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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE situation in Bengal is becoming daily more alarming. To date 72 persons have been arrested, and these include several persons who are universally regarded in the province as among the most devoted sons of Bengal, who cannot possibly have the remotest cannection with revolutionary orime. We daressy no one will have the temerity to treat the history of political outrages in recent years contained in the Bengal Government's notification as a pure concection. It must on the contrary be most disconcerting to all real well-wishers of the country. But the reliance the Bengal Government places on exceptional legislation and on the powers such legislation gives to the executive for the prevention of political crime is most pathetic. It seems to believe that everything would be for the best in the best of all possible worlds for Bengal if a law similar to the Defence of India Act, which -was in itself an exceptional measure designed in view of war conditions, were permanently on the statute book. No Government which conceived its duty of preserving order in the country in this light can safely be armed with powers which such legislation gives. If the Government trusts only to physical force to put down violence, the leaders of the Swaraj party are trying to exploit this situation to further their own sectional interests. All this is got up by Government to down the Swarajists with, they say, because the latter are daily growing more powerful and the Government is becoming afraid of them. However wrongheaded the Government may be, it has not yet -come to conceive such an entirely misplaced respect for the strength of the Swaraj party. In face of this grave situation all true lovers of the country must concert measures whereby a check will he put on the arbitrariness of Government and the

interests of the nation will be protected without letting any party make political capital out of the situation.

SIR CHIMANLAL SETALWAD supports the main demands of the advanced political parties in the country. He is clear that diarchy must go and that the executive of the Government of India must become responsible to the legislature to the extent that it may be practicable. The most interesting part, however, of his evidence is where he denounces the policy and practice of that pocket edition of Lord Curzon, Sir George Lloyd. This ex-satrap is doing great disservice to India in his retirement: and it is well that one of his trusted councillors should teach English politicians how exactly to appraise Sir George Lloyd's opinions. Sir Chimanial's personal authority is great; but It is the greater by reason of the fact that the bureaucracy have considered him worthy of their trust and patronage. Like all Liberals, he gave expression on all possible occasions to disapprobation of the N. C. O. movement. But unlike most Liberals, he refused to qualify his disapprobation by a personal laudation of the Mahatma, * .

THE Swarajists in the Bembay "Unpartiamentary" Council have undergone such a complete metamorphosis that, from the advocacy of unvaried obstruction of all meaeures of Government with which they started, they have now come to regard a description of their policy as one of parliamantary obstruction as nothing less than slander. On the Children's Protection Bill they moved many amendments of no consequence whatever, and their dilatory tactics so incensed an ardent reformer that in sheer vexation he styled them a party of obstructionists. Whereupon Mr. Jayakar rose, stung to the quick, as if his character was taken away from him, and asked whether it was not a travesty of their motives that, having come into the Councils for the one object of helping Government in doing right, they should be dubbed by their opponents as obstructionists. And he appealed to the President to save his party from such calumniatory remarks! The President too ruled the remark about "parliamentary obstruction" as "unparliamentary"! It is no wonder that the Swarajists regard Sig Ibrahim Rahimtoola as an "ideal" President, or as a "born" President, and that they are

willing to vote for this office a salary of Rs. 3000, without attaching any conditions as to his keeping aloof from private trade or party politics. But it is quite an unheard of decision for the President to make a member of a Legislature withdraw a remark about any person using obstructive tactics on the ground that it is unparliamentary, If these words imply calumny, there are no worse calumniators of the Swarajists than the Swarajists themselves, for at one time they gloried in that description and put it forward as their one qualification for being returned to the Councils. The sleotor was conceivably not without the glimmering of an idea that the Swarajists of whom Mr. Jayakar is the leader are compounded of different stuff from Mr. Das who only the other day took pride in the obstructionism of his party, but he could hardly have imagined that the Swarajists, even the Bombay Swarajists, would be so false to their principles as to resent their being styled " obstructionists" as defamatory of themselves.

AT last the much-advertised Rent
Poor Tenants: Restriction Bill of Mr. K. F.
Nariman (Bombay City) has ended

He encountered certain technical in smoke. difficulties at the outset: since he drafted his amending Bill the principal Act had already undergone changes, and therefore in order to effect the further alterations sought by this Bill, a new Bill which, if in substance the same, in form entirely different, would have to be moved in the Council. But these difficulties of procedure were by no means the most formidable : in fact, they seemed quite capable of being overcome by a little indulgence on the part of the Teasury benches. The real difficulty, however, was that the Swarajists, the largest single group in the Council, were apathetic, if not hostile to the Bill. The mover himself, in his opening remarks, could say no more of the support to be expected of the Swaraj party than that they desired to "consider" this matter and, if possible, mitigate the tenants' hardships without prejudicing the interests of the landlords. The mover said no less of the Government: they too (he said) were anxious to improve the lot of the tenants if they could do so without offending the far more influential landlord class. Indeed the Government announced their intention to introduce a more comprehensive Bill in the next session of the Council to this end and consequently urged Mr. Nariman to withdraw his own Bill. Mr. Nariman's brother-Swarajists (who thought it was a good riddance) and the President too (who, in this Council, does not confine himself to the giving of rulings, but also very obligingly tenders insistent advice) pressed him to accept the Government's offer and Mr. Nariman did accept it.

IT may seem at first sight that the swarelist apathy. mover adopted a not unwise course in withdrawing his own Bill on the prospect of a wider Bill being introduced by the Government, without whose support no private Bill could find its way to the statute book. But the Swarajists who were so frightfully anxious to persuade Mr. Nariman to abandon his Bill, acted in a very different way towards another

Swarajist Bill, which was moved immediately prior to this Bill. It was a Bill to make city municipalities wholly elected bodies and to widen their powers. The Minister for Local Self-Government announced upon a motion for leave to introduce the Bill that he had prepared, a year and half ago, a Bill which had already provided for many of the changes that the Swarajist Bill sought to effect. Further changes could be introduced by way of amendment to his Bill, but the Swarajists pressed for a division and carried their own motion for leave to introduce the Bill by a majority. Their indifference to the Rent Act Amendment Bill thus becomes quite apparent when contrasted with their attitude to the pravious Bill. Indeed, the opposition of the majority of the Swaraj party to Mr. Nariman's Bill was scarcely veiled, and so long as this is the position, it cannot after all be said that much is lost by the withdrawal of the Bill. However pronounced Mr. Nariman's own sympathies may be for the long-suffering tenant class, with the equally pro-nounced sympathies of the prominent Swarajists for the landlords' interests, the Government remains after all the best friend the tenants have in the present Council, and even if the Government Bill proves unsatisfactory, it must be remembered that Mr. Nariman's Bill, in its final form, would have been still worse. Indeed, the Government counts upon the leaders of the Swaraj party to whittle down the provisions conceived in the tenants' interesis, for Mr. Cowasji Jehangir expressed confidence that, with the help of the members opposite (here glancing at Mr. Jayakar), a measure could be hammered out which would harmonise the conflicting interests of the two classes concernedand we all know what this means. Mr. Cowasji's confidence is entirely justified. That is just the reason why Mr. Nariman's Bill had no chance of success in a Swarajist-ridden Council.

How catching is a bad example! As Unwise Request. The depressed classes of Malabar waited the other day in deputation on H. E. Lord Goschen, the new Governor of Madras, laid before him their fancied political disabilities and requested that they should be granted separate electorates like the Muhammadans. Lord Goschen had no difficulty in telling them that they were under no political disabilities whatever, that they possessed the franchise like other citizens, but that, recognising the backwardness of the community, the Government were in addition nominating its representatives in available numbers to the legislature and the local bodies. Regarding the request for separate electorates, he pointed out The grievance of the that it was most unwise. depressed classes had been that they were branded as an inferior community and considered unfit for association with the rest. If they were constituted into separate electorates, this inferiority would obtain legislative sanction and would be perpe-Their just demand for public wells, choultuated. tries and other institutions maintained or aided by the State being opened to them as much as to others, would be weakened: thereby. The proper remedy was not to accentuate the separation but to obliterate it by the community getting more educated and rising in the scale of lite. We hope the community will appreciate this excellent advice and not listen to the interested counsels of British reactionaries, who want to prevent the unification of the people of India and the growth of Indian nationality by widening existing communal differences.

MR. C. R. DAS AND HIS PROVINCE.

THE victous circle of political bungling has begun. Discontent not allayed in time and leading to violent crime, repression which will soon break through restraint and in its turn aggravate discontent and disorder, then slow-footed enquiry, begrudged justice and utterly inadequate concessions -this miserable sequence is about to be witnessed for the third time within a generation. When passion inflames the heart, how little do the lessons of history or experience avail! When the Non-co-operation movement was first launched, Calcutta lawyer who had dealt with many first class political cases argued with much penetration and persuasiveness that it would only end in failure and be followed by crime, and enforced his prognostication by a confession of Babu Aurobindo Ghose and his principal followers. Once again, what is the good of blaming ignorant people and impressionable youth? Here are statesmen breathing benign principles and claiming complacently to stand in the van of civilization, doing nothing while the danger is gathering head before their eyes, then professing to be taken aback by the impatience and lack of faith on the part of the people and then hurling the terrors of the law at their head half in panic, half in anger. The pity of the thing is, the just-minded man cannot blame any party in particular. The whole tragedy seems so natural and inevitable, he can only rail at Providence.

One must be prepared for writings and speeches absolutely denying the need of extraordinary measures on the part of Government and pretending that there was little secret organization and no political crime. But Mr. C. R. Das has provided the clearest and the most unambiguous justification for the campaign of repression that has just opened. Not to speak of his previous pronouncements, he said recently in a-Simla interview:--"A repressive campaign may soon be launched by Government. I foresee all that. But it will only make the task of reconciliation and peace still more difficult. Aiready anarchical crime is spreading. A campaign of repression will only drive more men into the arms of revolutionaries. Still he contemplates civil disobedience and declares, in contrast with the puny and pusillanimous Liberal party, his own adherence to that method. As to the consequences from which his unfortunate countrymen will have to suffer, he is quite clear that he cannot be held responsible. Herein he discloses a fundamental dissimilarity to the great leader under whose standard of nonviolence he is ranged all the time. "While Mr. Gandhi recognises how accountable he is for the miscarriage and suffering consequent on his political action, and fasts and prays in penitence, Mr. Das with amazing unconcern proclaims:—"Liberty to make dearer than life. I am pledged to nonviolent methods. But if in pursuit of such methods violence breaks out here and there on account of the criminal obstinacy of our rulers, I would I remarks we have not touched on the question of

rather have that than a continuance of the present system of Government. The responsibility for such violence would rest entirely on our rulers." After this brutally candid statement from the President of the All-India Swarajist party, Dr. Besant and the Liberals must be pardoned if they think twice before allying themselves with those who might dominate the re-united National Congress and determine its future course. In a long-continued struggle with a foreign bureaucracy, which strives to keep within the bounds of the constitution, but is now and then constrained to coquet with disloyalty and revolution, it is not given to any leader, however gifted, to know when his movement is at its height and compromise would be most advantageous. Not many months ago, the Swarajist leaders went about the country lamenting that Mr. Gandhi in the year 1921 allowed the golden moment to pass. Detached observers might say that a more tragic blunder was perpetrated by the Swarajists when they failed to reap the fruit of their defection from Mr. Gandhi's flag at the time when their party were in indisputable supremacy in the Central Provinces and in decisive strength in Delhi and in Calcutta. If only counsels of selfrestraint and forethought had prevailed among them!

Mr. Das betrays a like incapacity to realise his own share of blame when he accuses Mr. Baldwiff of amazing ignorance about the real condition of India. We should like to ask what efforts the Swarajists have made to present their actions in the proper light to the people of England. They destroyed the Congress organization in that country, loudly boasting that they would not spend a rupes of the meney of poor India in educating the Britisher. They fefused to send a deputation or any written representation unless it took the form of an unbalanced and defia ant resolution. The only part of the long and high-sounding interview that Mr. Das has given to the press which we can commend to our readers is that in which he admits his willingness to accept delay and stages in political reconstruction, provided the onward course were fixed beyond doubt and vaciliation by agreement between British and Indian statesmen. Whether this agreement takes the exact shape and lineaments of what is sometimes described as the Irish Treaty is a matter of small consequence. The great thing is for some representatives of the British Cabinet to meet chosen leaders of Indian political parties on a footing of honourable negotiation and hammer out, as Mr. Das says, "the gradual stages and other measures necessary to provide for the difficulties in the way of reaching the goal."

OPIUM POLICY. THE ANSWERER ANSWERED.

5. Domestic Consumption, In the foregoing

the "legitimate" use of opium, which expression, at the instance of the Government of India, was adopted by the League Assembly in 1921, instead of the elsewhere proposed terms "medical and scientific" use. This attitude on the part of India no doubt has for some time misled most Western people as to the real intentions of the Government of India and these misconceptions seem only to have been finally dispersed last year, when, as shown above, it had been proved that the insistence of India on exceptional treatment internally militated in no manner against a most punctilious observance of India's obligations externally.

Now as regards the internal consumption of opium in India, we have Mr. Andrews' testimony "that complete addiction, amounting to slavery to the vice of opium, cannot so quickly follow from eating raw opium as it can do from submitting to daily morphia injections, or daily inhaling heroin and it is an amazing fact that India has not given way to the vice more than is at present apparent" (p. 404)-and of course it is only the eating of raw opium which in India is "legitimate". As for its widespread use, there can be no doubt; as to its physiological effects, unfortunately, the question remains still quite controversial. For oursalves we are inclined to believe that the benefit of onium, just as of alcohol, is purely psychologiosi; i. e. as an anodyne.

But that hardly is the point; as regards the present policy of the Indian Government. The Government takes account of the fact that vast numbers of people in India look upon opium as a family medicine and not a few as a legitimate narcotic. The point really is not, whether objectively this opinion is correct, but that it is so widely and obstinately held, especially amongst the ignorant masses. The latter point is surely uncontested: the question therefore is, should the Government incur all the odium which a strict prohibition policy would entail and carry it through in the teeth of opposition; should it expose itself to all the dangers of a ruthless repression of illicit growing and smuggling in; should it be prepared to ride roughshod over the vested intorests so many Indian States have in this opium traffic?

Again, if ever there was an enlightened despotism, such policy would surely represent it: but does Mr. Andrews really advocate despotism, to make people virtuous? We can quite understand that politicians who believe in obstruction, in making Government in this country impossible, are eagerly shouting, "Away with all liquor and drugs": in the hopes of embarassing the Government still further and making it more and more unpopular. But what does Mr. Andrews do en telle galére?

All the domestic consumption of opium is in the hands of the Provincial Governments, nay more, is a "transferred subject." If public opinion in a province can be roused sufficiently, there is

therefore today already no reason whatever why a Provincial Government should not restrict opium eating; and if such successful agitation could only be made nationwide, why the Central Legislature should not eventually pass a law making all use of opium except for medical and scientific purposes an offence. Once that was done, no doubt the Indian representatives at Geneva would with alacrity withdraw their insistence on the international recognition of the legitimacy of opium esting inside India: but until that is done, is it thinkable, is it reasonable, is it right, that they should so withdraw it? Why then, in the name of common sense, balabour these rapresentatives and their Government today, when public ? opinion in India still is what for centuries it has been on this question, as if they were all moral lepers and mercenaries of Satan himself? Why call on the League of Nations to come and help the poor people of India, as if they were crying out to be delivered from the opium devil and were kept helplessly bound hand and foot by their alien Government? We have often had occasion to show that the present Government of India can no longer be relied upon to take the lead in matters of social reform: vide the recent raising of the age of consent which was carried by the popular Assembly against the Government. The maxim quieta non movere may not be a very lofty one, but it is a very understandable one for any Government, situated as precariously as is that of India. At all events, we see no sense in declaiming against it, when we ought to he better employed in rousing popular feeling, not against the Government, but against the opium evil itself. Once we have popular opinion on our side, it will be time enough to invelgh against Government, should it buttress the forces of opposition.

Indeed we have no reason whatsoever for anticipating Government opposition, once public opinion expressed itself strongly on this question and was prepared to meet the financial and other consequences of prohibition. On the contrary, even as conditions are at present, the amount of opium still considered necessary for India by the Government itself does by no means compare so very unfavourably with countries, where ex hypothesi opium is only used for medical and scientific uses—as the following figures will show which we have taken from "Estimates of present requirements communicated by Governments to the League of Nations" (O. D. C. 1. of July 22nd 1924.)

Country		Estimated avera	age requiremen n grammes.
Switzerland	444	430	1.2102
India	A++	615 41	
Poland	***	N	
Denmark	•••	***	. 0.8984
Austria		***	
Australia		***	
Finland	***	***	
Sweden	***	245 81	
Canada	***	518 10	
U.S.A.	414	***	. 0,5619 . 0, 542 6
Gt. Britain	***	100 10	, U.URSU

Nor doss a glance at the official figures of consumption of opium in British India for the last ten years leave one with the impression that the Government of India is not fully alive to the danger latent in this narcotic and either unwilling or incapable of reducing its volume, as far as present conditions admit:

Year 1913-14	12,771 Mds.	8514	Chests.
1914-15	12,281 "	8187	59
1915-16	10,496	6998	 31
1916-17	10,664 "	7109	, 59
1917-18	11,590 ,	7661	59
1918-19	10,920	7280	p2
1919-20	10,384	6923	51
1920-21	9,962	6709	**
1921-22	8,197	\$466	
1922-23	7.666	5111	"

(A chest for Excise consumption in India is equal to 123 3/7 lbs. whereas a chest for export is equal to 140 lbs.)

6. Conclusion. In conclusion may we say, how ungrateful a task it has been for us sharply to criticize so good a friend of India and of our own, as Mr. Andrews. But he no doubt will be the first to admit that amicus Andreas, magis amica verifas. And it is unfortunately not only that the truth in this particular case is patently running counter to the conclusions of our friend. It would seem to us specially needful, seeing the great weight that his representations carry both here and abroad, that he should not give the enemies of India a handle of dismissing all his pleas, by pointing to the falsity of any one of them. Particularly do we deplore the document which he has got (vide Young India of the 2nd inst.) both Mr. Gandhi and Dr. Tagore to sign and to forward to the Opium Conference meeting at Geneva next month, in which the Conference is "respectfully petitioned to adopt measures for total extirpation of the (Poppy) plants": the crudity of which plaint it will be unnecessary for us to go into after all we have said already. One can only say, that one blushes that it is to this sort of sorry propagandist claptrap, as to a manifesto to the whole world, that the two greatest living Indiana have put their names.

And we resent this so much just because we do not hold that the Government of India is incapable of betterment on this question any more than on any other. Its attitude is mainly negativeavoiding sins of commission: but we are the last to maintain that it is not guilty of any sins of omission. And by indicting them on points, on which they are quite guiltless, we only weaken our case, where it might be strong. As we have mentioned already, the Government of India is nowadays prone to leave social reform severely alone. It certainly has done nothing positive inside India to counteract the abuse of opium, by making its dangers widely known through schools, leaflets, its medical department, &c., &c.; it provides no alternative to the balagoli of the industrial women workers, by incisting on creokes, &c. in connection

with all factories; it has not attempted to tackle the colossal problem of medical aid in villages; it still obstinately takes its stand on the medical findings of the 1895 Commission, as if much of that evidence had not become quite out of date, and it has not yet agreed to a truly impartial and purely scientific enquiry into the physiological effects of opium eating, as practised in India—which surely remains the first desideratum.

But for all that and much more, we can really: not blame the Government for not taking the initiative in all these respects, without blaming ourselves still more. Just because we do not believe in ma bapism, we feel that it is Indian. public opinion, Indian public men, who must take that initiative, and we have not yet forgotten the Poons plague riots in the nineties to believe that the naked force alone of an alien Government canreform the habits of an ignorant and superstitious people. The task before democracy in India is stupendous, but, we firmly believe, attainable. To attain it, however, all the moral enlightened enthusiasm, that the nation is capable of, will be required. And it is just because we cannot afford to waste any of it, that we are 'so mortified when we discern any of it being misdirected; and it is because of that, that we have felt impelled to write, and to write so strongly—knowing full well that if there is at least one Indian leader who will appreciate our attitude, it is our friend C. F. Andrews.

CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES AND MALARIA.

ANTI-MALARIAL operations in India are not characterised by vigour or thoroughness and therefore have shown very little result. This is as much due to adequate funds not being provided as to the ignorance and apathy of the people. Malaria is a preventable disease and in India it is directly responsible for about 60 per cent. of all deaths. It is thus the greatest enemy of the country. But it will not yield until the health-conscience of the people is roused and they are induced to co-operate with one another and with the authorities in eradicating the scourge. How to rouse the health-conscience of the people, how to remove their ignorance and interest them in their own welfare, is the great problem. A very interesting method of doing so is being perfected in Bengal-and appropriately so because it is the most afflicted of Indian provinces—which deserves study and adoption at the hands of the other provinces. It is the co-operative method—the organisation of co-operative societies for the purpose of eradicating malaria.

The idea originated in Dr. G. C. Chatterjee who was formerly Assistant Bacteriologist to Bengal Government. In 1912 he started an "Anti-Malaria League," which after doing some propagandist work died of inantion. Then in 1918 he was able to organise three Co-operative Anti-Mallaria Societies in three villages which had been

decimated by an epidemic of malignant malaria. and to get them registered under the Co-operative Societies Act. At the first annual general meeting of these societies Dr. C. A. Bentley, Sanitary Commissioner of Bengal, was invited to be present. He was so impressed with the work of these societies and with the idea of promoting public health by means of co-operative societies, that he soon called a conference of medical men in Calcutta, who resolved to form themselves into a Central Co-operative Anti-Malaria Society "to devise and carry out measures based on co-operative principles for the eradication of malaria from Bengal." After the necessary formalities were gone through, the Society was registered and came into existence on the 5th July 1919.

"The object of the Society is to organise and create a network of Anti-Malaria and Public Health Societies on co-operative basis throughout the villages of Bengal. Each of these societies will be an autonomous body who will raise funds by subscriptions from amongst members and carry out its health project. The Central Society will act as an advisory body to these rural societies and shall never dictate anything to them, although it will finance them when it thinks desirable. It will place at their disposal the results of recent researches on Malaria, Kala-Azar, Cholera and other preventable diseases, carried out by the scientific men of the world and will also advise them on the methods most suitable and practicable for the complete eradication of preventable diseases prevalent in the country.

"It is neither a charitable society nor does it support a charity fed one. It tries its best to awaken the sanitary conscience of the people and the idea of self-help in matters of sanitation of their village. The main object of the Central Society is to stimulate the formation of as many rural Public Health Societies by active propaganda work as possible out of the funds at its disposal and it may render pecuniary help to them for some time in order to build their societies properly."

The Central Society is thus an organising society on the model of the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society, It, however, exercises less control and supervision than does the latter, because in India those functions are discharged by a Department of the State. Bengal possesses another and wider organising central society, the object of which is to organise co-operative societies of all kinds. If a special institution has been formed for organising public health societies, it is not because of any antagonism with the other institution, but in order that the organisation and needs of these societies may get all the attention that they require.

The organisation of rural Public Health Societies being the main object of the Central Society, let us see what its achievements has been so far. By February 1924, as many as 129 societies had been organised. In 1923—it is not clear from the report whether it is the calendar year or the

co-operative year 1922-23—the number of societies was 85, and in 1922 it was only 31. It is
thus clear that the movement is rapidly expanding. Of these 129 only 19 had been registered
under the Co-operative Societies Act: the Registrar very rightly insisting on the societies work—
ing satisfactorily for a considerable time before
extending to them the privilege of registration.
These 129 societies were distributed over 15 districts, but the majority of them were in four districts, the largest number, viz. 46, being in the
district of 24-Parganas.

Though the scope of a rural Public Health Society is wide enough to include all preventable diseases, its operations are directed mainly against malaria and Kala-Azar—the latter of which can be distinguished from the former only after very careful medical examination—and against cholers. The Anti-malarial measures which a society is required to carry out are:—

- (1) filling up ditches,
- (2) improving drainage,
- (3) preparing a map of stagnant pools and regularly kerosinating them by volunteers,
 - (4) clearing undergrowth in the village.
- (5) administering quinine to all malaria cases in the village, and
- (6) keeping the fever index of the village systematically.

In respect of Kala-Azar the duty of the society is to find out all cases and get them regularly treated, with a view to eradicating the disease from the village. To prevent an outbreak of cholera the society is to arrange for a tube-well or keep uncontaminated a tank from which drinking water may be drawn.

But perhaps the most important step which the society takes—with the help of the Central Society and in co-operation with neighbouring societiesfor the preservation of the health of its members is to provide a duly qualified medical practitioner on subsidy basis for a group of societies, whose duty it is not only to treat cases of illness but also to instruct the people in preventive methods, and to establish a co-operative dispensary in the village itself or within easy reach of it. The society will also arrange for the excavation of silted up tanks, canals, &c., and cultivate fish in them and will also bring under cultivation waste lands within the village in order to prevent insanitary growth of vegetation. It is a splendid programme which admirably combines the ideal with the practical. The main idea in giving subsidy—which is generally Rs. 50 per month—to a qualified medical man is to induce him to settle and practise in a rural area. He is not a servant of the Central Society or the local societies. He is not hampered by hard and fast regulations like medical men employed by the State, local bodies or charitable institutions. In addition to subsidy he gets free quarters. In return what is required of him is to treat at a concession rate families of the members of the public health societies within his range and rto treat all Kala-Azar cases coming to him free of charge. The medicine for the latter is supplied free by the co-operative dispensary.

From the printed report of a typical rural society we learn that in the official year May 1923-April 1924, it had 114 members on its rolls, each of whom paid a subscription of annas four per month. The total income during the year was about Rs. 372 and the expenditure about Rs. 310. During the greater part of the year it employed two or more coolies to cut down the growth of vegetation and completely filled upon two 'dobas' or ditches. From July to the end of November, fifteen volunteers regularly 'kerosinated' ditches containing stagnant water. They worked every Sunday, in batches of two one of them carrying the tin containing oil and the other the swab." The report speaks quite enthusiastically of the good result of kerosination: the prevalence of malaria -during the year under report was much less than usnal.

For organising public health societies and for -educating their members, the Central Society does a good deal of propaganda by means of magic lantern lectures, leaflets, &c. Its special features - are the employment of the bioscope and the stage. "The Provincial Health Cinema Co. have been appointed as bioscope operators to the Central Society and they have voluntarily offered to show the health and other films for our propoganda work in any part of Bengal free of all charges, for which our best thanks are due to them." For the estage a Bengali drama, entitled "Malaria, the Enemy of Bengal," and songs have been specially - composed. During the year under report 28 propagandist meetings, mostly with magic lantern or cinema shows were arranged, besides three big conferences one of which was of the medical profession held at Calcutta. The Society has also been conducting a monthly journal in Bengali from February this year.

In addition to these ordinary methods of propaganda the Society has organised three Emergency Brigades for meeting epidemic outbreaks:

- (1) The Emergency Anti-Malaria Brigade,
- (2) The Anti-Kala-Azar Brigade and
- (3) The Emergency Anti-Cholera Brigade. These are manned by volunteers who are either fully qualified medical men or senior medical students. After one of these Brigades has been to a village and arrested an epidemic, a public health society is usually organised.

An idea of the work done by the Anti-Malaria Brigade and the need for it, may be gathered from what took place in two closely situated villages only 8 miles from Howrah town. An epidemic of malignant malaria broke out there in September last year, and in the course of a month and a half no fewer than 143 persons out of a total population of 700, or more than 20 per cent, died after suffering from malaria from 2 to 15 days. "The panic was so great that the villagers did not dare to carry the dead bodies to the

burning ghat and these were left to be devoured by jackals and parish dogs." The Central Society got information of this through one of its public health societies and immediately decided to send its Anti-Malaria Brigade. The Health Department also co-operated. The Brigade went there and pitched its mosquito-proof tent, examined the blood of every patient and by intensive treatment brought down the daily death-rate from 7 to nil in the course of one week!

At the time of writing the report the Society had in all 41 anti-malaria centres. Of these, 38 were in villages and 3 in Calcutta. Of the former, 24 were managed by resident medical officers and 14 by medical volunteers going twice a week from Calcutta. In the calendar year 1923, the number of patients treated for malaria in these centres was 12,619. At the same time 6,367 patients were treated for Kala-Azar. Two centres between them had more than 2500 Kala-Azar patients, which shows how dreadful the disease is in some villages. The Society is very strongly supported by the medical profession. Not only do the majority of its members belong to the profession, but it has also enrolled about 130 medical volunteers, at least half of whom are fully qualified practitioners, the rest being senior medical students. Among the public bodies that are heartily co-operating with it are local boards and municipalities, the Public Health Department of Bengal, the Viswa Bharati and the Ram Krishna Mission. One is glad to know that it is having good financial support. Earl Ronaldshay gave it a munificient donation of Rs. 10,000. It receives a grant from Government, which in 1921 and 1922 was Rs. 5,000 and in 1923, Rs. 10,000. The District Board of 24-Parganas has shown its appreciation of its work by giving it a grant for 1923 of Rs. 5,000. Its financial position being thus secure its work is now rapidly expanding. May it prosper long and queceed in rooting out malaria from Bengal ! ...

A MISHANDLED DEPARTMENT. .

THE working of the Bombay Development Department was subjected to a searching examination during the last session of the Bombay Legislative Council in the course of a protracted debate over Mr. Nariman's motion for a Committee of inquiry into the same. It is of course true that the operations of the Department have been from the very beginning viewed with a certain amount of suspicion by the public. The novel character of the undertaking, the extravagance in expenditure inseparable from such ventures, and the general belief that such works provide golden opportunities for some people to get rich, by not altogether fair means, at the cost of the poor taxpayer—these and similar considerations were parhaps responsible for prejudicing the public against it. That even independent expect opinion was not free from sharing these suspicions only served to confirm the popular belief. The new

Department when created, came to be classed as a "Reserved" one and was administered under the personal supervision of the late Governor, Sir George Lloyd, whose autocratic methods have recently been exposed before the Reforms Enquiry Committee by Sir Chimanlal Setalvad. These factors also added to its unpopularity. The class of rack-renting landlords was in the nature of things bound to be unfriendly to it; but even the general public, though not believing all that was said about the Department, looked with suspicious eyes at its operations. It would perhaps have been better if the administration of the Department had been entrusted to a popular Minister rather than to an irresponsible Member of Government. A proposal to this effect was brought forward in the very first business session of the Reformed Legislative Council by Dewan Bahadur Godbole, who, as an engineer of varied experience and long standing, may be expected to appreciate the difficulties of officers in charge of such works. The Government, however, opposed his proposal, not on the ground of its unpractical nature, but on that of expediency. "I have pointed out", said Sir Chimanial Setalvad, the then General Member. that as the law stands, this is a reserved department and no useful purpose will be served if we begin to attempt at this stage to obtain a change of the law." He also pointed out that the Ministers, having had their hands already too full, could not undertake this additional burden. Sir Chimanial evidently lost sight of the fact that the Governor, if he so chose, could, with the approval of the Legislative Council, appoint an additional Minister and place him in charge of the Department.

Speaking a few months later on some Government demands for supplementary grants for the Development Directorate, Dewan Bahadur Godbole said:—

"I want that the Council should have firm figures before they make further allotments. For every part of this Development scheme, we should have proper estimates in our hands and against these estimates, the Development Department should ask for grants........What I object to is that the Department are coming to the Council and asking for a free cheque without any estimates."

He further declared:

"I may say to this Council that the general feeling of the public is that this Development Directorate is overofficered."

Neither Sir Lawless Hepper, the Director, nor Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, the Member in charge, both of whom took part in the debate, attempted a reply to the latter complaint; while about the former, no categorical denial was forthcoming. The Director's remark that "the estimates are now practically ready," showed that the public suspicion to which Dewan Bahadur Godbole was giving expression had foundation in fact. We do not wish to suggest that things have not improved since then; but merely want to point out that the fear that all was not well with the department was shared as much by the man in the street as by people who understood something of the business.

During the recent debate, the Director tried to answer the charge about the costly character of the establishment. He quoted some figures to prove that the proportion of the establishment charges to the total expenditure on the works was far from excessive. Not having the expert knowledge, it is not for us to pronounce any opinion on the point. We are afraid, however, that the Director missed the real point. What is wanted is not the kind of explanation he gave, but an unambiguous assurance that individual officers serving in the Department are not paid excessively and that in making appointments, there has been no patronage. During the last session of the Council and also on a former occasion, a statement giving the present salaries of the members of the staff of the Department along with those they used to draw prior to joining the Directorate was laid on the table. Even a cursory look at this paper shows that the increases in some cases had mounted up as high as 100 p. c. l Let us take the case of the Director himself. As Agent of the G. I. P. Railway, he was getting Rs. 4,000; while as Director with his monthly salary of Rs. 6,000 he is the best paid public servant, next only to the Governor and is in fact better raid even than the General Member who is supposed to be his superior. But in fairness to him it must be admitted that his is by no means the worst case. There are officers, who on their appointment to the Department, had their salaries doubled! The Director would have done well if he had given some satisfactory explanation on this point.

The public believe, and not without reason, that the claims of Indianisation, especially in the superior grades of its service, do not receive proper attention at the hands of the Directorate. For we find from a statement supplied to the Council that out of a total of 25 officers drawing a salary of Rs. 1000 and above per month, only four are Indians. This works out at 16 p. c. While even in regard to the important security services the Lee Commission is prepared to go up to 50 p. c. Indianisation, the Directorate evidently feels it cannot safely go beyond 15 p. c. And in this connection, the significant fact ought not to be overlooked that before filling them, some of the posts were not even advertised. Therefors the Department has been criticised as preferring Europeans of inferior qualifications to Indian of superior qualifications. It is strange that while the Directorate does not scruple to spend large sums in advertising its operations in foreign countries, it should stint money for advertising the posts in India with a view to attract the best possible indigenous talent. The result will be that all this experience, which will cost so much to the country, will be lost to it.

In other respects, too, the Directorate does not seem to have paid too careful a regard to the tax-payer's money. Take, for instance, its cement contracts. The losses on this account.

during the last two seasons have admittedly amounted to five lakes of rupees. In other words, as stated in reply to a question during the last legislative session, it had to pay for its cement supplies, 12½ p. c. more than the market rate. We do not deny the existence of extenuating circumstances; but the fact remains that the cement purchases of the Directorate did cost the taxpaper more than they should have.

Or, take again the commission of 11 p. c. charged by Messrs. Meik and Buchanan, the consulting engineers of the Department in England on the purchase of the firedger "Kalu", which transaction was in the course of the debate rightly haraoterised as a "scandal." The machine in question was not purchased from any commercial or business firm in India but from the Board of Munitions; and cost the Directorate a little over Rs. 7% lakhs. The firm of consulting engineers had nothing whatever to do with the transaction, the machine not having been so much as inspected by them; and yet was allowed to pocket its 11/2 p. c. What is more, the dredger reached the Directorate in an unfit and unserviceable condition; and though the purchase is several menths old, the machine has yet to begin to work, which it is expected to do next month. Can anybody say that the characterisation of the transaction was too strong? It may be it was a liability which could not be avoided. But what we should like to know is whether the Directorate made any serious attempt to dissuade the firm from charging its commission, and if so, with what success.

Apart from all this, the Audit Report for 1922-23 has also brought several irregularities connected with the Department to public notice. To take only one such irregularity:—

Insufficient attention to financial interests:—While submitting certain revised estimates for the sanction of Government, a superintending engineer reported in one case the excess was due to collapse of a structure already built. A further enquiry into the matter brought to light the following facts:—

- I. The collapse was due to carelessness and neglect of the Assistant Engineer in charge, as (a) excavation was carried out for foundations without regard to the nature of the soil, (b) the maximum amount of excavation was one foot only and there were only six inches of lime concrete underneath the walls, (c) the plinth masonary was built in mud instead of in itme.
- II. The work was not supervised by any senior officer, as there was no executive engineer and the superintending engineer in charge of the Division considered that a senior assistant engineer should be able to carry out the construction of ordinary bungalows without senior supervision.

III. The extra cost to Government was about Rs. 4000. It may also be noted that the Accountant-General has placed under objection a sum amounting to a little over Rs. 7 lakes out of the expenses of the Department for 1922-23.

There is thus no doubt that these and similar happenings call for an inquiry into the whole working of the Department. Indeed, one would have thought that after all these disclosures the Government would have welcomed such a pro-

posal as much in their own as in the public interest. But far from doing that, they strenuously opposed it and have by their action strengthened the impression that there is something about the Department which must be kept back. True, as pointed out by the Hon. Mr. Cowa-ji Jehangir, the General Member, they have already set up a Committee. But its business is merely to give advice which may or may not be accepted, and not to inquire into the working of the Department. A most representative character was claimed for this Committee on behalf of Government; but in view of the fact that the most representative body in the province, viz. the Legislative Council, was not regularly represented on it, one fails to see how the claim could be justified. We wish Mr. Jayakar's proposal to include in the Committee four or five representatives of the Council had been accepted with good grace. But the General Member in his reply practically said nothing about it, opposed the resolution and came forward rather too late to give an assurance that he would tryhis best to meet the wishes of the Council. It is to be hoped the assurance will be translated into action without avoidable delay.

D. V. AMBEKAR.

SOME SUGGESTIONS REGARDING CONSTI-TUTIONAL REFORMS.

I

1. THE first point I should emphasise is that every attempt to work out a satisfactory popular constitution is bound to fail unless it can count upon a desire on the part of the people to work it. The most perfect constitution can easily be rendered unworkable if the people are determined not to work it. The deadlock which we find in Bengal could as easily, and more perfectly be reproduced in England, if only the people were in a mood to create a deadlock.

No new measure of reform should, therefore, be introduced, except with such complete concurrence of the representatives of the people, as would ensure for it a substantial acceptance by the people. If no such scheme can be found, the status quo should be maintained, rather than, launching another futile experiment.

The most useful function, therefore, that the Reforms Enquiry Committee can discharge is to formulate a tentative scheme which may be the basis for discussion in the various Legislative Councils and in the Assembly. I should put more faith in such discussion than in any round table conference. If it is possible to secure a reasonable amount of general support for some scheme, it should be put into effect. If no such support is available, nothing should be done. Because to launch another unpopular measure would be to invite fresh failures.

2. Personally, I consider the present Dyarchical system extremely unsatisfactory. The arguments usually advanced against it do not seem to carry much weight. I have a somewhat close personal knowledge of the working of the system only in my Province, where the administration of the past three years and a half has been a dismal failure. The reason of the failure, however, was more the inefficiency of the Ministers than the defects of the system. If the Ministers had a knowledge of their business, and gone about it in the right spirit, it is possible that they would, sconer or later, have been up against some defect or other in the system. But that stage was never reached. The Ministers had no imagination; they had very elementary ideas of administration, and they did not know the proper place of the Ministers.

The last Ministry in Bengal had a solid and reliable majority in the Council at their back. Yet they achieved nothing. They brought forward no practical scheme for improvement of the administration, and they went to country at the General Elections without the ghost of a programme. The fact is that they went into office without ever having thought about what they were going to do, and spent their time in office in inefficiently fumbling at this thing and that. There were schemes, no doubt, in the heads of the Ministers, but they never had faith in them, and were not prepared to go to all lengths for carrying out their programmes.

Their most futile plea has been want of funds. That was a situation created by themselves. Bengal started with an opening balance of one orore and twenty lakhs, a great part of which consisted of earmarked grants by the Government of India to the old Government for purposes within the purview of the transferred departments. The first budget of the New Government swallowed up all this to balance the budget for current expenditure. If the Ministers had known their business, they would have insisted on and pressed with a threat of resignation, a demand for keeping this amount intact against improvement schemes for the transferred departments, and advised fresh taxation, without which, no permanently balanced budget could possibly be made. They did not do so. They acquiesced in the disappearance of this fund because they were afraid to face the Council with taxation proposals, and, worse still, because they had puerile dreams of relief from the Government of India, which no sensible man could have thought possible. At any rate, no one with any claims to statesmanship, would have framed a policy on the basis of such uncertain chances.

Another reason why the Ministry failed in Bengal was the unsatisfactory relations with the permanent officers of their Departments. There have been faults of these officers, but there was also fault to be found with the Ministers themselves. The Bengal Ministers wanted to transact every minute detail of the administration, such as transfers and postings of officials, detailed grants to institutions and Departments, etc. Herein they misunderstood their functions. A Minister's duty is to lay down policies, and watch the administra-

tion of the Department as a whole. For detailed work he has to trust the permanent official. Without such trust the administration is bound to go to pieces—as it did in Bengal.

The failure of the Bengal Ministry in the last Council is, therefore, no argument against dyarchy. Nor is the failure of the Huq-Ghaznavi Ministry any evidence against dyarchy. There were two elements operating to bring down this Ministry. On the one hand, there was a Party pledged to make administration impossible, and on the other, there was the personal unpopularity of the two Ministers. These factors would bring down Ministries under the best conceivable systems.

But the real argument against dyarchy is to be found in the fact that it divides the Government against itself. I may here point out that to call the present system dyarchy is a misnomer—heptarchy would be nearer the truth. The Ministers do not form a solidary body, but each is completely independent of the others. There is sometimes nothing in common between the various Ministers and the Executive Council.

In the course of the administration, questions are constantly oropping up in which the interests of one Department clash with the interests of another. In a solidary administration, run by a number of persons pledged to a common programme, these matters are always decided with reference to the interests of the administration as a whole. But the present system is bound to promote the consideration by each member of the Government of the interest of his Department above that of the whole administration. This may be carried to great lengths, and though in the past three years in Bengal such inter-departmental jealousies have been kept under check by a spirit of reasonableness, and occasionally by the personal influence of the Governor, it is quite conceivable that these may go so far as to create an internal deadlock in the administration, at least as pernicious as the deadlook created by the Council.

One of the first principles of efficient executive administration by more than one person is that there should be joint responsibility of the Departmental heads. That alone can secure that mental attitude on the part of each, which would subordinate the interest of a Department to that of the administration as a whole.

Whatever scheme is accepted should therefore secure this joint responsibility. The simplest means to secure this is to make all Departments transferred, and to appoint Ministers on the nomination of a Chief Minister.

Even if that is not agreed to. I think it would be possible to secure a certain measure of solidarity and joint responsibility if.

- (1) Ministers are appointed on the recommendation of a Chief Minister, and
- (2) Members of the Executive Council are appointed from a panel of names submitted by the Chief Minister, subject to the usual limitations.

with regard to classes from which the members should be chosen.

In either scheme, all matters affecting more than one Department should be decided at joint meetings. Serious differences would lead to resignation and dissolution of the Government.

The second alternative suggested above will not be very satisfactory, but it will be better than the present system.

3. If complete self-government is granted to the Province, the interest of the permanent services could be easily secured by reservations in the Act itself, and also by the personal oversight of the Governor. Their salaries may be protected by statutory non-votable grants.

Provision may also be made against serious deadlocks, and for the maintenance of law and order by the retaining in the hands of the Secretary of State a power to suspend the Constitution, to be exercised only in grave emergencies.

I am not simple-minded enough, like Sir Provas Mitter, to believe that all earthly ills, including anarchical crimes, would disappear if and when complete Provincial Autonomy is established. On the contrary, my forecast is that our troubles with revolutionary propaganda will only begin So long when complete autonomy is established. as there is a common object of antipathy like the present bureaucracy, all persons could easily agree to make that responsible for all earthly ills. When the bureaucracy is removed, people who pull sundrywise, will realise the intensity of their differences and these differences will lead to atruggle. In France and in Russia the removal of the King or the Emperor was a comparatively It was after the autocrat was gone that easy job. party strifes grew up in all their intensity, and revolution after revolution followed. The story will be the same in India, and we have to face the fact, wish what we may. A revolution will come before India attains to real stable freedom. It may not be directed against British rule, if a steady and honest effort towards grant of self-government is made. But it will most assuredly raise its head against the ruling class of autonomous India. We can only hope that it will have a constructive rather than a destructive effect.

I am under no illusions either about the effects of the grant of full autonomy to the Provinces. It will not lead to the immediate improvement of the administration, and will certainly not dispel all discontent by a sort of magic. On the contrary, it will lead to an immediate deterioration, and possibly, some measure of confusion. We must, however, squarely and courageously face the possibility, or rather, the certainty. Before we can rise to efficient self-government, we must bargain for a speli of bad government, for the rule of undesirables, and even for oppression of the people. It is only through such schooling that the people will acquire self-consciousness and the will to self-rule. For this reason, I have never found very serious cause for grumbling in some of those unsatisfactory features of the present day Council Government—features which have made Sir Provas Mitter, Mr. Fazlul Huq and Mr. Ghaznavi so furious. They must have been political babies if they did not foresee that the wholly untaught electorate was very likely to elect unwisely, and that the members elected to Councils so unwisely were likely to act unwisely, and even wickedly. Alt that was part of the game, and if people did not foresee these evils, so much the worse for their foresight and statesmanship.

The Reforms Enquiry Committee will be engaged in a wild goose chase if it seeks to find out something which will eliminate all possibility of such abuse. The only way to meet abuses of this kind is to give them time enough to run their wild course.

To the politically wise no part of the investigations of the Committee is likely to be more mirth provoking than anxiety to keep the Swarajya party out, displayed in the conversations with some of the witnesses. If the Swarajist becomes a nuisance, the only way to keep him out is to educate the electorate. Those who think differently have to organise themselves and fight them on the hustings on a definite understandable programme. They may fail once, twice, or thrice, but they will conquer some day if truth is on their side and if they have strength, energy, and sacrifice to back them. There is no other way. To get round them by the back door would be unrighteous, undemocratic, and absolutely futile.

When I am thinking of providing for great emergencies, I am not considering contingencies like those that have yet arisen, but only very grave occasions as when a Revolution is threatened, or administration is brought to an absolute standstill. Such an emergency has not arisen yet, for instance, in Bengal. If only the Governor had been better advised, the situation which has now arisen, would not have existed. If the Governor and the Ministers had not gone out of their way to make unwise speeches, and to lay down principles constitutionally unsound, then, even with their poor choice of Ministers, the Government would have carried on for this year, at any rate. If the Ministry had resigned, as they ought to have done, upon the first adverse vote against them, a stable Ministry could have been formed. Even now the Governor has not exhausted the possibilities of forming a stable Government.

In cases of real emergency of a far different character, I should provide for a power to suspend the Constitution for not longer than two years at a time. In normal circumstances, I should deprecate interference with the acts of the Legislature, simply because they may be wrong or unwise. Real responsibility can only develop where there is freedom to do wrong as well as to do right. In ordinary cases of differences between the Governor and the Legislature, therefore, there should be no power of certification. But I should suggest these alternative methods of checking the acts of the Council:

- (1) The Governor may call upon the Council to reconsider any question on which he disagrees with the Council. This would eliminate the possibility of harm being done by snatch votes, or by ill-considered decisions of the Council.
- (2) The Legislative Assembly may exercise a revisional power where the Governor disagrees from the Legislative Council, and,
- (3) There may be a referendum at the instance of the Governor.

The existence of these safeguards would reduce the chances of rash legislation, and I think these would be more-effective than arresponsive and dilatory permanent Second Chamber which would either prove itself ineffective and redundant or, if it interferes too readily with the decisions of the Council, it would soon be met by a storm of opposition, and worse deadlocks would follow.

N. C. SEN-GUPTA.

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