

THE Servant of India

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TOPICS OF THE WEEK

Gandhiji. ALL India's mind has this last week centred round Mahatma Gandhi, his sudden illness, his serious operation, his satisfactory reconvalescence. We reproduce today the full minute drawn up by Mr. Sastri on his return from hospital in the early hours of last Sunday, and with him and all our countrymen we join in the fervent prayer that the life of this great Indian may be spared and that his restoration to health may be both speedy and complete—as indeed, we are happy to say, the medical prognosis promises it to be. May we add to this a sincere hope that the Government of India will now announce the remission of the balance of the sentence which Mr. Gandhi is still technically serving, even before a formal demand is made?

Unwarranted. IN its leading article of the 12th instant the *Voice of India* disapproves of the suggestion put forward by Mr. Sastri in these columns that all political parties should combine in congratulating Mr. Ramsay MacDonald on the first coming into power of the British Labour Party and expressing the hope that it will give effect to the policy declared in its election manifesto. This opposition of the *Voice* is due to its belief that by accepting Mr. Sastri's suggestion we shall be identifying ourselves with a particular party in England and suspending our respective programmes. But this belief is utterly unwarranted; Mr. Sastri has not suggested anything of the kind imagined by the *Voice*. Nor is it easy to understand how our resolutions will aggravate the difficulties of

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's Ministry. On the other hand, by expressing our hopes in the Labour Party's ability to do its duty by us and at the same time going on with our programmes we shall be greatly strengthening its hands and enabling it to do justice to us. We confess we cannot pretend to be utterly indifferent as to which party comes into power in England or wish to assume the same attitude towards friends and foes alike.

* * *

Labour and Frontier Tribes. EVERYONE who is not an adherent of the 'forward' policy with regard to our northwest frontier will welcome the attitude of the British Labour Party towards Afghanistan and the frontier tribes, which was delineated by Mr. Brailsford in a recent issue of the *New Leader*. It will be one of peace and good-will to be achieved among other means by a recognition of Russia. It will enable us to make a reduction of Indian military expenditure. In order to make it possible for the frontier tribesmen to give up raiding their peaceful neighbours in British India

"Agricultural experts might be called in instead of strategists with a view to remove the economic cause of the frontier unrest, namely, poverty, by planting fruit trees and timber, improving flocks and creating markets for trade, roads and schools."

To this aptly termed economic defence Mr. Brailsford suggests that a tenth of the military expenditure of India might be devoted. The pundits will of course shake their heads.

* * *

Kenya. THE Indian Community in East Africa has stood firmly and unanimously by the decision of the Executive Committee of their Congress. Indian members have withdrawn from the Legislative and Executive Councils and no one has cared to enrol himself as a voter, though the franchise has been extended to every adult male. This wide franchise has been conferred on Indians in response to a representation made by them before the Colonial Office came to a decision in July last. The consideration thus shown in this particular matter is gratefully acknowledged by the Secretary of the E. A. Indian National Congress in his letter to the Colonial Secretary, but as pointed out by him, this wide franchise, being communal and not a common one for all communities, does not improve the status of His Majesty's Indian subjects whose main grievance is that they are given a second class citizenship in the colony. This phase of the struggle for

equality of citizenship has only commenced now and will have to be kept up for quite a long time. But if the community be firm and loyal to its own decisions, it is bound to succeed in the end.

* * *
 OUR readers will see elsewhere a *Double Personality* speech on the League of Nations which, it is difficult to believe, was made by General Smuts. It is conceived in a lofty spirit of humanitarianism and pitched in a high key of eloquence the simplicity and native vigour of which are apparent. Yet one of the sinister incidents of the last September session of the League of Nations Assembly was the contempt with which General Smuts's government treated the authority of the League in respect of the Bondelzwarts rising which it had put down with barbarous cruelty. Worshippers of mere success abound in Britain as elsewhere, and it is amazing how they bow down in awe before this man of double and dubious personality, a standing riddle in human psychology, who can mouth sentiments overflowing with the milk of human kindness and at the same time stand up for the narrowest oligarchy and the rigidest colour bar known to the world. The more one sees of the arrogance and anti-human spirit of the African whites, the more one thinks it time for some intrepid missionaries to go and convert them to some humanizing religion, Christianity for example.

* * *
 His Excellency Sir Leslie Wilson is to be congratulated on putting an end to the passive resistance movement that was started at Borsad against the collection of the police punitive tax. It was an utterly indefensible tax imposed on the absurd ground that the people had not sufficiently cooperated with the police in operations against outlaws and dacoits who had made life and property insecure in the area. Did the authorities believe that the people enjoyed outrages at the hands of the dacoits and that they should add their own exactions to the exactions of the outlaws? The press note issued by the Bombay Government frankly admits that "a case has been made out for remitting the collection of the extra charge" and that "the past supineness of the people generally has been due largely to the outrageous and inhuman methods of some of the well known dacoit leaders". What is obvious to the public is not the supineness of the people but that of the police. The press note mentions the partial failure of rains as an additional reason for remitting the tax. One wishes that this reason had not been urged and the Government had rectified with full grace what was a foolish mistake.

* * *
 "..... power came to them on account of the efficiency of their service and utter fidelity to great causes. In the end, authority descended on them ;

but the opportunity of controlling grave issues is not to be despised and cannot always in honour be avoided. In politics power carries perquisites with it.... which worry (some). I think the nervousness is based on confusion. For myself I fail to see how (we) can escape from the exercise of power if (we) take politics seriously. I agree ... that our boycott of politics should cease; but one of the inevitable consequences of that course will be the (at least occasional) success of our policies, and I do not understand how we can honourably refuse to make ourselves responsible for their legislative and administrative consequences." It would be good fun to have a competition as to who wrote the above lines: we hazard the belief that most people in reply would say that the sentences quoted are from Mr. C. R. Das' pen; a good many others might guess Mr. Chintamani or Dr. Besant—but none, surely would even in their wildest dreams guess the Editor of *Young India*! Yet such is the fact and one which will much interest psycho-analysts. Perhaps we should add that we have above quoted Mr. George Joseph not from the columns of *Young India*, but from those of the *Guardian* and that on this occasion Mr. Joseph was not slaying wicked Swarajists but was discussing communal politics of his own, i. e. the Christian, community. Thus do there dwell two souls in many a breast.... After which revelation of Mr. Joseph's subconscious ego, one is quite prepared to find him advocate in the same article communal electorates for Christians, in opposition to the splendid appeal made by Mr. K. T. Paul at Bangalore to his fellow Christians, to drop sectional ambitions and be satisfied with winning, if at all, on their merits and in general electorates. Then should not Christianity, like Charity, also begin at home?

* * *
 IN opening the new U. P. Legislative Council Sir William Marris announced that Government would introduce agrarian legislation which would improve the relations of landlords and tenants. Seeing how little the tenants gained from the Oudh Rent Act which was passed by the last Council, in which the landlords were in a weaker position than in the present one and the tenants had most splendid fighters for their cause in the Liberal members, we are not very sanguine about the good that will be permitted to result from the proposed legislation. A hopeful outlook will, however, be possible if the Swarajists pursue a sane policy and oppose not all Government measures indiscriminately. The translation of their professed solicitude for the welfare of the masses into action need not be postponed until complete swaraj is attained. In inviting them to make the best constitutional use of the power placed in their hands by the voters, Sir William Marris reminded them, more with sympathy than cynicism we should think, that election promises nowhere in the world were held to be binding. We believe the view will ultimately commend itself to the Swarajists, whose leaders have shown great skill in effecting 'strategical retreats'—we mean in the good sense—as was shown by the way in which they recently withdrew the prohibition that had been laid on the members of the Madras and Punjab Councils from taking part generally in the proceedings.

U. P. Council and Swarajists.

SOCIALISM AND DEMOCRACY.

Today, so the cables assure us, will see the historic moment when His Majesty will send for Mr. MacDonald. As we write, Mr. Baldwin is indeed still Prime Minister, but so little does he already count, that the News Services have ceased mentioning him and instead concentrate on telling the world what Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald has said or written or done. Indeed it is a foregone condition that it is he who will form the next British Cabinet and that Mr. Baldwin's reappearance in the House as Premier will be a mere matter of form. So, sooner than anybody could anticipate, the government of the British Empire is actually passing into the hands of Socialists, into the hands of men who have a definite plan for ending the chaos existing everywhere today, whether nationally or internationally, economically or politically. It is very necessary indeed to realize, if one would understand the position, that Mr. MacDonald and the British Labour Party in general are not out to do "Progressive" things which the Liberal Party might have done. The principal guiding thought of Socialists is that public affairs can and must be planned and undertaken in the same scientific spirit as, for instance, an engineer would plan and undertake the irrigation of a certain area. Socialists hold—to continue the metaphor—that the casual rainfall is not enough for intensive agricultural operations and that the improvised tubs and buckets, put out during thunderstorms to catch the water from the roof, are ridiculously inadequate. The English have had a perfect genius for improvisation, as is notorious: but the antics of Mr. George, that past-master of opportunism and makeshift, have probably done more than anything else to disillusion the plain average Englishman and to convince him, that after all you can have too much of a good thing—even of *laissez aller* and of muddling through. The lesson has gone home all the more, as the war was most decidedly not won by muddling through, but by most rigorous scientific planning and control. Indeed, until the old happy-go-lucky style was abandoned (not voluntarily, forsooth, but under the hammer strokes of military defeats!), the war dragged on endlessly. Only after the whole nation and most of its activities had come under social control of a very rigorous kind, had it been possible to turn the corner and get the better of an enemy, who himself believed in doing things methodically and scientifically.

Thus it was during the last year or two of the war that England was for the first time ruled socialistically: and so successful was the experiment that everybody planned for an after-war "Reconstruction" on the same lines, i. e. by coordinating individual effort and subordinating it to a definite scheme, which was to benefit all the nation. It was in those days that Mr. George coined the phrase of making England a

country fit for heroes to live in: the Sankey Commission urged the nationalization of the collieries, the Haldane Commission that of electrical super-power-stations; Dr. Addison worked out his scheme for building a million new houses; Mr. Fisher that of extending education all round. Railways and Shipping were under a Government Board; Imports and Exports were rationally controlled and nationally financed. The old private enterprise of a capitalist regime had hopelessly broken down in 1914 and seemed past redemption. But no sooner was the war ended, than the hard-faced men who had done rather well out of the war, gained once more the upper hand. If the transition stage from war to peace was not altogether satisfactory, it was, so they argued, because there was too much Government control and "interference". Only remove that, and the millenium would dawn, with an England fit for heroes in its wake. So one Control Board after another was scrapped; as demanded by a propagandist campaign of quite exceptional virulence and mendacity. But this return to "normalcy", to use a word beloved by the late President Harding, by no means achieved what its protagonists had promised. On the contrary, as the appalling ineptitude and wickedness of the Versailles Treaty began to work itself out, not only did no "reconstruction" fit for heroes materialize, but the shortlived boom which had made the first year or two of "peace" at least tolerable for the victors, only too soon turned into an ever deepening slump, which gradually engulfed victors and vanquished alike in ever widening circles of unemployment, under-employment and under-payment. Mr. George's brave words were soon found out to be but facile promises not meant for and incapable of fulfilment. When, utterly discredited and bankrupt, he at last fell, the helm passed into the hands first of Mr. Law and latterly Mr. Baldwin, neither of whom however had more than a most hazy notion of any destination towards which the ship of State was to be steered, beyond that of hoping somehow to get out of the treacherous sea in which they found themselves, beset on every side by rocks and sand banks and whirlpools.

It is out of this mentality of rebellion against everlasting drifting, that Mr. Baldwin clutched at the first plan that was suggested to him—viz. Protection. He was prepared to make for a definite port—but unfortunately for him the people of England, anxious as they were to get somewhere, most decidedly refused to be taken to the Promised Land of Protection, and thus the command is about to pass to another skipper, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald. But it would be a mistake to think that the latter's task will consist merely in heading once more for a policy of governmental control, as prevailed during wartime. That indeed is utterly impossible—and that for two reasons. The first is that during the war the whole nation was swayed by one emotion, so strong as to be able to override and suspend all others, viz. fear. Fear-

ing to lose the war, fearing a German invasion and conquest, fearing undefined but all the more fearsome horrors under German domination, the English nation was ready to sacrifice everything, life, the most ancient of its liberties, comfort itself (we grade these three items as the average Englishman unconsciously ranks them)—if only it could thereby be saved from the German peril. To-day, with the war psychosis gone, there is no such overriding emotion left in the nation and the old English wish to be left alone has once more become uppermost. But there is also a second reason. If Labour had an overwhelming, had at least an absolute majority in the House of Commons, a full blown Socialist programme could conceivably be imposed on the nation, even if 49% of it were opposed to it. But Mr. MacDonald, so far from having out of a total of 615 members at least 308 followers in the House, has no more than 192. The votes cast reveal that of the voters of Great Britain only 32% are Labour, whilst 38% are Conservatives and 30% Liberals. Hence even if Socialists wished to impose their will, they would be unable to do so, short of revolutionary 'direct action'. This makes the situation so doubly important a one. For elsewhere too in the world there are governments in power who have a clear cut plan, whose policy is merely the expression of definitely held principles: but there, it is by non-parliamentary action that such governments have come into power—witness Russia, Italy, Spain. The British Labour Party on the other hand comes into power legitimately, constitutionally, naturally. And being British, there is not even a remote chance of it deviating from that policy, once it is in power. It will refuse to compel, knowing full well, that though you may perhaps compel Russians and Spaniards, it certainly would be a superhuman task to gain English consent by compulsion. It will have to persuade; and, England being heartily sick of the futility of muddlers through as demonstrated during these last five years, is quite ready to try the Socialist plan—cautiously. It is ready for a first step; and having seen how that works, will, if it works well, be quite ready for a second step. Mr. MacDonald himself wants nothing better than a first step—provided it is in the right direction. These first steps he will be able to take, because the Liberals cannot afford to thwart him in this: seeing that the first step means dealing with Unemployment and straightening out international tangles. The second step will come with the Budget: and if the first step taken is, as one hopes, one which will prove its soundness by its very success, preventing Mr. MacDonald from taking the second will be a hard matter to explain to the electors. Nobody in England wants another early election: no Liberal Party can go to the country with the charge against them of having forced on a fresh election and having forced it on over a progressive measure. If the country is against such further progressive step, it will certainly vote for the Tory who uncompromisingly

has stood out against Labour from the first; if the country is for it, it will certainly return Labour in redoubled numbers. In any case the Liberal Party will be nowhere. Hence it seems to us an extraordinary misconception to say that the Labour Party will be in office, but not in power; reiterate the Liberals that *mantram* ever so often, as they do in their journals.

No, if we are to be rash enough to prophesy, we would say that the Labour Party is in for quite a long spell, both of office and of power. It will necessarily exercise both by persuading their opponents and by justifying their policies by the immediate success of their first steps. After all, it is not very difficult to do better than Mr. George, Mr. Law or Mr. Baldwin, is it! Thus, one has every hope, democratic institutions will once more win through in England: and, if there triumphantly vindicated at such an hour as this, Democracy will indeed have dealt a fatal blow to Fascism, which everywhere is ever more threateningly rearing its head. And if there is one reason more than any other that makes one confident that the cause of democracy is safe in the keeping of the English people, it is the fact that, though the Rothermere-Beaverbrook Press, which has a practical monopoly of the popular press, has roared, though day in and day out it has carried on its poisonous propaganda—yet the last election has proved conclusively that it is unable to turn the head of its readers, who seem to go to it only for its news on matters of sport, divorce court and general sensational lit-bits, but who apparently treat its political opinions with the utter contempt they deserve. And so, varying the egregious Lord Rothermere's favourite phrase, we would say:

"Hats off to England!"

THE HYDERABAD ADMINISTRATION.

Hyderabad has recently attracted much public attention on account of its exclusion of some well-known Indian newspapers and also the revival of its agitation for the retrocession of Berar. At such a time one naturally welcomes every opportunity that enables one to form a correct idea of the administration of the State. Such an opportunity is now given us by the publication of the administration report for Fasli 1331, which corresponds to the period, 6th October 1921 to 5th October 1922. It is true that only a second hand opinion is possible from a report and that what looks quite well on paper may not be working half so well in practice. Nevertheless, an opinion based on facts and figures is very much more reliable than the impression created in one's mind solely by reported acts of intolerance and high-handedness. In that light, we may say at once here that, judging from the report under review, the administration of Hyderabad appears to be more progressive than we had thought it to be. An adequate number of departments has been created, the expenditure

incurred on the more important ones among them can stand comparison with the expenditure incurred on corresponding departments in British India, and a progressive spirit is at work in all of them. But of this more later on. Here we should say that the report is not as full as one would like it to be. Under many departments the information given is too meagre. Even such an important thing as a tabulated statement of the income and expenditure of the State is not given. For essential information like area, population, form of administration, etc, the reader is referred to a report issued nearly ten years ago. It would be very much more helpful if such essential information was given in every administration report, either in the body or as an appendix. In these respects the reports of Baroda, Travancore, Cochin and some other States are commendable.

The report gives prominence to three reforms that were carried out during the year. The most important of them was the separation of judicial from executive functions. The principle of this reform had been approved in the previous year but a scheme giving effect to it was sanctioned and put in operation in the year under report. It resulted in a decrease of no less than 92 courts, from 264 (including revenue courts) to 172. Regarding the working of the scheme, one is glad to read the Chief Justice's enthusiastic remarks:

"I can this day say with confidence that the scheme has succeeded beyond my expectations. It has already worked for an appreciable period and the most critical stage of trial has passed away. Every day the prospects of success are brighter. In the course of my tours I probed the public mind as well. I believe that I echo the sentiment of the public mind at large when I say that they are happier under the new system and that the Government has secured more confidence in the public mind—an asset the value of which can never be too much exaggerated."

We hope this responsible opinion and the experience of Mysore will not be lost on the authorities in British India. Another reform to which prominence is justly given in the report is the making of primary education free throughout the State. The third reform is financial in nature, by which the various departments are assured of a definite income for at least three years and enabled to carry out a programme of development. Besides the separation of judicial functions from executive ones, other reforms have been introduced in the administration of justice, whereby has resulted a notable decrease in the duration of cases—from 316 to 188 days in civil cases and 48 to 35 in criminal ones. A very satisfactory feature of the year was the increase of expenditure on education from Rs. 44 lakhs to Rs. 59 lakhs, or by 35 per cent. Similarly there was a notable increase in expenditure on justice, police and medical relief, including the Yunani department, while there was a decrease in the expenditure on the military.

These features are satisfactory. But there are others of which the same thing cannot be said. The departments of agriculture, industries and sanitation, so important for the economic develop-

ment of the state, appear to be starved and to have only a nominal existence. While the neighbouring British administration of the C. P. and Berar, strikingly similar to the Nizam's dominion in area, population, nature of the soil and revenue—and by no means considered an advanced province according to British Indian standards—spent in 1919-20 on its agricultural department nearly Rs. 11 lakhs and on sanitation more than Rs. 5 lakhs, the Nizam's Government spent in the year under report less than a lakh of (Hyderabad) rupees on each of these departments!

In the matter of education, in spite of the recent increase in expenditure and the rendering of primary education free, Hyderabad is much behind even the C. P. and Berar. (The figures for Hyderabad are for 1921-22 and those for British provinces for 1919-20.) The total number of pupils under instruction in Hyderabad was about 2½ lakhs while in the C. P. and Berar it was 3½ lakhs. This gives a proportion of about 18 per 1000 of the population for the former and 25 for the latter. Compare this with 42 for Madras, 43 for Bengal, 45 for Bombay and 47 for Coorg and Burma. The following tabular statement reveals other differences between Hyderabad and the C. P. and Berar:

	Hyderabad	C.P. & Berar
No. of Colleges (Arts)	2	4
College students (Arts)	488	957
High schools (English)	15	43
Do. (Vernacular)	11	
Middle schools (English)		159
Do. (Vernacular)	91	297
Total number of students } in high and middle schools }	32,906	65,671
Normal schools (males)	3	15
Teachers (males) under training	200	1338

In the matter of girls' education Hyderabad is in advance of its neighbour in some respects. The total number of institutions was 781 and the number of pupils 36,000 against 383 and 22,000 in the latter. There were also more mistresses undergoing training in Hyderabad than in the C. P. and Berar. This advantage, however, is only in respect of primary schools. In secondary education the advantage is on the side of the C. P. and Berar, which had 9 high schools and 48 middle schools against 5 and 14 respectively in Hyderabad. The departmental institutions appear to be run on very costly lines, whilst other institutions do not appear to be given suitable assistance. Taking primary schools, we find that on 720 Government schools a sum of Rs. 13.25 lakhs was spent or nearly Rs. 2000 per school. But the expenditure incurred on 2337 local board schools was less than Rs. 2.75 lakhs, or a little over Rs. 100 per school. Most of these schools perhaps have only a nominal existence. If Hyderabad adopted the Madras system of encouraging private institutions by liberal grants in aid, we think that not only will

education spread rapidly but the best combination of efficiency and economy will result. No mention is made of any special effort for the education of backward or depressed classes. Surely, it is not that such classes do not exist in the State?

Local self-government is utterly undeveloped in Hyderabad. The administration report speaks of only one municipality, that of Hyderabad City. Its income during the year under report was Rs. 8'34 lakhs of which the State contributed Rs. 5 lakhs and the residents only Rs. 3.34 lakhs—an amount which is ridiculously inadequate for a population of half a million. They seem to be an extremely lucky lot in Hyderabad, with Government doing them all services at little or no cost to them. They pay no water or scavenger tax! One becomes painfully conscious that the glory and comfort of the capital are built on the misery and squalor of the villages. This is true not only of Hyderabad but of most Indian States. The rate-payers of Hyderabad were running seven municipal schools, but in the year under report abolished all of them! Many municipalities in British India with a third or fourth of the population of Hyderabad raise and spend as much as ten lakhs of rupees. In district and divisional towns of Hyderabad, municipalities have no independent existence; they are included in district boards. Compare this with the C. P. and Berar, where there were in 1919-20 no fewer than 59 municipalities, with an annual income of Rs. 45 lakhs, the rate-payers' contribution being Rs. 2.86 per head. There were 15 district and 103 taluka boards in Hyderabad, but their total income was Rs. 23.31 lakhs, while the expenditure was only Rs. 17.67 lakhs, the amount spent on education being Rs. 3.5 lakhs. In the C. P. and Berar, on the other hand, 103 local boards raised as much as Rs. 67.5 lakhs and spent on education no less than Rs. 20 lakhs. As there can be no development of political capacity in the people without an adequate growth of self-governing institutions, we hope His Exalted Highness's Government will give its earnest attention to the development of municipalities and local boards. In this connection we wish to draw its attention to the complaint of Hyderabad subjects recently made at Cocanada at a public meeting that no effect had yet been given to the announcement made three years ago by *Firman* that the Legislative Council and the elected element therein would be enlarged and other far-reaching reforms initiated.

COMPULSORY MILITARY TRAINING IN COLLEGES.

ONE part of the resolution passed by the last National Liberal Federation at Poona advocated the compulsory military training of all students in colleges. Such a proposal is likely perhaps to be considered too extreme, even if it is not definitely opposed by many as antagonistic to many current ideas about non-violence or the League of Nations. I have for several years been of opinion

that such training will be of the utmost value both in the wide interests of the country and in the narrower interests of educational advancement and I propose in this place to emphasise the advantages of this reform.

First as regards the national military question. The Government have been very halting in their progress towards the Indianisation of the official ranks of the army. The few measures that they have taken do not meet the demand at all. In fact they amount to taking up six cadets for Sandhurst every six months, to starting a preparatory school for such candidates at Dehra Dun and to indianising completely eight units. For the last four or five years a few young men have been selected for Sandhurst. But even these have not all materialised as officers. The field of selection is so limited in its scope that suitable young men are difficult to obtain satisfying all the required conditions, and the actual cadets sent out have often failed to come successfully through Sandhurst. The candidates must come from high families or their parents must have done great military service and they must be able to spend a large amount in order to go to England. The selected candidates are not therefore the best possible young men that can be obtained. Perhaps even more parlous is the position with regard to the Dehra Dun institution. The boys have to be sent to it at such an early age and the expense is comparatively so great and the field of selection so limited that a proper supply of boys is not available. The very principle of such an institution is open to objection. The officers that we want should have imbibed the ordinary ideas of an Indian, and that can be done only if they have been educated in the earlier years along with other young men of similar age and class. We may have a better class of ordinary schools in which the boys will be more efficiently educated, but the country does not want its army to be officered by men who have been cut off from their fellows since the age of eleven. The success of the Indianisation scheme in the case of eight units depends upon a proper supply of officers and the action taken by Government so far is both inadequate and on wrong lines.

The one and only way is to interest our young men in matters relating to military and naval affairs. At present these seem so foreign to the temperament of our young men that a military or a naval career appears to them like a leap into the unknown. Strange ideas are formed about it. They think that every officer will have to shoot down their own countrymen or they are themselves to be shot down on the frontier. Of course a man choosing such a career must be prepared to do his duty to his King and to his country under every risk and in every eventuality, and I refuse to believe that our young men will not be quite as prepared to do it as the young men in other countries are always found to do. But the bugbear of the unknown must be effectively laid

once for all and this can only be done by familiarising them with at least elementary ideas on such matters. If the young men in our colleges, which would naturally form a suitable recruiting ground for officers on account of the education and social position of their students, are given some military training we should no longer have any difficulty in getting proper recruits. Some of them may find that a military career suits them better than any other career. The advantage in having a large number of educated young men familiarised with ideas about the defence of our country and ready after some little further training to answer the call in a large national emergency is obvious in these days of nations in arms. Even the professional politician will speak with more restraint and better knowledge of affairs, if in his younger days he knows something about these questions. A visit of inspections over our frontier like the one organised for our legislators two years ago would have been far more fruitful if these legislators did not go to their inspections with their minds absolutely blank and their tongues repeating well-worn platitudes. There will be as great an interest taken in our military and naval questions as is now taken in the questions of tariffs, indianisation of services, education or even agriculture. Even from the point of view of Government much interest can be stimulated in its military policy and intelligent criticism can be effectively met when there is a good case on its side. During the great war it might have been observed that Indians took only a languid interest in the progress of the various campaigns. I attribute this languidity in a great measure to the ignorance of the educated classes on these topics. When the supreme effort was made to stimulate recruitment in 1918, many an Indian recruiter was asked questions which he was incapable of answering. If the common people were told that they would have their own educated men serving in the field as officers and facing the same or even greater dangers, I am sure that recruitment would have been even more extensive than it was. Who knows that another call may not suddenly come when we shall have to defend our own hearths and homes?

As an educationist I look upon the educational effect of a military training on our young men as even more important and certainly more immediate. It has often been remarked that the sense of discipline is not a strong feature of our youth. The readiness to obey without question is often absent; nor is there present the corresponding readiness to assume responsibility and carry a thing through in spite of difficulties. If I may so put it, the legal habit of over-refinement, of finesse, of dilatoriness, of taking advantage of exceptions and of considering a plausible excuse for not doing anything as equivalent to, or even better than, actually doing it, appears to be strongly developed. A military training will provide a suitable antidote to this legal bent of mind which in its proper place and to a suitable amount is all to be

desired. How often do we find in our schools and colleges disputes and quarrels arise over trifles, parties formed on mere personal grounds and the general interest of the institution itself go to the wall? Does not this state of things continue even after the school or college career is over and our young men go out in the wide world? What do we see in our political life, but a continual lack of discipline, eternal wrangling over the unessential and a weak submission over the essential, disputes over words and repeated patchings of hollow truces? I wish to see military training made an integral part of our education in order to remedy this defect which I see ever growing. I have great faith in the capacities of our young men, but those in authority must bring them out. I am convinced that the step I propose will have great results in this direction.

Then again there is to be considered the beneficial effect that a military training will have directly on the physique of our young man and indirectly on their character. It has been often remarked that our young men are becoming too easy going and are averse to take physical trouble. While there are many remarkable exceptions, I believe there is some truth in this remark. Consider what a small percentage takes enthusiastic part in games. If some play them, most of them do so languidly, always economising physical effort. Look at a Hindu team fielding in a cricket match, and compare it with a team of English boys, and you will see an immediate difference. The one thinks, or shows that it thinks, that a run or two given away by slack fielding does not very much matter, while the other will turn out of the team any player who spares himself in the field. Look at a party of our young men walking in the street. You do not see the *joie de vivre* which is a characteristic of young men in other countries. See how often the higher authorities have to decide on wretched matters of insults which elsewhere would have been settled by a small bout of fisticuffs and by the disputants becoming fast friends ever afterwards. I do not advocate the excessive horseplay one reads of in connection with some English schools. But it is at least more healthy to see the bully receive his due reward at the hands of his fellows than be punished by the head of the institution. The same deficiency in physical vigour is seen elsewhere. A walk of eight or ten miles is a surprising feat for our young men; a walk of fifty-five miles in one day from Cambridge to London with only two pence in his pocket which I saw a friend of mine take for the mere fun of the thing would be absolutely incredible to them. They would ride in a tram or take a tonga to save a walk of a mile if they can afford to do so. This economy of physical energy is not for the purpose of transforming it into intellectual energy and hard study. Even their studies do not show the vigour which we have seen wanting in their physical sports. They do not engage wholeheartedly even in hobbies which to many an English

student form the salt of his existence. The large majority neither study zealously nor play zealously. Lolling on an easy chair or on the ground leaning on their rolled bed is their usual physical attitude, as passing their eyes mechanically over a book with their mind busy over anything but its subject matter is their intellectual attitude. The one thing in which they take interest is small talk with their fellows about nothing in particular and everything in general. The only career they appear to be preparing for is a clerkship in which the work is merely mechanical and neither physical nor mental energy is very much used.

Then again there is growing up among our young men a false sense of dignity and, when they can afford it, a habit of useless or unnecessary extravagance. Going personally to the market to buy provisions for their college messes is supposed to be *infra dig.* and everything is left to their cooks, causing needless expense, corruption and inconvenience. Carrying a handbag from the railway carriage to the tonga now-a-days requires a porter. On the other hand, the veriest beginner at tennis requires a racket of fifty rupees. Rubber soled tennis shoes, flannel trousers and silk mufflers are common but the average student plays no better than his father who twentyfive years ago played with a sialkote racket costing two rupees and a half, barefooted and wearing a dhotar and a simple sadra. A few can afford these expensive things; a large number cannot, but still it has become the fashion. The result is that a college life has become too expensive and the parents have to pinch themselves hard to put their sons through such a course. A few days' military in the camp will soon put an end to some of these ideas; in any case it will accustom the young men to work for themselves and to get out of this false sense of dignity. It will teach them to bear the inevitable roughness of the camp. A march of ten miles even in the hot sun will lose all its terrors. Our young men will become all the better physically, intellectually and morally, if they are required to undergo a strenuous course of military training and their efficiency will be vastly increased for the work that lies before them.

It may be said that I have exaggerated some of the defects, and perhaps I have done some injustice to those who seek to obtain education under every conceivable difficulty. But the type that I have attempted to portray is the normal type and it is this that I wish to reform. Public opinion is a very strong force among young men and boys, and they are dreadfully afraid of doing anything that is not the prevailing fashion. If one is required to go to the market to buy vegetables he should not be ashamed, as he now is, to carry the parcel in his hand, but should walk erect with it with no such idea in his mind. A military training for all will give a healthy tone to this incipient feeling of false shame. Regularity and punctuality, which are now conspicuous by their

absence, will become habits of mind when strict military rules have to be observed.

The need for this step is growing more and more insistent as our young men in colleges and schools are getting more and more urbanised. Some years ago most of those came from villages and had been used to the rough and ready ways of village life. They were accustomed to walk as the only possible alternative was the uncomfortable bullock cart. Such amenities as the cinema or the teashop were not in villages. But now an educated man hardly returns to his village and makes his home permanently in a town. His children grow up as mere town people. They almost forget that there are villages in India. The advantages of an intimate contact with village life are not theirs and some substitute is required. Sports and games may provide it to a certain extent, but a military training in addition will do them a vast amount of good. It is for these reasons that I advocate this and trust that thoughtful people will agitate for its introduction as a permanent feature of our educational system.

R. P. PARANJPYE.

MINUTE OF VISIT TO MR. GANDHI.

I was called suddenly to the Sassoon Hospital yester-night (21-1-24) to see Mahatma Gandhi. In view of the profound interest that the matter would have for the public I venture to make the following detailed statement.

Dr. V. B. Gokhale came to me about 8-45 p. m. just as I was finishing my dinner and told me how the Yerawada authorities had removed Mr. Gandhi to the Sassoon Hospital where he was in charge. He was about to be operated on for appendicitis. As the case was serious the patient had been asked whether he would like any doctor friends of his to be sent for. He had mentioned Dr. Dalal of Bombay and Dr. Jeevraj Mehta who was in Baroda. Both had been wired to, and attempts had been made but in vain to get at Dr. Dalal by means of the phone. Meanwhile, in view of the patient's temperature and pulse, it had been decided to perform the operation immediately, and he was asked whether he would like to have any friends brought to see him. He mentioned me, Dr. Phatak (of the non-operation party) and Mr. N. C. Kelkar. Dr. Gokhale and I started at once and took Dr. Phatak on the way, Mr. Kelkar being away at Satara. On my entering the room we greeted each other and I enquired how he felt as to the operation. He answered firmly that the doctors had come to a definite conclusion and he was content to abide by it, and in reply to further inquiry he said that he had full confidence in the medical men about him and that they had been very kind and very careful. Should there arise any public agitation, he added, then it should be made known that he had no complaint whatever to make against the author-

ities and that so far as the care of his body went their treatment left nothing to be desired. Then I enquired if Mrs. Gandhi had been informed of his condition. He said that she did not know the latest development but that she knew that for some time he had not been well and he expected to hear from her. He then made enquiries of my wife and of my colleagues in the Servants of India Society, Messrs. Devadhar, Joshi, Patwardhan and Kunzru. "Have your frequent journeys out of India benefited your health?", he enquired. Dr. Phatak then read a draft statement to be signed by Mr. Gandhi conveying his consent to the operation. After hearing it once Mr. Gandhi put on his spectacles and read it himself. Then he said he would like the wording changed and asked Col. Maddock who was in the room what he thought. The Colonel said Mr. Gandhi knew best how to put it in appropriate language; his own suggestion would not be of much value. Then he dictated a longish statement which I took down in pencil. It was addressed to Col. Maddock who was to perform the operation. The letter acknowledged the exceeding kindness and attention which he had received from Col. Maddock, the Surgeon-General and other medical officers and attendants. It proceeded to thank Government for consideration in allowing him to send for his own doctors, but as they could not be got in spite of the best attempts made by Col. Maddock, and as delay would in the opinion of the Colonel involve serious risk, he requested him to perform the operation at once. When it was finished I read it out to him once. Then he called Col. Maddock to his side and I read it again at his desire. Col. Maddock was quite satisfied and remarked, "Of course you know best how to put it in proper language". He then drew up his knees in posture for signing the paper which he did in pencil. His hand shook very much and I noticed that he did not dot the "i" at the end. He remarked to the doctor, "See how my hand trembles. You will have to put this right." Col. Maddock answered, "O, we will put tons and tons of strength into you." As the operation room was being got ready, the doctors went out and I found myself nearly alone with the Mahatma. After a remark or two of a purely personal nature I asked him whether he had anything particular to say. I noticed a touch of eagerness as he replied as though he was waiting for an opportunity to say something. "If there is an agitation" he said, "for my release after this operation, which I do not wish, let it be on proper lines. My quarrel with Government is there and will continue so long as the originating causes exist. Of course there can't be any conditions. If Government think they have kept me long enough, they may let me go—that would be honourable. If they think I am an innocent man and that my motives have been good, that while I have a deep quarrel with Government I love Englishmen and have many friends among them, they may release me. But it must not be on false issues. Any

agitation must be kept on proper nonviolent lines. Perhaps I have not expressed myself quite well, but you had better put it in your own inimitable style." I mentioned the motions of which notice had been given in the Assembly and added that though Government might in other circumstances have opposed them I expected that they would take a different line. I then pressed him again for a message to his people, his followers or the country. He was surprisingly firm on this subject. He said he was a prisoner of Government and he must observe the prisoner's code of honour scrupulously. He was supposed to be civilly dead. He had no knowledge of outside events and he could not have anything to do with the public: he had no message. "How is it then that Mr. Mahomed Ali communicated a message as from you the other day?" The words were scarcely out of my mouth, when I regretted them. But recall was impossible. He was obviously astonished at my question and exclaimed, "Mr. Mahomed Ali? A message from me?" Luckily at this point the nurse came in with some articles of apparel for him and signalled to me to depart. In a few minutes he was shifted to the operation room. I sat outside marvelling at the exhibition I had witnessed of high-mindedness, forgiveness, chivalry and love, transcending ordinary human nature, and what a mercy it was that the non-cooperation movement should have had a leader of such serene vision and sensitiveness to honour. The Surgeon-General and the Inspector-General of Prisons were also there. I could see from their faces how anxious they were at the tremendous responsibility that lay on them. They said that the patient had borne the operation very well indeed, that some pus had come out and that it was a matter for congratulation that the operation had not been delayed any longer. The patient had had morphia and was expected to sleep soundly for some time longer when we dispersed.

I learnt from the doctor this morning that the patient's condition was thoroughly satisfactory.

I have read out this statement to Dr. Phatak who approves of it and adds that his inquiry as to a message elicited the same sort of answer.

V. S. SRINIVASAN.

MISCELLANEOUS.

GENERAL SMUTS ON THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

GENERAL Smuts made the following speech at a League of Nations banquet in London October last:—

... Many sincere friends of the League think that the League should have intervened more actively in this crisis. Somewhat earlier they thought the League should have intervened in the Ruhr business. Still earlier they thought the League should have intervened in the Reparation business. My own opinion is that the League has kept wisely out of these dangerous issues. Do not let us, in our enthusiasm for the League, overrate its present position and power. The League is still but a child, and it has powerful enemies. "A child has been born unto us," who in the fulness of time will grow up to lead the nations in the paths of peace and righteousness.

Herod tried to kill the other still greater Child, and its parents had to flee with it into Egypt. Now, too, there are Herods about. Europe at present is full of them. And in the case of danger I would prefer the flight to Egypt in order to preserve the precious life of the child for the future. History is moving at a fearful pace, and soon, very soon, the League may be the only rallying point left for a distracted world, and even its enemies may come to welcome its active intervention. Then the League will come into its own, and become representative of all the nations and not merely of the majority, of them. That day may be near, but it is not yet (Hear, hear.)

UNFAITHFUL NATIONS.

Turning to the fundamental ideas for the international world order of the future which people cherished on the conclusion of the war and the making of peace, he asked: What has become of those principles for which the great price was paid? The exaltation has gone, the moral idealism has disappeared before a hard, cynical realism. Our promises to our people, our vows to God, our sacred obligations to the dead—they are all forgotten. Vilna, the Ruhr, Corfu; they stand written in flaming letters across the skies of our hopes and ideals for the future. There is not a principle of the Covenant which has not been violated and trampled under foot.

The nations have not been true to their word; they have not been faithful to the work of their dead. And we see the results all around us. The reaction is upon us. The lessons of the war are forgotten. Force is being applied in an inhuman way against the weak, the unarmed, the defenceless. The honour and self-respect of other nations are not considered. There is a hard, callous, brutal selfishness in international affairs which is almost unbelievable. Everywhere there is a denial of the human spirit, everywhere a contempt for the spirit of humanity. No wonder Europe is failing and all human levels are sinking. Just as in August, 1914, we seem once more to be plunging into a dark night; and the outcome of the new adventure is hid from everyone but God. (Hear, hear.)

"DO NOT BE DOWNHEARTED."

Let us not be downhearted. I notice everywhere to-day a despondency, a gloom born of the disappointment of all our great hopes of yesterday. The League appears impotent to cope with the raging international chaos. The evil spirit which we went into the war to slay seems rampant everywhere to-day. There is universal unrest and unsettlement, there is universal suffering, and there is the prospect of unemployment, hunger, and famine in the near future enough to appal the stoutest heart. And yet I have the conviction that out of all this evil good will come.

Our victory was not enough. The peace made by ourselves in the moment of victory was not enough. The great moral causes of humanity have not been born in victory, but in defeat. And we are all being defeated to-day. That is the inner significance of the grave events through which we are passing.

There can be no lasting world order on the basis of inequality among the nations, on the basis of victorious and vanquished nations. Our League, too, must be purged of that invidious distinction. We must all be equalised and schooled in the same sorrows and sufferings in order that so we may learn that high respect for each other, that reverence for the human in all of us, as individuals and as nations, without which neither social nor international institutions can endure. Only on that basis can the true human solidarity arise and the real League or Society of Nations be founded. (Cheers.)

FORCE DEFEATS ITSELF.

Force always in the end overreaches and defeats itself. And, it is going to do so now. The battle-ground is being transferred to the forum of public opinion and the world conscience. Beyond a certain point public opinion begins to react violently against the pressure of force. The elementary human feelings and sympathies come into play, and the whole character of the fight is transformed. That great transfor-

mation is taking place to-day. Amid the marchings and counter-marchings of the armies on the present stage in Europe I see a vaster army gathering in the dim background. And in it I see the faces of the millions of our young men who died that the world might live. Let us not lose heart. We have been losing ground badly since the writing of the covenant but the great reinforcements are coming. God's army is also on the march. (Cheers.)

Perhaps things had to come to the dreadful pass in which Europe finds itself to-day before the change for the better could take place. The great causes move forward by their own inner momentum, and often in the darkest hour when the strain has become unbearable, they break through to their victorious birth. The great opportunity for the League will come when public opinion has asserted itself and becomes a reality in the relations of the nations. With the swift movement of events now taking place that opportunity may come sooner than most of us think. Let us be ready for it. (Hear, hear.)

Let us always remember that what we are aiming at is not merely the removal of the present troubles. Our attitude is not merely negative, it is positive. We stand for a new order of things, the general lines of which are written down in the Covenant. We do not merely wish to see the wounds of the nations healed, but to see a great renaissance among the nations. And I sincerely believe that if we could now come to a wise settlement about outstanding differences and disputes, a new start could be made which will very soon transform the whole situation.

BOLSHEVISM AND FASCISM.

The breakdown of the old order in the great War has opened the way as never before in all history for the emergence of new ideas. We have already tried one such idea—I refer to Bolshevism. It has been tried and found wanting and by practically universal consent the Bolshevist idea is already being discarded. The opposite idea is now being tried in what is called Fascism. Fascism may serve a salutary purpose for the moment in rapidly sweeping away the abuses and excrecences in the administrative machinery of governments. But it is not related to the great things; it is a temporary expedient, and it will also pass away. How many other national and international experiments will yet be attempted no one can say.

The ideal for which we in the League stand belongs to quite a different order of ideas. It is no temporary makeshift. It is the expression of the most abiding aspiration in the human mind for the better ordering of the lives of the nations. (Loud cheers.)

THE INDIAN NATIONAL SOCIAL CONFERENCE.

35th SESSION, POONA.

29th and 30th December, 1923.

RESOLUTIONS.

I. The Late Sir N. G. Chandavarkar.

That this Conference places on record its deep sense of the great loss the cause of Indian Social Reform has suffered on account of the sad death of Dr. Sir Narayan Ganesh Chandavarkar who, during all his public career, devoted himself to the promotion of Social Reform among all classes of people by his powerful and persuasive eloquence as also by his pure conduct and life, and who was for over 20 years the General Secretary of the Indian National Social Conference.

II. Creed of the Social Reform Movement in India.

That this Conference, while welcoming the increased interest in social matters visible all over the country, is of opinion that the time has now come for defining the creed of the Social Reform movement in India and considers that the aim and ideal of this movement should be the promotion of social purity and the basic principles of liberty, equality and brotherhood in order to bring about social reconstruction by doing away with all artificial distinctions, based on birth,

caste, colour, sect or sex and that this ideal should be the creed of the Social Reform movement in India.

III. Social Unification.

That this Conference is strongly of opinion that the progress of the country in all directions depends upon perfect harmony and union among the various communities in India who form the bulk of the Indian population and urges upon the leaders of all the communities to inculcate into the minds of the people the spirit of mutual toleration and of 'give and take' in matters, social and religious, in order to achieve real social unification.

IV. Abolition of Caste.

That in the opinion of this Conference the caste system as it prevails in the Hindu community constitutes a serious obstacle to the growth of a sound social, political and industrial life and as such is antagonistic to a true national unity. This Conference, therefore, welcomes the efforts made by various castes to amalgamate the sub-castes but it urges upon all the Social Reform Associations in the country as also upon individual reformers the necessity of sustained endeavours to consciously adopt and persevere in a course of conduct calculated eventually to obliterate all caste distinctions.

V. Removal of Untouchability.

(1) That in the opinion of this Conference untouchability of the so-called depressed classes is a stigma on our society and therefore it very strongly exhorts each man and woman to make an earnest effort to completely remove the same by extending to them all civic rights and privileges.

(2) That this Conference further appeals to all the public bodies and institutions maintained on public funds to throw open their doors fully to the depressed classes and remove all traces of untouchability.

(3) That this Conference congratulates the last Bombay Legislative Council for passing a resolution recommending the removal of untouchability from public wells and Dharmshalas and congratulates especially Dr. Paranjpye on his admirable efforts for uplifting the depressed classes and removing untouchability from public schools.

VI. Social Evils.

(1) That this Conference takes this opportunity of heartily endorsing the action taken by the last Legislative Assembly in raising the age of consent to extra-marital connexion to eighteen years, and instructs its Secretaries to forward the considered opinion of this Conference to the hon'ble the Home Member.

(2) That this Conference welcomes the legislative measures against Prostitution taken in Burma, Bengal and Bombay, but considers that they fall short of the requirements of the situation.

(3) That this Conference urges the adoption of the general principle that to make money out of the vice of other people must be made a criminal offence, and believes that such adoption would cut at the root not only of Prostitution, but likewise of Gambling, Drunkenness, Drug addiction and all other vices which are now increasingly in process of being commercialized.

VII. Intercaste Marriages.

(1) That this Conference places on record its sense of thankfulness to Dr. H. S. Gour for his strenuous efforts in successfully piloting the special marriage bill through the Legislative Assembly and for having thus secured liberty of conscience to those who go in for intercaste marriage.

(2) That this Conference urges upon the members of the new Legislative Assembly to introduce another bill for validating intercaste marriage among Hindus who want to adhere to the existing Hindu marriage customs and want to maintain the present religious rites in the celebration of marriage.

VIII. Widow Remarriage.

That this Conference, while noting with satisfaction the growing sympathy of the general public for the cause of widow marriage and the increasing number of widow marriages in some of the castes in which widow marriage is prohibited by custom, expresses regret at the fact that the

actual progress of this cause is very slow and earnestly appeals to the educated classes to give up their indifference and apathy and strongly urges upon the Social Reformers the necessity of pushing forward this cause by opening a vigorous propaganda to remove the wrong notions about widow remarriages and to convince the public of the higher ideal of the married life.

IX. Abolition of Early Marriage.

That this Conference is of opinion that the minimum age of marriage for boys and girls should be respectively 21 and 18 and believes that the time has come to pass legislation preventing child-marriages, and therefore urges social reformers to educate public opinion and to agitate for securing suitable legislation to prevent child marriages.

X. Education of Women.

That this Conference records its satisfaction at the progress which the education of women in this country is making, though with varying rates in different provinces, and strongly urges upon the attention of the public, the legislative bodies and their responsible ministers the need for making strenuous efforts for the spread of education and general knowledge among women by means of regular schools, home classes, lectures &c. and has great pleasure in recording its appreciation of the useful work done by several institutions in this direction.

XI. The Uplift of Aborigines.

This Conference requests all social reformers to direct their attention to the social, economic and civic uplift of aboriginal forest and gipsy tribes, such as Bhils, Kaliparajs, Gonds, and Santals and start missions for such work.

XII. Women's Property Rights.

This Conference is of opinion that the rights and privileges of women should be enlarged and placed on a fair and equitable basis and suggests the early adoption of legislative measures in that behalf.

XIII. Direction of Charity.

That this Conference is of opinion that misdirected charity even though made in the name of religion is a demoralising factor of great seriousness and that public opinion must therefore, be systematically educated to alter the existing system, the objective of real charity being equipping the helpless to carry on the battle of life in a spirit of self-reliance. The Conference is further of opinion that in order to cultivate self-reliance, helpless people who really are the object of charity, should be taught domestic industries. It further considers that measures may be introduced to demand the regular publication of audited accounts and report of charitable institutions which are the creations of charitable trusts. It further considers that if necessary demand may be made eventually for legislation to this effect.

XIV. Franchise To Women.

This Conference is of opinion that since the removal of civic or social disabilities under which women labour can never fully be achieved as long as they are disfranchised, this Conference is of opinion that suffrage must be extended to women on the same conditions as to men.

XV. Infant welfare and Maternity Care.

This Conference, looking to the present rate of mortality that prevails amongst the infants of the country, which is not only high as compared with that in other civilised countries, but a great intrinsic loss to the future resources of the country, and which is attributable to causes which are to a great extent preventable, recommends that:—

(1) Steps may be taken in each province by the leading social workers, to establish Infant Welfare Centres and Maternity Clinics at important centres, with a view to afford relief and to educate public opinion on the all important questions of the proper rearing of infants and very young children and of maternity care;

(2) Steps may be taken to organise the work of training suitable women as mid-wives and nurses at the more important hospitals in each province so as to bring trained assistance in maternity cases and for nursing sick children within the easy reach of the general population, both rural and urban.

XVI. Abolition of Anti-social Customs and Practices.

This Conference protests emphatically against the continuance of such anti-social customs and practices, as wasteful wedding expenditure, dowry and purdah systems.

XVII. Appointment of Secretaries.

This Conference appoints Mr. G. K. Devadhar and Mr. D. G. Dalvi as Secretaries for the National Social Conference till the next Conference.

XVIII. Executive Committee.

This Conference resolves that an Executive Committee consisting of the President of the Conference, the Secretaries of this Conference and the General Secretaries of the National Conference together with the ladies and gentlemen mentioned below (names omitted) do constitute themselves the executive of the National Social Conference to carry on propaganda for social reform during the forthcoming year and to undertake to start a network of local organizations, to arrange meetings, and deputations &c., and to take such other steps as may be necessary in the interest of this work. It also further resolves that the Committee be empowered to collect the necessary funds for this work.

XIX. Abolition of Hereditary Services.

This Conference is of opinion that a Legislative measure providing for the abolition of hereditary services in villages be placed on the statute book as early as possible.

XX. Rural Improvement.

This Conference is of opinion that the cause of social reform has not made appreciable advance in rural parts, so as to bring them in a line with the advanced urban population for real progress. This Conference, therefore urges on Government and the people the need for adopting promptly suitable measures and for providing adequate facilities for the speedy improvement of these rural classes. This Conference, further exhorts people to attend to give their unstinted support for institutions which spread Primary Education, Village Libraries, Co-operation, Sanitation, Agriculture and Cottage Industries &c. in rural areas, and thus promote the social well-being of the masses.

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