the whites in the uplands cannot continue. This is the cardinal factor in the situation, which we must utilise to our utmost advantage. In fact every time the cry of "Africa for the Africans" is raised, the Kenya Government and the Colonial Office experience a difficulty in justifying their proposals, and the selfishness of their general policy stands exposed. For instance, a grant-in-aid for railway expenditure in Kenya and Uganda, which came up for debate in the House of Commons, on February 25 and March 3 last, the Colonial Secretary could hardly

defend against attacks based on the principle of native interests being paramount. The railway extensions in question are ostensibly for the purpose of the development of cotton-growing. Now this is an object from which we need not withhold our sympathy, as cotton is a native-grown crop, and whatever tends to raise the status of the native from a wage earner to a primary producer must be welcomed. But the fact remains that the proposal of railway construction was considered by the Colonial Office primarily in the interest of England. Mr. Ormsby-Gore, the former Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, informed the House that the proposal came from the Unemployment Committee of the late Cabinet "for the purpose of securing orders for railway materials for shops in this country and so to relieve unemployment that something more should be done in East Africa for the opening up of the country by means of railway development." Mr. Thomas also had to recommend the vote to the House on the ground that "the building of these railways means immediate orders at home," and he added, "Let it be quite clear that the conditions are that the materials are to be ordered in this country." The development of cotton-growing is thus at best a secondary concern, but is even this secondary object steadily kept in view? Three feeder lines are to be constructed in Kenya ostensibly for the development of cotton-growing, for which £1,000,000 is set aside, but these lines seem to be made not so much for cotton-growing, as "in order to pass through great estates owned by the most influential people in the Colony." Sir Robert Hamilton, late Chief Justice of Kenya, thus described them: "There is a proposed line to Kitale, which is not in a cotton-growing country but in what might be called a white area. There is a proposed branch line to Solai, which is in a white area also, and to Nyeri, which is in a white area and not in cotton-growing country." All these branches will have the result of merely "increasing the wealth of European concessionaires at the expense of the public." As to the main extension of the Nakuru-Turbo line, intended to open up the Uasin Gishu plateau, it "was taken off," said Sir R. Hamilton, "about 50 miles further back at Nakuru, on the floor of the Rift Valley, and a new line was built parallel with the old line at a distance of only something like 10 miles from the old line. It ran along for 55 miles parallel to the old line to a point near the Mau escarpment, which perfectly easily could have been reached from the old line at much less expense." The line was thus diverted from its natural course so that it might go through territory, Mr. Hope Simpson observed, "which has been granted to European concessionaires, and granted on very favourable terms. There is one estate which, I believe, was granted on a quit rent of ½ d. an acre in perpetuity, and that grant was of 100,000 acres of land. Through that land this railway passes, with the result that the land is being offered to other settlers at from £2 to £6 an acre. Further on,

the railway passes through forest land, which is also granted to European concessionaires, and the net result of this traverse from the floor of the valley to the top of the plateau is to put into the pockets of European concessionaires large amounts of money owing to the expenditure on railways." There is of course no arrangement whereby the unearned increment in the value of the land will go to the benefit of the Colony instead of into the pockets of those who own the land." It will thus be seen that Mr. Hope Simpson was perfectly justified in describing this as a "scandal." This is but an instance of the way in which "native trusteeship" is in fact, being interpreted by the Europeans.

When this ideal found mention in the White Paper and was used to counter Indian claims, it was hailed by the whites as but embodying in a formula the invariable practice of the European settlers, but now that the implications of the principle are fully brought out and insisted upon, the whites have begun to realise that this principle will be not their salvation but their undoing. Mr. A. Davis, the former editor of the *Leader*, draws attention to the serious peril involved in giving even lip-homage to the doctrine of "native trusteeship." It is high time, he says, that the colonists stoutly asserted their "inalienable right to control and to possession." "Why pretend," he says, "any other trust but to their posterity and those kith and kin who succeed them? In brief, why not point the way that this is a British colony and is never (as far as we can see) going to develop into a black preserve?" He states plainly why the whites gave countenance to the pronouncement last year. He observes: "In order to counter the Indian attack upon our colonisation the delegates fell in with the Imperial manoeuvre to sidetrack the issue upon another principle—more dangerous to future peace than the Indian peril—that of 'Africa for the Africans,' meaning the white Africans to be submerged—which they are not going to be." The *East African Standard* says the same thing. There is no need, it declares, for the appointment of a Committee, for native trusteeship, according to this exponent of the settlers' views, only means in practice the development of the African so that he may become "a loyal and industrious asset to the British people." This is, in the conception of the whites, the highest position to which natives can aspire, viz. that they should become "loyal and industrial assets of the British peoples!" The "native trusteeship" Committee is thus capable of great possibilities for good directly for natives and, indirectly, for Indians, and we must make full use of it.

S. G. VAZE.

A LETTER FROM LONDON.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

LONDON, MAR. 13, 1924.

SIR Ali Imam and Sir Krishna Gupta have now arrived in London in connection with H. E. H. the

Nizam's claim for the restoration of Berar. The Government of India have still to communicate with the Secretary of State on the subject.

There have been several by-elections already, since Parliament resumed under the new dispensation. So far the most important has been that at Burnley, following the lamented demise of Mr. Dan Irving, who has been succeeded by that consistent failure at general elections but victor at by-elections, Mr. Arthur Henderson, who was "introduced" into the House by his two sons, surely a record in Parliamentary experience. Major Astor had an experience of another sort. He had inadvertently voted in the House without having taken the oath, and his seat was automatically vacated, he being still liable, unless and until an indemnity act is passed in his favour, to a heavy fine. He was yesterday re-elected for Dover without opposition, the Labour Party headquarters having signified their dissent from the proposal to oppose him. The latest by-election, and one that may well be of historical importance, is that for the Abbey Division of Westminster, a true-blue Tory constituency. Brigadier-general Nicholson was the former member. He died recently, leaving him surviving, as the lawyers say, a son who is quite undistinguished for public service. But he happens to be the son of his father and the local Conservatives were strongly of opinion that he should follow in his father's footsteps, in the matter of the representation of the division. The Conservative party, however, would have preferred Mr. Winston Churchill, who is standing as a "constitutional" candidate, with a strong anti-socialist bias. But the local organization would have none of this, with the result that the Conservatives are divided in their sympathies, if not in their allegiance to party headquarters. Mr. Churchill claims to have a great deal of party and non-party support, even though the official party chiefs have to shake their heads gravely at his candidature, which it is well known some of them would in private infinitely prefer. Mr. Churchill claims to remain a Liberal, but he is at loggerheads with the Liberal Party since they helped the Labour Party to come into office. That in his opinion was the great betrayal, and he is accordingly anathema to the official Liberals, who have put up an opposing candidate, Mr. Scott Duckers. Such conservatively inclined Liberals as Sir Edward Grigg are supporting Mr. Churchill, so that both Liberals and Conservatives are divided on the question of his candidature. There is yet another candidate in the field, Mr. Fenner Brockway, the well-known secretary of the Independent Labour Party, whose name is known in India through various press contributions.

Mr. Fenner Brockway has issued some interesting election literature in which, among other things, he points to the things that Labour has done during its six weeks of office. He speaks of the re-establishment of the prestige of Great Britain throughout the world and the creation of a new atmosphere in the realm of foreign affairs making

for the restoration of British trade; the recognition of the Russian Government; the preparation of a housing scheme by which houses will be made available at reasonable rents; support for a further extension of the Rent Restriction Acts; the extension of the Trade Facilities Act with a view to the stimulation of trade and employment, as an alternative to an indefinite continuance of the "dole"; the development of plans for the provision of work for the unemployed; the abolition of "gaps" in unemployed benefit; the rescinding of the inoperative Poplar Order and an undertaking to reform the Poor Law system; a definite undertaking to introduce a measure for a general 48 hours' working week; another undertaking to abolish the means limit for Old Age Pensions; the removal of ex-service men in asylums from Poor Law control; a further undertaking to diminish the size of classes in schools, to extend opportunities for higher education, and to abolish limitation of expenditure on meals for necessitous children; an undertaking to pass a measure for mothers' pensions, so soon as funds are available; the consideration of agriculture as a problem of first national importance, and as a first step, the announcement of a credit scheme to encourage scientific co-operation and the setting up of a Commission to inquire into the whole problem of the National Debt. I daresay that Mr. Brockway's opponents will have a good deal to say about the validity of some of his exclusive claims, but he is entitled to make the most of the situation. He quotes in favour of his candidature as a Labour representative Mr. J. L. Garvin's assertion that the average citizen is beginning "to wonder whether either Unionists or Liberals in their moral disarray are fit to govern and whether Mr. Ramsay MacDonald has not created a more reasonable and efficient administration than any of his rivals in the present state of their political education could be trusted to provide". The contest will be short and sharp. I am inclined to think that Mr. Churchill, who has the strongest personality of any of the candidates, is likely to win. But he has his own record to contend against, and his turn-coat past is being brought up against him by the "Morning Post", through the assistance of Mr. H. W. Massingham, who has joined the Labour Party, and is Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's principal unofficial helper in the conduct of foreign affairs.

Lord Olivier moved this week in the House of Lords for the appointment of a Joint Standing Committee of Parliament on Indian Affairs, with the same terms of reference as those of the last Committee. The message has come to the Commons, and the Committee, it is expected, will shortly be appointed. I understand that it is against the practice for members of the Government to be appointed to the Committee. Whether this practice will be strictly observed remains to be seen. It will be difficult to observe it so far as the Lords' representation is concerned, since the only peers that are not members of the Government are Lords Kimberley and Russell, who know

nothing about the subject and are not known to be interested in it. It is possible that one of the Labour peers appointed will be Earl de la Warr, who has been appointed one of the Lords in Waiting to the King. He is a young and enthusiastic social reformer, and has for long been keenly interested in India. His mother, Muriel, Countess de la Warr, an old friend of Mrs. Besant, and her prospective hostess here, is well-known in Indian circles for her quiet but practical sympathy with Indian work and propaganda in this country. She is a member of the Committee of the British Auxiliary of the National Conference of India, presided over recently by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, and is a member of the Indian Parliamentary Committee. Lords Clwyd and Meston are fairly certain to be appointed, but the other members are not yet indicated. Col. Wedgwood and Mr. Spoor are not likely, in the circumstances, to have seats on the Joint Standing Committee. On the other hand, Mr. Hope Simpson and Col. Meyler may quite well be found there. The third Liberal will probably be either Sir Robert Hamilton or Sir Edward Grigg. The latter, however, is not in good odour just now, in Liberal circles in view of his public support of Mr. Churchill. The Labour members will include Mr. Lansbury, Mr. Snell and Mr. Scurr. The fourth member may be Mr. Jack Mills. Probably, the Conservative panel will now include once more Mr. Ormsby Gore, who is still very friendly save in the score of Kenya, where he has adopted a strong pro-native attitude which, he seems to think, necessarily implies one of hostility to the Indian claims, which he ought to know are in no way opposed to native interests but only to the egregious demands of the white settler oligarchy, to whose pretensions he is equally opposed.

Speaking at Swindon, the other night, Col. Wedgwood spoke some home truths to an audience that had helped to send the notorious Mr. Mitchell-Banks to Parliament. It was inevitable, he said, that, as the old prehistoric ideal of governors and governed broke down and were replaced by conceptions of the equal rights of citizens, violent friction should take place. Authority did not resign easily. We had tried to govern America too long, and the folly of George III and Lord North had cut us off from union with America. We had tried to govern Ireland too long, and a stupid and brutal war had left hatred between the races where concord and respect should have prevailed, had Gladstone and the progressive men of 1885 been allowed to have their way. Were we, he asked, going to sacrifice our future relations with Indians also, through the blindness of those who would not learn from history or understand the natural evolution of democracy? Thanks to the vision and understanding of another great though hated Liberal—Mr. Montagu—we had set India on the peaceful path towards self-government. The die had been cast; nothing that the old governors could do now could stop India securing some day Dominion Home Rule; all parties were pledged to it.

But the relations between the two races during the testing-time would influence vitally the manner and temper of the separation. We were distrusted in India. We must get into touch again. We did not want to be governors; we wanted a union of free peoples. They did not want to be governed; they wanted to develop in safety and be sure of our goodwill. It could not be beyond the wit of man to devise satisfactory assurances and friendly relations between two equally inexperienced and equally struggling democracies. It illustrated the difficulties to be faced by peacemakers when one learnt that the speech of Mr. Mitchell-Banks, the member for Swindon, listened to with loathing and disgust in a Conservative House of Commons, was translated verbatim into Hindi and Urdu and circulated throughout India by the hundred thousand in order to create race-hatred as a sample of what Englishmen really thought of Indians. That must stop. We could not risk turning India into another Ireland.

The Cabinet Committee on India that has been set up has an unknown personnel, though probably it will be presided over by Lord Olivier. It should enable the friends of India within the Cabinet to make their influence better felt, and it is evidence that the Cabinet is seriously considering the steps to be taken to bring about better relations between the leaders of both countries. This was clearly indicated in Mr. Richards's reply to questions last Monday. But why did he make the stupid blunder of attempting to commit the Government to the view that no investigation into the need of constitutional reforms could be considered ahead of 1929?

REVIEW.

INDIAN PHILOSOPHY VOL. I. By R. S. RADHA KRISHNAN, King George V Professor of Philosophy, University of Calcutta. (George Allen and Unwin Ltd. London, 1923) 21 s. net.

A FAIRLY good number of Indian thinkers and scholars have recently been devoting their time and energy to the study of Sanskrit Literature in the light of modern criticism and writing books on Indian Philosophy in English. In our opinion none of them has succeeded to such an extent as Professor Radha Krishnan. His book under review is very well written. He has treated the various periods and schools of Indian Philosophy with care and sympathetic insight, and has throughout scrupulously avoided the partisan spirit. Dealing with a variety of subject-matter he has adopted the western method of criticism and of balancing and arranging facts. In fact, in doing so he has sometimes gone too far, losing sight for the moment that every system of philosophy should have its own method and that it is no use trying to stretch certain characteristically Indian points of view to purely western ones.

"Philosophy in India is essentially spiritual" says the learned author in his introduction. In other words, we can safely assume that some of the teachings of the Vedas and the Upanishads cannot possibly be understood in the true sense of the word without spiritual realization. To a mere intellectual man they do not convey more than surface meaning: unless the heart is purified, mind controlled, senses subdued and an intense desire for higher spiritual life is cultivated no one can fully realize the inner significance and meaning of any of the ancient scriptures which are mostly written in the form of aphorisms—sutras.

In the second chapter of the Vedic period, while discussing the teaching of the Vedas the author has appropriately quoted Mr. Aurobindo Ghosh, the great Indian scholar-mystic, who "is of opinion that the Vedas are replete with suggestions of secret doctrines and mystic philosophies. He looks upon the gods of the hymns as symbols of the psychological functions. Surya signifies intelligence, Agni will, and Soma feeling." Instead of accepting this interpretation as by far the most sensible, intelligible and compatible one with the ancient symbolical method of spiritual culture, the Professor "hesitates to take his lead" and prefers to be guided by the modern views of the European scholars and the traditional interpretation of Sayana who was admittedly learned in the Vedic lore but was not reputed to be deeply spiritual also. It is one thing to be a scholar and another thing to be a spiritual seer, who alone can unravel the deeper and underlying meaning of some of the seemingly meaningless terms and phraseology. In the same period the fourth chapter on the philosophy of the Upanishads is exquisitely designed and executed. Its exposition is the best that we have yet seen. The treatment is not only sympathetic but comprehensive. We may add it is also free from preconceptions. A few suitable quotations from this chapter will bear out our statement.

IX "The infinite is not beyond the finite but in the finite." "The identity between the subject and the object was realized in India before Plato was born."

XI Creation—"Anand cannot be the end of evolution unless it was also the beginning of it."

XV The Ethics of the Upanishads.—The Upanishads require us to work but disinterestedly. The righteous man is not he who leaves the world and retires to a cloister, but he who lives in the world and loves the objects of the world, not for their own sake but for the sake of the infinite they contain, the universal they conceal."

"The false asceticism which regards life as a dream and the world as an illusion, which has obsessed some thinkers in India as well as in Europe, is foreign to the prevailing tone of the Upanishads. A healthy joy in the life of the world pervades the atmosphere."

The whole philosophy of the Upanishads tends towards the softening of the divisions and the undermining of class hatreds and antipathies. God is the inner soul of all alike."

The second part of the book deals with the Epic Period from 600 B. C. to 200 A. D. Chapter V gives a short and clear account of materialism which is supposed to be the result of 'intellectual stir' in ancient India. This school of thought affords no inferior parallel to some aspects of materialistic philosophy in vogue in western countries. In every age there were men who looked upon the outer phenomenal world as the only reality and were thus content to enjoy their life to its fullest capacity.

Chapter VI of this period is devoted to the Pluralistic Realism of the Jains and we find that the author has successfully assimilated and explained the subtleties of Jaina doctrines. Most of the books of Jainism are still untranslated into English, and the Professor has made good use of books that are available. The life of Vardhamana deserves to be fully delineated.

Chapter VII deals with the Ethical Idealism of early Buddhism. Then follow two chapters on 'Buddhism as a Religion' and 'the schools of Buddhism', with which the first volume concludes.

Whatever importance may be attached to what is called historic sequence, it stands to reason that the various aspects of Buddhism as religion and philosophy should have been placed one after the other forming one complete whole. In any case to treat of Buddhist Philosophy before the epics of Ramayana and Mahabharata or the Theism of the Bhagavad-gita, does not appear to us to be a good arrangement.

Chapter IX expounds in a most lucid manner the Theism of the Bhagvadgita and this, to our mind, is by far the best portion of the book. It points out the value and importance of the Lord's Song in Indian thought and its essential relation to the Vedas and the Upanishads. In the first part of this chapter the author has discussed the views of oriental scholars and savants on this sublime treatise and in the latter half he has dealt with it from the purely Indian point of view. In the course of this chapter he has made certain statements with which we do not agree. The Professor says, "It did not destroy altogether false modes of worship." But to barrow Christian phraseology, we may reply, it came to fulfil not to destroy. It was not meant to destroy anything because in the author's own words it is "universal in its significance and application".

Mann and his laws have not been fully discussed in this book.

While fully appreciating the merits of this great work and paying its brilliant author due meed of praise, we cannot help remarking that in his zeal for modernity he has leaned too much on the views of

western scholars and has not taken his stand on the fact that Indian philosophy, like Greek and German philosophy, must have its own characteristic genius and must necessarily differ in its outlook on life. The ancient Indian sages and thinkers were not content with mere intellectual satisfaction but tried to enter into the heart of a problem by means of direct spiritual realization—a method which is still tabooed and looked at askance by western people.

Indian Philosophy will not gain in importance and value by accepting the western method of criticism. There are certain passages in the course of the book which also reveal the author's independence of thought, his bold conception, and unusual insight into the meaning of certain problems of life and the light thrown on them by ancient thinkers. For all this Professor Radha Krishnan deserves our heartiest congratulations.

M. H. STED.

MISCELLANEA.

LORD OLIVIER'S SPEECH.

The *East African Standard* of the 15th March contains the following report of a speech by Lord Olivier regarding India and Kenya:—

Speaking at a local Labour party meeting at Banbury, the district in which he lives, Lord Olivier, the Secretary of State for India, dealt with Indian problems as follows:—

He, as they would be aware, had been appointed Secretary of State for India—(applause)—and it just happened that he had come into the India Office at about the busiest week or fortnight of the year—when the legislative assembly for India was holding its first meetings, and he had had to be in constant communication with the Viceroy on matters of policy, etc. The greatest difficulty they had to contend with in connection with India at the present time was the increasing determination of the Swarajists, not only to abstain from taking part in public business, but taking up an attitude of obstruction.

As it was only four years since reforms were introduced to pave the way for complete self-government and Dominion status for India, it was surprising to find such a great amount of bitterness and distrust as was shown at the present elections. He had been at some pains to try to find out the real cause of this. The manifesto of the Swarajists, or self-rule party, based the whole of its policy of obstruction on the definite statement that they believe the British Government is entirely insincere in its intentions to remedy grievances and to give India a progressive constitution with a view to Dominion status.

They believed it to be the intention to retain India as a field for British capital as a subservient country. The speaker reminded them that not only was it the intention of the present Government to confer self-government upon India, but it had been the intention of the previous administration to carry on the reforms indicated by Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford. There was, he explained, the need for a transitional period, in which greater autonomy was given to the local legislators with the object of enabling them to acquire greater experience in administration, and the attempt to destroy this made it difficult to judge clearly how the system had worked or how it should be modified.

He had found a reason for the change of attitude. Dissatisfaction arose largely from local causes of irritation, etc., but generally the attitude appeared to have been influenced by two

things. One was the statement made by Mr. Lloyd George that the Indian Civil Service, partially British, would continue always to remain part of the settled form of Indian administration. This gave great offence, but the thing which had caused the greatest displeasure was the negotiations which took place last year with regard to Kenya Colony, in British East Africa. This colony had been largely made by Indians. They built its railways, developed its trade, and built up considerable prosperity.

Last year there was a conference with a view to a modification of the constitution, and in modifying the constitution the line was taken that distinction as regards British citizenship must be drawn in a British Crown Colony between different races: that was to say, the Indian race and the British race were to be regarded as citizens of different orders. This was an entirely new principle which they had never had before, except in such colonies as South Africa, where there was a policy of race ascendancy.

What shocked Indian sentiment was the principle of race distinction, that there should be two kinds of British citizens—one the white man and the other the Indian. It was this that had given most dangerous offence throughout India, and there was no subject which had so troubled the most liberal statesmen of India as this distinction drawn up in the reconstitution of Kenya. This was one of the troubles with which he and Mr. Tomas had to deal.

The Indians contended that we made them a promise of equal citizenship two years ago in Kenya, and had now set up racial distinctions. He was perfectly convinced that if they wanted to break up the British Empire they would go back on what had hitherto been their policy of making no distinction between citizenship on grounds of race or colour—(applause). In his own office he had been brought face to face with Indian problems at very short notice and the same remarks applied to other Ministers. Fortunately, one way or another, all of them were, more or less, accustomed to administration, being, contrary to the view generally held by the public, pretty well qualified and not the least afraid of their jobs and perfectly well able to occupy their positions. But to do all that was necessary in a fortnight, in time to allow Mr. MacDonald to make his appearance in the House with some sort of a programme was a somewhat feverish and hectic business.

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