

Servant of India

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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

A Sombre Outlook. THE repercussions abroad which we feared from the recent British elections are gradually becoming manifest. The Conservative landslide in Great Britain has been followed by a Conservative landslide in the United States and Mr. Calvin Coolidge and his associates have now got the field there free for themselves for four years to come. In France M. Millerand has been so struck by the success of the British manoeuvre of bringing about this conservative landslide by the simple expedient of an Anti-soviet stunt, that he is actively engaged in copying his illustrious example in its minutest details. Meanwhile Mr. Baldwin has formed his cabinet—and if the one he formed last year was conspicuous for nothing so much as for its drab mediocrity, the present one fairly dazzles by the brilliance of its individual members. Only a year ago Mr. Churchill could put it as a rhetorical question—"But can Labour Govern?" Today he and his friends are anxious for nothing so much as to prove, that, brilliantly as Labour has governed, the Conservatives can govern still more brilliantly. Hence the key-note of the new Government is to prove what "progressive" fellows they all are: why, they are even going to include a woman in their Government! Could Progressivism go further? And Lord Birkenhead is going out to India at once, to see for himself and decide on a new Indian policy then and there: could anything be more businesslike? So there will be plenty of energy and plenty of brains to direct the energy: of that there can be no doubt. But towards what policy will all this brilliance of Churchills and Birkenheads and Chamberlains be directed? "Efficiency" and "the good of the State" will be the supreme, the sole, criteria: of that also there can be no doubt. It is the old Tilak-Gokhale antithesis, this antithesis of Birkenhead-Churchill and MacDonald-Olivier: for the one nothing greater than the Nation, for the other nothing than Humanity and justice; for the one expediency, for the other principle; for the one efficiency and damn the methods, for the other personality and no end justifying the means. Right because successful—or successful because right?

For an India, unable to plead success, but only her right, the outlook, for all the brilliance of the men in power, is a sombre one indeed.

The Calcutta Pact. THE statement issued jointly in the names of Gandhi, Das and Nehru only serves to confirm the suspicion that must have haunted many people for the last two years that whenever proposals are afoot for bringing about unity of all parties in the country, what is really meant is unity between the two sections of the non-co-operation party in the Congress. Other parties which do not nominally swear by non-co-operation are also no doubt, as a matter of form, appealed to to make a common cause but the conviction forces itself upon them that when once a compact is arrived at between the two factions of non-co-operators, it is held a matter of no moment by the latter whether others come in or not. The "Leaders' Manifesto" makes this clear beyond question. It recommends that "the Congress should further resolve that different classes of work of the Congress may be done as may be found necessary by different sections within the Congress" and therefore proceeds to suggest that political work of the Congress be assigned to the Swarajists and non-political work to the No-Changers. This would be a very equitable distribution of work if the Congress were intended to be limited to these two categories of public workers. The No-Changers have found that non-co-operation is dead beyond recall and they cannot conscientiously take to any other political method. The Swarajists on the other hand have little enthusiasm for the so-called "Constructive Programme," which has now become synonymous with hand-spinning. Then why not allot to each of these two groups just what it likes? The soundness of this division of national work would be quite apparent if it were not claimed that the object aimed at was to restore the Congress to a unity not only of the two fragments of the N.-C.-O. party but of all other parties as well. This one term in the Treaty of Peace, however, makes it plain that this claim is a hollow pretence.

Moral Objection. AS between the two parties to the compact, it is clear that Gandhians have given way all along the line. By recognising the Swarajists as the accredited agents of the Congress in the legislatures, they have made themselves indirectly responsible for work which they have consistently held to be inconsonant with and opposed to the principle of non-co-operation. They have therefore not only agreed to the suspension of N.-C.-O. (aptly called by the Hindu "the elimination of its attenuated shadow") but have compromised with evil by countenancing co-operation in others. And the sinfulness of this compromise is much aggravated by their countenancing the worse rather than the—to them confessedly—better form of co-operation. Nor has the Gandhian party showed a more steadfast regard for principle by relaxing the condition either about hand-spinning

or the wearing of Khaddar as it has done. The objection to hand-spinning as a qualification for franchise was a moral one. The objection is put at its strongest by Mr. Stokes in his letter published in last week's *Young India*. He perhaps agrees that hand-spinning is a "necessity of national existence," which is the justification put forward by Mahatma Gandhi for the franchise, though there are few others who do so. But even so Mr. Stokes declares that, good as spinning may be as an act of voluntary self-discipline, "to impose it upon those who do not believe in it as the door of admission to participation in the common national endeavour is to render it positively harmful." "And rather than accept such a principle," he says, "I should feel compelled to stay outside the Congress." "Though there might be a distinct economic value in compelling all Indians to spin, the moral value of spinning or of any other act of self-discipline for an ideal should be nil, even if all Indians spun subject to whatever form of compulsion."

* * *

Vicarious Toil.

THE force of this moral objection is not lessened by transferring the compulsion from the person who seeks the franchise to a wage-slave employed to do work which is *infra dig* to our Congressman. The spinning franchise is claimed to be superior to a monetary qualification on the ground that the former imposes, unlike the latter, a personal obligation upon the individual who desires to be enrolled in the Congress. What happens to this claim if now the obligation can be discharged by a deputy, and one is allowed "to enjoy the fruits of vicarious toil," as the *Hindu* says? The relaxation of the other condition is also equally stultifying. One must wear Khaddar, to be entitled to the privileges of Congress membership,—not on all occasions, but at Congress functions and while doing Congress business. It only remains now to relax the remaining condition by providing that if one who seeks to be admitted to the Congress is himself under the age of 18, he should make the application in company with another whose age added to his own should be at least twice 18. Absurdity could not go farther.

* * *

South Indian Flood Relief.

FROM the extracts which we have published elsewhere from an interim report of the flood relief work of the Servants of India Society and the Y. M. C. A., the reader will see how carefully the money entrusted to them is being spent. The main item in the programme of relief is help in rebuilding houses—huts rather. On an average the assistance given does not amount even to Rs. 10 per family. Small as the amount is, it is however, not to be despised, as it goes a considerable way in supplying the materials required for the humble dwellings of the poor. Wherever possible co-operative societies have been utilised for obtaining and distributing materials and also for the supervision of construction. In some cases special housing societies have been organised, the share capital required for obtaining the initial loan being supplied by the relief fund. Mr. Devadhar, who recently visited all the centres of work of this agency, emphasised at a public meeting in Madras the fact that there was perfect harmony between the various agencies and that there was no overlapping or wastage. He said that while there was no need for additional workers there was however need for additional funds: the housing requirements of Malabar, which has been the worst sufferer—and nothing has so far been done for North Malabar by anyone—will alone want about Rs. 50,000, and a like amount is wanted for the other districts. Of course everywhere the non-official aid

will be only supplementary to the aid which the people have a right to get from Government. As Mr. Devadhar has acknowledged with great pleasure, the poorest of the poor have contributed substantially to the relief fund through house to house, church and school collections. If the additional funds asked for be forthcoming, everyone can have the satisfaction that practically all who needed relief were given it.

* * *

A Travancore Jatha. THE people of Travancore are to be congratulated on having organised a jatha of caste Hindus, who are walking all the way from Vaikom to Trivandrum, in order to present a petition to Her Highness the Maharani Regent to throw open all public roads irrespective of custom to the untouchable castes. The latter have an indefeasible right to those roads and we have often urged the Travancore Government to set aside custom and recognise what is the natural right of all human beings. But the Durbar has been nervous of the opposition of caste Hindus and has remained unmoved by all the appeals made to its sense of duty and justice, including the movement of Satyagraha practised at Vaikom. Nothing is better calculated to rouse the civic and social conscience of the orthodox Hindus than this march of a jatha, not of the classes who are under disability, but of the caste Hindus. The jatha will not only rouse the curiosity of the people of the villages and towns by which it passes, but its leaders will address meetings and collect signatures from persons who are in favour of the rights of the oppressed classes being recognised by the State. The march has already proved wonderfully successful. Whole villages and towns are turning out to welcome the jatha and are receiving it with every mark of respect and approval. By the time it reaches Trivandrum it will have gathered behind it an amount of support from caste Hindus which will make it very difficult for the Durbar any longer to say that they are opposed to justice being done to their brethren of lower castes.

* * *

Diarchy in Bombay. SIR George Lloyd has attempted an answer to the indictment brought by Sir C. Setalvad against him. Not having the full text of the latter's memorandum, apparently he does not know what the counts in the charge are. The accusation is not so much that the former Governor violated the constitution. This he could not have done and the Ministers would certainly have not allowed him to do. But he broke the constitution in spirit by just managing to observe the letter. Against this state of things the Ministers had no remedy. The collective responsibility of Ministers which the Montagu constitution undoubtedly intended to introduce, was imperfectly provided for in the Act, and as Dr. Paranjpye observed in December last at the Liberal Federation, it was decided "after a reference to the highest legal authority in England that the Ministers have no joint responsibility, but that they are to work singly with the Governor." As to joint consultations of the entire Cabinet, Sir Chimanlal's point was not that meetings of the Cabinet were not held, but that the necessary papers not being supplied to Ministers, the latter could not take a useful part in the deliberations. This Sir G. Lloyd has not denied. It must not be supposed, however, from this controversy that the Ministers of Sir George Lloyd weakly allowed encroachments to be made upon their privileges without protest. After the ruling from the law officers of the Crown, they could not have insisted formally upon collective responsibility. But they did

the next best thing: they admitted their colleagues into intimate consultation on all transferred departments and voluntarily held themselves jointly responsible for the policy of individual Ministers. They did not allow themselves to be over-ruled on any important matter of principle. But they had to struggle against odds. And, as Sir Chimanlal acknowledges, "by firmness and with the ultimate weapon of resignation in the background, they fairly succeeded in giving effect to their own policy in the administration." The point, however, remains that Sir George Lloyd did his best to hinder the work of the Ministers and did not give an honest trial to Jachyry.

* * *

The Find. GOVERNMENT are anxious to convince the public that the passing of the new Bengal Ordinance was forced on them by an intimate knowledge of the doings of the terrorists soand that the most care would be taken to use the measure only against the really guilty. One may gauge the value of this declaration by applying it to their *coup de main*. In all the extensive house-searches that were made soon after the promulgation of the Ordinance, as the *Bengalee* points out, "Not a single revolver or cartridge, not an ounce of chemicals for the manufacture of explosives, nothing indeed of any nature that could support the theory of the growth of factories for the making of deadly shells, or the existence of any real organisation for carrying on a campaign of secret murders and assassinations has been discovered." Only what is said to be some revolutionary literature has been found. The find does not prove either that the Ordinance was urgently called for, or "that the Government were particularly well informed about the doings of the terrorists or that they could be trusted to apply the Ordinance only in deserving cases.

* * *

A Correction. TWO days ago we received a letter dated October 10th, 1924, from the Secretary of "The White Cross", an "international anti-narcotic society" of Seattle (U. S. A.), inviting us telegraphically to adhere to a petition which this society apparently is submitting to the International Opium Conference, now meeting at Geneva. The petition runs as follows:

The undersigned, viewing in the growing addiction to narcotic drugs a deadly menace to individuals and to nations, an insidious, rapidly spreading poisoning of the human race, which can be overcome only by co-operation among all nations, respectfully petition the International Opium Conference assembling in November, 1924, to adopt measures adequate for total extirpation of the plants from which they originate, except as found necessary for medicine and science in the judgment of the best medical opinion of the world.

The latter incidentally mentions that "Mr. Gandhi's signature has been placed on our petition." We must therefore exonerate Mr. C. F. Andrews from the implication we suggested in our issue of the 31st ultimo, viz. that it was he who drafted this petition and "got Mr. Gandhi and Dr. Tagore to sign it."

* * *

PROPOSALS FOR UNITY.

-BY V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI.

THE statement issued from Calcutta over the signatures of Messrs. Gandhi, Das and Nehru will doubtless attain one of its primary objects, namely re-uniting for the purpose of furthering the common cause the two opposing sections into which the Congress itself is divided. Another of its great objects is to bring, so far as possible, within the Congress and on one platform all parties in India which, having the one goal of Swarajya, are nevertheless working in opposite directions and retarding the progress of the nation towards the common aim. Considered in this aspect, it is in effect an invitation to the Liberal party, among others, to join the session of the Indian National Congress to be held at Belgaum in December this year. To facilitate their re-entry certain relaxations have been made from the pure and rigid doctrines of non-co-operation; and these are set forth in clear and simple terms in the preamble and in the operative part of the statement. The three signatures appended and the prolonged deliberation that preceded it make it practically certain that it will be accepted without substantial modification at the forthcoming sitting. In view of the paramount necessity of united action at this juncture, it behoves Liberals to examine carefully and in the true spirit of compromise the various issues and lines of action proposed, so that they may arrive at the right conclusion as to the response they should make to this earnest appeal.

It is extremely painful to me to have to come to an unfavourable decision. I cannot, however, see any escape, unless substantial modifications are introduced into the present proposals. There are so many propositions from which one dissents that in the sum they amount to a fundamental difference both of outlook and plan. In the preamble the repressive policy is represented as "aimed in reality not at any party of violence, but at the Swarajya party in Bengal and therefore at constitutional and orderly activity." I cannot agree in this description of the aim of the Ordinance. So far as the Viceroy and his principal advisers are concerned, I have no manner of doubt that they aim at anarchical and revolutionary crime in Bengal. It is equally clear to me that they do not aim at legitimate and constitutional activity. But in judging an overt political act, it is not the aim so much as the effect which one has to consider. Under this head I anticipate two results, one good and the other bad. The violent crime which has recrudesced in Bengal will be put down, though the root causes of unrest will be left untouched. But perhaps alongside this effect, perhaps subsequent to it, legitimate and constitutional political activity will likewise suffer an eclipse through the action of Government's agents, which the framers of the Ordinance, however well-intentioned, will be unable to check. This evil will assume such proportions that the exercise of citizenship rights will become difficult and dangerous; and knowing how feeble are the incitements and how

powerful the hindrances to the exercise of citizenship rights among our people, I am not prepared to place in the hands of the executive a weapon which they are sure to misemploy. Still, I feel I should be guilty of over-statement and even of injustice if I subscribed to the declaration, drawn in unreserved terms, that the aim of the new policy is not against political criminals but against innocent political agitators.

Coming to the substantial part of the statement, one is arrested at the very beginning by the requirement that part of the Congressman's patriotic duty consists in "refusal to use or wear cloth made out of India." I cannot help thinking that this requirement is an unnecessary and unwarranted hardening of the familiar Swadeshi doctrine. In the next place by allowing the Swarajya party as an integral part of the Congress to become the custodian of national politics and organise itself separately for that purpose the parent organisation would, in effect, if not in theory, surrender its political side which, hitherto, has been its dominant character and constitutes its title to the country's homage. It is difficult to see how the Congress can be saved from being overshadowed by a part of itself if it will confine its attention to the social and communal aspect of national work. This one clause of the statement is calculated to neutralise the inducement to Liberals to come back to an organisation which should once more put forth political demands and advance political programmes in the name of a re-united India. To go further down the statement, we find it laid down that "experience has shown that without universal spinning India cannot become self-supporting regarding her clothing requirements." How many, one wonders, would endorse this position, which is put forward as though it were an undoubted and undoubtable axiom? If the testimony of experts could be weighed as well as counted, it would point overwhelmingly to the necessity of industrializing the country if she must cease to depend on outside supply for her clothing requirements. Universal spinning is an idle dream: popular enthusiasm would not be able to enforce spinning outside very limited circles and beyond a very limited period. At the next step, we encounter an even more astounding proposition that "hand-spinning is the best and the most tangible method of establishing a visible and substantial bond between the masses and Congressmen." The communistic theory of society is answerable for many crudenesses and extravagances. But even its literature does not give a prominent place to a rule of this nature. Is it supposed that the masses believe in hand-spinning as a human duty to such an extent that they will not recognise any bond with those who do not share that belief? Is it not the fact, on the contrary, that the larger part of these masses are themselves unused to spinning, whether as recreation or as occupation? Or is it intended that the overpowering necessity of universal spinning, which has not come into the consciousness of the masses can ever be taught them as an injunction of daily practice by the classes to whom it is not an enjoyment, an economic necessity or an ancient re-

ligious exercise? Those who do not care enough are to be admonished by those who care even less! The kinship between those that have and those that have not may be proved by any one of several obvious renunciations and abstentions and self-denials on the part of the former; but has the occupation of spinning for half an hour daily ever appeared to a student or servant of humanity before this as an effective method of promoting a sense of fellowship between rich and poor, between cultured and uncultured? The cult of the Charka may be a genuine article of belief with a few score zealots; in the case of others it can only be a slavish echo, a passing fancy, a mystic superstition, a hollow cant. The enthusiasm that lays it as an injunction on tens of thousands of politicians all over the country cannot be trusted to maintain it long in that position of honour. I confess to a feeling of utter inappropriateness in connecting it in any shape or form with the hearty allegiance due to an organisation that aims at Swaraj and has therefore an arduous and protracted struggle before it. That an unwilling person may get another to spin for him or her is, in my humble judgment, no great concession. The individual obligation is there anyhow; no escape is allowed. Commutation is possible, but only into a like obligation for another. One's instinct rebels against it as against an arbitrary exaction. The prescription of khaddar as the proper wear when on Congress duty seems to concede the point that it would not make comfortable or decent apparel in ordinary daily life. If so, it is a concession of no value. Few who object to it ordinarily would waive the objection when engaged in the service of the country. If it is good for Congress, it should be good for anything. We do not want a Congress uniform after the manner of the military or the police uniform. Nor can we regard it in the light of a sacred garment set apart for worship or other ceremonial. If it is desired to mark off Congressmen from others and Congress work from other work, a small and easily recognisable badge is the most suitable expedient.

With so much divergence, the agreement must be wide and deep to induce the Liberal party to re-enter the National Congress. The abandonment of non-co-operation is important as a reconciler. But its importance is easily exaggerated. Mr. Gandhi, whose candid confessions are as disconcerting to his followers as his chivalrous appreciation of the "other fellow," declared recently that non-co-operation had failed and even done harm. To scratch it off the Congress programme now is little more than the registering of a fact. It has already been seen how resistance to the repression in Bengal, which might be common ground, has been marred by a statement in the joint manifesto which goes beyond the limit of fair criticism. There remains the great question of Swaraj. The solidarity of aspiration under this head has sustained the hope of Indian youth for some months now and inspired the exertions of Dr. Besant. It would be a tragic failure indeed if some means were not discovered of enabling the politically-minded

classes to put forward a united demand for Home Rule. And yet, disunion and discord dog our footsteps even here. Two provincial Congress gatherings have been seriously debating whether our Swarajya should be within or without the Britannic fold. The present creed of the Congress leaves this fundamental question open, just as by omitting the word "constitutional" it has cast a cloud of vagueness on methods of work. Wistful and rhetorical assertions of the right of self-determination, suggestions that our Swarajya constitution must not follow Western models but be framed by the people themselves in accordance with national genius, and the admission of one eminent Swarajist leader that he has not yet clarified his conception of Indian autonomy—these would appear to leave us still very much in the air in the most essential particular. On, the other hand, one remembers clearly that Mr. Gandhi stated on some important occasion that by Swarajya he was content to understand, at the beginning at least, dominion status within the Empire and a parliamentary form of government. Somewhat more to the point is the consensus of thought on this subject which came out prominently in the discussions that followed Dewan Bahadur Rangachari's motion on self-government in the Delhi session of this year. If these lines be adhered to, there is hope that a resolution may be framed on the subject of Swaraj, not certainly full and detailed, but reasonably definite on the fundamentals, on which Liberals and Swarajists and No-Changers could be brought to agree. During the last few days Mr. Gandhi has made a statement in the course of which he declares that civil disobedience is out of the question in the present circumstances. This is a little more hopeful from the Liberal point of view than the utterances of Swarajist leaders. Yet it sounds only like a postponement. In fact, that is the trouble always with his change of mind. It is only temporary. When, the bridges are repaired and the roads are cleared the old march is to be resumed! Though I have spoken of the "abandonment" of non-co-operation the word actually used in the joint statement is "suspend." I should not wonder therefore if the Liberal party hesitated to re-enter the Congress fold without a guarantee that they would not be obliged to withdraw a second time by resumption of sundry forms of boycott, disobedience of laws and other novel forms of agitation as soon as it should appear to a few enthusiastic spirits that the country had been sufficiently prepared and the conditions were ripe. The time available before the Belgaum meeting appears hardly enough, even if no day were lost, for the attainment of a clear understanding on all the issues involved. Should it unfortunately prove so in the event, I hope the leaders will consult together and explore the chances of united action on what is clearly common ground—namely, the demand for Home Rule and the protest against the policy of repression. It would be no small gain to the national cause if, on these to questions of the hour, representative Swarajists, Muslim Leaguers, Home Rulers, Liberals, Non-Brahmanas and others spoke on the same platform to previously agreed resolutions.

OPIMUM POLICY.

I WISH to acknowledge the courtesy of the Editor of the SERVANT OF INDIA in allowing me to occupy such a large amount of space in his columns on a subject where his own views evidently differ so widely from my own. I can assure him that I am both ready and anxious to be convinced of the good faith of the Government of India in this matter, if only I see signs of repentance. Very willingly I grant that more real progress in India has been effected since the signing of the Treaty of Versailles, both on this Opium question and on the International Labour question, than had been made for a whole generation previously. All this I have already written in the public press, expressing the opinion that this progress is one of the very few good things that we owe to the Versailles Treaty, which was fundamentally unjust towards the Central Powers.

But I entirely disagree with the writer that because of the war, the Hague Convention Opium Articles, passed in 1912 and signed on behalf of His Britannic Majesty by his plenipotentiary for 'His Majesty's Eastern Possessions', could be made for nearly eight years into what he rightly calls 'a scrap of paper,' without a serious breach of faith. Furthermore, I entirely disagree with the writer when he says that the Hague Convention resolutions did not 'outlaw' opium smoking. As these are questions of fact, which the reader may judge for himself, let me quote in full Articles 6, 7 and 8 which deal specially with this point. 'Prepared opium' is opium prepared for smoking. The articles read as follows:—(p. 148)

Article 6.—The contracting Powers shall take measures for the gradual and effective suppression of the manufacture of, internal trade in, and use of prepared opium, with due regard to the varying circumstances of each country concerned, unless regulations on the subject are already in existence.

Article 7.—The contracting Powers shall prohibit the import and export of prepared opium; those Powers, however, which are not yet ready to prohibit immediately the export of prepared opium shall prohibit it as soon as possible.

Article 8.—The contracting Powers which are not yet ready to prohibit immediately the export of prepared opium—

(a) Shall restrict the number of towns, ports or other localities through which prepared opium may be exported;

(b) Shall prohibit the export of prepared opium to countries which now forbid, or which may hereafter forbid, the import thereof;

(c) Shall, in the meanwhile, prohibit the consignment of prepared opium to a country which desires to restrict its entry, unless the exporter complies with the regulations of the importing country;

(d) Shall take measures to ensure that every package exported, containing prepared opium, bears a special mark indicating the nature of its contents;

(e) Shall not permit the export of prepared opium except by specially authorised persons."

I think it will be agreed by those who read these articles carefully that the most that can be said is this:—They have outlawed prepared opium in such a vague and hesitating manner, with regard to the time limit allowed, that Colonies like Singapore and Hong Kong, (deriving a great part of their revenue from the opium traffic), did actually treat the

Convention as a 'scrap of paper', and in certain cases have even increased their purchases from India. The Government of India connived at this and thus became a party to the breach of faith involved. Instead, however, of using a long argument, let me take once more the story of Mauritius. There it is all so plain, that 'he who runs may read'. Mauritius had taken about 12 chests of opium in the year before the Hague Convention was signed. It is a very small island with a population largely composed of ex-indentured Indians. The Government of India ought to have been particularly careful in dealing with this Island, because their own action had been the original cause of sending out these Indians under indenture, with all its demoralising consequences. The Chinese numbered only about 3000, and Mr. Gandhi who visited Mauritius a little earlier, tells me that the opium habit was spreading among the ex-indentured Indians even then, at the time of his visit.

Now, Mauritius had an honest Governor in 1913. When the Hague Convention resolutions were agreed upon, this Governor began to put them into practice. He issued a Proclamation, that opium would be prohibited after January 1st, 1914, *in accordance with the Hague Convention resolutions*. But what followed? In December 1913, that Proclamation was cancelled; and from that time forward, during the next five years, literally tons of opium were imported from India to Mauritius. The scandal was appalling, when, in 1916-1917, the amount reached 125 chests, or ten times the amount of 1911-1912, and the revenue increased by ten times also. It is quite true (and I have repeated it often in the public Press) that this disgraceful traffic was brought to an end in 1920. But the scandal of those intervening years remains; and to me it is not a record of merely historic interest, but a record of the bad faith, both of the India Office and the Colonial Office. The SERVANT OF INDIA correspondent makes a naïve statement, that 38·4 chests, per annum, were sent to Mauritius from India during this decennial period! Has he, even for a single moment, stopped to consider what 38 chests of opium actually imply, for an island of 360,000 inhabitants? Has he realised the amount of opium addiction which it would involve and the number of human souls ruined morally and spiritually by it?

There is one further fact to notice. Sir Louis Kershaw himself, in conversation with me at the India Office, was evidently disturbed by the figures I gave him about Mauritius opium. He told me that he would like to look into the matter. He would not be surprised, if it was found out that such a huge amount as 125 chests of opium had been used for re-exportation. First-hand evidence from Mauritius, which I have myself since obtained, also confirms that theory. It appears to me along with much else to show that there are strong reasons for believing that large quantities of opium exported from India,—especially the private auctioned opium,—find their way by various routes into the manufacturers' hands, who make the

opium up into morphia. It is no answer at all to refer me to the figures of Government imports to different countries of the world, including America. For we are met everywhere by smuggling. The American anxiety about Indian opium is due to this fear of smuggling opium. There is always a leakage going on and it is this smuggled opium which is the cause of nearly all the terrible mischief in the United States,—the million opium addicts every year who get opium habit through the use of morphia pills. Certainly Indian opium has leaked out into this international drug traffic. The Americans believe that a very great deal has leaked out.

I have tried my hardest to find out how much has leaked out from China also, where the growth of the opium poppy has now become widespread. Some British officials have told me that smuggling had not as yet taken place in any large quantities. But I am sadly afraid that this is not going to continue long, and that all our efforts to ration opium to medical uses are going to be spoilt by China's anarchy. Yet this does not mean that the people of India should be involved, for revenue purposes, in an immoral traffic.

C. F. ANDREWS.

[The above "Rejoinder" really needs no comment and we are quite content to close the controversy with it.—

Ed., S. I.]

TERRITORIAL FORCE.

I BEG to submit the following statement* of my views on the subject-matter of the inquiry to be made by the Auxiliary and Territorial Force Committee.

This Committee has been appointed in pursuance of a resolution passed by the Legislative Assembly in February 1924. That resolution runs as follows:—

That this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that a committee including members of the Legislature be immediately appointed to investigate and report on what steps should be taken to improve and expand the Indian Territorial Force so as to constitute it into an efficient second line of reserve to the regular army, and also to remove all racial distinctions in the constitution of the non-regular military forces in India, including the Indian Auxiliary Force."

It will be seen from this resolution that the object of the inquiry is two-fold: (1) the expansion and improvement of the Indian Territorial Force, so as to make it an efficient second line of reserve to the regular army, and (2) the removal of all racial distinctions in the constitution of the non-regular military forces in this country. Both these objects are important, but it is obvious the first is by far the more important. In a way, the second is but a means to the realization of the first; for, the improvement of the Indian Territorial Force depends partly on the removal of racial distinctions between that Force and the Indian Auxiliary Force.

I wish to premise at the outset that, in my opinion, though the inquiry is important in itself, it is not so wide as to cover the whole problem of India's defence and that, therefore, the results of the inquiry, however good they may be, cannot be such as to afford a satisfactory and full solution of the problem

THREE NECESSARY MEASURES.

The problem of India's defence is bound up with the political problem, and may be briefly expressed

* Memorandum submitted to the Auxiliary and Territorial Force Committee.

thus: India wishes to attain full responsible government, both provincial and national, popularly called Swaraj. She, however, realizes that the attainment of Swaraj connotes national self-sufficiency in defence. She must be able to preserve and maintain internal security, and to defend herself against foreign aggression; and this, she must be able to do without any foreign or extraneous aid. Her own responsibility for the preservation and maintenance of internal security is absolute; it must not, and cannot be shared with any other member of the British Commonwealth. In case of foreign aggression, however, she has a right, as a member of the British Commonwealth, to look for such military and naval assistance, as other members can afford and are willing to render; nevertheless, the responsibility for defending her frontiers must, in the main, rest on herself. Which being the conditions of Swaraj, it follows that India must become a self-sufficient military and naval nation. Such is the problem of India's defence and before I proceed to deal with the specific questions which are referred to the Committee, I must express my firm conviction that the problem cannot be satisfactorily and fully solved, except by the adoption of the following measures, viz. —

(1) Formation and maintenance of an adequate Indian Navy.

(2) Complete Indianization of the Army in all its branches.

(3) Introduction of compulsory military training for all male Indians between the ages of 18 and 31.

I attach the greatest importance to all these measures, and I shall answer the objection that may be raised on the ground of expenditure, by saying that, though I am myself an advocate of economy and retrenchment, whenever and wherever desirable and feasible, I strongly hold the view that no expenditure should be spared that may be necessary for the realization of these three objects, and thereby making India thoroughly organized and equipped for national self-defence. The complete Indianisation of the army will of course, lead to material reduction of the present military expenditure; but, on the other hand, the formation of a navy and the introduction of compulsory military training will entail new expenditure, and the net result will, no doubt, be some increase in the total amount of expenditure on defence. But I feel not the slightest doubt that, having regard to the vast importance of the issues involved, the taxpayer will not grudge the additional expenditure that may be found necessary.

In my opinion, the importance of the third measure which I have proposed, viz. the introduction of compulsory military training is so great and far-reaching, that it will not, in the least, be affected by any quickening of the pace of Indianizing the army. And, therefore, I hold that compulsory military training should be introduced, whether the policy of the Government with regard to the Indianization of the army continues to be as illiberal as it is at present, or undergoes a change for the better.

If I am asked to suggest any definite scheme of compulsory military training, I shall refer to the scheme prepared by the National Service League for England. It will be remembered that the National Service League framed proposals for the introduction of compulsory military training in England, and that a Bill had actually been introduced in the House of Lords to give effect to those proposals. The text of the Bill is published as an appendix to a book on "Compulsory Service" written by General Sir Ian Hamilton. Those proposals are, in my opinion, thoroughly sound and may well be adopted, *mutatis mutandis*, in this country.

Having made my position clear, as regards the general problem of India's defence, I shall now pro-

ceed to deal with the specific question which forms the subject-matter of the Committee's inquiry.

EXPANSION OF THE TERRITORIAL FORCE.

The first question is: what steps should be taken to improve and expand the Indian Territorial Force so as to make it an efficient second line of reserve to the regular army.

In approaching this question, the purpose for which the Territorial Force is created must be borne in mind. Those purposes are: (1) the creation or revival of the martial spirit among all classes of the Indian people, or, in other words, as the author of "the Army in India" has put it, "to cater for the military aspirations of those classes of the population to whom military service has not hitherto been a hereditary profession"; and (2) the creation of a second line to, and a source of reinforcement for, the regular army.

The object is, and should be, to reach the higher castes among the Hindus and generally all those classes that lie outside the range of recruitment to the regular army. The task before the Government and the responsible leaders of the people is to awaken and foster martial spirit among them, to take steps to open out military careers for promising youths among them, and thus to enable the Indian people to participate in the defence of their country.

Two conclusions inevitably follow from the very nature of this object, viz. (1) the mere formation of the infantry arm is not enough; other army services and, in particular, the Cavalry and Artillery branches of the Territorial Force must also be created; and (2) the conditions laid down for enrolment must be fairly attractive, though not unduly liberal.

I wish to elaborate the latter point a little. The Territorial Force is not a mercenary, but a citizen army. Presumably, therefore, it will be—as it ought to be—inspired by patriotic motives; and those who join it may be relied upon not to demand over-liberal terms, at the cost of the general taxpayer. At the same time, it will not be wise to ignore human nature, and presume too much on "the enthusiasm of emotional patriotism." While, therefore, I do not approve of the idea of paying the members of the Territorial Force at the same rate at which the members of the Auxiliary Force are paid, the present system according to which they are paid at the regular army rates should be modified so as to make it more in harmony with the requirements and status of the classes from which the Territorial Force is designed, in the main, to be recruited.

But though I do not propose that members of the Territorial Force should be paid at the same rates as members of the Auxiliary Force, no distinction should be made between them, as regards payment of bonus and allowances.

The suggestions mentioned in the questionnaire (A—Pay and Allowances) are, for the most part, worthy of favourable consideration. But I do not at all approve of the suggestion mentioned in the supplementary questionnaire that land revenue should be remitted to enrolled men of the Territorial Force.

The present strength of the Territorial Force is limited to 20,000 men. This should at once be raised to 50,000 men, and the aim should be to raise a force of at least 1,00,000 men in the course of the next few years.

The question of making the Territorial Force an efficient second line of reserve to the regular army "raises the question of the training to be given to the force. Speaking on the resolution referred to above which has led to the appointment of this Committee, Mr. Burdon pointed out that the function of the second line was to be partially trained in peace, and after a further period of intensive training at the out-

break of war, to join the active army as a part of it. He further pointed out that the Territorial soldier would need six months' further training before he was fit to join the regular force and that, therefore, the Territorial Force could not be part of the active army on the outbreak of war. If this view is correct, it means that the training imparted to the Territorial Force is inadequate; in that case, it must be improved, and I therefore approve of the suggestion mentioned in the questionnaire (D-3) that the period of training should be increased.

A disadvantage under which the Territorial Force is labouring at present in the Bombay Presidency is that there is only one training camp, which is situated at Belgaum, and in consequence all Territorial soldiers recruited from distant parts of the Presidency have to go there. This disadvantage should be removed by the institution of additional convenient central camps.

ADVISORY COMMITTEES.

I approve of the suggestion that the Indian Territorial Force Committee should be increased to five or more members and should include a local Territorial Force officer in addition to the Military member. The Government of Bombay have taken a right step in forming District branches of the Provincial Committee. But, I am afraid, care is not taken to make these District Committees as representative and influential as they should be. Besides, as far as I know, very little work is being done by them. I, for one, attach great importance to these Committees, provided they are so constituted as to contain members who take a keen interest in the expansion and improvement of the Territorial Force, and will do their best to popularize the Force, and promote enrolment to it. They should not be mere advisory bodies, to be consulted when the Military member may be inclined to do so; but they should be invested with the specific function of carrying on propaganda with a view to promoting recruitment to the Force. I am firmly convinced that with such propaganda, and with the improvements I have suggested above, no difficulty will be experienced in raising an adequate Territorial Force, fully organized and trained so as to become an efficient second line of reserve to the regular army.

I now come to the question of removing racial distinctions in the constitution of the non-regular military forces in India, including the Indian Auxiliary Force.

THE AUXILIARY FORCE.

I must frankly say that having regard to the object for which the Auxiliary Force is constituted, I do not quite see the necessity for its constitution as a separate Force. The Force is avowedly intended for local service; section 18 of the Auxiliary Force Act provides that, *ordinarily*, the duty of the Force will be to act in support of the civil power, or to provide guards. Unless I am altogether mistaken, the Auxiliary Force is intended to be employed for the purpose of maintaining internal security. The idea seems to be that, in case of war, the regular Forces and also the Territorial Force will be despatched to the Frontier and, if need be, even beyond the frontier. At such a time, there is a risk of internal trouble, to put down which Indians themselves cannot be trusted; and therefore a Force must be raised from among Europeans and Anglo-Indians, which will aid the civil power in suppressing all internal trouble and disorder. If I am right in my understanding of the real purpose for which the Auxiliary Force is constituted, it is obvious that it is intended to meet apprehended danger from the Indian people themselves, and is thus based upon distrust of them.

I concede that provision must be made for maintaining internal peace and security and suppressing

all civil disorder. But I do not see why the task should be entrusted to a Force entirely composed of Europeans and Anglo-Indians and why it should not be shared by Indians also, unless it be supposed that all Indians will join in creating trouble or that Indians will refuse to assist the civil power in putting down trouble raised by their own countrymen. In the event of either of these alternatives coming out true, it is doubtful whether even the regular Indian army, or the Territorial Force can be trusted.

The duties of the Auxiliary Force being such that they can be and ought to be performed by Europeans and Indians alike, I maintain that the Force should not be composed only of the former but should be open to Indians as well, with this distinction, however, that Indians between the ages of 18 and 31 should be eligible for enrollment only to the Territorial Force, and not to the Auxiliary Force.

An objection will be raised that it may not be found practicable to constitute one common Auxiliary Force for Indians and Europeans. I do not know what practical difficulties exist, and cannot think, assuming that they exist, that they will be found quite insurmountable. But in case expert opinion holds that these difficulties are too great to be got over, then I would approve of the proposal mentioned in the questionnaire that a section of the Indian Territorial Force should be formed with liabilities similar to those of the Auxiliary Force and trained on the same system.

The Auxiliary Force Act provides for the training of cadets, but no such provision is made by the Territorial Force Act. That provision should be made.

OFFICERS OF THE I. T. FORCE.

I urge that the resolution passed by the Legislative Assembly in March 1921 to the effect that officers in the Territorial Force should have the rank of the second lieutenant, lieutenant or higher rank, and that no distinction should be made between the Indian Territorial Force and the Indian Auxiliary Force in respect of the authority which signs the commissions, and that officers in these two Forces should take rank *inter se* according to dates of appointment, should be given effect to.

I approve, in general, of the draft regulations regarding 'Officers', and of most of the suggestions made in the questionnaire under the heading "B-Popularity of the Force."

THE UNIVERSITY CORPS.

With regard to the University Corps, I heartily approve of Dr. Paranjpye's proposal for the compulsory military training of undergraduates. I also approve of the resolution passed at the Universities Conference in May 1924 with the exception of part (b) of the resolution.

I would strongly appeal to the Committee to carefully consider Dr. Paranjpye's proposal.

I understand that payment to members of the University Corps is made at the end of the year. This causes inconvenience which should be removed by making payment immediately after a period of training.

R. G. PRADHAN.

REVIEW.

THROUGH A TRAVELLER'S EYES.

INDIA: A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW. By the EARL OF RONALDSHAY. (Constable & Co., London.) Pp. 322. 8½ x 5½. 18s.

IN the preface Lord Ronaldsday tells us that this volume is intended particularly for those contemplat-

ing a visit to India whether for business or for pleasure, that it is something more than a mere narrative of travel and something less than the studies of specialists. "This then is what I have tried to do—to bring together vignettes of Indian history; glimpses of Indian architecture and archaeology; sketches of the social and industrial economy of her peoples; indications of the modes in which their religious thought has found expression; illustrations of their unceasing war with their environment, particularly in the matter of climate and disease, &c." The book is certainly much more than a narrative of travel. But the author has not accomplished all that he set out to do. Only a few pages are given to what would really interest the business man. Of the social and industrial economy of the people there is comparatively little. As to the "unceasing war with environment," little is said of the war itself but a good deal of the result, particularly the pessimistic outlook on life that it is believed to have produced in the Hindus. But the beautiful historical vignettes, pen pictures of scenery and men, and a sympathetic understanding and interpretation of the masterpieces of Indian architecture and other modes in which the religious thought of the people has expressed itself—these make the book both enjoyable and highly profitable. There is ever present to the cold weather visitor from the West a fatal temptation—indeed the majority of European officials and even missionaries who spend the best part of their lives in India do not escape the temptation—to generalise about the people of India from what they see in the bazaars and from the servant classes with whom only they come into any contact. Lord Ronaldshay's book is an effective warning to them not to assume an easy attitude of self-satisfaction and contempt towards things Indian. The following passage, which occurs on page 182, may be taken as characteristic.

"As a people, we have been all too prone to pass to with insular indifference Indian's contributions to the progress of the human race, not perhaps because of any deliberately formed conclusion that these were not worthy of our interests or our admiration, but because in India the performance of the task immediately to our hand has absorbed the whole of our energies and attention. Let us lift our gaze from the ground immediately beneath our feet, and at least attempt to pierce through the veil which our own distinctive outlook upon the universe tends to draw across the achievements of another race; and let us pay our tribute to the upward aspiring spirit which inspires the great masterpieces in her literature and her art. Let us, above all, render homage to the lofty spiritual ideals which have marked her progress as, along with the other civilised races of the world, she has struggled forward up the steep ascent by which humanity, with halting steps, has groped its way from that long brooding night of barbarism which lies behind the first faint light of civilisation's dawn."

Lord Ronaldshay was for five years Governor of Bengal. With his fine sympathies and imagination he should have many interesting things to say about the current questions of India. The purpose of the present volume is, it is true, not to deal with them. But even in a bird's-eye view of India taken at the present time, one would have expected him to devote some space to the political aspirations of the people, to the demand for self-government, the Amritsar incident and the non-co-operation movement. Where a passing reference is made to a question of political or administrative importance, it is merely to illustrate the religious or other non-political tendency of the whole or a section of the people. Thus Mr. Gandhi is mentioned in three or four places, but only in speaking of his dislike of western civilization and machine-made goods, not in connection

with non-co-operation. The politics of Indian Muslims gets, however, some attention. But the purpose is "to illustrate the strength of the call of Islam—a call which rings insistently in the ears of the devout Moslem, whether of India or elsewhere, drowning the call of country and all else." The exclusion is deliberate: "Throughout these pages I have sought to avoid writing of things which are, in essence, ephemeral." Nevertheless, one cannot help feeling it an omission.

He has, however, made an exception in criticising the system of local self-government introduced by the British. Quoting with approval Emerson's caustic observation that the Englishman "sticks to his traditions and usages, and, so help him God! he will force his island bylaws down the throat of great countries like India, China, &c.," he proceeds to show that the district boards and municipalities formed on the English model have been a failure, and that local government would have made much greater progress if the old village panchayat system had been fostered instead. In his tenure of office as Governor of Bengal the mistake was rectified to some extent by the Village Self-Government Act of 1919, and it is gratifying to learn that the village courts established under it for the trial of petty civil and criminal cases met with immediate success. "In the year 1921, 652 criminal cases and 2218 civil suits were instituted before fourteen such courts and benches, a single village court disposing of 260 civil suits and 66 criminal cases." More impressive than the criticism of the introduction of the English system of local self-government is the "historical vignette", included in the same chapter, on ancient Hindu polity—on the theory of kingship and the practice of local government. It must certainly do good to, say, an American cold weather visitor to India to be told that the theory of social contract—"a theory commonly supposed to have originated with Western thinkers of the seventeenth century A. D.—Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau—was a commonplace of Hindu political thinkers six centuries before Christ," and to be given proof of it from Kautilya's *Arthashastra* and the Buddhist scriptures, in one of the latter Buddha himself being represented as having declared: "Then, Vasetha, those beings went to the being among them who was the handsomest, the best favoured, the most attractive, the most capable, and said to him: 'Come now, good being, be indignant at that whereat one should rightly be indignant, censure that which should rightly be censured, banish him who deserves to be banished. And we will contribute to thee a portion of our rice.' And he consented, and did so, and they gave him a portion of their rice."

V. V. S.

MISCELLANEA.

SOUTH INDIAN FLOOD.

AN INTERIM REPORT OF WORK.

THE following are extracts from an Interim Report of the Flood Relief work which the Servants of India Society and the Y. M. C. A. are jointly doing in the affected districts of South India:

METHOD OF WORK.

First of all, the affected villages are visited, a detailed economic survey of each village is made, house to house inspection conducted to find out the actual needs of the sufferers in regard to housing materials and an estimate of the number keeths (palmyra leaves) and bamboos required is prepared. In providing new materials account is taken of the existing stock. The needy families are classified under three heads:—

- (1) Families consisting of widows, old men and women, orphans and disabled persons, which have no earning members.
- (2) Families having a small earning capacity or possessing a small acreage of land.

(3) Families which need only a few housing materials to supplement their existing stock.

In the case of families coming under class I, not only are the housing materials supplied but also grants are made for the construction of walls. In the case families coming under class 2, grants either in cash or in grain are made to enable them to concentrate on house building. Realising the importance of associating the local people in a work of this kind the Panchayats of Co-operative Societies are associated in the work of distribution and supervision of the reconstruction of houses. Rural Committees consisting of the leading people of the villages have been set up for this purpose in places where no Co-operative Societies exist. All these Panchayats and Rural Committees work under the direct supervision and guidance of the workers who are constantly touring, visiting some villages almost daily. Arrangements are made for the purchase of housing materials either locally or from some neighbouring villages. Great difficulty was experienced in some villages in getting housing materials and in many cases they had to be brought by rail, availing ourselves of the facilities kindly given by the South Indian Railway Company in respect of concession rates, supply of wagons, etc. Wherever possible a central group committee has also been organised. These methods have been strictly enforced so that only the most deserving cases receive relief in view of the limited funds at our disposal.

TRICHINOPOLY.

Mr. Popley of the Y. M. C. A. is in charge of work in Laigudi Taluq. He has helped in the construction of 950 houses at a cost of Rs. 7,000, of which about Rs. 1,000 was spent in giving cash or grain advances to enable the sufferers to build houses, level the sites, etc., leaving all other work. He has recently been visiting villages again and distributing keeths (palmyra leaves) and bamboos wherever they are found to be insufficient. Mr. Popley thinks that there are still a few more families left which may need relief. The question of acquisition of sites for building purposes is also engaging his attention. Wherever Government lands are available he has interested the Revenue authorities in assigning them for house sites. But in most villages in that part of the Trichinopoly District no Government land is available. In one village Ariyur, proceedings have been instituted to acquire private land for house sites and he has deposited Rs. 1,000, donated by the Ceylon Relief Fund with the Tahsildar towards the part payment of the cost of acquisition, the rest of the amount being raised by the villagers themselves by loan from the local Co-operative Society.

Mr. P. Kodanda Rao of the Servants of India Society has been working in Karur and Kulitalai taluqs. He has helped in the construction of 207 houses at a cost of Rs. 2,000. Cash grants or grain are still being given for families engaged in house reconstruction, which is almost nearing completion. The People's Flood Relief Fund through Mr. N. L. Dorai of Trichinopoly contributed Rs. 450 for our work.

TANJORE.

Mr. K. G. Sivaswamy of the Servants of India Society has been working in and around Tirukattupalli, one of the worst affected parts of Tanjore District. When he began work, he found a number of families, mostly of landless labourers, living along the roadsides in small temporary huts improvised as shelter. They had to be induced to move into the villages before relief could be administered. He has formed representative Rural Committees at Sathanur, Vanarangudi, Kolladi and other places with a Central Group Committee at Tirukattupalli. A careful economic survey of the villages was carried out and only the utterly destitute were relieved. Thanks to the enthusiasm of Mr. V. Guruswami Sastri, B. A., L. T., and his colleagues, the work of reconstruction of houses is almost over. 539 families have been given relief at a cost of Rs. 3,500 of which 424 were Adi-Dravidas who have suffered greatly. The methods of relief already stated have been scrupulously followed and utmost economy has been observed in the distribution of relief. Rs. 850 kindly sent by the Peoples' Flood Relief Fund to Mr. Guruswami Sastri has also been utilised for the supply of keeths. Keeths were not locally

available and they had to be got by rail from Muthupet. This naturally caused some delay in the distribution of housing materials. As elsewhere grants in cash or grain were given for the construction of walls. Every possible inducement had to be given to the make sufferers concentrate on house-building. This necessitated constant supervision and the Rural Committees have been doing their work very satisfactorily.

When the work of reconstruction of houses was progressing well in Tirukattupalli area, Mr. Sivaswamy was in a position to take up other areas in the district. So at the suggestion of the Madras Central Flood Relief Fund, he proceeded to Mayavaram to help the Mayavaram Committee in their work. Amounts for construction of walls have been distributed on different dates according to the progress of work noted for 241 families in 23 villages, also supplementing in deserving cases by the grant of keeths and bamboos. Rural Committees have been organised to supervise the daily progress of work. The village of Purasankadu which suffered badly has received his special attention. So far about Rs. 826 has been distributed for construction of walls and more will have to be given as the work progresses. Fresh cases of relief are also being attended to.

Shiyali taluk is in charge of Mr. Swami Doss of the Y. M. C. A. According to the arrangement arrived at with other relief organisations working in the taluq, only a portion of the affected area was tackled. The Audi-Dravidas, who even in ordinary times are never above want, suffered much and they received his special attention. Cases of absolute need in other communities such as Muhammadans and Christians were also relieved. He helped in the construction of 899 houses in 45 villages of which more than 700 belong to the submerged class. Mr. Swami Doss has also distributed cloth worth Rs. 500 and 41 bags of rice. Since 1st October relief has been distributed in 10 more villages to 233 families and the total cost of relief for the whole area has come up to about Rs. 6000.

COIMBATORE.

Gobichettipalayam is in charge of Mr. M. S. Ekambara Rao. He helped in the organisation of a Co-operative Society by offering to help with the share capital necessary to enable the members to get loans immediately. He has allotted grants to 8 villages for 245 families amounting to about Rs. 3,000. One striking and relieving feature in this area is that rich mirasidars come forward to do all that is possible to render relief to the sufferers. In Naiyepuliampatti the sufferers have been provided with a new site on an elevated place by Mr. Dasappa Gounder of Banglapudur. This considerably facilitated his work. In Naiyepuliampatti Mr. Masthin Gounder has generously come forward to bear the entire cost of relief needed in the village. Mr. Dasappa Gounder has also given nearly Rs. 1,000 to the poor weavers of Sathunmugai, a very badly affected village. As the Ramakrishna Mission, who are now anxious to attend to housing relief also, wished to relieve other villages in Gobichettipalayam, Mr. Ekambara Rao confined himself to villages already touched.

Mr. Jayakaran of the Y. M. C. A. is in charge of Bhavani taluq. Mr. Jayakaran also helped the Assistant Registrar in the organisation of a Co-operative Society for the sufferers in Singampatti village. The proposal to start a Co-operative Building Society at Bhavani has just been adopted. When the Society starts actual work he proposes to make grants to deserving members towards the payment of share capital to enable them to get the required loans. For this purpose, with the assistance of the Tahsildar, he and Ekambara Rao have carried out an enquiry into the economic condition of prospective members who may need such help. He estimates he will require Rs. 3,500 to Rs. 4,000, for this form of relief. Besides he has budgeted grants for four villages where the acquisition of new sites by the Government is anxiously awaited. Up-till now he has spent Rs. 2,000 for 271 families and money will be needed for four villages already referred to as soon as new sites are provided.

SOUTH ARCOT.

From replies received to a circular letter sent to Tahsildars.

of the affected taluqs, it was found that no relief agency had done anything for a few villages in Chidambaram Taluk. Mr. P. Kodanda Rau was deputed to relieve these villages. He visited Kanjankollai and Arasur and gave relief to 91 families at a cost of Rs. 750. He has yet to complete work in two more villages. In Kanjankollai village he also distributed cloth worth Rs. 250.

MALABAR.

Mr. M. S. Madhava Rau of the Servants of India Society is the Joint Secretary of the Malabar Floods Relief Committee. In connection with the work of that Committee he visited Ponnani and Walluvanad taluqs, carried out a careful survey of the affected taluqs, organised local committees and recommended grants for the Malabar Committee. On behalf of the South India Central Flood Relief Fund, Bombay, he made an extensive tour in Cochin and Travancore States and organised agencies for work.

Mr. Jacobi of the Y. M. C. A., on behalf of the Malabar Committee, toured in Ernad and Calicut taluqs to study the condition and he is now engaged in the actual work of distribution of relief with the help of local committees organised for the purpose.

CENTRAL OFFICE.

The Central Office in Madras is in charge of Mr. W. Hindle of the Y. M. C. A. and Mr. R. Suryanarayana Rau of the Servants of India Society.

They both represent our workers on the Committee of the Madras Fund. They co-ordinate the work of all centres by obtaining regular weekly reports and statements of work and represent the needs of different areas to the various organisations helping us with funds and secure the necessary amounts week after week.

FINANCES.

From the beginning it was felt that in a work of the kind in which we were engaged, large funds would be required. Thanks to the very generous response of the Bombay and Madras Funds, the Ceylon Relief Fund and other organisations we have always been kept above want. The Ceylon Relief Fund have been good enough to utilise us for distribution of relief and have decided to place at our disposal 25 per cent. of their collections. So far we have received the following amounts:—

South India Central Flood Relief Fund,			
Bombay	...	26,500	0 0*
Madras Central Flood Relief Fund	...	9,000	0 0*
Ceylon Relief Fund	...	5,000	0 0
South Indian Relief Fund, Calcutta	...	1,000	0 0
South Indian Relief Fund (Federated Malay States)	...	2,524	0 0
The Madras Mail Relief Fund	...	900	0 0
Other contributions	...	65	0 0
	...	<u>44,989</u>	<u>0 0</u>

*The amounts sent to Malabar Flood Relief Committee and to Mr. Madhava Rau for work in Cochin and Travancore are not included.

SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY,
ROYAPETTAH, MADRAS,

W. HINDLE
(Y. M. C. A.)
R. SURYANARAYANA RAU
(Servants of India Society)

Oct. 24, 1924.

LEGAL AID AND THE COMMUNITY.

The Report of the fourth session of the All-India Social Workers' Conference (1923) gives a series of highly interesting monographs on important subjects of social welfare, such as charity organisation, children's welfare, vigilance and rescue work, and the prevention and cure of Tuberculosis—all of them being subjects in which the community holds a large stake. The cause of social service has, during the present year, been sought to be strengthened in Bombay, by the starting of a Legal Aid Society and thereby bringing in reinforcements from a quarter which has so far been barren of all hope.

The Bombay Legal Aid Society is the first of its kind in India. If worked efficiently, it is fraught with great potentiality for social amelioration. An attempt is made below to describe the function of legal aid in relation to the community. The main purpose of the Society, of course, is to render legal aid, to all who may appear worthy thereof and who,

through poverty, are unable to procure assistance elsewhere. The service which the Society renders to the community, is, however, not confined to this form of activity. The Society prepares the ground for remedial legislation and the final determination of legal issues of general application affecting the entire community. Work in these two directions is, undoubtedly, work for the community. Because of its peculiarly close contact with life, no general legal wrong or fraud can long be perpetrated on the poor, before some case, revealing the situation, comes to its office and provides a point of attack. It is best equipped to detect fraudulent schemes, suppress abuses, study conditions and educate persons in matters of law which they ought to know. Further, it helps to enforce law where hitherto it was reduced practically to dead letter owing to ignorance.

A few illustrations may be attempted. The loan shark has been able to exist in spite of laws. Important as remedial legislation is, in curbing his power or in ousting him, it is equally important to fight him by enforcing the laws against him, and making it impossible for him to practise usury, by recovering back from him all excess payments and preventing borrowers from overpaying on their loans.

Attempts are constantly being made to perpetuate hoaxes or fraudulent schemes on the less intelligent members of the community. Where some element of gambling or of a lottery is included, the lure is strong and the trick works. The Legal Aid Society is constantly on the watch for these fraudulent undertakings and combats them to the best of its ability.

There is a new movement in the realm of law which will prove of incalculable benefit to the community at large and in which the legal aid organisations are likely to play an important part. It may be called the science of preventive law. As physicians have made great strides in preventive medicine, as workers in the field of social service are placing their emphasis on the prevention of the factors which cause poverty and degeneracy, so it is becoming recognised that the Legal Aid Society may perform a like service in the law. The science of prevention in all three branches means the same process of searching for the cause of the wrong condition and then of ascertaining the cure. On reason for the failure of the law to deal with difficulties before they came to pass, instead of always after they have happened, is that the necessary basic material has not been ready at hand. Outside the Courts, there has been no organisation which afforded the cases by which the workings of the law could be observed and tested. The Legal Aid Society can fulfil an important function in this direction in the field of law which affects the poor, by collecting the needed data, thereby serving to eliminate much uninforming generalising.

The greatest service which the Society renders to the community is the promotion of good citizenship. The legal aid organisations are instrumental in inculcating a sentiment of respect for the laws and in proving to their clients the integrity and fairness of our judicial institutions. Many of their clients are ignorant of the laws and of how to set its machinery in motion. They have some vague idea that there is law for the redress of wrongs, but they have heard that it is too costly a luxury for the poor. They know they have been defrauded and wronged, but redress may seem to them hopeless. They have no money to secure it and therefore, they think, it is not for them. The consequence is that they become bitter, not only against the particular person who has wronged them but against society in general and against the community and the Government which permit society to be organised on so unjust a basis. Such persons are ripe for enlistment in the ranks of those who are regarded as dangerous to the security of law and order.

Such then in brief is the place which the Legal Aid Society occupies in the field of public service. It invites the co-operation of all. The first meeting of the Bombay Legal Aid Society will be held at 4-30 p. m. on Sunday the 16th November 1924 at the Servants of India Society's Hall, Bombay. All those who are in sympathy with the movement are requested to communicate with the undersigned and to attend the meeting.

NAYAN H. PANDIA,
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