

# The Servant of India

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## Topics of the Week.

### The Indian Budget.

THE financial statement presented by Sir George Schuster to the Assembly early this week revealed nothing unexpected in the budgetary position. The revenue has fallen short of estimates—especially in the customs and the current year will end with a somewhat larger deficit than the estimates showed in September and there will be a smaller surplus for the ensuing year. Indeed the margin is so slender that unless there is an unexpected improvement in trade we would be surprised if the budget does any more than just balance itself. There are no new proposals for taxation and no new avenues have been explored for retrenching expenditure. In the event, Sir George Schuster was mainly occupied with reviewing the financial results of the last few months and defending the steps taken last September. In doing this he delivered himself of some precious gems of financial wisdom which will astonish most right-thinking people. Sir George maintained that the latest experience proved that indirect taxation was the real mainstay of the Indian Exchequer and that in all emergencies it is this source that should further be tapped. But we may point out that not only in this, but in all countries, has indirect taxation been the mainstay of all careless financiers who are unheeded of the general interests. And economists have never been tired of pointing out that it is less immediately felt and does not create anything like the same political trouble as an increase in direct taxation. But surely it is a gross misuse of terms to call, what is really the path

of least resistance, a facing of hard facts. And when after this eulogy of indirect taxation Sir George goes on to state that the load of direct taxation is already very heavy in India he is only making himself ridiculous in the eyes of all who care to know the essential facts. We need not remind our readers of what we wrote about the proposed increases in income-tax rates last year. That these rates are in India very much lower than the corresponding rates in other countries, and that the graduation is much less steep are facts that ought to be well-known. Last year's increases have actually lowered the steepness of the graduation and the regressive nature of the cut in the salaries of Government employees has made clear to all the attitude of the Finance Member towards the richer classes. When we add that no other types of direct taxation, such as death and estate duties, find a place in the Indian financial system we have exposed sufficiently the hollowness of Sir George Schuster's pretensions. The whole scheme of taxation in India is highly regressive and bears hardly on the poor. We do not expect any considerable adjustment in these burdens until there is a radical change in the balance of political power. We were never surprised at the methods adopted by Sir George to balance his budget but even we were not prepared for the barefaced defence of it presented by him last Monday.

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### Some Happenings of Last Week.

THE last week has witnessed the release of Mrs. Gandhi after serving her sentence of one month and a half, while her son, Devidas, whose progress to the Frontier Province was interrupted by his arrest at the Delhi railway station was sentenced to six months' imprisonment. Sirdar Sardul Singh was also sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment; while Dr. Jivraj N. Mehta and his wife Mrs. Hansa Mehta have both been taken into custody. Dr. Mehta is not known to be an active politician and his detention in jail can be explained only on the ground of his harbouring a Congress worker in the person of his wife. Mr. Vithalbai Patel, the ex-Speaker of the Assembly, was, with dramatic suddenness, released and packed off to Vienna on the re-appearance of his old abdominal trouble. Last but by no means least, is the notice served on Mr. Amritlal V. Thakkar, member, Servants of India Society, whose work in connection with the uplift of the depressed classes and criminal tribes in Gujerat is the admiration of the whole

## Articles.

### A DOUBTFUL REMEDY.

INDIAN opinion has so often and so unmistakably expressed itself as regards its immediate political objective that we should have thought that nobody even remotely in touch with it could have possibly misread its intentions. But we must confess we were mistaken. Indian politicians have without mincing matters made it plain to all concerned that the days when compartmental swaraj would have satisfied them are long past and that what they press for is full responsibility not only in the provinces but in relation to the civil administration at the centre. Whatever doubt might however have lingered in any quarter on the point should have been effectively dispelled by the happenings in London in November last, when Indian delegates to the R. T. C. made it clear to the Prime Minister that the grant of mere provincial autonomy would not meet the requirements of the Indian situation. After this we had hoped that no serious attempt would be made by any body to revive the idea; but we have been disillusioned. Our surprise was all the greater that such a responsible politician as Sir Sankaran Nair should have come forward to sponsor a scheme which had been so unceremoniously and so authoritatively rejected by Indian opinion not many months ago. The resolution he brought forward in the Council of State last week recommended the immediate conferment of full autonomy on the provinces; but received surprisingly meagre support even in a body not noted for its progressive character. The fate of the resolution should convince its distinguished mover how hopelessly out of touch he is with the currents of political opinion. If it does that, the time spent in its discussion cannot be said to have been altogether wasted.

If the resolution itself was so much behind the times, the arguments with which he supported it did not give evidence of a very close grasp of the realities of the situation. He based his demand for immediate provincial autonomy mainly on the ground that it would do something to pacify the present discontent. Far from having that effect, such action, it is generally felt, would only serve to worsen the situation by deepening public suspicion about the intentions of the Government. Even in spite of the fact that Mr. MacDonald is at the head of the British Government in England, the Indian public feels that the recent unprecedented triumph of the Conservatives at the General Election bodes no good to the cause of political reform in this country. The proceedings of the last two sessions of the R. T. C. at which the introduction of responsible government at the Centre was authoritatively promised have led the public to look forward to it not as something to be attained in the distant future but as the outcome of the present constitutional discussions. These expectations would suffer cruel a disappointment if, as suggested by Sir Sankaran Nair, provincial autonomy were granted as the first step to be followed,

nobody knows when, by the introduction of responsibility at the Centre. In these circumstances Indian opinion cannot be blamed if it refuses to accept the establishment of autonomy in the provinces as a step on the road to full-fledged Indian swaraj. It is true that federation of British India with the Indian states is a complicated business which for its completion would take some time. Why, it is asked, should provincial swaraj be made to wait till then? But the question is not one of what can be given without loss of time or without much inconvenience but what would really satisfy reasonable public opinion.

In standing up for his resolution Sir Sankaran Nair apparently lost sight of the fact that provincial autonomy without the Centre being simultaneously made responsible would be autonomy only in name. The arrangement is almost sure to reduce the provinces, as pointed out by Mr. Naidu, to the status of glorified district boards. From a purely constitutional as also an administrative point of view, serious doubts are entertained as to its working satisfactorily for any length of time. With the central Government remaining irresponsible as at present, the Ministers in the so-called autonomous provinces will, as so forcefully remarked by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru in his presidential address to the Poona session of the National Liberal Federation, be "in the unenviable position of choosing between their supporters in the Councils and the Central Government." His conviction therefore was that "nothing can be more ill-assorted or more likely to retard the growth of full and responsible institutions in this country than to introduce complete responsibility in the provinces and place them under the control of an irremovable and irresponsible executive in the Central Government. The spirit actuating the two respectively will be, if not antagonistic, very different and I am afraid that instead of getting the substance of responsibility, you will get the shadow." Whatever Sir Sankaran Nair may say, we are sure Indian opinion will definitely refuse to run after this shadow.

## Reviews.

### SCIENTIFIC PROTECTIONISM.

THE THEORY OF PROTECTION AND INTERNATIONAL TRADE. By MIHAIL MANOI-LESCO. (King.) 1931. 22cm. 262 p. 12/6.

MOST people try to find a theoretical justification for what they do in practice, and it is natural that the author, a Minister in the Roumanian Government, should seek to find a general theory of protection. Many, besides Mr. Manoilescu, have been struck by the dramatic disharmony between the resolutions in favour of free exchange passed by the World Economic Conference and the now universal practice of protectionism in the civilised nations. The explanation most generally offered for this phenomenon is the undeveloped stage to which political and social affinities have as yet been able to move beyond the limits of the nation. This, however, is not enough for the Roumanian Minister, as the acceptance of such a

view would not supply a universal and general theory for the explanation of an equally general and universal phenomenon, such as protection is taken to be. It might be doubted whether protectionism can be said to be a general and universal phenomenon in any other sense than that at the present moment it appears to be so. But it must not be forgotten, for sheer accuracy's sake, that it was not so a few generations ago and the possibility must not be ruled out that it may not be so a few generations hence. Granting that it is a universal phenomenon in the obvious sense, it does not necessarily follow, as the author imagines that it does, that it must have a justification in economic theory. Mercantilism in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was as universal as protectionism is today: that did not reduce the essential unsoundness of the system. Taking another parallel, which Mr. Manoilescu has himself dragged in, Socialism which is a universal policy to-day has not been based on a new economic theory. Marx failed either to supply a scientific basis for Socialism or to make good his theory of surplus value. The theories of Marx have been exploded but Socialism continues as a permanent feature of the policies of civilised nations. The attempt of the author to construct a novel theory of international trade to justify protection is as unsuccessful as that of Marx to found a new science of Socialism as an antithesis of political economy, though some of the planks in the programmes of both have a permanent place in national policies. The fact is that both Socialism and Protectionism are to be principally justified not from any particular tenets of the economic science, which but deals with the technique of economic activity and its course, but from the wider social and political, or if you will, the sociological standpoint.

It is very likely that the translation of the original book of the author is not perfect and hence it will be unfair to take the author's words literally. It must, however, be observed that the author fails entirely to spot the defects of the Free Trade doctrine and to show that protection, as he advocates it, will not lead to the results which he deplures in free exchange. To discard the free trade policy in particular cases—and it is very significant that even Mr. Manoilescu does not really justify the protection of all industries—it is not necessary to disprove the classical theory of international trade, as it is not necessary to profess faith in the Marxian theory of value to advocate reforms of a socialistic character. Indeed the policy of unchecked individualism which the earlier economists in England favoured was in no way dependent on their theory of value. Both their doctrines, that of labour value and free trade, have now been given up. Mr. Manoilescu, like many other democratic politicians, had to find an excuse for a general policy of protection, which, as he himself tells us, the plain common sense of the masses is not prepared to support. Hence he sets himself the impossible task of proving in effect that the wealth of one country must necessarily be based on the poverty of another, that the advantages of international exchange exist only for industrial countries, that every time an agricultural nation buys an industrial article that it ought to produce—even at greater cost—itsself, it does bad business, that protected industries bring greater profits to the nation than those which can hold their own without any state aid, and that protection does not mean support to the weak but to the strong. It will be futile to follow the illusive, paradoxical and unscientific course of treatment followed in the book. We only feel that had the author been a better politician he would have found enough strength to say out the truth to his people: "protection is a costly business, but to maintain the political independence and social

solidarity of the nation, in the present state of international relations, we must be prepared to pay the cost as and when necessary." This is an argument which ought to convince an intelligent audience. But to try and prove that wealth can be created by a restrictive policy without any sacrifice from anybody and that it is bad business to purchase cheaper what we can only produce dearer, is to attempt the impossible. Politicians ought to serve their countrymen and humanity by being more outspoken and not by trying their own hand at economic theorising, having despaired at the refusal of economists to justify protection as a general policy.

It is painful to have to find fault with the economics of Mr. Manoilescu, as many economists will find themselves in substantial agreement with him in respect both of the admissibility of protection as a general principle of social and political policy and of his criticism of that school of internationalists who would perpetuate the status quo in respect of the relative economic position of nations. The justification of these policies is, however, to be had not in a rival economic theory of international trade but in the social and political necessity of maintaining independence and progressiveness of national units. Does the author believe that were these two considerations wiped out and a universal state established, trade between different parts of the world would still be more advantageous with restrictions than without them? Protection has essentially a political justification, as Socialism has a social one, and the attempts both of protectionists and socialists to build rival economic principles of their own are bound to go up in smoke.

D. G. KARVE.

## CHRISTIAN VIEW OF THE UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEM.

**THIS UNEMPLOYMENT: DISASTER OR OPPORTUNITY.** By V. A. DEMANT. (Association Press, Calcutta & Student Christian Movement, London.) 1931. 21cm. 157p. 4/—

THE book under review seeks to elucidate the unemployment problem from the Christian standpoint and to discover a moral remedy for the phenomenon, which will not adversely affect the interests of any interested party while trying to do justice to all concerned. The diagnosis of the problem usually offered has led to the proposing of superficial remedies which leave the root causes untouched. It is generally thought that unemployment is due to over-production and that the trouble would end with finding more employment. That this is a paradox and that both cause and remedy are inconsistent with one another is proved by the fact that the methods of nationalization and perfection of technological processes has only led to increased unemployment. The fundamental thing however which is often forgotten is the problem of finding a market for the products of industry already produced and to that end, the raising of the purchasing power of the masses. In other words, under-consumption is the vital feature of the present-day economic system, which has to be seriously tackled if the malaise of unemployment is to be treated successfully. The insistence upon production as the goal of industrial activity has been too much over-done and now the centre of insistence has got to be transferred from production to consumption or sale.

Little realizing this basic fact or realizing it, giving it a disproportionately little importance, economists of the orthodox school harp upon remedies like Protection, Tariff Barriers and other similar

ones, but all these will fail of their purpose unless the consuming public, who is to be considered as the important factor in the ultimate analysis, is put in a position to absorb the surplus products of industry and thus provide the only real and powerful incentive to potential production. As Sir Arthur Salter says, the real problem is that of earnings; and yet the economists, while realizing that the incomes of the people have fallen on account of unemployment, prescribe lesser wages as a counter-blast to stationary or increasing costs. They do not care to see that the remedy is worse than the disease and that the only consequence of the suggestion would be a further deflation of money incomes and therefore less purchasing power in the hands of the people.

To find more work for the unemployed may be an economic remedy which may save a temporary situation, but it can hardly be accounted a social remedy, which is that of making life enjoyable to the vast majority of the people without unduly curtailing the enjoyment of those who are having too much of it already. If most people are accommodated in industry, there may certainly be less unemployment in the technical sense of the term, but they will be producing more things which serve to glut the market further and only accentuate an economic situation which is sought to be alleviated. It will only lead to augmented unemployment in the long run and in the increase of social disorder.

Mr. Demant has treated the root causes of the present social and economic distemper with consummate skill. He is perfectly right when he says:

"The placing of the economic life in its proper basic place, so that it calls the least possible attention to itself is social and spiritual challenge of an age which has achieved all the physical requirements thereof. This is no task for the mere moralist. It is a problem of social reconstruction needed to establish the conditions upon which social morals depend. It is a problem of social redemption."

The proposing of mere economic remedies does not carry us very far; what is wanted is a spiritual outlook upon economic affairs. The outstanding economic problem is unemployment and the future happiness of the human race depends upon whether such an outlook will be brought to bear upon the solution of this problem. Mr. Demant's book will serve to focus attention upon this aspect of the question.

C. V. HANUMANTHA RAO.

### SOME AMERICAN PROBLEMS.

**QUESTIONS OF THE DAY.** By JOHN A. RYAN.  
(The Stratford Co., Boston, Mass.) 21cm. 333p.  
\$ 3.00.

THE best way of attracting attention to a new publication in these days is to scathe it so uncompromisingly that any man of sensitive faculties would be driven to find out for himself if the book was really so bad after all. But we can find no loophole of attack in this book: so all that can be said about it is that it is so good that people might as well not read it. It will destroy the faith of critics in the inherent unworthiness of all authors.

Of course this is not saying that all that is said in its versatile pages — it includes subjects ranging from Prohibition to Catholics and the State, Birth-Control giving place to Evolution and Equality, President Hoover and Poverty in the United States — will meet with even faint agreement from some of our statesmen. For example:

"That citizens are obliged to obey civil laws, even those that they do not like, is true in general, but not necessarily true in every case. Although the presumption

is always in favour of the moral binding force of a duly enacted law, whether organic or statutory, there are exceptions. Suppose that the law imposes grave hardship upon a considerable minority or even a majority of the citizens, suppose that it cannot be repealed for many years; suppose further that the net effect of the law is injurious rather than beneficial to the community as a whole. In these circumstances is it reasonable to impose upon the citizens the moral obligation of obedience? ... When the forces of fanaticism made formal repeal impossible the mass of the citizens annulled these obnoxious statutes (the Blue Laws) by indirection, that is, by persistently disobeying them."

One gets a lively idea of the amazing proportions that the question of Prohibition has reached in the United States. One may or may not fall in line with either party in the controversy, but in this book at least, there seems to be none of that rankling impatience of fanatic reformers or reactionaries, but just well-balanced reason. People in India (at least the general run of idolising ones) have, most naturally, a quite one-sided notion of the immaculate democracy of the U. S. S. Constitution. This will be a healthy pill to tone down that indigestion:

"In the recent election it included snobbishness and a combination of cultural and racial intolerance. Snobbishness in its highest (or lowest) degree, was exemplified in the case of those persons who voted against Governor Smith because they did not want to see as mistress of the White House a woman who at one time did her own housework. It is estimated that many thousands among the women voters were moved by this species of snobbishness. In a less contemptible form it determined the vote of persons who could not bear to support a candidate who is not a college graduate. ... No one who is acquainted with the extent of religious intolerance in these states can seriously doubt that these proportions of the persons supporting Mr. Hoover were so dominated by religious considerations that they would have voted for Governor Smith if he had been a Protestant."

Here are some election posters of the pro-Hooverites: "Convent Horror, Illustrating what will happen to American Womanhood if Smith is elected," "Traffic in Nuns", etc.

"Lest any reader should conclude that literature of this sort would have no effect upon American voters, I call attention to the vast membership once embraced by the Klu Klux-Klan. Scurrilous and indecent publications of this sort constituted the principal reading matter that was cherished and circulated by that precious band of one hundred per cent. Americans."

We should thank the writer of this book for putting a due sense of proportion into the matter — the Hindu-Muslim "problem" is in no sense worse than the Proto-Catholic "problem".

We should also be interested in that intriguing matter: poverty in that most prosperous of nations. Can it be? Poverty? Yet there it is. The chapters on "Unemployment" and "Evolution and Equality" are among certainly good types of discursive and stimulating writing. Assaults upon Democracy, Human Sterilization, and similar subjects get treatment here which must make the Indian reader revise his opinion of that land of promise — one thing that strikes us is the fact that true democracy is understood and desired only by the thoughtful and what is termed the progressive few, whereas the ignorant and intolerant majority only want a toy to play with in the shape of that flattering misnomer, "franchise" or "voting power", while leaving their storm-swept or self-willed kings to preside over the Government table more or less in dictatorial capacity — anything but real democracy is tolerable to the unintelligent.

We wish this book will become as popular as "The Other Side of the Medal", for a number of ques-

tions are discussed which are as important to the Indian interested in America as the truth about the Mutiny to normally-minded people of other countries. But we must also remember that these are in the main only questions of the day, as the author rather modestly puts it, and that a reprint of however solid articles from contemporary journals is not to be regarded as permanent contributions in the sphere of continuous development.

The get-up of this book is better than the usual harum-scarum slatternliness of a heap of books produced in America.

A. MADHAVA MENON.

## Miscellaneous.

### PANCHAYATS IN MADRAS.

MR. V. VENKATASUBBAIYAH ON THEIR WORKING.

*The West Godavary District Panchayats' Conference was held early this month under the presidency of Mr. V. Venkatasubbaiyah, member, Servants of India Society. In the course of his address he said:—*

It is admitted on all hands that in the matter of panchayats our province is ahead of all the other provinces in this country. This happy result we owe to the far-sightedness of the distinguished and departed statesman, the Raja of Panagal, and to the arduous labours and sustained enthusiasm of the two Registrars General of Panchayats, Messrs. N. Gopalaswamy Iyengar and T. G. Rutherford. The Village Panchayat Act of 1920 was no doubt a necessary piece of legislation for the starting of panchayats. But it would not have carried us far, if the Government had not followed the wise policy of making half-grants from provincial revenues to panchayats through the Registrar General, for roads, water supply, schools and libraries. These grants stimulated local effort, and we may confidently assert that more has been done for the provision of amenities of life in the villages during the last few years with the help of village panchayats than during all the previous years. It has rightly been claimed for the panchayats that they are the basis for real self-government in this country. They are certainly the trainingground for the understanding and the exercising of the rights and duties of citizenship. Not only are the people trained to exercise the vote, but also to provide the amenities that are necessary for the physical, economic and cultural betterment of the people by husbanding local resources and by also agreeing to tax themselves.

Now that we are rapidly progressing towards the realisation of complete self-government, the training in political responsibility which the panchayats give, is of the utmost importance. The work of Government is carried on in three spheres: local, provincial and central. Though we are not immediately concerned with the latter spheres, we have to recognise that it is only by functioning properly in the local sphere that our legislators and other public workers can function efficiently in the wider sphere. Some may say that self-government is no substitute for good government. It may be admitted that in the transition from autocratic to democratic government, the efficiency of administration has suffered to some extent. Some such fall in efficiency is inevitable and what we have to do is to shorten the period of transition and at the same time to provide real opportunities for the education of the electorate in the exercise of the vote and in the bearing of political responsibility. But the test of good government is not the mere smoothness of administration, it is the development

of capacity in the people to manage all their public affairs. If the so-called good government killed initiative in the people, if it made them feel helpless in emergencies, it would not be real good government, however well it might safeguard life and property. The real wealth of a country is said to be its people, and if they are lacking in moral and intellectual energy, their possession of material wealth will prove of little avail. The mere animal existence of a population is no credit to any government that is in charge of that population. It is the virility of the people, their all-round efficiency and their capacity to promote their own happiness as a community, that is the real object and the test of good government. To achieve this end the village panchayat is perhaps the most helpful institution that our country has yet been able to devise. In constituting these panchayats, we have only adapted our "ancient republics", so admirably suited to our genius and so naturally evolved in our country, which in former ages were the admiration of the whole world. These republics remained while dynasty after dynasty disappeared and preserved social life intact for thousands of years or so; they have suffered a set-back owing to a new form of central Government being established in the country under British rule and owing to the spread of individualistic ideas that are a feature of the modern world. The consciousness of the people that they form a community and that they have to arrange for the satisfaction of all their needs has been very much weakened, but has not altogether disappeared. To revive that communal consciousness, the sense of responsibility in the community for its own welfare, to provide modern amenities, to rouse the villagers to make the necessary effort for realising these ideas—that is the aim of the village panchayat, and that is what every village panchayat should strive for. To put the same idea in other words, the object of the village panchayat is no other than village uplift or rural reconstruction, as our District Board recognised several years ago and appointed a trained special staff for organising and promoting the panchayats. For the same reason, in the rural reconstruction schemes of the Madras Provincial Co-operative Union, the Tamilnad and the Y. M. C. A. very great emphasis is laid on the organisation of village panchayats. If there was any doubt regarding the object of the panchayat being so wide, it has been removed by the new Local Boards Act.

There are about 4,000 panchayats in our province. Some time ago, a large number of them were not functioning, but their number has now been effectively reduced by warning or cancellation. They are evenly distributed among the districts, some like North Arcot having a large number and others having very few. More than a thousand of these panchayats have been described as merely village school committees, their only activity being the panchayat school. But even that is something, for one has to remember that, but for their panchayats, these villages would have remained without schools for a long time to come. It is only natural that the needs of the villages in different areas should be different. In backward dry areas the most urgent needs are schools and wells. In the Salem Dist. where for several successive years there has been a shortage of rainfall, and consequently much difficulty felt for drinking water, a large number of panchayats have come into existence in order to deepen existing wells or dig new ones with the help of the half-grants from the Registrar general of Panchayats. In the North Arcot district the thirst for knowledge has led largely to the formation of panchayats, while in the Godavary and Krishna deltas, it is the difficulty of communications which has been chiefly responsible for them.

The number of panchayats is not particularly large in your district and your sister district of East Godavary. That, however, is no matter for regret, for in respect of any kind of institutions, it is not the number, but the quality that really matters. I must really congratulate you on the high degree of the efficiency of your Panchayats, judged by the value of completed works in regard to roads and water supply. The Registrar General of Panchayats, now the Inspector of Local Boards, has declared in his recent reports that the West and East Godavary Districts have been absorbing the lion's share of the grants placed at his disposal by the Government. Your District alone absorbed during 1929-30 and 1930-31 about Rs. 1.75 lakhs out of the total of about 6 lakhs, placed at the disposal of the Registrar General. Most impressive is the continuous progress made during the last four years by the panchayats of the Tadepalligudem Taluka in the execution of works as seen by the figures contained in the report of your district board for 1930-31. The value of these works was :

	Rs.
1927-29 ... ..	4,046
1928-29 ... ..	12,769
1929-30 ... ..	55,440
1930-31 ... ..	133,773

One has only to compare these figures with those relating to the works carried out by the Taluk Board itself in the villages which did not or do not possess panchayats, which even now are more numerous than those having panchayats, to be thoroughly convinced of the immense utility of the latter. Another point on which your district deserves to be congratulated is the solicitude which your District Board and some of your Taluka Boards have shown for Panchayats. We would wish that this solicitude was found in an equal degree in all the Taluk Boards of your District. You have, moreover, a district Panchayat Association and Taluk Association of Panchayats at Tadepalligudem and other places, which are actively promoting the work of the Panchayats.

While expressing my deep admiration for what you have done and are doing, may I take the liberty of suggesting to you that your attention may hereafter be well concentrated on the improvement of sanitation, especially by means of providing latrines for women? That women in the villages including those of the most respectable families should be put to the kind of trouble they are now undergoing for want of private and public latrines, is a blot on the fair name of your district, which is so much advanced in education and material well-being. And happily every panchayat in this area is in possession of sufficient funds to create this amenity almost immediately, if only you make up your minds. Several types of latrines are suggested, but I would recommend for your consideration two types in particular. One is the bore-hole latrine, which has also been strongly recommended by the Inspector of Local Boards and for which the Government have offered some concessions. The other is the pit latrine recommended by Mr. F. L. Brayne, the author of the famous Gurgaon experiment in the Punjab. You will be interested to know that Mr. Brayne was able to get nearly 30,000 of these pits made in the villages of Gurgaon. They are usually 6 feet long 4 feet broad and 4 or 5 feet deep, with one or two planks or slaps placed across. Such pits may be dug in backyards or in the fields. All the sweepings in the house including ashes are to be thrown in them and in addition they are to be used as latrines. They get filled in 4 or 6 months

and then their contents could be removed as manure. The ideal arrangement would be to have two pits in each house and some in the fields. Those intended for women would, of course, have to be screened, but that is the case with every type of latrine. In the part of the country from which I come, that is, the Mysore State, such pits are in use in the villages and even in the Municipalities where daily scavenging has not been yet introduced. Whether this suggestion commends itself to you or not, it is nevertheless your duty to recognise the needs of decency, health and convenience and to provide latrines, even postponing other works, if necessary.

Another suggestion that I may venture to make is that in the panchayats, favourably situated, compulsory education should be introduced. It will perhaps be said that this is a subject more in the provincial than in the local sphere of Government. For the Provincial Government to introduce compulsion it will take a very long time and we cannot really wait so long. In a district like yours where most of the villages are provided with schools, the introduction of compulsion is comparatively easy, both on account of the enlightenment of the people and the possession of funds. When the power to introduce compulsion was in the hands of Government and not in the hands of popular representatives, we were proudly demanding it from all platforms. Is it right that we should now grow indifferent to it, having the power in our hands? Instances are not wanting of panchayats less favourably situated than you are of having introduced compulsion. It should therefore make you think seriously of it. What I suggest is that in some panchayats at least, it may be introduced in the next year.

I have purposely abstained from dealing with the new Local Boards Act though its bearing on the welfare of the panchayats is most intimate. I have not felt competent to deal with it having no practical experience of its working. Moreover, it has not yet been in operation for a sufficiently long time to judge of it. But I am sure you, who have better opportunities of knowing how it affects the panchayats, will have suggestions to make in the course of this conference. One good feature of the Act is that it has secured a share of land cess to the village panchayat, though we all wish that that share had been larger. I wish the demand that was made by you on a former occasion, and by many others, that one anna in the rupee of the land revenue collected in every village should be handed over to the panchayat, had been conceded. But even under this Act, it is possible for us to demand that the share of the rural development fund for each village should be handed over to the village panchayat wherever one exists.

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