

# Servant of India

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## NOTICE

*It is customary for the Servant of India to take a week off during the anniversary of the Servants of India Society. It is proposed this year to do so next week. There will, therefore, be no issue of the paper on 23rd June; the next issue will be despatched on 30th June.*

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## Topics of the Week.

### Lord Lothian on Federation.

LORD LOTHIAN affirmed again his faith in Federation at the Mysore Dinner at Dorchester Hotel by declaring "that it was absolutely vital to the peace and progressive development of India. He had criticisms to make of the India Act but the fact that India should move forward to the new age as an organic whole was not in dispute". Lord Lothian's hope is "that the Princes would decide for Federation by an overwhelming majority... There remained the manner of States' representation. Here, those responsible for directing the affairs of States during the next few years could not do better than study and grasp the evolution of the British Crown and apply its lessons to the problems of the States".

LORD Lothian emphasises unduly the need for the Princes' consent for the inauguration of the Federation. Seven British Indian provinces have declared themselves unequivocally opposed to the Federal structure as at present constituted, the opposition being confined not only to the Princes' part in it but to others, particularly the safeguards relating to foreign affairs, defence and finance. The consent of Princes whether given in an overwhelming majority or otherwise will not serve any purpose and a mere taking out of a cog from the Federal machine like nomination of representatives by States will not satisfy Indian public opinion. Nothing will appeal to the Indian public but the grant of real as against the bogus responsibility now proposed

to be given to the popular representatives at the centre, and the entry of British India and Indian States on a footing of equality with regard to the nature and number of representation in the Federal legislatures. This means a drastic overhaul of the Federal structure which does not appear to command Lord Lothian's approval but the current of public opinion against Federation has gone too far and it is too late to stem it now by the offer of piecemeal tinkering with the Federal machine.

### The Mysore Newspaper Bill.

THE Mysore Newspaper Bill which sought to impose severe restrictions on the liberties of the press has been rightly rejected by the Mysore Representative Assembly after a full dress debate lasting for two days. The Bill was brought forward in response to the request of the members of the Assembly that the Press Act of the State should be amended but the members did not bargain for a Bill of the kind that was moved by Government which sought to strengthen the control of Government over the newspapers instead of liberalising the existing Act. It is not a testimony to the Mysore Government's solicitude for public opinion that it should have introduced a measure of this kind just after the recent reconciliation effected between it and the people of the State by Sardar Patel on the flag question. The spirit of intolerance seems to be very much abroad in the State which has been aggravated by the recent unfortunate incidents.

WE do not have the text of the Bill before us but extracts from the speeches made on the Bill give some indications about the reactionary provisions of the Bill. One member, Mr. Narasing Rao, is reported to have declared "The provisions of the Bill under discussion had gone far beyond the British Indian Act in that they reserved to the Government powers to suppress a newspaper at any time. Moreover they must remember that a Bill on these lines was introduced in British India when there was keen tension between the Government and the people and the Indian National Congress had launched the Civil Disobedience Movement. These circumstances did not exist in Mysore. Besides Mysore was not under alien rule." Another member pointed out, "It was not fair to bring in a Bill which did not contain a provision for either judicial proceedings against papers or for giving them an opportunity, in case action was taken against any paper, to put their case before a judicial tribunal."

THE Government's defence for introducing provisions in the Bill for speedy executive action was that of the Law Member of the Government of India

when he supported the Criminal Law Amendment Act in 1931 namely "that speedy executive action instead of delayed judicial proceedings was necessary in such cases to prevent undesirable things happening". Such an argument for the Newspaper Bill cannot be sustained. Conditions in Mysore are not abnormal; only recently a concordat was reached between the people and the State on certain questions, and therefore there is no question of a state of siege existing in Mysore. It is strange therefore that the State should have brought in a measure which can be justified only in abnormal times. The fact that the Mysore State has in mind the times that necessitated the Criminal Law Amendment Act in British, unjustified and retrograde as it was, is not exactly a favourable commentary on the compromise that has been effected between it and the State Congress. Such measures of the kind that the Mysore Government has introduced to control the press will only serve to acerbate public opinion and feelings" and will not create a favourable atmosphere for the consideration of the proposals of the Constitution Committee which is now having its deliberations on the question of constitutional reform.

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#### The Hindi Controversy

THE Premier of Madras is having a job now with all the agitation going on in Madras against the compulsory introduction of Hindi in certain schools of the province. Those opposed to the introduction of compulsory Hindustani have raised the cry that the vernaculars of the province are in danger and the adventurous spirits among the dissentients have resorted to that favourite method of coercion so much in vogue in recent years of hunger strike and satyagraha. In a statement issued to the Press, the Premier has once again repeated. "The issue is not whether Tamil is going to be ruined but whether the Government chosen by the people is or is not at liberty to give liberal education to boys of the province. The question is whether the Ministers of the people should govern or a few disgruntled persons should be allowed to intimidate them". Curiously it sounds like an echo from the past when the discredited Montford Government registered its vehement protests against satyagraha and other methods of "peaceful" and "non-violent" coercion.

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THE Premier of Madras deserves sympathy in his present predicament; his desire to make Hindustani compulsory in some schools of the province as a measure of experiment is praiseworthy. The languages of the south belonging to the Dravidian group have very little connexion with the languages of the north belonging as they do to the Sanskrit group. This makes free-mixing of the masses of the north with those of the south very difficult if not impossible and the introduction of Hindi as an additional language to be studied in schools is a measure in the direction of much-needed unification. The opponents of the introduction of Hindi in schools imagine that it will swamp the vernaculars, a fear without any basis but such is the emotion engendered by innovations in language curriculum that the dissentients are a source of great trouble today. There are practical difficulties in the way of the introduction of Hindi in Madras schools: the introduction of Hindi will make it obligatory on a student to study three languages which does impose a severe strain on the students but then in the cause of unification some sacrifice and strain have to be incurred. The Premier of Madras has his hand unflinchingly on the plough and it is likely that he will win in this agitation.

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## Articles.

### DARK OUTLOOK FOR COMMUNAL UNITY.

THE negotiations on communal unity that were going between on Mr. Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League and Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, President of the Congress, have as was expected *practically* broken-down. Mr. Jinnah has to take full responsibility for torpedoing the communal peace efforts of the Congress. Anyone who reads the proceedings of the All India Muslim League's Executive on the draft reply sent to Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, reports of which have appeared in the press and have so far not been contradicted, will be convinced of the utter irresponsibility with which Mr. Jinnah and his coadjutors have acted in the tragedy. "The Muslim League is the only organisation which can speak for the Muslim community and the Congress which is predominantly Hindu now can represent only Hindu opinion", this is the point of view taken up by the Executive Council of the All India Muslim League. Mr. Jinnah's King Charles's head has come out again. We fail to see what purpose such a stand can serve. Mr. Jinnah's purpose seems to be to convict the Congress of being a predominantly Hindu organisation. The numerical strength of the Congress, if analysed, may show that a majority of its members are Hindu by birth but the Congress, even its severest critics will admit, does not represent Hindu communal opinion. If a majority of the Members of the Congress happen to belong accidentally to the Hindu population, it is not due to any communal policy that it has adopted but because the creation of communal electorates has closed the doors against the infiltration of national propaganda into the Muslim fold and thus prevent the Congress or any other political organisation being more representative of Muslims than it is to-day. The Congress, it must be admitted, has done its best to conciliate Muslim opinion on the question of the Communal award by adopting the illogical facing-both-ways attitude. In fact the Hindu Mahasabha has often accused the Congress of unnecessarily trying to placate Muslim opinion. And to ask the Congress now to declare itself as a predominantly Hindu organisation is to ask it to commit political suicide. We do not think that the Executive Council of the All India Muslim League ever expected the Congress to make such a declaration because it must be aware that no self-respecting national organisation, as distinct from a communal organisation, will ever make such a declaration.

Mr. Jinnah wants that the Congress should recognise that the All India Muslim League is the only organisation which can speak on behalf of the Muslims. This is evidently meant as a retort to Mr. Nehru's frequent assertions that there are only two parties in the country, the Congress and the Government. It is true that Mr. Nehru's views on the subject are as extreme as Mr. Jinnah's view that the All

India Muslim League represents every section of Muslim opinion, but so far as we are aware Mr. Nehru's views have not been put forward officially as those of the Congress. Even if they have been that is no excuse for Mr. Jinnah's tall demand that the Muslim League should be regarded as the only organisation entitled to speak on behalf of the Muslims. Even among the Muslims there are various sections which do not agree with the views of the All India Muslim League. In Bengal, for instance, there are Muslims who acutely differ from the chosen representative of the League, Premier Fazlul Haq. There are Muslims in the Congress and other political bodies who take a view different from that of the League on national questions. That the views of the Muslim League are not shared by certain responsible Muslims is borne out by the statement of Sardar Habibullah of Lahore. Says the Sardar, "The position adopted by those assembled at Bombay was untenable as the Muslims in the Congress as well as those out of it and belonging to so many different powerful organisations will never agree to accept the League as the sole political and religious body of the Muslims of India. These self-appointed representatives of the Muslims want a certificate from a national institution like the Congress to give the League a status which it never possessed".

It will be seen therefore that the demand of the Muslim League that the Congress should enter into negotiations with it recognising it as the only organisation entitled to speak for the Muslims was not meant to facilitate a compromise on the communal question. It appears, if one can draw such an inference, that the Executive Council of the League was spoiling for a breakdown. It is reported that the Executive Council of the All India Muslim League considered the question of joint electorates. It was pointed out to the Executive that "if a system of joint electorates was agreed to wholesale without any adequate safeguards in provinces where the Muslims formed a negligible minority like Madras and the Central Provinces, it was possible that true representatives of the Muslim community would not be returned. Only those who were put up by the majority community would be elected. That was a thing which the League had to contend against." Muslims may have fears that they may not get a square deal in provinces where they are in a very small minority but it is only fair to ask of the Muslim League what safeguards it requires. So far no constructive proposals have been put forward by the Executive for a system of joint electorates which would safeguard the interests of the Muslims. It seems to one that the Muslim League is not anxious to explore this avenue of compromise; it has often proclaimed the Communal Award as the sheet anchor of its policy. It views with great suspicion the introduction of joint electorates; the peculiar psychological atmosphere in which it works renders a national outlook on its part impossible. Joint electorates with reservation of seats if necessary will enable true representatives of the Muslim community to be elected; if the Muslims find that the representatives do not safeguard their interests, they have the demo-

cratic weapon of electioneering propaganda to bring such representatives to book. The Muslim League fails to realise or is wilfully blind to the fact that the introduction of joint electorates will foster a national outlook without which it is impossible for national organisations to carry on the fight against the alien masters of the country.

The Executive Council of the Muslim League protested also against the continuance of the mass contact programme of the Congress. It is true that the mass contact programme of the Congress has not been as successful as its sponsor, Mr. Nehru, thought it would be; if it has failed or been only a partial success, it is not because it worked on wrong lines but because the potency of the communal factor in our politics is stronger than we imagined. To say that no political party should ever attempt to win Muslims to its creed is to cut at the root of all the fundamentals of politics. The Muslim League has shown its irresponsibility to the fullest extent in its unreasoning opposition to the Muslim mass contact programme. A press report of the proceedings of the Executive of the Muslim League on the subject says "Later in the day, after discussions had proceeded far, the opinion was generally held that the Congress should not carry on its programme of establishing contact with the Muslim masses as that was purely the function of the Muslim League". Here again it is the intolerant psychology that the Muslim League alone is the "proprietor" of the Muslim masses that is at work. If the Muslim League thinks that it alone can safeguard Muslim interests, it is at liberty to do counter propaganda against the mass contact programme of the Congress. That is the only normal democratic process open to a political party but to say that establishing contact with the Muslim masses is purely the function of the Muslim League is to give to the Muslim League a status that it does not enjoy at present and which even if granted will be against all democratic conventions.

We have said enough on the impossible demands of the Muslim League; we have now to refer to extremism on the other side. Babu Subhas Chandra Bose in a speech at Chittagong said recently "I am prepared to hand over all powers to Muslims if they join Congress in all sincerity without bartering the Congress idea of nationalism". Emphasis at this delicate stage of negotiations should not be laid on the need for Muslims joining the Congress; it is bound to put up the backs of those who have not yet reconciled themselves to Congress methodology. It is true that the need of the hour is a recognition on the part of Muslim communalists as distinct from Muslim nationalists of the cohesive strength of the national spirit. The Muslim League has woefully proved itself bankrupt of such a spirit but nationalists need not despair. A party based on rank communalism may be strong for the moment but it cannot be strong forever. The democratic forces released by provincial autonomy have awakened political consciousness to an extent not dreamt of even by the framers of the constitution, far-seeing and clever as they were. This political

consciousness will bring up the Muslim masses against economic realities and economic realities have a knack of atrophying the communal spirit as is happening in Bengal today. The hope of nationalism lies in the awakening of the political consciousness of the Muslim masses; that day is not far off. Mr. Jinnah and his friends may delight in their having banged the door against progress but the delight is bound to be short-lived. The threatened breakdown of communal negotiations may be a tragedy much to be deplored but that should not dishearten national organisations. National propaganda directed specifically to rid the masses of the communal cancer must be carried on.

## SOCIAL WORK AND SOCIOLOGY.

### III.

THE statement of the humble origins of social work, mostly in England of the need for particular kinds of social work in India, and the discussion about one kind of social work, that is common to the civilized world, ought to make clear the place which a sociologist occupies or has to occupy in the field of social work. This should have indirectly brought out the relation of Sociology to Social Work. In order, however, to focuss the reader's attention, I may briefly state here, the precise position of Sociology in relation to Social Work.

In so far as one social problem after another has quickened some sympathetic minds at different points of time to conceive of its solution and to organise for it, each social problem is a product of or has a definite social setting in particular socio-economic circumstances. For social work regarding these problems to be really sympathetic and fruitful—and here I must once for all point out that social work is not mere relief-work—it must be founded on a sound knowledge of the socio-economic conditions in which the problems have their being. This means that a social worker must have studied the cultural pattern of the society in which he is working. Nay, in order that he may have a proper perspective of the problems, that he has undertaken to deal with, he should have made a comparative study of the cultural pattern and its associated problems of another society as well.

Broad sympathy is a fundamental qualification in a social worker. And this quality, like many other qualities, is more a natural possession than a cultivated acquisition. A social worker, therefore, from this point of view, is more born than made. And yet, I submit, there is some scope for education even in regard to this quality. For, as educators, do we not proceed on this faith? Is not our practice of imparting knowledge of certain subjects founded on the belief that it does develop the mental faculties and cultivate certain attitudes? The training of a social worker, the education to be imparted to him, must be such as to widen his mental horizon and thus to render the cultivation of broad sympathy possible. It is in this respect that a general study of culture is clearly indicated for him. An Indian social worker has an additional interest in such a study. Some of

the customs and beliefs that he will come across in his social work among certain lower castes, tribal castes, and the so-called criminal tribes are such strange bed-fellows of the modern ideology, presented to him through his usual courses of study, that he can hardly grasp them, and if he understands them, he may feel repulsed from them—a situation, which, all will agree, is far from desirable. Fortunately, a general study of culture has latterly come to be included—at least by two American sociologists, H. E. Barnes and E. R. Groves—under Sociology. Sociology, therefore, becomes an essential subject of study for a social worker.

Social work may be conceived in two aspects: relief and reconstruction. Its relief-aspect is the older of the two, having its roots in the older forms of charity and philanthropy, outgrowing them in its object of rehabilitation. Reconstructive social work, on the other hand, is a far more recent development and has for its field not necessarily, unadjusted or misadjusted persons or groups but primarily those, who are normal. Writers on Social Work, whether social workers or sociologists, have defined social work in a variety of ways. I shall quote here its description given by William Hodson, Executive Director, Welfare Council of New York City, because it appears to me to be the best. He says,

"Social service or social work, as understood in the United States, is that form of persistent and deliberate effort that helps the individual (or family group) to make a satisfactory adjustment to his environment. In another aspect it attempts to provide those aids to living which make for a richer and more wholesome existence. In still another aspect, social work, though scientific research, is searching out the cause for human distress, measuring the incidence of poverty, ill health and delinquency, etc., or seeking an evaluation of the methods of treating these ills and the character of the results achieved. Finally, social work is engaged in reform. Through legislation, improved administrative procedures and public education, the struggle to improve living conditions and promote social justice is carried on. As the social worker in his daily practice and through research becomes conscious of wrongs and inequalities, he seeks a remedy and becomes an active protagonist of the changes needed to achieve that end."

Two of the activities of a social worker, mentioned in the above quotation namely, those concerned with investigation and research on the one hand and legislative reform and promotion of social justice on the other, are such that if they are to be carried out by him with efficiency, he needs some training in Sociology. His investigation and research must have a methodology, which is appropriate to social studies, and as such has been looked upon as a legitimate branch of Sociology. He may improve upon the technique in the light of his experience—and sociologists will be all too grateful to him for this—but he should not go to his work without having studied the technique, which social scientists have developed so far. It is very imperative that one who is engaged in

promoting reform and social justice should have, previously to his starting on his career-as-a-social worker, studied the social fabric in all its complexity. Otherwise, out of impetuous sympathy for the afflicted, coming under his charge, and natural enthusiasm for the cause he is concerned with, he may propose remedies, which, because they are formulated in the light of a partial social experience, may upset the balance in which other aspects of social life are held. In a word, he must be in a position to think of the social fabric as a whole and evaluate his partial field in terms of the whole. To be able to do this he must have studied Sociology, which tries to study the interrelation of various social facts, not only as they are in existence at any particular time, but even as moving through the historical perspective.

The constructive type of social work which I mentioned is referred to in the quotation from Hodson, as concerned with providing "aids to living which make for a richer and a more wholesome existence." It is thus concerned with human relationships in various walks of life. It has also to have an ideology about 'richer' and 'more wholesome existence.'

Promotion of fuller life and more wholesome existence is now the aim of every nation-society, though the content of this concept as well as the method of achieving it are not as yet agreed upon. The method of achieving it leads to a consideration of political organization, which I shall not deal with here. I shall rather refer to the fundamentals of this type of work, a large part of which is being accomplished by various States through their own departmental agencies.

To organise a society to lead individuals to a realization of fuller life, we require individuals of a certain minimum quality. Breeding of progressively better and better individuals, therefore, is basic for promotion of fuller life. This fact leads one to the consideration of marriage and to its necessity of being founded on eugenic considerations. Appreciation of heredity and inculcation of eugenic doctrines is perhaps best achieved through the importance attached to the family group.

Next to the breeding of properly fitted individuals, their nurture, during the first few years of their life particularly, is of importance. For, it is in these years that an important part of the mental structure of man is raised on the foundations of his native endowments. The third factor that completes this structure is the school and the other educational institutions and the kin-group and the local and other neighbourhood groups. But they begin to operate rather later than the interactions within the family-group. For the development of an individual all the groups and institutions, just mentioned, must function properly. The schools and other educational institutions are more and more being conducted with a full appreciation of their role in this behalf. Social workers have begun the work of organizing neighbourhood centre etc. I have already dealt with a particular type of social centre, that appears to me to

be necessary in our special circumstances. The other important type of social work, that is indicated by my analysis is the social work in relation to the family.

In this country, where illiteracy stalks abroad, where old ideas thrive and new conditions pulse, there is the greatest need for social work in connection with the family. Some of our social workers have already realised its need, at least, in some aspects. I refer to the activities of women-organizations, which provide to middle class ladies—so far perhaps only in the cities—some kind of gainful activity at home. That this is an urgent need should be readily admitted. As a matter of fact, provision of such work is necessary for very, very large sections of our population. But here I have in view what may be called the educative kind of work, and not the economic. The relation between husband and wife, parent and child, requires a new orientation not only for the adults to lead a more harmonious life, but even more in the interests of the children that are to achieve the social harmony of tomorrow. To impress upon the minds of the parents how their behaviour towards one another as well as their behaviour towards their children affects the mental growth of their children, influences their feelings towards their brothers and sisters and their attitude towards persons outside their family-groups, is a noble task and a gigantic one, that needs to be taken up by social workers now.

The family, as a unit-group, seems to have been in existence almost throughout human history. But it has taken different forms in different times and in different places. Through these variant forms, however, one principle can be discerned to have been common till, say, about sixty years ago. It was the domination of the male head of the family over his wife and children. Family as a group of interacting individuals in an atmosphere of perfect sympathy, as a unit where fullest play of human relationship was possible, was just emerging about fifty years ago. Its contribution to the proper make-up of a harmonious individual was yet to be tested. In the meanwhile the very forces that tended to liberalize the atmosphere within the family have shown their capacity for disintegrating it. In American cities, a large number of family-groups lead such a life in the hotels that they can rightly be made the targets of their attack by those ideologists, who look upon the family as the greatest hindrance in the way of a perfectly levelling programme. In Russia, leaders, inspired with such ideology, seriously tried to undermine the very foundations of the family. One of the consequences of this policy has been that in spite of larger economic employment, better standard of living, almost universal imparting of education, and better methods of dealing with crime, young delinquency has been on the increase. From the mass of literature bearing on this huge social experiment, is clear that of all the programmes, implemented by Russian leaders, the one regarding the family has undergone the greatest changes. They have tended more and more to stabilize the family-group.

It appears to me that the family-group, in the form referred to above, must be given a trial to test its capacity to solve some of our problems regarding promotion of fuller life, viz., the development of individuals, who are harmonious personalities, manifesting a judicious blend of individualizing and socializing sentiments.

G. S. GHURYE.

## SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY.

## DR. KUNZRU'S SPEECH AT S. I. S. ANNIVERSARY.

*On the occasion of the thirty-third anniversary of the Servants of India Society, the Hon'ble Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru, LL. D., its President, made a speech of which a summary is given below.*

**T**HIS was an occasion, Mr. Kunzru said, for stock-taking of the work done by the members during the past year. In this work they were guided by Mr. Gokhale's life as they understood it, which was a precious heritage for them all, and by the vows which every member had taken on being admitted to the privilege of membership. They must examine within themselves on this occasion to what extent they were able to fulfil the vows and how far they had fallen short of the high ideals of thought and conduct which had been set before them by the Founder, and having truthfully measured their weaknesses, they must renew their vows and rekindle Mr. Gokhale's spirit in their hearts so that in the year on which they were entering they might be able to give a better account of themselves and to approach a little more closely to the consecrated life that Mr. Gokhale had enjoined on them by precept and example.

Speaking of some of the new features of the Society's activities during the past year, Mr. Kunzru referred to the urgent necessity for members of the Society, as serious students of public questions, to keep themselves fully informed of what the popular Governments now established in the provinces were doing to tackle social and economic problems and after a comprehensive study of those problems to offer constructive suggestions as to the lines on which solutions might best be attempted. In this connexion, he referred to the tour which Mr. Sivaswamy had made of several provinces with a view to studying the questions of rural indebtedness and tenancy laws. Mr. Sivaswamy had already given the fruits of his study in several articles, but a comprehensive review of the situation in regard to agricultural indebtedness would soon be available to the public in a pamphlet which the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics had decided to sponsor. The establishment of fully responsible governments in the provinces had added to the responsibilities of the *Servant of India* as of other papers, and they had decided to discharge these responsibilities in a more adequate manner by arranging that members should write in the *Servant of India* more frequently after making as full a study of all important public questions as it was in their power to do. Rural development, a cause always dear to their hearts, was not only going to be maintained at the present level, but was going to be extended. Work in this direction had recently been started in Allahabad district in the United Provinces and was proposed to be started among the Thakurs in Than District in the Bombay Presidency, so that the Society might be able to do something in the way of rural uplift in every province in which it was engaged in any kind of public work. They were fully conscious that by their own work they could only point out practicable ways in which a solution of this all-important problem could be attempted and that they could never hope to cover even an appreciable part of the field themselves. The Society had also taken another step forward in investigating the problems of some of the aboriginal tribes. Mr. Thakkar and two other members had conducted investigations in certain tracts, and though in the present circumstances they would not be able to undertake practical work among the

tribes, the results of the investigations would be of value to all.

Mr. Kunzru then described the financial position of the Society and mentioned the urgent needs which must be supplied if the work was not to suffer e. g. the addition of another storey to the library building which was absolutely necessary and the replacement of the Society's Home in Madras which had in part become unsafe by another building. A capital expenditure of some Rs. 60,000 would be involved if all these needs were to be met.

Turning to questions of general interest, Mr. Kunzru referred to the supreme need for a change in the existing system of government at the centre. Indians had made it clear at the Round Table Conference that mere provincial autonomy would not satisfy their aspirations and that in fact their difficulties would be increased if, on the advent of provincial autonomy, the centre were left undemocratised. They had always asked for simultaneous reform in the provinces and at the centre, and they could not rest content with responsibility in the provinces but must work with all their might for the introduction of responsibility in the central Government. It was, however, impossible for them to accept responsibility on the basis of federation as embodied in the Government of India Act. To mention only two of the obnoxious features of the federal scheme, the States' representatives in the federal legislature were to be nominated by the Princes and the representatives of the British Indian provinces in the Federal Assembly were to be elected indirectly by the members of the provincial legislatures. These features would destroy the democratic character of the central Government, and many of the new provincial Governments, which were now enabled to speak with an authority which mere non-official opinion could not enjoy, had severely criticised and roundly condemned the federal scheme on these and other grounds. The representations made by these Governments could not be ignored as their co-operation was essential to give effect to the scheme. A hope had been entertained that the contemplated visit of the Viceroy, as that of Lord Halifax on an earlier occasion, signified a re-orientation of policy in this matter. But Lord Zetland's recent pronouncement that no change in the constitution was contemplated had knocked the bottom out of this hope.

They must therefore repeat that the federation provided for by the Act was entirely unacceptable to the people of India. But this did not mean that they could allow the present system of irresponsible government to continue at the centre. In fact, the position would then be even less satisfactory than it was before the passing of the 1935 Act. For one thing, the powers of the Governor-General had been increased by the Act at the expense of his Executive Council. Formerly, such control as was exercised over the provincial Governments was exercised not by the Governor-General alone, but by him and by his Executive Council together. Hereafter, the measure of control would be less, but it would be exercised by the Governor-General in his discretion, e. g., in the matter of the maintenance of law and order in the Provinces. The recent crisis in the U. P. and Bihar had brought this home to the public in a striking manner. For another thing, control over the States was till now exercised by the Governor-General in Council as a whole. Hereafter it would be exercised by the Governor-General alone, as a representative of the Crown. In-

deed, the matters in which he would act in consultation with his Executive Council and the matters in which he would act in his discretion were so interwoven that it was difficult to say where the former ended and the latter began. For yet another thing, they had definitely lost in the matter of a discussion of military policy in the legislature. Under the old Act they could raise a debate over the whole military policy on the small portion of the military budget that was submitted to the vote of the legislature. Under the new Act, however, they were deprived of this opportunity of discussion altogether. In these and other ways their position had deteriorated. Several key posts had recently been given to non-Indians from outside, e. g., posts of Income-Tax expert, Economic Adviser and Superintendent of Insurance. Surely, Indians of the requisite competence were available in this country, and if they were not, officials or non-officials could have been sent to England for the necessary training, but in appointing Britishers to these posts the Government of India had flouted public opinion. The Act provided for the establishment of a Federal Railway Authority, and arrangements would no doubt soon be brought into being for the purpose. But this step had never been approved by public opinion. The question had not been thoroughly discussed at the Round Table Conference and the decision had been rushed. If the Railway Authority were established it would lessen even the little power they were able to exercise over railway matters at present. The defence policy of the Government, too, was highly unsatisfactory. Self-sufficiency in defence was a most vital matter, but it was completely ignored by the Government. Thus while they were experiencing all the disadvantages of the new constitution they had not reaped the advantages which it would give.

It might be asked why they should not then accept even the present federal scheme. They could not acquiesce in the present scheme for the sake of any immediate gains that it might yield, for they were convinced that it would stand in the way of the future gains that they were determined to obtain. Any partial scheme of central reform could only be accepted as a stepping stone to complete political freedom to which they aspired, but the federation embodied in the Government of India Act would certainly militate against the development of complete self-government which they desired. At the same time they must make it clear that if a federation which they could willingly accept was not possible they must have without further delay increased power in the central Government, even if it be for British India alone. They would not agree to make this increased power contingent upon an all-India federation. The Government's White Paper on the Constitution Bill itself contemplated a re-examination of the whole question of reform in British India if an all-India federation could not be brought about, and they must insist that if the federation scheme could not be revised to the satisfaction of the people, other means shall be explored for conferring power upon the popular representatives in the central Government of British India. The establishment of provincial autonomy did not lessen but only enhanced the urgency of liberalising the Government of India, for after all the reform introduced in the central Government was the

measure of the enlargement of popular power and not the reform of the provincial Governments.

Mr. Kunzru thereupon dwelt upon the measures of advancement which the provincial Governments had either proposed or carried through like tenancy reform, relief of indebtedness, mass education, &c. Though in detail they might have criticisms to offer against these measures, speaking broadly, they were glad to acknowledge that the new Governments had set their faces in the right direction and that their general outlook was such as could be heartily welcomed. In respect of tenancy reform, the provincial governments will have to prove their sincerity by reducing irrigation charges and court fees which were under their control. In regard to prohibition, which they welcomed in principle, one would wish that by indirect measures drinking habits were progressively reduced and in the meantime an opportunity afforded to the provincial Governments of replacing the resulting loss of revenue rather than the drink revenue was extinguished all of a sudden just when a drastic increase was called for in all social services. The scheme of mass education which had been recommended to the Congress Governments was, in spite of some features which appeared plausible, was essentially unsound and would prove disastrous if undue stress was laid upon self-sufficiency, which seemed to be the motive behind it. Again, care must be taken not to curtail, but to increase, the facilities now available for secondary and university education. Universities had been aptly described as the power houses of the nation.

There was one aspect of the functioning of reforms to which, Mr. Kunzru said, he was tempted to call attention, and it was the external control that was exercised over the Ministries by the Congress High Command. No one would object to a discussion of Congress policies at Congress gatherings, and every Congress Ministry would naturally be under an obligation to accept and carry out the decisions taken at these gatherings. But detailed control by the party executives over the Ministries was a thing to be deplored, for it sapped the independence of Ministers and went against the recognised principles of democratic government. The recent happenings in the Central Provinces only gave point to a criticism which was applicable more or less to the working of the Congress Governments in all the Provinces. The C. P. Ministry by its own admission was guilty of gross favouritism and jobbery, and in any other country such a charge, when proved, would have brought about an immediate downfall of the Ministry. But in the C. P. the Ministry was asked not to resign, but to accept the control of a supervisory board. The Board was, no doubt, for appearance's sake, called an advisory board, but they all knew that it would in fact be a super-control board. It was impossible for any one to feel respect for a Ministry which consented to work under such restrictions; it would be the laughing-stock of the world and would be held with contempt everywhere. This was of course an extreme instance, but extra-parliamentary control of a rigid kind was a feature of every Congress Government, and as such this was a matter not merely of domestic concern to Congressmen but of general interest to all who had the development of democratic government on sound lines at heart.

## S. I. S.: A SURVEY OF TWELVE MONTHS' WORK.

*The following is a summary of the report of the Servants of India Society 1937-38.*

**F**OUNDED on the 12th June 1905, by the late Mr. G. K. Gokhale, the Servants of India Society completes thirty-three years of its existence

to-day. The Society has branches in Bombay, Madras, Nagpur and Allahabad, and centres at Lahore in the Punjab, Lucknow and Sarsa in the U. P., Cuttack and Chowdwar in Orissa, Jalgaon in Khandesh, Shendurjana in Berar, Amreli in Kathiawar, Mayanur, Calicut and Mangalore in Madras, with its headquarters at

Poona. During the year under report there were thirty-three members of the Society working in different parts of India: 9 were attached to the Headquarters at Poona, 7 to the Upper India, 7 to the Bombay, 5 to the Madras, and 3 to Nagpur branches and 2 to the centres in Orissa and one each to other centres.

#### POLITICAL.

Messrs. Sastri, Kunzru, Joshi and Parulekar were members of the Madras Legislative Council, the Council of State, the Central Legislative Assembly and the Bombay Legislative Assembly respectively. Mr. Sastri took part in the discussions of the Council on the Budget and the various Bills that came up for consideration. While generally approving of the principles of the Bills, he pleaded for caution, more time for discussion and greater consideration for the views of the opposition. Mr. Kunzru criticised the policy of the Government in creating new posts for supernumerary officials. He moved a resolution asking for a further reduction of British troops in India and a greater acceleration of Indianization. He urged that the warrant and non-commissioned officers of the U. T. C. be made eligible for admission to the Indian Military Academy and that the examination for B certificate be introduced for members of the University Training Corps with a view to their utilization for the supply of the commissioned officers. He further urged the Government to redistribute its defence expenditure between land, sea and air forces so as to provide a more adequate defence of the country by sea and air. He moved resolutions urging the Government to introduce military drill and to establish Cadet Corps in schools, to expand the U. T. C. and to expand the urban units and extend them to large centres of population where they did not exist. Mr. Kunzru sought to raise the question of recruitment of Indians to the Foreign and Political Department of the Government of India by a resolution. The Governor General, however, disallowed the resolution under Sub-Clauses (a) (b) and (d) of Clause 2 of Rule 23 (2) of the Indian Legislative Rules. This was in contravention of the promises by the spokesmen of the Government from time to time "to introduce a substantial Indian element into the Foreign and Political Department of the Government of India."

Mr. Joshi, as a member of the Central Indian Legislative Assembly, suggested that the provisions of the Insurance Bill should not apply to the work of trade unions meant to help members during sickness and unemployment, nor to some of the societies conducted by Government servants for mutual help. In his speech during the discussion on the report of the Railway Inquiry Committee Mr. Joshi objected to the increase in rolling stock when the railway revenues were going down and pleaded for justice to the third class passengers and urged that the Railway Board should pay greater attention to the development of internal traffic rather than to foreign tourist. He opposed the Trade Dispute Acts (Amending) Bill as he felt that the power given to local Governments to declare strikes illegal was fraught with potentialities for harm to the working classes. Discussing the Indian Tea Control Bill, he opposed the restriction of cultivation of tea and suggested that international agreement for the regulation of trade should be made by Government, and not by the commercial bodies, if the agreement required legislative sanction. Mr. Parulekar took part in the budget debate of the Bombay Assembly and moved cut motions with a view to drawing the attention of the Government to the grievances of the agricultural population and criticised the policy of the Government regarding the remission of land revenue arrears and urged that a distinction should be drawn between a big landlord

and small landholder and remission given only to holders of 15 acres and below. He introduced two Bills in the Bombay Assembly, one intended to exempt from attachment the property, not exceeding rupees two thousand in value of a judgment debtor who is either an industrial worker, an artisan or an agriculturist, and the other Bill intended to protect tenants in industrial areas from the unreasonable rents taken by house-owners and to compel them to provide the buildings with adequate sanitary and other conveniences.

#### INDIANS OVERSEAS.

The disabilities of Indian overseas claimed the attention of the members of the Society during this year as in the past. Mr. Kunzru in the Council of State drew the attention of the Government of India to the crisis in Zanzibar and suggested a fresh investigation of the situation on the spot by a representative of the Government of India with a view to arriving at an amicable settlement. As suggested by Mr. Kunzru, a special officer in the person of Mr. G.S. Bozman was deputed by the Government of India to Zanzibar at a later stage and his efforts have resulted in an agreed settlement. Mr. Kunzru also urged the appointment of Agents to the Government of India in Fiji, British Guiana and Trinidad. Messrs. Kunzru and Joshi are members of the Standing Committee on Emigration of the Indian Legislature. Mr. Kodanda Rao on his return to India frequently wrote in the *Servant of India* and spoke at public meetings on Indians overseas.

#### CIVIL LIBERTIES.

Messrs. Joshi, Bakhale, Parulekar and Phadke were connected with the Civil Liberties Union of India and of Bombay. Mr. Joshi led deputations thrice to the Bombay Government to urge on them the institution of a public inquiry into the Dharavi firing, to express the disapproval of the Civil Liberties Union of the application of the Criminal Law (Amendment) Act to Ahmedabad and to plead for the removal of the existing ban on Indian and foreign books.

#### INDIAN STATES.

The problem of Indian States claimed the attention of Messrs. Patwardhan and Vaze. Mr. Vaze, in addition to addressing several meetings in Maharashtra on Federation and Indian States wrote frequently in the *Servant of India* on the problem.

#### LABOUR.

Mr. Joshi attended the biennial conference of the National Trade Union Federation held at Calcutta in December 1937 and was elected its President for the year 1938-39. During his tour in different parts of the country he spoke on labour problems. He is also one of the Vice-Presidents of the Asiatic Labour Conference. As a member of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, Mr. Joshi attended a meeting of that body held in Prague and took advantage of his visit to the continent to renew his contacts with the British trade unionists and friends of India and also spoke on Indian problems. Mr. Joshi went to Madras to discuss with the Hon'ble Mr. V. V. Giri, Minister for Labour, a programme for labour legislation and addressed several labour meetings during his stay there. Mr. Bakhale attended the Tripartite Textile Conference at Washington convened by the International Labour Organisation, Geneva. He made a speech at the Conference supporting the adoption of a forty hour week for the textile industry, and, as far as India and other Asiatic countries were concerned, he gave his qualified support to the adoption of a 48 hours week. He attended the Asiatic Labour Conference at Yokohama and participated in its discussions and was elected one of the



two joint secretaries of the Conference. He drafted a few Bills affecting labour in India for introduction in the Provincial legislatures. He continued to be the General Secretary of the National Trade Union Federation and of the Dock-yard Labour Union and Vice-President of the Bombay Port Trust Employees' Union. Mr. Parulekar continued to be the General Secretary of the Dharavi Tannery and Leather Workers' Union, of the Ambernath Match Factory Workers' Union and of the Seaman's Union. As the Joint Secretary of the Peasants' Union he organised a peasants' march in Bombay for presenting the demands of the peasants to the Government.

He presided over two conferences of peasants in the presidency of Bombay. He published during the year under report his paper on Social Insurance. Messrs. Desai and Phadke were connected with several labour organizations in Bombay such as the New G. I. P. Railway Staff Union, the Suburban Taxi Drivers' Union, the Government Central Press Employees' Union and the Domestic Workers' Union. Mr. Desai submitted a memorandum on the Trade Disputes Bill and on the recognition of Unions to the Government of Bombay, while Mr. Phadke submitted another on Holidays with Pay. He led a deputation to the Bombay Premier urging the extension of the application of the Factory Act to labour in concerns employing 10 and more workers.

#### RURAL UPLIFT.

The Society's rural centres at Sarsa near Allahabad, Shendurjana in Berar, Mayanur and Calicut in Madras, Chowdwar in Orissa and Amreli in Kathiawar continue to function. Mr. R. S. Misra who was in charge of the Sarsa centre helped the tenants with free legal advice and secured for them marketing facilities as well. Besides he opened several centres where adult persons were taught to read and write. Messrs. David and Gupte who were in charge of the Shendurjana rural centre in Berar introduced at the centre during the year under report such industries as poultry, weaving and carpentry. Mr. Sivaswami as Secretary of the Mayanur rural centre devoted the greater part of his time to studying the questions of debt relief and tenancy laws in Bombay, the Punjab, U. P., Bihar, Bengal, C. P. and Madras. The Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Poona, kindly financed Mr. Sivaswami's investigation. Mr. Nayanar as Secretary of the Devadhar Malabar Reconstruction Trust carried on the rural education and co-operative activities of the centres under the Trust. During the year three new centres were started. At the rural centre at Chowdwar the activities of the previous years were continued and every week about 100 cases of leprosy were attended during the year under report. Mr. Sahu was able to open another centre last year at Kapilas Road. He arranged peasants' conferences and spoke on the agrarian problems. Mr. Chitalia in his capacity as the General Secretary of the Amreli Sevak Mandal organised several centres of culture. At these places he made arrangements for circulating books among the villagers holding lectures and talks.

#### HARIJAN UPLIFT.

Members of the Society in almost every branch took active part in Harijan uplift. Mr. Thakkar continued to be the General Secretary of the All-India Harijan Sevak Sangh, Delhi, and toured extensively during the year under report in British India and Indian States to inspect and promote Harijan work. He submitted a scheme for the uplift of Harijans to the Ministers in the Congress provinces requesting them to give effect to his scheme. These proposals have been accepted by several of the Congress Ministries. Messrs. Kunzru, Venkatasubbaiya, Kaul, Limaye, Nayanar, Negi and R. S. Misra were con-

nected with the branches of the Harijan Sevak Sangh in their respective areas.

#### CO-OPERATION.

The members of the Madras Branch continued to devote their attention to the co-operative institutions with which they were connected. Messrs. Venkatasubbaiya was the Joint Secretary of the Madras Provincial Co-operative Union and in that capacity inspected the training classes organised by the Union. Mr. Suryanarayana Rao was connected with the Co-operative Milk Supply Union of Madras as one of its directors. Mr. Nayanar was an elected Director of the Malabar District Co-operative Bank and a member of its executive committee and besides was connected with several other co-operative institutions in the District.

#### SCOUTING.

The year under report was an eventful one as far as scouting in India is concerned. The desire on the part of Indians to nationalise the movement was accentuated by remarks made by the 'Chief Scout of the world, Lord Baden-Powell. This resulted in a movement in favour of strengthening the Seva Samiti Boy Scouts Association. Mr. Kunzru continued to be the Chief Commissioner of the Seva Samiti Boy Scouts Association. He participated at the first Scout Round Table Conference that was held in Allahabad on November 3, 1937. Mr. Bajpai as the Chief Organising Commissioner toured the provinces of the U. P., Bihar, Bombay, the C. P. and Bengal with a view to consolidating the Seva Samiti Boy Scout movement. He was the Director of the Calcutta Scout Mela which was attended by 5000 scouts from all parts of India. He organised a scout volunteer corps at the Hardwar Kumbh Mela, of which he was the Chief Officer. He also conducted training classes at Calcutta and Jagjitrnagar.

Mr. Venkatasubbaiya continued to be the Secretary of the Madras Branch of the Seva Samiti Boy Scouts Association. Mr. S. R. Venkataraman continued to be the Organising Commissioner for the Madras province. In that capacity he toured parts of the province thrice with a view to popularise the Seva Samiti Boy Scouts Association. As a result, district associations were formed at Madura and at Calicut and two training camps were also conducted at the above-mentioned places. Mr. Nayanar was the Secretary of the Malabar District Seva Samiti Boy Scouts Association and arranged several training camps. Mr. Sahu was the Secretary of the Orissa Branch of the S. S. B. S. A. and organised training camps for teachers in several places.

#### INDUSTRIAL SETTLEMENT.

Mr. Sharangapani who was in charge of the Industrial (Criminal Tribes) Settlement at Jalgaon was transferred to Poona in December 1937 and his place at the Settlement was taken by Mr. Gokhale. Both of them gave evidence before the Committee appointed by the Government of Bombay to inquire into the working of the Criminal Tribes Act.

#### PERIODICALS.

The Society continued to publish from Poona the *Dnyanprakash*, a Marathi daily, and the *Servant of India*, an English weekly and from Nagpur the *Hitavada*, an English tri-weekly.

Among the other fields of the Society's work may be mentioned the organisation of famine relief at Bellary in the Madras Presidency by Mr. Suryanarayana Rao and flood relief in Orissa by Mr. S. S. Misra and swadeshi propaganda by Mr. Nayanar.

#### THE GOKHALE INSTITUTE.

The Institute continued to be a centre for post graduate instruction for students preparing them-

selves for the M. A. and Ph. D. degrees of the Bombay University. It had 87 students on its rolls. The socio-economic survey of Poona and the farm management survey at Wai were continued during the year.

Mr. Sivaswami was helped by the Institute to tour India with a view to studying the working of debt conciliation boards.

## G. I. P. E. : REPORT OF WORK DONE.

**T**HE Institute was founded on 12th June 1930 on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Servants of India Society at the Head-quarters of the Society at Poona. One of the main aims of the late Mr. Gokhale in founding the Servants of India Society was to provide for a thorough study of the political and economic problems of India and one of the objects towards which the Society's members are expected to direct their efforts is "organizing the work of political education and agitation, basing it on a careful study of public questions". With this end in view, Mr. Gokhale was at great pains to get together a well-equipped library and this has been kept abreast of the times by regular additions subsequently. It was felt that the utility of the library would be greatly enhanced, the general work of the Society largely helped and the aims of the founder of the Society more fully realised if some whole-time academic workers could be associated with the Society for the detailed and continuous study of India's economic and political problems. This long-desired extension of the Society's activities was made possible by a munificent donation of over a lakh of rupees to the Society by Rao Bahadur R. R. Kale, M.L.C., of Satara, to form the corpus of a fund, the interest of which is to be used by the Society for the purpose of employing research workers. A nucleus has thus been formed of an institution which, with the help of other donors, may in future develop into a full-fledged Institute of Politics and Economics.

The objective of the Institute is the study of and research into the various economic and political problems of India and the training of workers for such study and research—all such study and research being scientific in its attitude and character but addressing itself chiefly to problems of immediate practical import. Stated thus broadly, the field of our activities is seen to be extremely wide and the initial problem was to map out a field in which our limited resources could make some impression. It was decided at the outset only to work the Economics branch of the Institute. But even in this branch we were confronted with a number of possible alternative lines along which we could develop our activities. We spent a considerable time in preliminary planning and experimenting and finally decided in favour of concentrating our energies on the work of regional fact-finding surveys. The broad features of India's economic life have been fairly accurately outlined during the last two decades, especially by reports of the numerous official commissions and committees. And a considerable amount of library research is carried on in Indian Universities and Colleges. Detailed local surveys of particular problems have by comparison not received adequate attention. Hence we thought that it would be best for us to devote ourselves primarily to the unattractive but none the less useful work of field investigation. Not only is the work undertaken by the Institute chiefly investigational but research projects given to students are also mostly of this type. How the research work of students could thus be made to fit into the general pattern of the Institute's activities is shown by our latest publication, Mr. Joshi's Survey of Bombay Deccan Urban Handicrafts.

The present sphere of our activities is (apart from its teaching and training side) (i) fact-finding investi-

gations which should cover the whole range of economic life of the nearby tract and (ii) studies, largely statistical of general problems of current interest. The one will, we hope, provide the basis for the planning of economic policies in the future and the other forms our contribution to important current controversies. The investigational work was begun tentatively in the second year of the Institute's existence with a study of the "Marketing of Fruit in Poona." It was only in the third year, however, that the full resources of the Institute began to be utilised by the appointment of a second investigator. The present resources of the Institute permit the undertaking simultaneously of only two investigational projects and we have thought it proper that one of these projects shall always be from the field of agricultural economics. The first project in this domain was the study of fruit marketing. Since its completion we have on this side devoted our attention entirely to the central field of farm business studies.

Farm Management Research is the pivot of all investigational projects in the domain of Agricultural Economics. The objective of this research is to help each farmer individually to improve the economic organization of his farm and at the same time provide a foundation upon which agricultural policies may be built, by analysing the general conditions of farming business of a large number of farms of a similar type. Alternative methods can be employed in this type of research. Of these the "Survey Method" has been in recent times the most extensively used. The chief merits of this method have been described as being speed, cheapness and obtaining a much more comprehensive picture of economic conditions of farming. By this method within a year or two a large number of survey records can be obtained, sufficient to form the sound basis of description of farming conditions and to yield data for analysis. It will be apparent how eminently suited to our requirements and resources is the survey method and how it is important to adapt it to Indian conditions. Indeed the Institute was able to obtain a grant for this work from the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research only when the Council was convinced of the methodological importance of our scheme for the whole of India.

After some work on the problem of the adaptation of the survey method to Indian conditions we felt sanguine of success; but a trial of this method to be convincing had to be made over a large area and this the resources of the Institute would not allow. We, therefore, applied for a grant in aid of this project to the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research and it was after some inevitable delay partially sanctioned early last year. The survey method aims at limiting each study to a comparatively small area within which conditions are reasonably uniform and at having the data and analysis complete for that area. For our purpose we have chosen a fairly homogeneous tract of nearly 40 villages in the Wai Taluka of the Satara District. The work has now been in progress for over a year, the staff employed being one senior investigator, assisted by a number of full-time fieldmen and by part-time local help. Survey records for over 450 farmers from 20 villages have been obtained for the year 1936-37. It is

expected that 650 schedules for the year 1937-38 will have been filled in by this August before we proceed to tabulate and analyse the material.

On the non-agricultural side the first survey undertaken was that of motor bus transportation. The second survey was originally planned as a survey of small scale industries in Poona but fortunately it was possible to enlarge this project into a complete socio-economic survey of Poona because of the active financial help so kindly granted by the authorities of the Poona City and Suburban Municipalities.

Socio-economic surveys of cities occupy the same position in urban and industrial investigational work as farm management surveys in agricultural work. Beginning with the classic work of Booth in London the technique and scope of city surveys have made immense strides in the West and their fundamental importance in shaping national policies is now universally recognised. The solution of such diverse problems as slum clearance or the control of milk supply, the revival of artisan industries or the organization of industrial training, the relation between ill-health, housing and industrial inefficiency, the proper direction of private philanthropic social welfare activity, all require considerable previous study and information, which can be made available only by conducting detailed urban socio-economic surveys.

The scope and nature of a city survey and the various directions in which its results will be found helpful could be made clear only by a somewhat detailed account of what has actually been attempted by us in Poona. The Poona Survey is in the main an economic survey. We began with a preliminary enumerative census of all places of business within the limits of the city. Having thus obtained a rough idea of the size and character of the various occupations, each occupation was investigated into separately. The method employed was filling up a standard questionnaire by visiting a number of representative units in each industry. The questionnaire covered all aspects (production, finance, labour, distribution etc.) of the business. In the important artisan industries of weaving and brass and copperware a detailed house to house enquiry was conducted. The standard industrial questionnaire was used for all factory, workshop and artisan industries (inclusive of repair industries). Trade and Transport have been dealt with by special surveys. Information from nearly 500 retail shops of various types and in various localities has been obtained through a retail trade questionnaire. Wholesale trade has been investigated into by personal visits to important dealers. Tongas, bullock-carts and motor-buses have also separately dealt with. Co-operative banks and indigenous bankers have supplied us with a considerable amount of financial information. Surveys have also been undertaken for obtaining information regarding restaurants and food shops, the building trades and the business of milk supply and distribution. Every economic activity has thus been dealt with.

One of the main aims of most city surveys has been the establishment of income and poverty levels. A sample survey of households of the working classes has been a main feature of the English city surveys. In India we have even less information regarding distribution of income than in other countries. Hence in this part of the survey work we have not confined ourselves to the working classes but covered the whole population of the city. A uniform sample survey of households in every ward was taken (sample 1 in 15). The number of returns thus obtained was over 4,200 in the city and more than 300 in the Suburban area. The information obtained through this schedule related to the composition of the family, income and

occupations of earning members, civil condition and literacy, unemployment, houseroom, rent, water and other conveniences, domestic servants, dependents or earners outside Poona.

To add to this certain other specific surveys have also been carried out. The chief among these has been a survey of certain important communities which yet maintain a degree of internal cohesion. Other surveys have been those of liquor shops, gymnasias, place of entertainment, public dispensaries and hospitals and of semi-permanent settlements of members of wandering tribes and others in and around Poona. The aim has been to gather data from all sides which would enable us to present a comprehensive and co-ordinated picture of the economic and some aspects of the social life of Poona City and Suburbs.

The Institute has since 1931 put forth five publications: two reports of investigations, two pamphlets dealing with important current questions and one an extensive survey and study by a student of the Institute of the problem of urban artisan industry. The importance of the work of the Institute can be judged from the title of its publications, the opinions that have been expressed regarding them and the use it has been possible to make of them. We would merely draw attention to a few important facts. The pamphlets on Salaries and Imperial Preference attacked problems of urgent topical importance and the former will continue to be important as long as salary reform is not grappled with as a whole. The marketing survey was undertaken by the Institute long before the recent marketing survey project was launched by the Government of India and was absolutely the first work of its kind in India. The same description may truthfully be applied to the survey of road transportation which is a contribution of considerable importance towards the solution of the problem of road traffic control and co-ordination. Mr. Joshi's Survey of Urban Handicrafts also opened up a new line of investigation. Apart from the data regarding the extent of the Deccan handicrafts and their organization contained therein, the publication explored the question of the conditions of survival of handicraft industry and the appropriate Government policy in its regard. It attempted, in fact, the type of survey that was essential before state policy in respect of small scale industries could be formulated. It has always been our aim to achieve outstanding work of a pioneering nature. Hence the agricultural investigation that we have now in hand is concerned with the testing and establishing of the survey method in farm business studies, a work which has nowhere yet been undertaken in India. And the other work in hand is a comprehensive socio-economic survey of Poona City, of a type not yet attempted elsewhere in India. The work of collecting the data for the Socio-economic Survey of Poona is now almost complete. The report of this survey may be expected to be published in one year's time. In the meanwhile the Sholapur Municipality has sanctioned a grant for carrying out a socio-economic survey of that city and the work of this survey, on lines evolved in the Poona Survey, will begin from June 1938. We have also under preparation an important study of the statistical series relating to economic activity in India which should throw considerable light on the course of industrial fluctuations in this country.

It may be emphasized that we work with extremely limited resources, our ordinary annual budget being less than Rs. 8,000. With its present resources the Institute cannot hope to undertake really big projects or to put forth more than one publication annually. It may be remembered that even the scale on which our two latest investigations are under-

taken has only been made possible by small grants-in-aid by two authorities—one local and the other imperial. But we claim that the Institute has been able even with cramped resources to put forth work that is really worth while.

The work of the Institute is conducted on strictly scientific lines. The Institute is connected with the Servants of India Society but its integrity as an academic institution is guaranteed and it has nothing to do with any current political controversies. Even when its publications deal with current problems they are devoted to a study of factual data which would be helpful towards a solution of these problems. The methods employed in our investigations are, of course, based in the main on similar work carried out previously in other countries. Thus the schedules used in the Farm Management Survey were drawn up after a careful study of the schedules used by the United States Department of Agriculture, by Canadian Departments of Agriculture and a number of English research institutions. After preparing a schedule on these lines, however, it was tried out in an experimental investigation and appropriately modified to suit Indian conditions before being finally fixed upon. In the same way, the chief model for our city survey is the Merseyside Survey carried out by the University of Liverpool. We have, however, incorporated in our work some ideas derived from other English and American City Surveys and further our investigation of the industrial and commercial side is much more detailed than is usual in City Surveys in England and America because of the lack of statistical and other information on these aspects usually already available in those countries.

It is obvious that the present scope of the activities of the Institute can easily be extended considerably with advantage. We would specially emphasize the urgent need for extending our field of activities to problems of public administration at an early date. Fact-finding research in government and public administration in India has been even much less in evidence than similar research in the domain of economics. It is no exaggeration to say that neither governments nor universities have paid any attention hitherto to this subject. The need and possibility of this work are on the other hand immense. Under the new constitution, it is expected that the structure of government will tend to change from one essentially bureaucratic and centralized to one essentially democratic and decentralized. In the circumstances a careful evaluation of the results of the older systems of administration and the possibilities of their improvement and adaptation are called for urgently. The scope for these studies is very wide, as they will range from the working of the village panchayats to the organization of the central secretariat. This is an entirely untouched field in which the Institute would extend its activities the moment any substantial increase in its resources is made possible.

The work on the economics side is also capable of almost equally considerable fruitful extension. At present the Institute can conduct only two surveys at a time and the size of these surveys depends largely on the ad hoc grants it is able to obtain. A large variety of agriculture, industrial and commercial problems await investigation as yet. The present resources of the Institute do not permit it to undertake the numerous pioneer research studies in the economic field that it would like. We have already worked out schemes for co-ordinated and comprehen-

sive economic surveys in both the agricultural and urban areas. The farm management survey we are conducting in Wai has enabled us to get in touch with farmers in a fairly large and homogeneous area and we plan to follow this up by a series of detailed surveys on all aspects of rural life in that area on lines indicated, for example, by some of the Scope and Method Bulletins of the Social Science Research Council. In the same way, our city surveys of Poona and Sholapur should properly be followed up by detailed studies of urban socio-economic life such as those planned by the Chicago University or the McGill University. Further the area that can be covered by a single survey such as that of farm management is also necessarily limited. Fundamental work like that of farm management surveys must be undertaken over a large number of tracts within a short period if it is to form the basis of a national programme. Having established certain methods and attained certain results by preliminary studies the repetition of the surveys over various regions of India is an equally urgent need.

We would expand the scope of our activities in this manner only if it is possible to strengthen our permanent staff and add to our budget for current field expenditure. A public administration investigator with a sound theoretical training and at least one or two additional economists are the most urgent additions needed on our permanent staff. The additional expenditure on field work depends entirely on the complexity and scope of the projects; and with each addition to research activities the provision for library and publications expenditure has also to be extended *pari passu*.

This City, Sir, has a tradition of the study of public affairs, of which it may well be proud. The institutional beginning of this tradition may be dated from the foundation of the Sarvajanic Sabha in 1875; and the first economic investigations may be said to have been the enquiries conducted by that Sabha into the conditions of peoples of the famine tracts during the years 1876-78. The tradition has been built up by such men as Mahadev Govind Ranade, rightly regarded as the founder of all modern thinking on Indian economic subjects, Ganesh Vasudeo Joshi were popularly known as "Sarvajanic Kaka" founder with Ranade of the Sarvajanic Sabha, Ganesh Vyanktesh Joshi of whom it has been said that statistics flowed from his lips as water from a fountain. The eminent statesmen whose name the Institute bears was undoubtedly the most notable exponent of this tradition in the present century and the founder of the Institute followed it and fostered it in spite of a busy professional life. It is this tradition which the Institute attempts to follow. Changed circumstances alter the nature of problems and the technique of handling them. The attainment of responsibility for managing our own affair, partial though it be, makes it both necessary and desirable that our study shall be more detailed and more comprehensive. We hope, however, that our attitude towards such study and the spirit which we import into it is in the proper tradition. It may perhaps be thought presumptuous of us to invoke these great names of the past. This, however, we do not with any intention of acquiring unmerited reflected glory; but only to indicate the tradition to which we profess to belong and the goal of high accomplishment that we set before ourselves. (*Statement read out by Mr. D. R. Gadgil, Director of the Institute on 12th June, 1938, the eighth anniversary day of the Institute.*)