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Topics of the Week.

Federation the only Solution.

HIS Highness the Nawab of Bhopal, who with His Highness of Bikaner may be said to be the architect-in-chief of our federation, observed, in his inaugural address to the State Legislative Council, which we understand consists of a majority of officials, that in his opinion federation was the only solution of the Indian problem. "I firmly believe," he said "that a federation based upon a true and proper recognition of the rights of the various constituent units and of the several sections and interests that go to make the people of India, represents the only lines along which lies the future of India worthy of her great past and of the destiny that Providence has kept in reserve for her."

It is a great thing to have obtained from a prominent ruler the recognition that federation offers the only solution to the problems that face us. So far we used to hear the sentiment voiced by British Indian leaders alone like Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. Jayakar and the Right Honourable Sastri. Now the Princes too have begun to echo it. How much better would it have been if they had shown themselves alive to the supreme need for federation at an earlier stage! For if Indian India too were as keen on federation at the initial stages of the Round Table discussions as British India was, the resulting federal scheme would not have been so one-sided a bargain as it actually is.

It is an admitted fact that in India the States have had to make no sacrifices at all in the interest of the federation. The scope of the federal government is to be confined, so far as they are concerned,

only to subjects over which they have already lost complete control. Some other subjects which are still in their hands and which it is necessary that they should surrender, if a full-blooded federation is to be formed, they tenaciously keep with themselves. Their representatives in the federal legislature are to be selected by the Princes by nomination. There is to be no guarantee of elementary rights in the federal constitution for the benefit of the States' subjects. All these conditions British Indian leaders quietly agreed to; they did not dare to suggest a change in them because they felt that the rulers of Indian States had not realised, as they themselves had, the inevitability of federation; and they felt that they had to pay the penalty of their superior wisdom and patriotism by accepting terms which they would never have accepted from their opposite numbers at the R. T. C. if the latter had shown any consciousness of the fact that federation would benefit Indian States as much as British India. As it was, British Indians thought that they were negotiating with men who did not see the need for federation and could be coaxed into considering a federal scheme only by promising that the States would have to make no kind of sacrifice. After obtaining from British India all that they wanted, Indian Princes now show no less enthusiasm about federation than British Indian leaders!

And what is the destiny that providence has reserved for India? Not only will she be permanently under the British flag (for the Princes demand that the British connection shall be maintained intact for all time), but the States will forever be under the paramountcy of the British Crown and never come under the overlordship of the federal government, again by the Princes' own demand. Which means that India shall perpetually be subject to foreign interference. It is not Providence that has reserved this destiny to India, but powers mightier than Providence, viz. Indian Princes!

Liberals and Swarajists.

"HOWEVER defective the White Paper proposals be, the fact remains that about thirty-five million people, men and women, are going to be enfranchised under these proposals. They will send their representatives to the Legislatures of the country, which, in the provincial sphere, will have very wide powers, subject, as they are to the wider powers of interference vested in the Governors, in the name of safeguards and special interests. . . . There is no meaning in boycotting the elections to the Councils. . . . The only result of liping the phrase 'boycott of Councils' is that one will succeed, if at all, in only boycotting the best men and women from the Councils. This is no good to any body."

"In spite of their very limited powers, these Councils can serve the purpose of first-class forums for stating the case of the people, for resisting bad measures of

legislation or of taxation and for promoting good measures. The limitations are there and will be there always. If communalists and reactionaries go there, the limitations will become stronger."

"It must be conceded that, with their limitations, some good may be done even through these Councils . . . I have no patience with those Congressmen and others who loftily preach the boycott of the Councils but willingly obey all the laws made by these Councils and pay all the taxes levied by them."

"It is often asked: Will the Councils give us Swaraj? Nobody but an omniscient man can answer this question. Swaraj will come to us when we deserve it and when we have earned it, but Swaraj will certainly be delayed by the Councils being manned by Communalists and Reactionaries . . . For all these reasons, it is to be sincerely and earnestly hoped that the Indian National Congress, which represents the most advanced and national political thought in the country, will not repeat the mistake of the boycott of the elections, but will boldly, patriotically and wisely decide to contest the elections. That way lies freedom."

These extracts are not from the utterances of a Liberal; they are from the article written in the May number of the *Indian Review* by no less a Congressman and Swarajist than Mr. S. Satyamurty. Few Liberals could have put their plea better than has Mr. Satyamurty done. The close correspondence between the views of a Liberal, like Mr. Sastri, and a Congress-Swarajist like Mr. Satyamurty is indeed very striking. As Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar is reported to have said, Mr. Satyamurty may spice his utterances with an abundance of pungent adjectives. But in essence there is hardly a difference between him and Mr. Sastri as regards the desirable course of action and the reasons therefor.

* * *

Rejection.

IN the article Mr. Satyamurty does not advocate the boycott of the new constitution if it did not go beyond the White Paper. Apparently he would work the White Paper even as it stands, which Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru would boycott. Or, has Mr. Satyamurty any hope that the White Paper proposals will be improved before the inauguration of the new constitution, so improved as to make them acceptable to him? Even the Liberals do not entertain such a hope. The proceedings of the Swarajist Conference at Ranchi, the text and tone of the resolutions and Mr. Satyamurty's own speech thereat, are not likely to soften the Tory diehards in England and improve the White Paper in the direction desired by the Swarajists. There is now more chance of the White Paper being whittled down than improved.

The Swarajists, and Mr. Satyamurty with them, have proclaimed their determination to "reject" the White Paper. Some more ardent spirits have already pronounced its deathknell and delivered the funeral oration. But supposing the White Paper is "rejected" by India and consequently not enacted by England, what next? Working the Montagu constitution for an indefinite length of time? Even the Liberals were not content with it; they asked for its improvement immediately it was inaugurated. Advanced politicians like the Congress-Swarajists cannot certainly be content to go on with it indefinitely. They must agitate for an improved constitution, more after their heart. Froth, fury and smoke-screens apart, the Swarajists' policy of "rejection", according to Mr. Satyamurty, boils down to this: capture the current constitution, however rotten it may be, and strive constitutionally for a better, but never boycott.

Amen, say the Liberals.

* * *

Punjab Local Boards.

IT is difficult to believe that in a notoriously communal-minded province like the Punjab elections to any representative bodies can be on the basis of any but separate electorates. But this is nevertheless a fact in so far as district boards at any rate are concerned and if what is said by the Punjab Government in their recent resolution on the working of district boards is to be believed, the system of joint electorates is not known to have resulted in any very serious harm to the interests of any of the minority communities. The only precaution taken by way of preventing inequalities in communal representation is so to mark off the different electoral areas that "the various communities shall be in a position to elect the number of representatives to which they are entitled, according to their population and voting strength." Even so, a minority community has not always found it possible to secure its due share of representation; but it is said that on the whole the system may be said to be working successfully. If it has been found possible, by this contrivance, to avoid the poison of separate electorates in the limited field of local self-government, it must be a puzzle to many why a like arrangement should be unattainable in the wider field of provincial and national self-government. But the phenomenon is not so unintelligible as it appears at first sight. The Muslims, wherever they are a minority community, have insisted upon and have mostly succeeded in getting separate electorates even in local bodies. The other minorities are more broad-visioned and refrain from demanding communal representation unless forced by the logic of circumstances to do so. If the minority communities in the Punjab had been as suspicious of the Muslim majority there as the Muslim minority is of the majority community in other provinces, the canker of communal representation would long ago have penetrated even into the field of local self-government. For their abstention from pressing their claims to communal representation in local bodies, these minority communities deserve the hearty congratulations of all national-minded people.

The educational expenditure of district boards exceeded Rs. 1 crore and represented more than 59 per cent. of their total expenditure. The expenditure was smaller by about Rs. 5 lakhs than for the previous year, the reduction being nearly equally shared between the boards and the local Government. As in other provinces, a lion's share of the expenditure, 68.9 per cent., was contributed by Government, the balance being made up from (i) district board revenue and (ii) fees and other sources in the proportion of 2:1. The number of high schools conducted by district boards rose by one to 29 and that of primary schools in their charge from 4,191 to 4,260, while vernacular and anglo-vernacular schools fell from 3,224 to 3,140 and 91 to 88. Punjab had at one time acquired a good deal of renown for its interest in the development of adult education. But it has recently been found that these schools were not as satisfactory as they might have been with the result that during the last five years as many as 2,435 of them were closed down, leaving only 322 in existence. Compulsory primary education made some headway during the year, but, owing largely to the general unwillingness shared even by the Education Department to put the coercive provisions of the Act into operation, the attendance does not seem to have shown a corresponding improvement. It would delight social reformers to know that female education continued to progress during the year, the number of girls' schools maintained by the boards going up by 30 to 267 and the students by about 2000 to 40,000. The decision by some boards to reserve 10

per cent. of their educational expenditure for developing girls' education must be welcomed as evidencing a greater recognition on their part of the value of female education in national uplift.

S. I. S. Rural Centre's Work.

AS our readers are aware, on February 18 last the C. P. Branch of the Servants of India Society started a rural welfare centre at Bhambora near Amraoti, the Senior Member, Mr. Dravid, himself being in charge of it for the time being. Since then Mr. Dravid has not allowed grass to grow under his feet. His activities fall under six categories, educational, agricultural, co-operative, debt redemption, public health and medical relief. The newly started primary school attended by 20 children, boys and girls, and meeting for three hours in the morning will play an important part in the spread of literacy in the village. With a view to demonstrating to the villagers the superiority of improved agricultural methods a private model farm is maintained. This kind of work would have been impossible but for the co-operation of the officers of the Agricultural Department, which Mr. Dravid has been able to secure in full measure. Instruction in the use of modern methods of farming is also conveyed to the villagers by means of cinema shows. This part of the work of the centre is naturally very popular with the village folk who turn up in large numbers to benefit by it. As

for cooperative activity, the preliminaries for the starting of a small co-operative society may be said to be nearly complete. Even during his short association with the village Mr. Dravid has been able to win the confidence of the villagers and to render valuable service to them by acting as arbitrator in the settlement of their old debts in cases where parties have been willing to have such settlement made. Three such disputes have already been settled by him in a manner satisfactory to the parties concerned and three more are pending settlement. An attempt is made to promote the sanitation of the village by inducing the villagers to dump *kuchra* and manure in a given place and not to throw it about anywhere and everywhere. Two vaidyas from Amraoti have promised the centre their hearty co-operation in the matter of the provision of medical relief. To this end they are expected to pay weekly visits to the village, and it is highly creditable to them that beyond their bus fare, which does not exceed one rupee for every visit, they are going to charge nothing to the Centre. This unvarnished recital of the Centre's work under Mr. Dravid's leadership will show our readers that Bhambora has a useful future before it. Though at present the general lines of work are being laid in one village only an area of about 40 villages round about within a ten mile radius has been worked out which will also be covered by similar activities carried on from the Bhambora centre.

PLANNING IN INDIA: SCHUSTER'S PARTING SPEECH.

THE unsatisfactory results of the system of appointing British politicians and civil servants to high offices in the Government of India for a period of five years are best illustrated by the parting speech that Sir George Schuster, the retiring Finance Member delivered at Bombay. Five years are too short a period for any the ablest administrator to learn all the difficulties of his job, to devise remedies to surmount these and to put his schemes of reform into execution. As Sir George said, at the end of the fifth year he is just in a position to make a start on constructive work. In a bureaucracy the direction of policy vests in experienced and tried officials. In a democracy the leaders of public opinion who have continuously to justify themselves to their followers have the initiative and control in public policy. We are having in India at the present moment neither the one nor the other form of administration and hence any comprehensive and energetic action in the field of national development is hardly to be expected. The Finance Member of the Government of India is content so long as he can balance his budget. If this entails a cumulative hardship on the producers or consumers much beyond their capacity to bear he and his party have not to answer for their actions to the electorate.

Next to the difficulties of direction and responsibility comes the even more fundamental drawback inherent in England's government over India. As a former Finance Member of the Governor-General's Council, Sir John Strachey, admitted, the first duty of an English Finance Member is to care for the interests of England. It is true indeed that since

the days of Strachey considerable alterations have taken place in the constitutional structure of India. It might also be conceded in fairness to several English administrators that they have tried as far as they could to vindicate the superior claims of Indian over British interests. So long, however, as the supreme control of policy vests in the Secretary of State who is responsible to the British electors the Indian Finance and Commerce Members will have an insuperable difficulty, even if they have the inclination, to devise an Indian policy free from any consideration but that of the promotion of Indian interests.

Sir George Schuster has outlined four cardinal features of the policy which in his opinion should guide planned governmental action. First, all possible energy should be devoted to developing the internal market and improving the standard of living in India. Secondly, the Ottawa Agreement should be extended much further in the direction of creating real economic unity between the nations of the British Commonwealth. Thirdly, maximum security in non-Empire markets should be obtained by special trade agreements. Lastly, India's competitive power should be improved by increasing the efficiency of production and the grade and quality of the produce. This outline of the objectives of public policy is significant. It is interesting to note that the pride of place is given to a development of the market and the increase in the standard of life. This is in keeping with the cherished dreams of certain people to the effect that in the growing needs of the increasing population of India there is more than

enough scope for the profitable employment of Indian as well as British industry.

Even though the end in view is not purely of Indian concern we need not quarrel with the means of attaining it inasmuch as the development of the home market and the raising of the standard of life are both urgently desired by the people of this country. If, however, other items in the prescribed programme are detrimental to the realisation of the first end a more definite and acceptable objective would be desirable. In this regard the second item in Sir George Schuster's programme is significant. When the Ottawa Agreement was being recommended to the Legislative Assembly no less a person than the present President of that body, then an ordinary member, claimed that the Ottawa Agreement had nothing to do with a proposal of Imperial Preference as such, and that it was a trade agreement pure and simple. Sir George Schuster with his present position of greater freedom and less responsibility, as a retiring Finance Member, has stated that Ottawa is the first step on the road to the creation of real economic unity in the British Empire. If the objective of state planning in India is to so order India's economic resources as to conduce to the greatest strength of the Empire as a whole the separate claims of India to have its own Industrial advancement irrespective of its implied bearings on the fortunes of the other parts of the British Empire are likely to be sacrificed. In this sense the industrial policy of the Government of India continues to be what it was, and there is no trace of the 'orientation' of which Sir George spoke.

The plea for Empire economic unity is indicative of the divided allegiance that the Finance Members owe to the country of their birth and the country whose fortunes they temporarily direct. The *pros* and *cons* of the proposal to strengthen the inter-Imperial economic relations have been often discussed, and in its present political condition the voice of Indian public opinion has been definitely hostile to any further economic dependence on the United Kingdom or other parts of the British Empire. It is likely that Sir George had these facts in view when he talked of strengthening the unity of the nations of the British 'Commonwealth'. After India has attained the freedom that is at present enjoyed by the other Dominion Governments normal constitutional and political conditions would be set up for the consideration of a genuine Trade Agreement between India and other parts of the Empire including Great Britain itself. In view of the past associations and some of the complementary features of Indian and British economies such an agreement may not be altogether out of the question. But any insistence by British officials at the present moment on Imperial Economic Unity at once alienates both Indian and foreign opinion. This is clear from the attitude of nations like Japan, Germany and Italy on the subject of Indian trade. These nations among others are now definitely following an anti-Indian, and in fact an anti-Empire, trade policy which has hit India badly. It is doubtful,

whether the advantages secured in the United Kingdom market are not dearly purchased by the sacrifices made by the Indian consumers and producers. At the present moment it is best to keep all trade agreements including those with countries within the Empire on an identical basis.

It is curious that the most important item in the scheme of economic planning is mentioned last by Sir George Schuster. Unlike almost all his predecessors in office Sir George supported a policy of economic nationalism and conscious planning for India and though we need not be very enthusiastic or optimistic supporters of either of these policies this orientation in the thoughts of high British officials is to be welcomed. The most important plank in a planned economic platform is regulated, organised and, where necessary, subsidised production. Not only in the field of agriculture, but also in transport, industry and finance this policy of regulated development is called for. In fact it might be said about planned economy, as Mr. Robertson and Dr. Bowley have recently emphasised, that the greatest chances of success lie in a comprehensive, well-informed, vigorous and continuous effort. The British and Imperial preoccupations of our Government are an initial drawback in any scheme of planning in India. Then again there is the natural reluctance on the part of a non-popular government to meddle too closely with the affairs of important social classes like the manufacturers, industrialists and financiers. Recent experience of protection in India, which indeed is only one phase of planning, has demonstrated the validity of both these objections.

The occasion of Sir George's speech in Bombay was chosen by the Finance Department of the Government of India to release an important, almost an epoch-making, resolution on the subject of agricultural development. As in the case of the speech of the Finance Member the importance of the resolution lies not in its detailed contents but in its approach to the problem of economic amelioration in India. That a service for collecting reliable and adequate statistical information should be set up, that steps should be taken by the state not only to relieve present indebtedness but also to increase the future productivity of the peasantry, that industry should be so planned as to play its proper role in a healthy economy, and that direct responsibility lies with the Government for supplying the guidance and structure for an intelligent and productive employment of the nation's economic resources are some of the conclusions which are for the first time officially enunciated in this resolution. It is for this reason that we call this an epoch-making pronouncement on state policy. The era of *laissez-faire* is now officially at an end; that of planning is ushered in.

Except for this broad enunciation of policy, however, the resolution taken with the explanatory speech of the Finance Member leaves very much to be desired. Sir George claimed that this resolution ushers in an organised drive for agricultural development. We fear that there is not much either of a drive or of an organisation in the present intentions

of the Government as revealed in the resolution. On all pressing questions such as indebtedness, finance, marketing, crop regulation, and capital development actual responsibility both for initiation and execution has been shoved on to the provinces. The Central Government proposes to confine itself to supplying information and giving financial assistance wherever feasible. This will constitute the fatal weakness of the scheme. It cannot be too often emphasised that Indian provinces are not economic units, that in an industrialised age India must constitute an economic whole, and that responsibility for planning, direction and finance must lie primarily in the Government of India. This is the case not only in the present substantially unitary constitution of India, but even the introduction of a federal constitution will leave unimpaired the economic responsibilities of the Central Government. In Federations like the U.S.A. the first steps in planning have necessitated a concentration of authority in the Central Government. It will be strange indeed if we were to start planning with dispersed authority and responsibility. This is a question of first-rate importance and the sooner publicists and officials make up their mind about it the better for the economic development of the country.

In the absence of a strong unified direction from the Centre even the limited proposals of reform are bound to be ineffective. Unfortunately in the present case the plans themselves are lacking in comprehension and boldness. On the subject of agricultural indebtedness, which constitutes a first-rate economic, social and political danger, the Conference of Provincial Finance Members achieved nothing more than a preliminary review. The only solution contemplated is the addition of Land Mortgage Banks to which the Reserve Bank, when it is started, is to lend its support. Responsibility in this matter is, however, too unreservedly thrown on the provinces, whereas, at least in essentials a coordinated and centrally directed plan was necessary. More fundamental is the fact that neither the Central nor the provincial Governments are prepared to recognise the desperate and cumulative character of this evil. The ultimate solution of the problem will have to be found in increasing the productivity of agriculture and in developing non-agricultural avenues of profitable employment. But an immediate remedy at compulsory composition of debts by state initiative and assistance is urgently called for in many areas. At least one Indian state has made an excellent beginning in this direction and it is time that the Governments in British India bestirred themselves.

Government, it is satisfactory to note, are conscious of the limitations of their programme and they recognise the need of constructive action. With a view to increase the net profits of the agriculturist even on the basis of his present yield an improvement in marketing organisation is clearly indicated. This reform has been attracting the attention of provincial cooperative and agricultural departments for a long while, and we feel that several suitable candidates for the post of all-India Marketing Officer

could have been found in the ranks of the Indian Agricultural Service. Government, however, have recently imported an European gentleman as Central Marketing Officer. We have nothing to say about the personal merits of the choice, but so long as this mania at importing foreign personnel continues it will be difficult to inspire confidence in the reform schemes of Government even though they are initiated with a fanfare of 'economic nationalism.' The steps that Government propose to recommend to the provincial departments are in the right direction. Propaganda, grading, transport facilities and regulated markets all figure in their programme, and it is to be hoped that under the direction of the newly appointed Central Marketing Officer substantial progress along these lines will be made. Government are doing well in keeping before them the ideal of having separate organisation for each important crop, but the danger of lack of coordination must be carefully avoided. We agree that within the framework of the Ottawa scheme an intensive agricultural planning will yield some profitable results. This, however, is conditional on our retaining the goodwill of foreign nations and hence too sweeping approaches towards Empire Trading must be avoided in the best interests of the nation.

In respect of the non-agricultural side of their programme Government are not at present prepared to move further than establishing an Industrial Research Branch and offering loans for road development to Provincial Governments. This is the acid test of the Government of India in two senses. It is true that for restoring health to Indian economic life an agricultural revolution is as necessary—if not more so than—an industrial revolution. But Government in supporting the idea of an organised agriculture without lending its authority to that of industrial planning is not only acting in a half-hearted fashion but it is thus laying itself open to a plausible accusation. Agricultural India, it might be said, is a suitable partner in Empire economy, an Agricultural-Cum-Industrial India may be regarded as a serious rival. We for ourselves do not feel that such is necessarily the case. Provided the constitutional issue is satisfactorily settled and India is put in the same position as the Dominions in relation to Great Britain, India will not only be more willing to consider schemes of economic and financial alliance but will add her own immense strength to the collective resources of the Commonwealth of Nations associated with Great Britain. In view of the grant of protection to certain Indian industries and the increasing discontent among the newly born class of industrial proletariat it is of the utmost urgency and importance that industrial, transport and financial development should be made to fit in with the needs of agricultural reform and with the ends of national economic policy as a whole.

We wholeheartedly welcome the approach of Government to the goal of a planned economy. We feel, however, that as yet it is very halting and unsystematic. Constitutionally a new era is to dawn in India, and economically the situation is now

favourable for responding to planned and regulative action. If the spokesmen of Government show themselves mindful of the necessities of the situation and of the just claims of all classes of people, and of all branches of the economic life they have it within their power to build up a strong and prosperous India which will be a free and valuable ally of the Empire.

D. G. KARVE.

PREVENTION OF EARLY MARRIAGES.

IN her little book, "Child Marriage: The Indian Minotaur,"* Miss Eleanor Rathbone sets out with apostolic zeal to fight the evil of child marriage in India. She is a Conservative in British politics and is opposed to the granting of the Indian demand for political reform in India. As Miss Mayo and others of her tribe have done, Miss Rathbone might have attempted to exploit the existence of child marriage in India to prejudice the British public against the political aspirations of the Indian nationalists. But she is far too genuinely interested in the speedy elimination of an admitted social evil to seek to exploit it for anti-Indian political purposes. Conservative as she is and unwilling to go beyond the White Paper, she makes the existence of the social evil the justification for a more radical advance in the White Paper in one respect, the larger enfranchisement of women.

She has no anti-Indian axe to grind. She frankly recognises the sincerity and zeal of the Indian social reformers in combating the evil of child marriage. "From the time of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms onwards, Indian social reformers have led the way in pressing the subject on the Assembly." She repudiates Miss Mayo's uncharitable, to say the least, view of the Sarda Act to restrain child marriage. "I can find no justification myself for the view put forward by Miss Mayo in the sequel volume to her *Mother India*, that the Sarda Act was calculated fiasco, designed by Hindu nationalists simply to placate Western opinion." The Government of India had taken full responsibility for the Act. Sir James Crerar, the then Home Member of the Government of India, had stated in the Assembly that "the measure had the cordial sympathy and the strongest support of Government."

Undoubtedly the Sarda Act has been a failure. This was due not only to certain defects in the Act itself but also to the deliberate laxity in its administration. For this she blames with righteous indignation both the Government and the Indian leaders. Government had not hesitated to use ruthless force when either the prestige or the commercial interests of the British were concerned, but when it concerned the enforcement of the Sarda Act, it ran away from it for fear of risks and public odium. She accuses the Indian leaders of having failed to carry on a raging and tearing campaign for the abolition of child marriage once the Sarda Act was passed and fervently wishes that

the right leaders will arise who could do this. As if to lend force to her exhortation, she avers that successful social reform will forward the cause of Indian political reform. "To a far greater extent than most Indians seem to realise, Indian constitutional advance is regarded with misgiving even by those who think it inevitable because of their deep-rooted horror at the social evils that are tolerated in India, and because of the conclusions they draw from the seeming passivity and indifference even of many enlightened Indians concerning them."

The more potent cause for the failure of the Sarda Act is the preoccupation of both the Government and the Indian leaders with the political struggle during the last decade. Engaged in a political war with the Indian National Congress under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, the Government thought it only prudent that they should not rouse the opposition of the large masses of the orthodox whom the Sarda Act irritates and offends more than the political slogans of the Mahatma affect. Bargaining for Muslim support, the Government could not afford to ram the Sarda Act down the throats of the protesting Muslims. Similarly, the Indian leaders were almost wholly preoccupied with politics to find time for social reform. Both the Government and the Congress were looking for friends and that was not the time for either to embark on a crusade against child marriage, which would only alienate millions of the orthodox from them. However genuine and deep their interest in social reform, they had perforce to give the first place to the political situation. The cooperation, close and continuous, between the Government and the Indian leaders is necessary for a successful drive against the monster of child marriage and that has been wanting.

It may be that successful social reform may facilitate political reform. But the Indian social reformer would rather attack social evils because they are evils and not because by so doing he will make a better appearance before his rulers, the British. To tell the Indian to be a good boy is not exactly calculated to rouse his genuine enthusiasm for social reform.

Moreover, as has been said above, until there is political peace in the country, social reform, however urgent, has not much chance. Apart from this, reforms of this kind require, as Miss Rathbone herself admits, large funds. Not until the organisation of the resources of the country is fully vested in the hands of Indians will it be possible to find funds for all the various social reforms that are urgent and necessary. The more of Swaraj India has the more she will be able to do for social reform. All those who are genuinely interested in social reform should do their level best to advance India along the path of Swaraj.

PANCHAYATS IN C. P. IN 1932-33.

A FEATURE of the working of panchayats in C. P. and Berar numbering 804 during 1932-33 was the enthusiasm shown by them in attending to their judicial duties to the virtual exclusion of their

* CHILD MARRIAGE: THE INDIAN MINOTAUR. By Eleanor F. Rathbone. (Allen & Unwin.) 1934. 19cm. 138p. 2/6.

administrative ones. Judicial functions are no doubt an important part of the duties devolving on these village bodies; but by no means less important are the ones relating to the sanitation, public health, roads and public lighting, etc. In fact it can be said without exaggeration that it is these municipal duties that form the *raison d'être* of the creation of panchayats and must be regarded as of primary importance. With a view to inducing in them a keener sense of the importance of these functions it seems to be contemplated to make the investiture of judicial functions in panchayats dependent on the satisfactory performance by them during the previous year of their administrative functions. At any rate action on these lines has been suggested by the Panchayat Officer whose post was revived, after a lapse of two years, in 1933, we take it, in view to the widespread public interest shown in the panchayat movement.

Why are administrative duties thus fought shy of? The explanation is not far to seek. The fear of unpopularity occasioned by levying taxes seems to act as a deterrent. But it is a mistake to suppose that the imposition of taxes must necessarily follow the acceptance of such administrative responsibility by these bodies, or that some at any rate of these functions cannot be discharged without resort to taxation. There are many matters like, e. g., inducing house-keepers to build latrines, fixing a particular spot at a safe distance from dwelling houses where alone calls of nature may be answered, which can be attended to by Panchayats without involving themselves in any proposals for taxation. Why should they not confine their attention to such matters till imposition of taxes is found unavoidable? It is to be hoped that this aspect of the matter is being brought to their attention so that the Panchayat Officer will next year be in a position to report not only an increase in the number of panchayats but a livelier appreciation on their part of their responsibility for the well-being of the villagers. What is necessary is not so much a mechanical increase in the number of these bodies as the creation among the members of panchayats of the necessary public spirit. Propaganda towards this end needs to be vigorously pursued by those who have the interests of the growth of the panchayat movement at heart.

An examination of the manner in which they handled their judicial functions is interesting as being an eye-opener to those who prognosticated dire results for such an experiment. Out of the 4,950 criminal cases disposed of by 749 village benches, acquittals on compromise resulted in 2,765, unconditional acquittals in 1,128 and discharges on admonition in 163. These village courts are reported to have generally acted in a fair and impartial manner with the result that instances in which their decisions necessitated any modification at the hands of superior authority were indeed very few. They also seem to be receiving a satisfactory measure of cooperation from the villagers in the discharge of their responsibility and only in 33 cases had the powers of the Deputy Commissioner to be invoked for compelling the attendance of the accused before

the courts. Statistics about the exercise of civil powers by these bodies fully bear out the claim made for them that they provide prompt and cheap justice to the villagers. Out of a total of 9,395 civil cases that came before them, only 2,585 i. e. about 22 per cent. were contested, the remaining 7,010 being uncontested. It is gratifying that the number of cases, both civil and criminal, pending for over two months was only a very small proportion of the total.

A glance at the statement of income and expenditure of these bodies shows that while the former was Rs. 1,63,000, the latter was a little over Rs. 1 lakh, leaving a closing balance of Rs. 59,000, which was larger than for the preceding year by about Rs. 3,000. Nearly one-half of the income was made up of taxes, fees and fines. It would have been interesting if we could have known what proportion was contributed by the last item. But as the income from these three sources is lumped together in the report, our curiosity must remain unsatisfied. May it be hoped that the future reports will show the income from fines separately? A sum of over Rs. 4,200 was spent either on the construction of new tanks and wells or on improvements to already existing watering places. We hope all this expenditure is incurred in connection with watering places, access to which is not barred to people belonging to the depressed classes.

A beginning in the direction of giving panchayats a voice in the management of village forests seems also to have been made. The beginning is certainly very small in that only three panchayats were endowed with any forest powers. Under the rules governing the grant of such powers, the panchayat concerned has to pay into the Government treasury a sum of money representing half the average annual grazing revenue of the previous three years. All members of such panchayats are appointed forest officers *ex-officio* and are deemed to be equal in rank to a Ranger; but they are not empowered to effect arrests without warrant. It is too soon yet to say whether the transfer is attended with successful results.

It is a matter for regret that panchayats in C. P. and Berar, as in other provinces, are far from prompt or businesslike in the preparation of records and statements enjoined by law and it is not without constant dunning that the required information can be secured from them. The Panchayat Officer's report mentions several instances of such remissness on the part of panchayats. The situation may however be expected to improve in course of time as panchayats become familiar with their functions. With the growing public interest evinced in the problem of rural uplift it is easy to see that panchayats can be made to play an important part in its solution. That this possibility is not altogether absent in their minds is shown by the practical steps taken or contemplated by some of them to improve conditions of village life.

Our London Letter.

(BY AIR MAIL.)

(From Our Correspondent.)

LONDON, April 20.

THE POLITICAL STAGE HERE.

IT is as well to keep a watchful eye upon present political tendencies in this country, and recent by-elections help to give one a pointer. In the Basingstoke election Mr. Drummond Woolff succeeded in retaining the seat for the Tories, though with a very much diminished majority, against an energetic Liberal opponent, who succeeded in bringing back the Liberal vote almost to what it had been in 1929. Mr. Drummond Woolff was nominally a Nationalist candidate, but in fact, I should imagine, he is a somewhat lukewarm supporter of the Government and not at all a supporter of its India policy, his sympathies lying rather with Mr. Churchill than with Sir Samuel Hoare. Still it is important to note that in an agricultural constituency like Basingstoke Liberalism is raising its head again. North Hammersmith, on the contrary, where Miss Mary Pickford's untimely death had created a vacancy, was almost certain, with the swing of the pendulum, to go back to its Labour allegiance when so effective a personality as Mr. West came forward as a candidate on behalf of the Labour Party. He rolled his Tory opponent in the dust, the Communist candidate being exactly nowhere, in spite of deflections from the Independent Labour Party. It has, however, to be remembered that in the numerous by-elections that have taken place since 1931, the Government have lost only four seats. It looks as if they may lose yet another in the Stepney by-election opened by the resignation of Mr. Chotzner, formerly of the Calcutta High Court. Stepney is ordinarily very amenable to Labour influence, and it is therefore very probable that unless the Labour vote is divided, the Tory candidate will this time be heavily defeated. That there may be a serious split in the Labour vote is probable, since the Independent Labour Party are putting up Mr. Fenner Brockway. This party has definitely broken with the official Labour Party, and it is very improbable that the latter will allow Mr. Brockway to go unopposed in the fight against the Tory candidate. In all probability there will be a four-cornered contest, since the Liberals, too, are almost sure to put up a candidate, and there may even be a Communist standing against Mr. Fenner Brockway, in order to show how little Moscow thinks of the pusillanimity of the L. L. P.

A very clear indication, however, of the way in which important elements in the Government are regarding the prospects of the future, is to be found in Sir Thomas Inskip's appeal at the United Club on Tuesday to the Conservatives, to realise that the days of the old Conservatism, devised to meet a very different situation from that which now faces the country, are numbered, and that it is to their interests to go to the polls at the next general election as a National Party, with National Liberal and National Labour colleagues, just as they have done in the days when the erstwhile Radical, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, had led to the right his important following of Liberal-Unionists, who had helped to strengthen the Conservative hold upon the country. It was pointed out on this occasion that to this very day in Birmingham there are no Conservative Party organisations, but only Unionist ones, and Sir Thomas Inskip was

definitely looking forward to a rally, under the appellation of Nationalist of all those, or at any rate a very large part of those, representing middle-minded opinion in the country, who would have to fight against what they contemplated as the threat of dictatorship, whether from the right or from the left. Where the official Liberal Party will be two years hence, it is difficult to say. Suggestions have been made for some kind of working arrangement between them and Labour, but Mr. Clynes has somewhat ruthlessly turned them down, upon the ground that whatever may be the limited community of interest in an intermediate period between Liberalism and Labour, for purely temporary purposes, it would do Labour no good whatever to be allied, even loosely, with a Party so entirely hostile to the primary objects of the Labour Party as official Liberalism. There is, of course, the Lloyd George schism to be reckoned with, but it is very unlikely that the erstwhile wizard of Wales will achieve a come-back. There is too profound a distrust of him both among Liberals and among Labour people.

On the other hand, the Government have to face an almost certain revolt amongst the staunch Tories against anything that may be calculated, in their opinion, to whittle down the rights and privileges of the Tory Party in pursuit of a policy that, in their view, should be a purely Tory one, with dilution by other considerations. The Government will, therefore, having sent up a trial balloon through the agency of the Attorney-General whose *bona fides* are not suspect, and who is personally well liked in every quarter of the House, notwithstanding his advocacy of a measure condemned in Liberal and Labour quarters as an encroachment upon individual liberty, will have to watch its steps very carefully. It will naturally not desire to invite by too precipitate action what may become a formidable split in the Tory Party, upon whose integrity as a Party success at the next general election against the combined attack of Fascism and Socialism, will depend. The Government, however, may find that it is going to be very difficult, if not impossible, to prevent a split of some kind in the Tory ranks. There is not only the old diehard group, whose antagonism is to be feared, there is the constant attack in the Beaverbrook Press of the "Empire first" group, who have never learnt to tolerate Mr. Baldwin's leadership and who look upon Mr. MacDonald's Prime Ministership as anathema, and Sir John Simon's tenure of the Foreign Office with the gravest doubts. There is, too, the growing fear that has been aroused in the constituencies by continued diatribe and loud-voiced propaganda against the Government's India policy. Hitherto the opponents of the policy have had a maximum of publicity and the minimum of criticism. Notwithstanding the overwhelming superiority of the resources in men of recent experience of Indian affairs of the Union of Britain and India, the Union's facilities for propaganda have been small by comparison with those that have been availed of by the India Defence League. Incidentally, I see in today's paper that in imitation of the latter's intensive campaign in Sir Samuel's constituency of Chelsea, Sir John Thompson opened a similar campaign on behalf of the Union in Mr. Churchill's constituency of Epping. It may teach the latter a lesson not easily forgotten.

The net result of all these manoeuvres may well be that, in order not unavoidably to divide the Tory Party on questions of major policy, and with a view to keep the Party together, whether as the mainstay of a Nationalist Party, or as a purely Tory Party, the Government may feel constrained to make such concessions upon the Report of the Joint Select Committee, which I

an authoritatively informed is not now expected before July, as would result in conciliating moderate Conservatives as a whole, including many of those whose doubts and fears have been aroused by recent events. The best information that I can obtain goes to show that the Government are not contemplating any deviation from the plan of Provincial Autonomy, Central Responsibility with somewhat stringent safeguards, and Federation to follow with the minimum of delay, and dependent only upon the adhesion of the States and the condition of finance. It is extremely unlikely, I learn, that Law and Order will be withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the autonomous Provinces, though some formula regarding the political policy may be devised. I should not imagine that the direct franchise is any too secure, and it may be that in the interests of "stability" smaller Houses in the Federal Legislature and Upper Houses in the Provinces are being seriously contemplated. So far as I can judge there is not the slightest chance of the Government's being compelled so to modify its proposals as to produce a Bill that would be unrecognisably like them.

THE CHURCHILL ENQUIRY.

The Committee of Privileges is carrying on its enquiry into Mr. Churchill's charges in circumstances of the completest secrecy, and in view of this the papers are reduced to describing how Mr. Churchill has been obliged, from time to time, to wait in the corridor until he was called in by a secretary, the size and the number of cigars that he smoked, the capacity and the supposed contents of his portfolio of documents, and the number of hours over which his examination extended. So far as Lord Derby is concerned, a resolution of the House of Commons requesting the Lords to give leave to Lord Derby to attend to be examined as a witness has been acquiesced in by a resolution on the part of the Lords giving Lord Derby the necessary permission. It is interesting to note that Lord Hailsham, Lord Derby having expressed his willingness, with Their Lordships' permission, to accede to the request to give evidence before the Committee of Privileges, referred to the difficulty that stood in the way of so doing resulting from the Standing Orders of the House of Lords, dating back some two hundred and sixty years, which provided that "No Lord shall either go down to the House of Commons or send his answer in writing, or appear by counsel to answer any accusation there, upon penalty of being committed to the custody of Black Rod or to the Tower, during the pleasure of this House". Being anxious both to give evidence and to avoid the penalties of so doing without the consent of the House, Lord Derby, said Lord Hailsham, hoped the House would give him permission to appear as a witness in the proceedings before the Committee, but in no other capacity. I understand that the Committee's enquiry will not now be completed at an early date.

CONDITION OF FEMALE LABOUR IN INDIA.

Mrs. Krishnabai Wagh, of the Government Labour Office, Bombay, who is at present in London, was the guest of the British Commonwealth League at a reception on the 17th April, when women from all the different Dominions were present. They listened with great interest to her account of the conditions amongst women workers in Bombay Presidency. She deplored the low standard of living prevailing amongst the workers, due to low pay and poor housing accommodation. The workers, she said, are not housed but "warehoused": practically no attention is paid to the need for light and ventilation in the chawls in which they live. The supervision of women workers by naikins, who also are the sole recruiters of labour, is very unsatisfactory, as

bribery prevails and the women are too much afraid to complain of this. Indian women of the more fortunate classes are beginning to study these problems and to collect information. An impetus was given to this by the Women's Labour Conference held in Bombay last year, the first of its kind in India, resulting in the establishment of lectures, study circles, and visits to factories.

Reviews.

INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM.

THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION. PRATAPAGIRI RAMAMURTY. (The Bombay Book Depot, Bombay 4.) 1933. 18cm. 228p. Re. 1/8.

THE book is divided into three parts. Part I gives the constitutional history of India in 67 pages; Part II "discusses" the existing constitution and is called "The Reformed Regime"; and Part III describes the administrative system (more its history than its structure or working) in about 50 pages, but is, curiously enough, named "The Problems of the Polity." There is a final chapter of 4 pages entitled "The Constitutional Future."

The author has attempted a very big task in too small a compass. He set himself a very high ideal, which is more philosophic than practical, and which he has done very little to accomplish.

The best part of the book is the first (Part I), though that too is not free from defects of rather a serious nature. The summary of the three centuries of constitutional history—rather of the changes made in the system of government in British India—is both learned and generally accurate. It shows wide reading and fair grasp of facts. The chief defect is that it is rather mechanical—the underlying forces, which were responsible for bringing about constitutional changes, are not dealt with and the full significance of important historical events—like that of the Sepoy Mutiny—not clearly brought out. The author regards the Mutiny as a Brahman reaction against western ideas and its results as "beneficent"—the old system was swept away and "the propaganda of western ideas was checked." Not a word is said about the effects of the Mutiny on British policy in the civil and military government of the country or on Indian and British character or on the whole gamut of British-Indian relations.

In Part II, the object of the author, as stated by him, is not so much to describe the reformed constitution as to discuss it in the light of a principle—that of responsible government and of democracy. To the enunciation of this principle itself nearly two chapters are devoted, which are good so far as they go, though there is a needless parade of big names in them. The author has no doubt succeeded in proving—which was hardly in doubt and for which certainly 100 pages were not needed—that there is no democracy or real responsible government in India—not even in the provinces.

In Part II the portion dealing with provincial government is particularly poor. There are conclusions given without premises or reasons. There is a great deal of rather glib talk. Facts are sometimes not stated and when stated are not very clear. There is no precision of expression or scientific outlook. I am afraid it is not a book that should be placed in the hands of students who are already prone to make sweeping generalisations and to indulge in loose talk.

After the claims made in the author's preface and Professor Wadia's foreword one expected to find in Part II a description of the working of the reformed constitution and a scientific and critical examination of its results with concrete proposals for the future. Except for the enumeration of laws passed on the initiative of private members in the central legislature and for a minor reference once or twice to actual conditions in the provinces, the whole of Part II, or for that matter, the whole of the book, might have been written soon after the passing of the Government of India Act, 1919. No effort has been made to utilise the experience of over a dozen years of the working of the reformed constitution and yet the part is called "the Reformed Regime."

Part III has been added perhaps to cover the course on Indian administration. It is good so far as a brief history of the topics dealt with is given; but otherwise the treatment is far too general, scrappy and journalese. The nature of the concluding remarks may be gathered from the following quotation about village self-government:—

"We may hope that, in future, the problem will be seriously taken up. We would only point out that mere introduction or revising of village machinery would not do. The present decadent condition of the villages is due not merely to the decay of their indigenous organisation but also due to the impoverishment of the peasants themselves who form the bulk of the population. Agricultural indebtedness is one of the chief causes of the wretchedness of the countryside. What India needs above all, is a Solon who would undertake heroic and surgical remedies; we want "Seisasmene" on a nation-wide scale".

The final conclusion of the author is of the same airy type — not disclosing any touch with the realities of the situation or with the many complicated problems of the future constitution. The ideal is stated in the words of T. H. Green — "to make of human nature in them all that it has in it to become", and the author ends:—

"Ultimately, we are forced to recognise that the vital necessity is first to visualise the kind of life we would wish to live. The constitution is merely an instrument to concretise our aspirations. The question that we shall ask ourselves is whether we shall convert our State into a fellowship making for a richer or nobler life, common to all of us; or whether it should continue to be a mere welter of contending and conflicting interests, destroying every possibility of national unity, by perpetuating the differences that exist.

On the answer that we give will depend our constitutional future."

GURMUKH N. SINGH.

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT.

GUNHEGAR (Marathi) By LALJI PENDSE. (Author, 1st Bhatwadi, Bombay.) 1934. 22cm. 1894p. Rs. 2.

CHANGE in the attitude towards crime and criminal is one of the very few definite moral advances that humanity has made during the last five or six thousand years of social evolution. Primitive peoples, when not deeply affected by higher civilizations, as for example, those of Oceania, look upon crime as the breach of an inexorable tabu, atonement for which generally consists of the removal of the offender or some relative of his having similar status to that of the offended person. When a young man carried on sexual relations with a girl who, according to the table of prohibited degrees of the tribe, was forbidden to him, and when this fact was openly pointed out, he had to pay for his romance

by climbing up a high palm tree and from its top dropping himself down to instantaneous death. If a man felling a tree had the misfortune of killing a passer-by by the falling of a branch of the tree, it was clear that the feller of the tree had some evil spirit in him which could only be exercised by his death. An old woman was boiling some water when a child of her neighbour managed to overturn the pot containing the boiling water and died of the resulting injuries. Justice, i. e. the pacification of malevolent spirits, and the health of society demanded that a child of that old woman should similarly perish. When such retribution was meted out, society was again believed to be safe and secure from the ravages of evil spirits which were supposed to have lodged themselves in the persons, committing anti-social acts like those described above. One special feature of primitive justice which deserves to be mentioned is that the customary atonement is so spontaneous that external compulsion becomes unnecessary. The persons who perpetrate such anti-social acts, when faced with the nature of their doings, themselves realise the urgency of carrying out the usual course of atonement. In this scheme of law and order the motive of the actor is not regarded and punishment is sometimes vicariously visited.

In the Sumerian code of laws crime is considered to be a wrong against a person and in some degree a definite challenge to the authority of the State. Punishment aims at bringing satisfaction to the person offended against and at reaffirming the authority of the State. The first end is achieved either by revenge or compensation or both. In the case of physical injuries mutilation is the more general form of punishment. Imprisonment as a form of punishment does not seem to have been known and debtors, who failed to make good their debts, had either to go into slavery themselves or to offer some substitute for a fixed number of years.

In the opinion of the ancient writers on the Sacred Laws of the Hindus a wrongful act was a sin which defiled the offender. An offence therefore involved twofold punishment—secular and spiritual. The secular part of punishment consisted of compensation, fine and mutilation depending on the nature of the offence. The king by visiting proper punishment on the offender freed himself from the share of sin which would have attached to him if he had failed to chastise the offender. The offended person got the satisfaction of his wrong being redressed through compensation or mutilation. The necessity of compensation was so much insisted upon that even when no redress could be given either by restitution of lost property or by realisation of money compensation from the offender the ultimate responsibility of making good the stolen property rested on the king, who in some cases transferred it on to the co-residents of the offended person. The offender was not completely absolved by going through the secular part of punishment but he had to perform certain penances and expiatory rites in order to purge himself of the evil effects of his wrongful act. In case he failed to go through this spiritual part of punishment he would have to pass through the horrors of various hells, when he left this world. Writers on polity like Kautilya do not give any prominence to the spiritual side of punishment. They entirely deal with the secular aspect. Imprisonment seems to have been utilized to punish offenders though it is not clear what offences were punishable with it. To judge from Kautilya's observations prisons were intended to be object-lessons on the consequences of wrongful acts. He advises the king to erect prisons by the side of public roads so that passers-by may see the hardships which offenders have to undergo.

In tribal Europe crime was considered to be a wrong against a kindred and was originally avenged upon the kindred of the offender. Later on with the realisation of the disadvantages of blood-feuds compensation came to be substituted as a method of redress. With the development of the powers of the king a wrongful act came to be looked upon also as a derogation from the authority of the king and fine was added to the original methods of punishment. Yet the old idea of retribution by inflicting injury for a specifically injurious act did not altogether vanish and seems to have been the undercurrent that supported the practice of cruel punishments. Imprisonment as a form of punishment for crimes other than high treason did not make its appearance in England till about the middle of the 18th century. Gaols were used to lock up persons who had either to await their doom or their trial. The usual methods of punishment were physical chastisement and transportation.

Modern attitude towards criminal, till Howard, Bentham and others started their humanitarian campaign, was largely dominated by the idea of contemptful revenge. Bentham prepared plans for a type of prison where prisoners could be taught some gainful occupation with a certain amount of individual freedom. He also proposed that for eradication of crimes their root causes must be discovered and remedial measures directly applied. The efforts of a number of brilliant and sincere humanitarians were crowned with success when in the last decade of the eighteenth century the Pennsylvania prison was established and was soon followed by its competitor, the Auburn prison in New York. Since that time the prison systems of Europe and America have shown much progress. While the work of the radical was taking concrete shape in the form of the new prison systems, criminologists by their writings began to focus public attention on the genesis of crime and criminal.

Why do people commit anti-social acts which are regarded as crimes? If we can satisfactorily answer this question, we can determine the function and nature of punishment and therefore the treatment of offenders. According to one set of thinkers criminals are recruited largely from the class of population which is either mentally defective or temperamentally unbalanced. As these traits are accepted to be mainly hereditary, it is concluded that criminality is a hereditary taint. Criminals are born rather than made. In the opinion of others the cause of crime and criminal is best sought for in environment and particularly in the economic distress under which such a large section of population has to live. And there is no doubt that many of the wrongful acts, ranging from petty thefts to dacoity and robbery on the one hand and criminal breach of trust and misappropriation on the other are committed by persons when they have been constantly goaded by their depressing economic conditions. Even in the case of those who commit crimes because of their inherited constitution, the environment and the social order that creates it cannot wholly escape their share of blame. Dr. Willemsse observes: "Though such experiments [those designed to assess the relative importance of heredity and environment] seem to indicate that the congenital determinants deserve pre-eminent consideration, we may readily admit that the environment acts pathoplastically on the delinquent outcome. The environment provides the means through which the innate dispositions are manifested; and especially in certain psychopathic cases the psychopathy consists in this extreme pliability, suggestibility and ease with which individuals are misled. Especially where psychopathy is complicated with feeble-mindedness—as is often the

case according to Birnbaum—the environment will have strong influence". ("Constitution-Types in Delinquency", 1932, p. 18.)

The unhappy persons, who are driven to crime by their hereditary defects, deserve pity and sympathy rather than rebuke and contempt. Society may devise methods of regulation by which the propagation of such defectives is rendered difficult, but it cannot, with any morality to boast of, treat these unfortunate individuals with cruelty. Environment, social and economic, partially at least enters into the genesis of most criminals. Society therefore is not qualified in treating the criminals harshly, for that would mean a visitation of the sins of society on helpless scapegoats. Justice thus demands that punishment for crimes shall not be guided by the spirit of revenge, but that it shall breathe the spirit of reformation.

In a rationally organized society the responsibility of society towards its defective and indigent members ought to be discharged in such a manner that these unlucky persons do not develop anti-social tendencies culminating in vice and crime. Society should not wait, watch and see till such members have taken to vices or committed crimes to pick them and begin the task of reformation, which in the process naturally becomes more difficult, but should seek them out before they have opportunities of developing the tendencies and forthwith apply the remedies to mitigate the defects of heredity and environment. But so long as society goes on listlessly in the haphazard manner that it has been going on for the last hundred and fifty years the least that it owes to the criminals, who are largely its own creation, is to devise ways and means in the methods of punishment whereby they will be rehabilitated into peaceful and useful citizens. Though reformation ought to be the fundamental purpose of punishment, its complementary object of deterring others from committing similar acts ought not to be lost sight of. The whole function of punishment is thus both deterrent and reformative.

Modern criminological practice has given trial to at least two more or less allied methods of achieving this twofold end of punishment, viz., suspended sentence with probation and indefinite sentence with parole. Of these American experience has led many criminologists to prefer the first as it gives the offender a better chance of improving his ways by leaving his sense of self-respect almost unimpaired. In order that punishment may serve the end of deterrence the discipline of the prison must involve a life which is more regulated and a little harder than life outside prison. As Dr. Ewing remarks: "Speaking generally, we might say that punishment should be definitely and clearly unpleasant so that a man, if he has any sense at all, must realise in his calm moments that it is not to his material advantage to incur the risk of it, for otherwise the deterrent purpose will not be secured and that within these limits we should make punishment as reformatory as we can." ("The Morality of Punishment", 1928, p. 69.)

Mr. Pendse in his book, which he presents to the readers with a personal appeal, himself having good experience of Indian prison-life, has in view the purpose of rousing public opinion in favour of a better treatment of prisoners on the lines approved of by criminologists and proved to be successful in the long experiences of England and the United States of America. He shows an excellent acquaintance with the works of many of the leading authorities on the subject of crime and criminal. He has utilized the criminal data regarding Bombay Presidency mainly for one year though in some cases he has drawn on data for more than ten years. The data, imperfect as it is, is supplemented by Mr. Pendse's varied and valuable

experience garnered during the last ten years and more, during which period he has been in prison three or four times, being convicted of what are known to criminologists as evolutive crimes. The chief conclusion that he arrives at is that criminality in India is largely the result of economic conditions and that for its disappearance a complete overhauling of the present social order is necessary. Yet Mr. Pendse is enough of a practical reformer to realise that his ideas about a rational social order are at present a cry in the wilderness and that our attitude towards criminal requires an immediate and urgent change. The main plea of the book is, therefore, for a new orientation towards criminal and his punishment—an orientation which is largely a fact and practice in many Western countries with capitalistic social order. To give effect to such attitude he has also given a fairly detailed programme of reforms within the prison whereby he expects the prisoner to return to a life of usefulness at the end of his penal career. Many of his suggestions are such as have already been advocated by many criminologists of note. For example he pleads very rightly that torture—and here it must be pointed out that he gives some harrowing pictures of some methods actually used within his experience—to elicit confessions must not only be legally prohibited as it is to-day, but must consciously be stamped out even as an unauthorised practice. His contention that the methods of carrying out punishment must be so far humanised as to demonstrate in a practical way that there is no attempt at revenge is but a necessary step in giving expression to the more rational attitude towards crime and criminal. Similarly his suggestion that all convicts should first be sent to certain select gaols where they will be kept under the observation of psychiatrists for some time and then sent out to different prisons where they will be treated in the ways the psychiatrists may have advised is quite reasonable. He pleads very rightly that the amount of manual labour that is enforced on some prisoners should be curtailed. His suggestion that in trying to get work out of the prisoners, the methods of large-scale production should be introduced is such as ought to find favour even with those whose attitude towards crime and criminal is not so progressive as the modern American or European attitude. From the point of view of the economic side of prison management this suggestion, if carried out, should prove advantageous, entailing less cost of management of prisoners. His plea that the leisure of the prisoners should be better utilised is a necessary step towards their rehabilitation which must be an objective of punishment.

Mr. Pendse's work should have carried stronger conviction to his readers if he had utilized data over a longer period and for the whole of India. In stressing the role of economic conditions in the genesis of crimes he has passed over the share of social customs, viz. our marriage-laws, our attitude towards widows etc., which are largely responsible for such crimes as adultery, infanticide and are a factor of some importance in other crimes like kidnapping, murder, etc. In his programme for the reform of our prison system he seems to have overlooked the necessity of keeping the deterrent aspect of punishment in view as long as the present social order continues so that the system of reforms may not break down.

A detailed history of the movement for prison reform in England, America and some of the continental countries and the various experiments at rationalizing the system of punishment carried on in

America during the last sixty years would have furthered the object which Mr. Pendse has in publishing the book. The relation between crime and drink is an important aspect of the subject of crime which he, with his uncommon opportunities for such a study, could have investigated with great advantage. I hope when this book enters its second edition Mr. Pendse will enhance its value by dealing with these topics exhaustively. As it is, his book would be a solid contribution in any language and is quite unique in Marathi.

G. S. GHURYE.

PROBLEM OF ECONOMIC DEPRESSION.

THE WORLD ECONOMIC DEPRESSION. By J. C. COYAJEE. (The Huxley Press, Madras.) 1932. 24cm. 96p. Re. 1.

A PLEA for international co-operation as a means of fighting the present economic depression and of preventing future depressions is put forward by Prof. J. C. Coyajee in the present book. The writer declares his economic faith in the following opening words of his book. "Alike in the field of national and international economics, the method of co-operation must be developed, if we are to avoid debacles like the present one or indeed to save capitalistic society itself"

Prof. Coyajee is of opinion that in view of the magnitude of the present depression, 'monistic' theories relating to the business cycle cannot alone be said to account for the prevalence of the depression, but that there are other contributory causes like tariffs, reparations and currency policy, which also have to be taken into account.

The first chapter in the book is devoted to a study of the various causes leading to the depression and the appreciation of the contribution of each to the general result and the second chapter is devoted to a consideration of remedial measures. At the very commencement of the second chapter, Prof. Coyajee reiterates his ideal by saying, "Needless to say that ours is a plea for a close collaboration and co-ordination, for in such co-operation lies the only hope of saving our economic fabric". He urges the satisfactory settlement of the reparations problem (which has been settled since the book was written), the remedying of the maldistribution of gold by America releasing the gold hoarded in her banks' vaults, the formation of a sterling bloc if America and France do not release gold and thus help in world's economic reconstruction, the improvement of the gold standard by economizing the use of gold as currency, the greater co-operation between the Central Banks of the world in their credit and currency policies, and last but not least "the fixing of the maximum of tariff walls and their gradual lowering by international agreement".

Professor Coyajee then considers the contribution of India to the financial reconstruction of the world and the part she played in bringing to the forefront the idea of reciprocity and preferential agreement as methods of international co-operation. The Professor is not in favour of socialism nor the abolition of private property but thinks that the only policy for the future is the development of that "de facto co-operation and profit and loss sharing which prevails so widely in the world" or in other words in the inauguration of a comprehensive cooperative policy.

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