

The Servant of India

EDITOR : P. KODANDA RAO.

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

VOL. XV, No. 23. }

POONA—THURSDAY, JUNE 9, 1932.

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

CONTENTS.

	Page.
TOPICS OF THE WEEK.	181
ARTICLES :—	
Indian Franchise Committee. By Hirday Nath Kuneri.	183
A Blundering Policy. By S. P. Andrews Dube.	185
Dayalbag. By K. D. Aga.	186
India and the League.—Intellectual Co-operation. By T. S. Ramanujam.	187
SHORT NOTICES.	188

Topics of the Week.

NOTICE.

It has been our practice to take a holiday in the week following the Servants of India Society's annual celebration on 12th June. We shall follow this practice this year too. There will therefore be no issue of the SERVANT OF INDIA on the 16th inst.—Editor.

Kashmir Reforms.

KASHMIR State appears to be fated to have forced upon it constitutional reforms which for an Indian State must be pronounced to be of a radical type. At present we do not believe there is anything like a legislature or even an advisory body competent to pass the administration of the State under review. And yet Kashmir is the second biggest State in India, with an area of 84,000 sq. miles and a population of 33 lakhs! That even such an extensive and important tract of country should be unenumbered with a popular body of the most rudimentary kind is but in keeping with the character of the rule that prevails in Indian States in general. It is now reported by the Glancy Committee that the Maharaja would do well to constitute in his State a Legislative Assembly, which will have no final powers to decide anything, but which must be given an opportunity to consider all legislative and budgetary proposals. The Assembly is to consist of 60 members, of whom more than a majority, or 33, are to be elected on a wide franchise. Ten per cent. of the total population are to be enfranchised at one stroke. In British India the proportion of those who have been accorded the privilege of voting are no more than one-third of this at present, after it has gone through a long process of evolution. Nor can the Maharaja very well disregard these recommendations of the Committee on the ground that they are too advanced for his State. He will very likely have no alternative but to put them in force, with as good a grace as he can command. Those of us who are eager to have autocracy replaced by democracy

cannot but rejoice at this, but we should have liked it better if the reforms had originated in the Maharaja's liberal instincts instead of in communal tension, as was in fact the case. The orgy of violence that preceded this beginning of constitutionalism in Kashmir will not exactly give an incentive to the people in other States to use only the method of peaceful persuasion in securing political reforms.

* * *

How repression Works.

MR. VERRIER ELWIN, late of the Christa Seva Sangh, who, desiring to go to England, applied for a passport, has, we understand, been given one which will be in force only up to the middle of next month. If he does not complete his return voyage within a month, that is, if he does not take the very next boat after reaching England, he is likely to be interned from India for an indefinite period. We do not believe that Mr. Elwin just wanted to have a bit of sea-air; it would be too costly a luxury for a Franciscan even if he did not mind the waste of time involved. He surely had some piece of work in mind. But however urgent and important that work might be, he must naturally subordinate it to the work to which he has consecrated his life in this his country of adoption. He could not therefore risk being kept away from it and has naturally cancelled his intended trip to England. Perhaps Government wanted to bring this very thing about in order that he may not carry out the work he had planned.

Now why should any restrictions be imposed upon Mr. Elwin, we wonder? It may be, as Government probably fear, that he wanted to do a little propaganda in England on behalf of the Gandhian philosophy of life, in which Mr. Elwin sincerely believes, and bring to the notice of his countrymen in England the excesses that are being committed by the police in this country in repressing Congress activities, and emphasize the need of conciliatory advances being made by Government. Why should not even the followers of Mahatma Gandhi and the supporters of his *satyagraha* campaign be left free to carry on this work? If, while doing so, he is guilty of misrepresentation, Government can counteract the mischief by publishing a true version of what has actually happened. What else can be the meaning of Sir Samuel Hoare's claim, which he is reiterating in season and out of season, that the measures of repression now being taken are rigidly limited to the prevention of an outbreak of violence and the preservation of order and peace in the country?

Nothing can demonstrate the ruthlessness of Government's repression so vividly as the way in which they have caused the suppression of our esteemed contemporary the *Week* and the prevention

of our valued friend Mr. Elwin from going to England. These seem to us to be far more unjustifiable and cruel than any lathi charges. While for the latter some colourable excuse could be pleaded, none can be pleaded for the former.

Non-Brahman View of Federation.

AS President of the Non-Brahman Conference held at Bassein in Thana district on the 5th inst., Mr. B. V. Jadhav, M. L. A., a representative of the Deccan Non-Brahmans at the R. T. C., expressed grave doubts about the acceptability of Federation on the Princes' terms. He said: "The present scheme is to have the Federal Legislature consisting of representatives of British India elected by the constituencies and those sent by the Princes who will of course be their nominees. This is not fair. The ministry will not really be responsible to the Federal Assembly as the latter body will be dominated by the representatives of autocracy. The progress of democracy will be hampered and it is feared that the whole scheme may put back the hands of the clock of progress many decades. There is also another danger. It is said that the straw shows the direction of the wind. Recently the number of Britishers in the service of Indian States is steadily growing; and it is feared that it will be the policy of the Government of India to encourage the States to take more and more Englishmen. The future representatives of the Princes may urge the views of the British officers serving in the different States. Whitehall at present enjoys the power of directly laying down the policy to be pursued in India; and Whitehall or the Secretary of State will continue to force his will upon the Federal Legislature through these representatives of the States. The change will certainly be for the worse. At present the Secretary of State is responsible to Parliament and his policy is criticised both in the Assembly and in Parliament. In the new constitution the responsibility of Parliament will cease and the Secretary of State will have all the power without any responsibility. Every action will be taken on the authority of a vote of the Federal Legislature, and will stop criticism in India and in England. The present signs are that the scheme of federation may take years to develop. He demanded that the new bill need not wait for federation; but should provide complete Provincial autonomy coupled with responsibility in the centre on the line recommended in the despatch of the Government of India. Provincial autonomy without responsibility in the Central Government will not be acceptable to the Non-Brahman Party and will be unworkable."

Ajmer-Merwara.

PROVINCES like the peoples in India are agitating for recognition of their political rights and status in these days when the entire constitutional structure is being remodelled on a new pattern. N. W. F. P., Sindh and Orissa have had some active steps taken in that direction by the Government of India. The small province of Ajmer-Merwara has also begun clamouring, pointing out its own importance in the hegemony of Indian Federation and demanding equal rights of representation in the Federal Legislature. The suggestion of amalgamation of this political unit situated in the heart of Rajputana with the United Provinces made at a public meeting held recently at Ajmer deserves sympathetic attention at the hands of the Government. At the time we see no formidable objections to this being done, and think that both administratively and financially, the people of Ajmer-Merwara would gain, if joined together with the U. P., of which before 1871 completely and partially they have formed a part.

Agent in S. Africa.

THE announcement of Kanwar Maharaj Singh's appointment as Agent of the Government of India at Cape Town as Sir K. V. Reddi's successor will be welcomed in all quarters. He may be assured of the goodwill of his countrymen when he begins tackling some of the knotty issues such as are connected with the Transvaal Land Tenure Bill and colonisation scheme on arrival in South Africa. Mr. Maharaj Singh has had a brilliant career in the past and we have no doubt that his record of service in South Africa will be at par with what has gone before. He goes to that country with knowledge and experience of problems of our people settled overseas, having investigated situations in Malaya, Mauritius, Kenya and Guiana. We wish Kanwar Singh and Mrs. Maharaj Singh who accompany him health, success and luck in the arduous work ahead of them.

Colour Bar in England.

THAT the colour prejudice is not the monopoly of the United States of America is being increasingly felt by the so-called coloured folks in Britain, which is acclaimed as the home of freedom for all people. Again and again are complaints heard of admission being refused in hotels and restaurants to Indians and Africans. We know, how about two years ago when a Negro Music team from the U. S. A. planned to visit England, the hotel which had first booked accommodation for them, backed out at the eleventh hour. It was after long and anxious efforts of a small group of English Quakers and Indian Christians in London that hospitality was at last secured for the team. The explanation offered in defence by the hotel manager was the threatened boycott of his hotel on the part of the American summer tourist, which the manager could ill-afford. Commercial and political considerations play a considerable part in fanning the evil of colour bar in Great Britain. If the British Commonwealth of free peoples is to be a reality, this canker of conceit based on colour has to make room for a better and more sympathetic attitude towards the dark-skinned race based on mutual understanding and respect. We whole-heartedly endorse the appeal of Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister made on this subject at the Africa Society dinner in London last week.

Obituary.

DURING the week India suffered by death the loss of two of her worthy sons—Sir Abbas Ali Beg and Sir Dorabji Tata. The former held with distinction important offices in various Indian States and was a member of the India Council for about seven years in pre-reform days. He passed away suddenly from heart failure at Poona.

Sir Dorabji Tata, inheriting the rich Parsi traditions of business, devoted his talents to developing and enlarging the industries left to his charge by his famous father. The three great achievements to the credit of Sir Dorabji are the Iron and Steel Works, the Hydro-Electric power scheme and the Imperial Research Institute at Bangalore. But what will mark him out as unique among men is the way he made use of his wealth. Last March before sailing for Europe, he instituted a Trust on the lines of the Wadia Charities Trust, which controls his vast property worth more than three crores of rupees. Besides, he set apart a sum of Rs. 25 lakhs for research work in what are called incurable diseases. His benefactions were not limited by geographical or racial considerations, but were international in their scope of useful service. By his death, Bombay, India, nay the world is poorer.

INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE.

BY HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU.

LORD LOTHIAN and his colleagues must be warmly congratulated on the promptitude with which they have presented their report on a subject of far-reaching importance to the political evolution of India. When they set about their enquiry it was not expected that its result would see the light of day before September or October. That their conclusions should have been formulated practically within three months of the commencement of their labours is, we presume, due to Lord Lothian's realization of the seriousness of the situation in India and to his perception of the fact that the future of Indo-British relations depended on the speed with which the new constitution was brought into force.

The Lothian Committee was the most important of the Committees whose appointment was announced by the Prime Minister in the speech with which he brought the second session of the R.T.C. to a close. Their task was to lay the foundations on which a democratic system of government could be securely established in India. They had thus a double function to perform. The government had to be broad-based on the general will of the people and the legislature was to be so composed as to be the guardian of the moral and material interests of the country. Adult suffrage would be the best means of fulfilling the first duty and giving the general mass of the population a voice in the governance of the country; but the Lothian Committee, in common with every provincial Franchise Committee, have been forced to the conclusion that it is physically impossible at present to make arrangements for dealing with the huge electorate which a system of universal franchise would create. With this view, which has not been arrived at on *a priori* grounds, few who have adequately considered the matter will be disposed to disagree. No true nationalist will like to see a single adult left without a vote, but we have to bow before the hard facts of the present situation.

The number of electors is about 7 millions, or 3.5 p. c. of the population, at present. The Lothian Committee have made proposals which will enfranchise 36 million persons, or 14.1 p. c. of the total population, and will in particular enlarge the female electorate from about 300,000 to about 6.6 millions. These figures may not appear large when compared with the total adult population, which amounts to about 130 millions; but they constitute a genuine and effective attempt to tackle the problem which had been set to the Committee and represent 43.4 p. c. of the adult male population and 10.5 p. c. of the adult female population. The Franchise Sub-Committee of the R.T.C. recommended that no less than 10 p. c. and not more than 25 p. c. of the population should be enfranchised, and that the possibility of supplementing the direct system of franchise by the group system should be explored. It was feared, not without reason, that the lower limit might be accepted by the Committee, and that a combination of the direct and indirect systems might

receive their approval. But it is a matter for satisfaction that a substantially higher percentage has been recommended by them and that the group system, which will create many a problem and is not likely to lead to the political education of the masses, has been entirely discarded.

While the recommendations of the Committee constitute a big step towards democracy, nationalist India will not be satisfied till the system of adult suffrage prevails in the country. It is clearly not practicable all over the country today; but a beginning can be made with it in urban constituencies even at present. The U. P. Franchise Committee recommended adult suffrage in all cities with a population of 50,000 or more, which they wished to be formed into urban constituencies. The U. P. Government opposed it, but we think on inadequate grounds. The difficulties in the way can be easily overcome if Government make up their minds to grapple with them. Messrs. Tamba, Chintamani and Bakhale who have appended a minute of dissent to the Committee's report, have made a more modest proposal and asked for the introduction of adult suffrage only in cities with a population of 100,000 or more, the number of which is only 30 in the whole country. This cautious proposal has the support of Mrs. Subbarayan and of Major Milner. The argument that acceptance of this proposal will lead to an undesirable differentiation between town and country does not appear to have any force in it. The towns are the centres of education, wealth and political consciousness. Their greater knowledge and experience justify a wider franchise than in rural areas. This will not entitle them to extra representation at the expense of the districts, and their example will serve as a political education to the masses.

Another point which calls for criticism in the Lothian Committee's report is the absence of any proposal for empowering the provincial legislatures to alter the franchise from time to time. The dissentients referred to above have forcibly drawn attention to this serious omission by recommending that there should be a decennial extension of the electorate leading automatically to adult suffrage in thirty years. The Franchise Sub-Committee of the R. T. C. was opposed to automatic extensions of the franchise, but they suggested that "it should be left to each provincial legislature to extend its franchise at its discretion after the lapse of ten years from the date of the introduction of the new constitution." The Simon Commission too made a similar proposal though it was hedged round with many restrictions. The Lothian Committee have recommended in respect of the Federal Assembly "that provision should be made in the constitution for a reconsideration of the franchise for British India after a definite period," but have failed to recommend a similar provision in regard to the provincial Councils. In their rejoinder to the minute of dissent the majority say, "We con-

sider it a mistake to try to control the future. We prefer to trust the responsible legislatures of India rather than ask the Parliament to prejudge the issue," but they have not expressly recommended anywhere that the constitution should allow the future Councils to extend the franchise after the lapse of a fixed period.

As regards the Assembly, both the second and third reports of the Federal Structure Sub-Committee show that there was a difference of opinion between the British Indian representatives and other members of the Sub-Committee regarding its election. The former almost without exception favoured direct election while the latter advocated some form of indirect election "otherwisethan through the agency of the provincial Legislatures or of existing local self-government bodies". The Committee have reported in favour of continuing the existing direct system and raised the electorate from 1.14 millions (containing only 55,000 women) to 8.44 millions (containing 1.58 million women) and the number of seats to be assigned to British India from 200 to 300. The extension suggested by the Committee has been criticised as being inadequate and it has been suggested by the authors of the minute of dissent that in each province the electorate for the Assembly should be the same as for the provincial Councils. Let us consider this suggestion with reference to one of the three most populous provinces, say, the U. P. If it is given effect to there, the number of voters for the Assembly will be about 7,500,000. If the Muslims form one-seventh of the electorate, as they do of the population, the general electorate will contain 6,400,000 voters. According to the Committee's proposals regarding the representation of the provinces in the Assembly, 48 seats would be allocated to the U. P. If allowance is made for the representation of communities and interests it is pretty clear that the number of general constituencies will not exceed 32. Thus each constituency will on an average consist of one and a half districts, containing about 200,000 voters. In the absence of highly developed political organizations, it will be utterly impossible for any candidate to canvass or maintain contact with so large a number of voters and wealth will have a decided advantage over merit. The man with limited resources will scarcely dare to offer himself for election. In the present circumstances the franchise recommended by the majority in agreement with several provincial Committees appears to be thoroughly sound.

The Committee have unanimously recommended that the members of the Federal Senate should be elected by the provincial Councils. The Federal Structure Sub-Committee also made the same recommendation. The advantages of this system are obvious. The electorate will be compact, mixed, politically instructed, and democratic. On the other hand the smallness of the electorate, which is an advantage from one point of view, may prove to be a source of danger. As the election of a senator in the more important provinces will require only from 10 to 15 voters, highly undesirable influences may be

brought to bear on the electors. This is a risk which should not be lightly taken. Besides as the composition of the provincial Councils will change at every election, the senators will not owe the slightest responsibility to their electors. Once a man has been elected, he can do what he likes without fear of being called to account by his constituents. Again, the character of the electorate will render the representation of different points of view extremely difficult. The persons who are elected will, as a rule, represent the communal groups, the landlords and the dominant party in the legislature. These disadvantages of a system of indirect election seem to outweigh its advantages. On a balance of considerations, it appears preferable to retain direct election as suggested by the Government of India in their despatch of September 1930. It is true that the Government of India did not envisage a federation then, but federal theory does not rule out direct election. The men elected directly by the people will be as much representatives of the federating units as those elected by the legislatures. The qualifications of voters should, however, be substantially lower than those prescribed in the case of the Council of State. It will not at all be difficult so to widen the franchise as to have an intelligent, and substantially large electorate representing not only wealth but intelligence and capable of choosing men of broad and progressive views.

The second duty which was laid on the Committee was to make detailed proposals regarding the size and composition of the legislatures which would enable them to voice the needs and opinions of all sections of the population. The solution of this problem will depend in the main on the decision of the communal question, which was outside the Committee's purview. They could therefore only deal with comparatively minor aspects of the important question before them, but even here they were hampered by communal claims. The proposals which they have made for the representation of women and labour will be generally regarded as adequate, but they are subject to revision in the light of the decision that His Majesty's Government will give regarding the representation of minorities.

While, as stated above, the question of the minorities was outside the jurisdiction of the Committee, they had to investigate the numbers of the depressed classes in order to enable the British Government to decide the extent of their representation. This is a matter of no little importance to Northern India. It appears from their report that the Committee decided on the 4th February that the term 'depressed' should be applied only to 'untouchables'. Yet this decision was not communicated to the provincial Governments and Committees. The 'untouchables' were at a later stage defined by the Committee as being those who "are denied access to the interior of ordinary Hindu temples," or "cause pollution (a) by touch, (b) or within a certain distance." The Simon Commission had to consider the same question in the course of its enquiries. It had to decide whether the test of untouchability,

should be "causing pollution by touch or by approach within a certain distance," or denial of entry into temples or any other disability, and it came to the conclusion that only those persons should be regarded as untouchable whose touch or approach is held to defile the higher castes. This is certainly what is popularly meant both in India and abroad when the untouchables are referred to. The representatives of the depressed classes in the R.T.C. did not propose inability to enter temples as a test of untouchability either in the first or second session of the Conference. The Consultative Committee discussed the question of fundamental rights at great length. According to the information officially supplied to the press, "it was generally agreed that places of worship were not places of public resort." The public is entitled to a full explanation of the grounds on which the Indian Franchise Committee declined to be guided by the facts referred to above and widened the definition of untouchability.

There is a general desire throughout the country that those who are down should be helped to rise to a higher level, and that all distinctions of caste and creed should be obliterated. The educated classes are convinced that the future of the country depends on political and social solidarity. Every nationalist will warmly support the Prime Minister in his desire to place all sections of the population in a position to give authoritative expression to their needs and aspirations and will fully endorse the following view expressed by him at the close of the second session of the R.T.C.:

"A decision of the communal problem which provided for representation of the communities in the Legislatures is not enough to secure what I may call 'natural rights.'

When such provisions have been made, minorities will still remain minorities, and the constitution must therefore contain provisions which will give all creeds and classes a due sense of security that the principle of majority government is not to be employed to their moral and material disadvantage in the body politic."

This purpose can be fully achieved without placing the stigma of untouchability on any class or taking any step which will unjustly reflect on the fair name of any part of the country.

A BLUNDERING POLICY.

BY S. P. ANDREWS DUBE.

THE hope 'that we are having our last battle with liquor' still remains a blasted hope of the prohibitionists in India in 1932. This must cause a particular wrench to Mr. C. Rajagopalachar, who as Secretary of the Prohibition League of India, gave expression to the feeling of his sober countrymen in 1930 in the above quotation. Instead of moving forward in the direction of total prohibition which is the common desire of the better mind of India, the Government of the United Provinces, flouting the will of the people unambiguously expressed and disregarding the wish of the legislature constitutionally made manifest, has recently taken to a blundering and plundering policy under the cloak of increase in excise crimes. By a stroke of the pen, the bureaucratic rulers of that province have undone what a patient, laborious effort of temperance reformers had achieved in the course of a decade. The Pim Excise Committee during the regime of the Liberal

Ministry in 1921, agreeing with the opinion of the Indian Excise Committee of 1906, had unanimously recommended (1) abolition of the auction system and introduction in its place of the fixed fee system, known also as the Bengal system; (2) a large reduction in the existing number of liquor and drug shops; (3) hours of sale to be between noon and 7 or 8 p. m. according to the season; and (4) removal of all excise shops from fairs. Three years later, the Excise Conference, consisting exclusively of nominees of the U. P. Government, summoned to pronounce its judgment on the working of the Bengal system in the Province, was authoritatively informed by the Nawab of Chatari, at the time the Minister of Excise, that "the Government are not prepared to accept any proposals which may be of a retrogressive nature." The Conference went thoroughly into the question, weighed the pros and cons of the system and particularly the complaint against growth of illicit distillation of liquor, and then resolved to recommend the continuance of the fixed fee or surcharge system, expressing themselves as "emphatically opposed to any reintroduction of the system of auctioning licensed shops even by way of experiment." The Government accepted the conclusions of the Excise Conference as they had previously approved the Pim recommendations, and in the Legislative Council debate in January 1927 claimed credit for having given effect to their suggestions in toto. In support of that contention spoke enthusiastically the Finance Member, the Home Member, the Minister of Excise, the Education Secretary and the Finance Secretary, or the entire phalanx on the Government benches. The Home Member (Nawab of Chatari), the link connecting the Government of 1923-24 with the existing one, speaking on the Prohibition resolution said, "I have said many a time before in this House and I say again that the policy of the Government (embodying the Pim Committee and Excise Conference recommendations) has given better results in reducing the consumption of liquor than anything that is proposed in this resolution. . . . I submit that during the last few years the consumption has been reduced by 60%. Is it not an irrefutable argument to show that the Government is moving in the right direction?" Now that a new Pharaoh has arisen who knows not Joseph, the past history is forgotten, and the Province is shunted back to the days of drink's dark trail, which is another name for the auction system, under which the vendor's profit depends very greatly on the steps he takes to attract consumers to his shop and to keep them drinking there till closing time. The settled policy of Sir Malcolm Hailey's predecessors was the hastening of total abstinence in the province, but now that policy seems to be followed with a vengeance by practically going back completely on everything so far done—the graduated surcharge system, high duty on intoxicants, sale in sealed bottles and the gradual elimination of liquor shops, etc.

The plea of the Government for their drastic change in policy rests on two considerations: increase in population of the province by about 10% during the last 10 years and growth of illicit distillation. That the population will continue to expand is axiomatic, and do not the British bureaucrats parade that as a feather in their cap, as the necessary corollary of the 'peace and order' which they have brought to India? You cannot have your cake and eat it. With regard to illicit distillation, the remedy adopted is worse than disease. It is likely to swell the number of lawful consumers by the addition of new recruits, as the new policy makes it easier for the unwary to fall into temptations placed in his way. The Excise Conference considered the matter of the growing evil of illicit intoxicants as certainly demanding attention, but they

held it as secondary to the adoption of further restrictions on lawful consumption. "We are strongly in favour of a system which steadily diminishes instead of accentuating (as the auction system did), the incentive to sell intoxicants for gain." The graduated surcharge system with all the tightening of excise restrictions was bound to yield additional incentives to illicit trade, and the Conference was "neither surprised nor alarmed at the growth of excise crime in recent years." They testified to the "excellent results" which the policy of 1921 had borne and said "while, therefore, we are of opinion that more could still be done to reduce licit consumption, we are also against any modification of existing rules, rates of duty and of fixed retail prices of intoxicants, etc. with a view to stopping illicit traffic, if such modification may have the effect of increasing licit consumption." If reversion to the auction system is ruled out, what then was the Government to do to meet the menace of the unlawful distiller?

Promotion of total abstinence being the agreed aim and policy of the Executive and the Legislature of the Province, whatever obstructed the consummation of that policy and purpose, as illicit traffic does, must be sternly put down, and the wherewithal for the execution of that policy is furnished by the excise revenue, which is a sort of a windfall for the provincial treasury, it having been enunciated by the Excise Conference and endorsed by the Government of Sir William Marris that the primary concern of the Excise administration was not raising revenues for the State. The right and the desirable course for the Government to adopt was the stiffening of the grip on the breaker of the excise law by vigorous administration, and not the re-introduction of the auction system with all the evils attendant on it. Knowing the widespread interest evinced in the subject of Prohibition by the better classes, the Government should have followed the lead of its predecessors in 1924, and called an Excise Conference for the consideration of the problem, but perhaps, the province needed a reminder that despite all talk of a new constitution for India, it still lived under the autocracy of Sir Malcolm Hailey's Government.

That the new excise policy will prove detrimental to the poor, ignorant and unorganised industrial labour goes without saying. The Royal Commission on Indian Labour eulogised the U. P. Government for introducing the system of sale of spirituous liquors in sealed bottles, which has reduced consumption and recommended their example for adoption by other provincial Governments in the country. But little did they realise that before the ink would be dry on their report, the same U. P. Government would unblushingly abolish the wholesome system in favour of the peg system, and consequently entail ruin and misery on the labourer and his helpless dependents.

Say what the protagonists of the Government may in its defence, the unhappy conclusion is forced on us from all the circumstances of the case that the Government of the United Provinces, being faced with serious financial deficits and unwilling to cut down the bloated budget of the establishment charges beyond a mere trifle, found a convenient source for augmenting their depleted coffers in the excise revenue, and casting to the winds all their solemn promises of temperance reforms and total abstinence, resorted to the reintroduction of the auction system with all its concomitants, which has brought them plenty of money, and in return afforded full facilities to the licensee to make his pile also — all at the heavy cost of the moral and material fall of the misguided inebriate.

DAYALBAGH.

ABOUT a mile and a half from the township of Agra, there stands a beautiful colony inhabited by a few followers of the Radhaswami Satasang cult. The name of the colony is Dayalbagh—"the garden of the merciful." It covers an area of 2,300 acres, and has a population of nearly 2,400 souls. A colony generally does not attract notice, but Dayalbagh is different. Dayalbagh is a monument which a loving and devoted group of people have raised to the memory of their Gurus and to the faith they practise. Dayalbagh is a perfect example of self-help, a successful experiment in educational progress, industrial enterprise and village reform.

The colony was started early in 1915 with 4 acres of land and Rs. 5,000. To-day it extends over 2,300 acres and has 23 lakhs of rupees spent upon it. "In the colony, there are schools to teach arts, sciences and handicrafts, shops and factories to give practical training in mechanical, electrical and automobile engineering and in other industries, a bank and an orphanage, and an agricultural farm and a dairy."

Educational Activities. The Radhaswami Educational Institute, Dayalbagh, was started in 1917 as the nucleus of the educational activities of the R. S. Sabha. At present, the Institute is divided into three sections, viz., (1) Primary, (2) Middle, and (3) High School, and commands separate buildings, equipment and staff for all these sections. It also has a separate high school for girls.

A technical college has lately been started providing a four years' course in Mechanical and Electrical Engineering, a two years' course in Automobile Engineering, and a three years' course in leather-goods manufacture.

All the educational activities of the Colony are in receipt of active Government aid and sympathy.

Industrial Enterprises. A small workshop opened at a cost of Rs. 4,000 in 1917 has now grown into a fairly big concern known as the Model Industries. The Model Industries turn out about Rs. 2,78,000 worth of goods yearly, besides giving employment to 400 paid workers and a few students of the technical college. The goods manufactured are of a numerous variety, such as high class laboratory and surgical instruments, ceiling and table fans, cutlery articles, fountain-pens, gramophones, silks and linens, and boots and shoes.

The colony also owns dairy and agricultural farms. The dairy farm has a total area of 177 acres and 118 heads of select cattle. The agricultural farm covers an area of 118 acres and is equipped with modern machinery. Both these farms are attached to the Educational Institute and help to provide practical training to the students, besides making the colony self-sufficing in respect of milk, butter and vegetables.

Village Improvement. Though not connected with Dayalbagh, the Satasang Sabha owns an estate of 8,000 acres called the Rajaborari Estate in the Central Provinces. His Holiness Sahabji Maharaj, the present head of the Sabha, has helped to revolutionise the lines of the aboriginal tribes living on the estate. They are now better fed, better dressed, and better housed than before. They are completely free from debts and vices. Such aids as a dispensary, veterinary service and good roads have also been provided for them.

Another experiment in village improvement — much nearer home — is being conducted within an area of about eleven square miles near Agra. The Sabha has been instrumental in having several panchayats formed in villages in that area.

Money and grain are being supplied to them at low rates, medicine is supplied free, drink and gambling have stopped, and the doors of the colony's hospitals, and educational and industrial institutions have been thrown open to the villagers.

Such is the fine work carried on at Dayalbagh, the finest thing about it being that it is all carried on with moneys provided by those who follow the Radhasoami faith, no sort of monetary help being in fact accepted from non-Satasangis. In conclusion one cannot do better than quote the words of Sir Malcolm Hailey in reply to an address presented to him in 1929:—

"Yours is, I believe, both a genuine and enlightened effort. Your Educational Institute, your industrial workshops, the dairy and agricultural farms—all these are the fruit and the visible proof of the fine spirit of devotional service taught you by your revered leaders and which is of the essence of your faith. What is more, your effort is not only devotional, for all who know the Dayalbagh testify with great unanimity to the thoroughness and the broadminded efficiency which mark the work of your brotherhood of Satasangis."

K. D. AGA.

INDIA AND THE LEAGUE.

INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION

THE first phrase of the Preamble to the Covenant of the League of Nations is "to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security." Even the partial realisation of these objects requires the demolition of huge walls of national prejudice, fear and suspicion which have broken up the world into innumerable fragments. International conferences and conventions cannot lead to real security so long as the minds of the people are not attuned to peace. From this point of view, the Intellectual Organisation of the League is perhaps its most important branch of activities.

From the beginning, the Indian Delegation to the League Assembly has evinced a keen interest in the work of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation. Some of the delegates have looked upon it as a medium through which the culture of India will be more widely spread and appreciated than it is to-day. Others have thought that peace and progress of humanity depend upon mutual understanding and co-operation between the East and the West, and the Committee is the best instrument for achieving that object by the fusion of Western and Eastern cultures. Year after year they have all praised in lavish terms the work of the Committee, and discountenanced every measure which would cripple that work. To give only one instance, when the Third Assembly of the League was considering the general estimates for 1922, M. Reynald (France) proposed that the supplementary estimate for the work of the above Committee should be increased from 50,000 francs to 100,000 francs. All the British Empire Delegations save the Indian Delegation, opposed this proposal on the technical ground that it would not be wisdom on the part of the Assembly to vote money the expenditure of which had not been recommended by the Finance Committee. His Highness the Maharaja Jam Sahab of Nowanagar (India), however, elected to support M. Reynald. "Nothing at this moment", he said "has greater practical importance than the reconstruction of normal and intellectual values... In financial matters here no nation has stood up more consistently, more strenuously for economy than India. We

have fought hard for economy, and I do so now, for I maintain that it is not economy to starve intellectual co-operation. It is folly, and you cannot afford to do it."

In response to a resolution adopted by the Sixth Assembly of the League, the Committee set up a Sub-Committee of experts to consider methods of co-ordinating all official and unofficial efforts towards the education of young people in the aims and work of the League. The Indian point of view was well represented on the Sub-Committee by Mr. S. N. Chaturvedi, a Licentiate of Teaching of the Allahabad University. Its recommendations were approved by the League Assembly in 1927, and some of the States Members have already succeeded in giving effect to them. They have to be modified in several respects in order to suit the present educational conditions in India. Education being a provincial transferred subject, action will have to be taken by Local Governments which are responsible to the respective provincial legislatures and by the universities which are quasi-autonomous bodies.

The recommendations in question relate in part to the exchange of teachers between different countries and the sending of students from one country to another. Obvious difficulties of a geographical and financial nature prevent India from carrying out such extremely desirable measures. "India is 6,000 miles from Europe," said Sir Kurma Venkata Reddi in a speech before the Sixth Committee of the Ninth League Assembly, "and the cost of sending and receiving teachers to and from this continent is somewhat prohibitive. The same reason applies to sending students to Europe... The Government of India have addressed Local Governments on the subject of education regarding the League and their replies are awaited."

The League Assembly has repeatedly passed resolutions, urging upon States Members to assist in the starting of National Committees for Intellectual Co-operation. There are some institutions in India which work for intellectual co-operation to a certain extent. For instance, the Asiatic Society of Bengal brings out authorised versions of classics and supplies manuscripts to foreign countries. The Indian Museum in Calcutta exchanges specimens with sister bodies in Europe and America. The Santiniketan of the poet-Rabindranath Tagore has for its main object the synthesis of Western and Eastern cultures. There is, again, the Inter-University Board which comprises thirteen out of the fifteen Universities in India. Its chief functions are to act as an Inter-University Organisation and Information Bureau, to assist Indian Universities in obtaining recognition for their degrees in other countries and to appoint or recommend representatives to Imperial or International Conferences on higher education. A National Committee for Intellectual Co-operation will co-ordinate the activities of these different organisations and greatly advance their objects by being in *liaison* with the International Intellectual Organisation.

Again, education being a provincial transferred subject in India, there is need for a central agency which will disseminate information to the various Provinces. There should be the same *liaison* between the intellectual activities of the different Provinces, as that which exists between those of the different nations and the International Intellectual Organisation. Such an institution would, in the opinion of Sir Fazl-i-Hussain, a delegate to the Eighth Assembly of the League, enable India both to derive benefit from the international movement for intellectual co-operation and to contribute to its success.

The Government of India intimated to the League in 1925 that the Inter-University Board

might be recognised as the National Committee for India and that the Board was willing to undertake the responsibility. As Sir Kurma Venkata Reddi pointed out to the Sixth Committee of the Ninth League Assembly the special reason for the inability of India to start a National Committee lies in the fact that the central government is no longer exclusively, or even mainly, concerned in the subject of education and that it will be necessary to secure agreement between the provincial authorities before any central-body can be formed for intellectual co-operation.

One of the main functions of the League Committee on Intellectual Co-operation is to promote the education of the younger generation of the world in the aims and ideals of the League. This function has not so far been adequately discharged in India. There are practically no vernacular publications on League matters. There is supposed to be a League of Nations Union at Delhi. But its organisation is poor and its influence negligible. With the financial and moral support of the Government and the Universities, it must be possible to introduce the study of the League into the curricula of the elementary and secondary schools. The present political troubles in India partially account for the general apathy of Indian students towards internationalism. But an equally potent cause of that apathy is ignorance of League affairs and the consequent lack of appreciation of the immense benefits which India has derived from her membership of the League. Till that ignorance is removed by education and propaganda, India cannot be expected to play her due part at Geneva. It is to be hoped that the new League Bureau that has been started early this year at Bom-

bay will soon succeed in bringing the League home to the Indian public.

T. S. RAMANUJAM.

SHORT NOTICE.

THE TIMES OF INDIA ANNUAL, 1932. (The Times Press, Bombay.) 1932. 34cm. Rs. 2/-

THE Times of India Annual for the year 1932 is, as usual, very carefully got up with fine pictures and invigorating articles on travel. It is always a pleasure to read it and the present volume does not disappoint. The articles are varied and well-written. The reader begins with the splendours of a 'Dasara in Mysore', passes on to 'Lanka's Lowland' and thence peeps into 'Karwar the Beautiful' after a delightful glimpse of 'Indian Yachting.' Romance also is not forgotten; and Mandudurg in Malwa wakes up to life with the haunting love story of Raj Bahadur and Rupmani. The vigorous article on India in the Stein Age prepares the ground for the war-filled 'Province of Sindh', although you have to visit 'the Cave of the Nativity of Bethlehem' before that. Pass on, through a few pages of comic verse, and if you are allowed by 'Pandu the Outlaw', to 'Pilgrimages in India'. All these interesting articles are made doubly attractive by fine illustrations and photos and are interspersed with artistic print from beautiful paintings of well-known brushes. Kashmir has always been a favourite haven of painters and its wonderful Mogul gardens do not go unrepresented in this issue.

M. D. S.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

5½ Per Cent. Loan, 1938-40.

Issue price--Rs. 98 per cent.

Open from the 6th June to the 18th June 1932.

May be purchased at the Imperial Bank of India and Treasuries.

May also be purchased at *Post Offices* up to Rs. 20,000 per applicant. In this case interest will be *exempt from income-tax* if scrip is left in the custody of the Accountant General, Posts and Telegraphs.

Payment may be made in the form of Cash, 1932 Bonds, or Treasury Bills.

Further particulars on application at any Government Treasury, Post Office, or Branch of the Imperial Bank of India.