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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THERE will be wide-spread satisfaction at the success of Pandit Motilal Nehru's motion in the Assembly for the reduction of the budget grant for the executive council to one rupee. We hope the significance of the Assembly's vote on the motion will not be lost on the Government. It shows that the resentment felt by the Assembly at the Government's failure to respond to the national demand for a further political advance is confined not only to the Assembly, but is shared by the general public as well. The Government pointed to the appointment of the Simon Commission as a proof of their willingness to meet India's demand; but even a beginner in politics knows that the country never asked for the appointment of the Commission and has since unmistakably shown how unwanted and unwelcome it is. To represent its appointment as an attempt to meet the national demand, as the Home Member tried to do in the Assembly, is to add insult to injury. He assured the Assembly of the Government's adherence to the 1917 Declaration, which was quite beside the point. Quite naturally, the assurance was a source of cold comfort to an Assembly which wanted solid action, and not empty and meaningless words, to satisfy its earnest desire for full Dominion Status.

THOSE Mahomedans who under the leadership of Maulana Mahomed Ali, an ex-president of the National Congress, publicly requested their co-religionists to keep aloof from the Swaraj processions that were organised throughout the country on the 10th inst. have proclaimed themselves to be extreme communalists, however much they may sometimes make a show of being nationalists. The Swaraj processions were, it is true, organised with a view to

rallying national forces round the Nehru report; but those who participated in them were not understood by anybody to be standing up for every single detail in it. Association with such processions merely carried with it general agreement with the principles underlying it. Broadly speaking, everybody who associated himself with the processions proclaimed to the world that nothing short of dominion status would satisfy him. Nobody is trying to make it appear as if the communal settlement embodied in the report has the approval of the whole of the Mahomedan community and we think that the fear of the few Mahomedans led by the Maulana that if they joined these processions their attitude towards the report was likely to be misunderstood was, to say the least, groundless. If, as they are not tired of saying, they are really keen upon getting swaraj at the earliest possible moment, it is essential for them to do their best to secure support for the Nehru report which is the only scheme which at present holds the political field. If they think that by adopting an attitude of opposition to the report, which is really what their dissociation amounts to, they are bringing swaraj nearer, they are greatly mistaken. Apart from this, however, the swaraj processions held in different places throughout the country in obedience to Congress instructions were joined by representatives of all shades of opinion in the country and were a great success. They showed what a volume of opinion was in favour of the Report.

How ill-informed the authorities at the India Office are has once more become evident by the recent reply of the Under-Secretary of State for India on the subject of Mahatma Gandhi's arrest in Calcutta early this month. Lord Winter- ton complacently assured the Commons that "Mr. Gandhi was not arrested"! The impression in this country, however, is different. If there was no arrest, where was the necessity for the subsequent personal undertaking of Mr. Gandhi for his appearance on the 26th instant? Earl Winterton has since admitted that there was technical arrest as a preliminary to the subsequent release on personal recognisance. He also speaks about the Mahatma having agreed to there being no bonfires of foreign cloth in Calcutta till his return from Burma. Gandhiji has made it clear that what he agreed to was simply this, that there should be no bonfires in public squares or public streets. This does not come in the way of bonfires of foreign cloth being made in private places, which are as a matter of fact taking place in Calcutta without attracting the attention of the police. Apparently his "men on the spot" have not furnished the Under-Secretary with a truthful account of the occurrence; else it is difficult to see how he would be guilty of such a gross misstatement of fact as the one referred to

above. But whether Lord Winterton is at fault or his subordinates, there is no doubt that the Bengal Government have taken upon themselves a heavy responsibility in launching upon this prosecution of Mahatma Gandhi. As pointed out by the Home Member, Mr. Crerar, in the Assembly, even the Government of India were not consulted previously about it. The Government must by this time not have failed to notice that the effect of their action against Gandhiji has been the reverse of what they expected. It has strengthened the movement for the boycott of foreign cloth. It is to be hoped that better counsels will yet prevail and the Bengal Government induced to withdraw the prosecution.

THE passing of the motion for the token cut of Rs. 100 under salt is an index of the keenness of feeling which exists in the Assembly with regard to the importation of foreign salt. Mr. Kelkar, in moving the reduction, said that India was capable of manufacturing all the salt needed provided that methods of production were modernized, and with this end he pleaded for assistance from Government in the way of research and of giving facilities for transport. In this connection it must be remembered that the Central Board of Revenue had in May 1928 issued a press communique in which, after examining the recommendations of the Taxation Enquiry Committee, they had declared that no case was made out for a reference to the Tariff Board of the case of the salt industry. The Board had admitted that one of the means of replacing foreign salt by Indian salt was to ensure that Indian salt of the same quality as the imported white crushed salt would be placed on the Bengal market at a price that will render it more attractive than the imported salt. It is to this that Mr. Kelkar referred when he advised the establishment of a Board of Research. Another confession by the Board of Revenue is significant; it is that suitable salt could no doubt be produced at other places but it could not be placed on the Calcutta market at a reasonable price. If this is the only difficulty it ought to be met by giving concession rates for the carriage of salt from these places. The Board referred to the high manufacturing costs of the Bombay salt factories; the obvious answer is that it is the duty of Government to suggest ways of reducing the costs. While on this point one cannot help observing that the whole tone of the Board is that of a captious critic who is only concerned with raising difficulties instead of removing them. The Board mentions the experiments made at Tuticorin and Conada to manufacture crushed salt which were unsuccessful; but we see no reason why fresh experiments should not be undertaken. The labour difficulties referred to by the Board may be great but we cannot believe that they are insuperable. According to the Board it is only the Karachi salt that could compete on equal terms with the foreign salt without protection provided only that the foreign manufacturer could not afford to cut his prices. Their only objection is that it would require a considerable degree of protection in order to gain a firm footing in the Calcutta market. Curiously enough, the refrain of their song is that nothing would be gained from the point of view of the interests of India by rendering her self-supporting in regard to salt supply. As for the argument that the industry would provide additional employment for labour the Board thinks that the extension of salt manufacture would only result in the diversion of labour from agriculture. This argument, as it proves too much, cannot be given much weight since it would invalidate the claims of the extension of any industry whatsoever. The general sense of the Assembly as

manifested in the debate is clearly that freights should be made cheaper if that would enable local salt to compete with foreign salt. For the present we have to be satisfied with the promise of the Finance Member to study the whole question with a view to determine whether the time was ripe for an enquiry by the Tariff Board. He has also promised to see to it that there is no cornering of the supply of salt.

IN the course of budget debates in more than one provincial council, the old demand for the abolition of the Commissioners' posts was repeated. In the Bombay Council the subject was debated on a motion to cut down the whole provision for them. It is generally believed that the Commissioners are a costly fifth wheel in the administrative coach and that their disappearance would not materially affect the efficiency of the administration. In most cases, they have no original work to do but act more or less as post-offices or forwarding agencies. Nor is the supervision they are supposed to exercise over the work of the Collectors considered to be essential, for there is hardly any superior merit in them which would enable them to discharge that duty as it should be discharged. It was pointed out on behalf of the opponents of the demand that in all cases of famines, floods, and like calamities people instinctively turn to the Commissioner for relief. We do not think there is any force in this argument. If the Commissioner's post were abolished, people would in that case go to the Collector as the highest officer of the district in search of relief and, failing him, to the Minister or Member of Council. If the Commissioner is approached at present it is because he is the highest officer in the area concerned. But the gravamen of the charge against the Commissioners was that they use their powers of nomination to local bodies to the great detriment of national interests. In this connection Mr. Nariman produced photographic copies of certain requests put forward with the view of strengthening the position of loyalists for the nomination of particular persons by a private individual to the Commissioner, Northern Division. It would have been well if the Commissioner had told the Council the action he took in the matter; but instead he raised what appears to us an irrelevant point by asking how Mr. Nariman succeeded in getting the originals of the letters in question. The real point is whether the power of nomination was misused in the way it is alleged it was. To this there was no satisfactory reply. Mr. Nariman has accepted the Revenue Member's challenge to repeat the accusation outside the privileged walls of the Council Chamber and we are likely to hear more about the matter in the near future.

The discussion in the C. P. Council on the same issue serves to show how interference by the Secretary of State hampers the liberty of action of the provincial Government and places them in awkward situations. There the Government had some time ago promised to do away with one Commissionership. When reminded about it this year, it was explained that the Secretary of State had vetoed the proposal with the result that the C. P. Government found itself unable to implement its promise.

IT is regrettable that a motion for the reduction of the budget provision of the Oriental "Through Indian Translator's office by Rs. 8000 was Eyes." lost in the Bombay Council. The cut was moved by Mr. Swaminarayan in order to give expression to the resentment felt by the members of the Council against his contributions to the *Times of India* under the title

"Through Indian eyes". The main charge against the writer is that he fomented communal passions by his display of the select portions of the rabid communal literature appearing in the various journals, both Hindu and Muslim. It was said in his defence by the Home Member, Mr. Hotson, that these articles contained merely extracts from the articles published in other papers. The sting of these contributions lies not in the extracts themselves but in the judgments passed by the writer which are interspersed throughout the so-called extracts and the wicked innuendos of which the writer is a skilful manipulator. The Hon. Mr. Hotson has declared that the writer of these articles has not offended against any of the rules binding on Government servants. We may as well take him at his word and concede that technically the writer of the offending articles has not committed any breach of rules. It is difficult however to exonerate his conduct completely since it is mere commonsense that a Government servant who gets access to every paper printed in India in the course of his duties has no moral right to make use of them for the purpose of private contributions to a daily paper, for which in all probability he gets a monetary reward. It is not seemly for a servant of Government who ought to be pledged to neutrality to make insinuations against Indian leaders of both the communities. The most humorous part of Mr. Hotson's apologia is the one in which he said that the writer had written these articles with a desire to improve the tone of newspapers in India. We honestly think that it is no part of the business of a Government servant to improve the tone of the press and the sooner he ceases to dabble in this gratuitous function of a moral mentor the better for all concerned. Besides we believe that Government has not given sufficient heed to the consideration that even a slight relaxation of the rules of service might later on lead to greater laxity and might easily land them into inconvenient straits from which it would be difficult to extricate themselves. The Home Member said that the articles in question were within the bounds of legitimate criticism; but the boundary line is so slippery that one might easily pass beyond it without being aware that one was doing so.

* * *

THE U. P. Council is to be congratulated on its passing the Naik Girls' Protection Bill which minimises the evil of bringing up minor girls for immoral purposes and selling them, an evil in most features analogous to the dedication of Devadasis for service in temples. The debate on the third reading of the Bill clearly shows that the measure is far from being comprehensive in its action, since it leaves untouched the custom amongst the Naiks according to which the daughters inherit property and which is the root cause of many of the other evils. It is also clear that the Council wanted legislation which would apply to the whole of the province and not to any particular district or community. It is also to be noted that full five years have elapsed since a Resolution was passed in the U. P. Council in 1924 recommending to the Government to put a stop to the practice. One of the causes assigned for this inordinate procrastination is the reluctance of the Government of India to give permission for the introduction of legislation in the matter. It is better however to have made a beginning and as Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant says, "it provides a footing and foundation on which a structure may be built later." As the Bill leaves much ground to be covered by the Rules which will have to be framed subsequently, the Council has urged on the Local Government the

desirability of making good rules and seeing that the Bill does not remain a dead letter. The latter warning is a good index of the distrust felt about Government proceeding in right earnest when measures of social reform are concerned. As the Bill empowers the district magistrate to keep Naik girls in settlements intended for training them for a normal life of purity it is necessary to see that those settlements are training schools in the best sense of the word and are not allowed to degenerate into mere houses of detention. The Seva Samiti of Allahabad has been doing splendid reforming work among the Naiks, under the guidance of Pandit Kunzru and Pandit Badri Dutt Pande; and the latter's request that the Government should assist this organization as well as others which have been working with a view to reforming the community by the spread of correct ideas, is perfectly reasonable. In fact Government is likely to receive great assistance from these organizations in establishing the settlements referred to in the Bill. It is good that the members of the U. P. Council have recognized that, along with the strong arm of the law, educative work and persuasion must be utilized in order to cure evils which have become established by long usage. The Bill will strengthen the position of the reformers no doubt; but the really solid part of the work of regeneration will have to be performed by themselves. We feel sure that U. P. reformers will be equal to the task.

* * *

THE delegation of the British Social Hygiene Council which carried on an investigation at the instance of the Bombay Social evil.

Government have now submitted their Report, which coming as it does from experts in this line deserves to be considered carefully. The Report recommends the appointment of a specialist in venereal disease for the province, to supervise the treatment of this diseases and to co-ordinate the work of the various hospitals in this particular sphere. It insists on adequate out-patient accommodation in all teaching hospitals and the opening of ante-natal departments in all maternity hospitals. It suggests that an increased medical service should be provided at the existing child-welfare centres with a view to an early detection of venereal disease in children. One important recommendation made by the Report relates to the control of the sale of dangerous drugs which in the opinion of the Committee which assisted the delegation should not be sold to the public except on the production of a medical prescription. The Report recommends the appointment of a welfare committee to look after the members of the Mercantile Marine visiting the Bombay port; and it is proposed that all the existing committees of the various institutions for seamen should be amalgamated with this welfare committee to which an annual grant should be made by the Local Government. The Report further recommends the provision of funds for popular medical lectures, film-shows and the distribution of pamphlets to enlighten seamen on matters of venereal disease. We heartily approve of the recommendation of the Committee to make Biology and Physiology compulsory in the School-Leaving examination and to give direct teaching in personal and social hygiene in all high schools. In addition training in organized games, Scout and Guide work for adolescents both during and after school life is recommended; it is also necessary in the opinion of the Committee to take social measures to protect youths from the influences calculated to encourage promiscuous intercourse and exposure to infection.

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INDIA AND THE PEACE PACT.

WE see that Mrs. Sarojini Naidu deemed fit to arm the opponents of the Kellogg Anti-War Pact in the U. S. Senate with a telegram repudiating India's participation in the Treaty, and that the telegram was utilised to the full by the Old Guard towards preventing its ratification by the Senate. We very deeply deplore this action on the part of one who claims to be "an unofficial but duly accredited spokesman" of India. The chief ground on which Mrs. Naidu disowns the Pact is, apparently, that it was signed by Lord Cushendun. It is a matter of general regret, and of some legitimate complaint on the part of India, that India's High Commissioner, who happens to be an Indian, was not asked to be in Paris for the final signing of the Peace Pact on the 27th August last, so as to give a striking demonstration to the assembled Foreign Ministers of India's attainment of freedom in her external affairs. Point was added to this complaint by the fact that while in the case of all Dominions and the Irish Free State, which occupy in foreign affairs the same status as India, the Pact was signed either by Ministers or High Commissioners, in the case of India and the Crown Colonies it was signed by the then Acting Foreign Secretary of Great Britain, thus obscuring and seemingly denying to India the independent international status which now belongs to her. Attention was drawn to this matter in the last session of the Legislative Assembly when Sir Denys Bray expressed regret that "his imagination had gone temporarily asleeper" when arrangements were made for affixing India's signature to the Pact.

However unfortunate this omission may be to depute her own High Commissioner to signify India's adherence to the Treaty, it must in fairness be said that India's acceptance of the Pact was an act, not of the Imperial Government but of the Government of India. In the very first reply of the British Government to the Kellogg proposal, Secretary Chamberlain took care to say that "the proposed Treaty, from its very nature, is not one which concerns His Majesty's Government in Great Britain alone, but is one in which they could not undertake to participate otherwise than jointly and simultaneously with His Majesty's Governments in the Dominions and the Government of India." At his suggestion India as well as the Dominions were individually invited by the U. S. Government on the 24th May to become original contracting parties to the Pact, and India's acceptance was communicated by the Government of India on the 12th June. Further, when the draft of the Pact underwent revision, the revised draft was again submitted on the 23rd June to the Dominions and India, and India's acceptance was communicated by Sir A. Chamberlain on behalf of the Government of India as on behalf of several Dominions on the 18th July. It was then open to the Government of India to refuse to join in this attempt to rid the world of war, but of course it was unthinkable that it would do so. The approval of

the Pact and the participation in it was thus a free-will act on the part of the Government of India, which has the legal, and in this particular matter certainly the moral, right to speak for India; "India's constitutional position was thus safeguarded," as was observed by Sir Denys Bray in the Assembly.

Did then Mrs. Naidu object to the reservations or interpretative declarations attached by Great Britain to the Pact? If she did so, her action would in a sense be intelligible. But, although in the telegram she begins by objecting to these, it is clear that her main objection proceeds from the supposed violation of India's right to shape her foreign policy: a supposition which, as shown above, does not accord with known facts. Great Britain in signing the Pact has reserved to herself "the right to defend from attack or other forms of interference territories where British sovereignty is uncertain such as the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, mandates held under the League of Nations particularly Iraq and Palestine, and other areas where British influence has been great, such as Egypt and certain parts of the Red Sea, the Gulf of Aden and the Persian Gulf". This is a wide reservation equivalent to a British Monroe Doctrine leaving to Great Britain a very large sphere still open for recourse to war. It were much to be wished that Sir A. Chamberlain had accepted the Pact unreservedly. But after all, it should be remembered that, as was so well put by the *Manchester Guardian*, "the proposal for the renunciation of war is not really the acceptance of a contractual obligation so much as the declaration of a principle which the parties to it undertake honourably to observe." Nor are the reservations embodied in the Treaty, and when the Treaty is duly ratified it may yet be possible for the conscience of Great Britain so to reinterpret it as to leave no loophole for escape. Further—and this is a very important point—the reservations are made by Great Britain for herself, and the Dominions and India are not involved therein. Sir Austen Chamberlain himself has made this clear in his Note of the 19th May, the final paragraph in which opens with the statement that "the detailed arguments in the foregoing paragraphs are expressed on behalf of His Majesty's Government in Great Britain". This question as to the degree in which they are implicated in Great Britain's reservations was raised in some Dominions, notably the Irish Free State and Canada, and it was contended by the Government in power that they were not concerned in any way with those reservations. The very independence in foreign affairs which Mrs. Naidu wants to assert for this country should enable India to sign the Pact without making herself responsible for the reservations of Great Britain. And it is somewhat illogical for Mrs. Naidu to complain that Great Britain, while joining in the Pact, still reserves to herself some rights inconsistent with its full acceptance and then to insist in the same breath that India, in spite of her signature, shall retain every "single national or international right" which at present belongs to her.

Whatever difficulty other nations may feel in outlawing war, India should feel none such. No country is going to wage a war with a view to the rectification of her present injustices, nor is she going to wage a war of emancipation herself. No sacrifice whatever is thus involved in her joining the Pact. On the contrary, having renounced violence herself, India should rejoice that other countries are trying to follow her suit, although with much hesitation. What could Mrs. Sarojini Naidu have then meant by supplying some ammunition to the Big Navy men in the United States Senate who, in order to have the Cruiser Bill passed, were trying to throw obstacles in the way of the ratification of the Kellogg Pact? It is true that this stratagem did not succeed, but how great were the dangers involved in its possible success? For the Treaty will be operative only when the ratifications of all the original signatories have been exchanged, so that the failure of even one Power to ratify may nullify the whole Treaty. Is it India's part to help forward the agreement or to hinder it? Mrs. Naidu has been clearly misled on this question by senators who, being afraid that if the Senate ratified the Treaty, it would in itself be used as an argument for slowing down the pace of naval construction, have been belittling the significance of the Pact. It is after all, they say, an empty gesture with no means of enforcement, since no sanctions are provided. This criticism is of course true to a certain extent, but it is certain that the Pact will make war a little more difficult than before. If in spite of ratification a Power were to give the rein to chauvinism, it would be taxed with hypocrisy all over the world, and the international situation would be much more embarrassing for that Power than if no Anti-War Pact existed. As has been well observed by Dr. Buell, "Even if Governments pay only lip service to the ideal, the Anti-War Pact will become a formidable weapon in the hands of public opinion. If the British Government introduces a large navy bill into Parliament, members will ask: 'Does this Bill conform to the spirit of the Pact?' If the Government of the United States land troops in Nicaragua, public opinion will ask: 'Does this intervention conform to the spirit of the Pact?' Legal arguments upon these points may be made. But whatever the results of these arguments may be, the moral fact of the existence of the Pact may constitute an overpowering obstacle to any peace-time policy which disturbs international friendship." The Pact is thus big with immense possibilities of building a world community of nations, and whether one took an optimistic or a pessimistic view of this matter, this much is clear, that India stands to lose nothing, but possibly to gain something by the Pact. It is therefore a puzzle to us how Mrs. Naidu betrayed herself into the serious blunder of joining the ranks of oppositionists in the United States.

EXCISE IN ASSAM.

IN another ten years opium-eating will have virtually disappeared from Assam, for the excise administration report of the province for 1927-28 tells us that Government have substantially accepted the Legislative Council's recommendation for the gradual reduction in the opium ration now allowed to persons below 50 so that at the end of the tenth year the ration should end altogether. It is suspected that as a result of stringent restrictions on the consumption of opium which are being enforced in recent years the erstwhile opium-eaters are taking more and more to ganja. In the absence of proper inquiry it is difficult to vouchsafe for the correctness or otherwise of the belief and the Government appears to have done the right thing in setting up an inquiry. It may be stated here that opium is now sold in Assam only to the registered pass-holders who at the beginning of the year numbered 98,000, with a monthly ration of 66 maunds and the ration in each case is being gradually reduced, new admissions to the list of opium-eaters being possible only on medical grounds.

Another feature of the year's excise administration was the establishment of a committee to advise Government on excise matters generally. To what extent Government found itself in agreement with the advice tendered by the Committee is not clear from the report. All that it tells us is that some of its suggestions were given effect to, while others were under consideration. In this connection we cannot too strongly emphasise the importance of Government showing proper respect to the Committee's recommendations, for unless the Committee feels that its recommendations will as a rule be carried into effect, it is useless to expect it to take sustained interest in its work or to act with a due sense of responsibility.

We are glad to note that arrangements for temperance teaching continue, so far as middle and primary schools go. There appears however to be no reason why girls should be exempted from learning the good effects of temperance. So far as they are personally concerned, it is true they are much less in need of that kind of propaganda; but seeing that they are the future wives and mothers of the nation, any temperance teaching imparted to them is seed sown on good soil.

Liquor-sellers are generally known to be people who have not come under the influence of education to any considerable extent. But Assam is apparently an exception to this rule; for we are told that in allotting liquor shops to different lessees, about 10 per cent. are reserved for graduates and undergraduates. It is of course undeniable that if educated people entered the liquor business it would result in ridding it of a good deal of corruption and demoralisation now associated with it; but people are likely to look upon this reservation of liquor business for educated sons of the soil as a clever and insidious move to buy up the opposition of the educated community by offering them new opportunities for money-making.

The net excise revenue of Assam rose from nearly Rs. 61 lakhs in 1926-27 to Rs. 62,37,000 last year, though the consumption of country liquor showed a decline of 2.6 per cent. It was 255,160 gallons in 1927-28 as against 262,114 gallons in 1926-27. The consumption of foreign liquors on the other hand went up in a single year by as much as 14 per cent., being 46,922 gallons in 1927-28 as against 40,400 the previous year. The increase is rather abnormal and steps are needed to check it in future years. Drunkenness appears to be increasing with the result that in the year under report there were 239 cases for drunkenness as against 158 in the preceding year.

EDUCATION IN RUSSIA.*

EDUCATION in Russia has made rapid advance since the historic revolution of 1917 and though universal literacy has not yet been attained, Russia may now safely be said to be within measurable distance of the goal. The results might perhaps have been more satisfactory but for the fact that some time following the upheaval had necessarily to be wasted in internecine struggles and in the consolidation of the new order of things. But whether there is universal literacy in 1933 as contemplated by the present Government or a little later, there is no gainsaying that the old notion about education being reserved only for the select few has disappeared. As is well known, under Czarist rule education was denied to the poor; and if a modicum was allowed to the classes just above them, it was with a view to providing clerks and administrators necessary for the conduct of public business. Higher and university education, however, was positively a privilege reserved only for the highest classes in Russian society. Further, it was a constant reproach against the Czarist Government that they neglected the cultural interest of the minorities. Even in this respect the Soviet Government is apparently in a position to show a better record. It not only encourages minorities, however small, to have their own schools but carries its solicitude for their cultural welfare to what may be regarded by some as absurd lengths. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in his "Soviet Russia" instances a minority numbering just about 400 speaking a variant of the Turkish language being allowed to have a special school opened for its children. The school is open for only a part of the year, as the children accompany their parents, who are a wandering tribe, for the rest of the year. Whereas under the old order education was in the hands of the Church, it is now completely divorced from religion and, has a close relation to the child's surroundings. The establishment of the new régime witnessed a flood of anti-religious propaganda not conducted in the best of tastes which alienated many friends of Russia. This, one is happy to see, has now given place to religious toleration.

The Russian educational system is ably described by Dr. Lucy L. W. Wilson in her "New Schools in New Russia." Owing to her two visits to that country undertaken exclusively for studying Russian education, Dr. Wilson speaks from firsthand knowledge. Dr. Wilson begins by telling us something about the pre-revolution educational record of Russia which was not such as would do credit to any civilised Government. The new

* *New Schools in New Russia*. By Lucy L. W. Wilson. (Vanguard Press, New York.) 1928. 7¼ x 4½. pp. 230. 50 cents

rulers of Russia were however not slow to see that if their country was to take her proper place among the nations of the world she must advance educationally and accordingly set about the task. The aim of present-day education has been laid down as the promotion of

"the all round development of an individual who shall be healthy, strong, active, courageous, independent in thought and action, with a many-sided culture; an efficient person, striving for the interest of the working class which is ultimately for the interest of the whole of humanity."

The medium of instruction is of course the child's mother tongue and the curriculum is so arranged as to create in the child "a materialistic conception of life, of creative activity and group habits."

But before we go on to an examination of the system of education itself, let us pause and see how much is done for the care of the children and their mothers. A child, until it becomes three years old, is the responsibility of the department of health. While in India the subject of infant welfare is generally looked upon more or less as the province of volunteer enthusiasts, in Russia even co-operative societies, trade unions and factories are pressed into service for the dissemination of information about it. But the Russian Government does not regard its duty towards the child discharged when it has done this; for,

"characteristically, the care begins before birth with the release of the mother from a period of 12 to 16 weeks from all labour, with full wages. In addition, the mother has the right to money for the layette to the extent of half her monthly wage, and to a wage addition of 25 per cent. for the first nine months for food, together with three hours' daily release from work in order to nurse and care for the child, who, *ad interim*, is in an adequately equipped *crèche*. Pregnant mothers receive free medical aid. There are not yet enough mother and child hospitals adequately to care for all during child-birth. In these there exists an interesting illustration of the collective principle: the mothers with much milk must give of their abundance to the children of those with an inadequate supply!" (p. 92.)

The education of the child begins when it is three years old. For children between 3 and 7 pre-school education is provided by means of kindergartens, children's hearths, children's homes. Even here owing to their psycho-physical characteristics children of 7 years are separated from the rest and instructed separately. In 1926-27 there were in Russia 1145 kindergartens and hearths attended by 59,433 children, 175 children's homes attended by 8157 children, and rooms in clubs for 43,453 children. Besides "in the summer of 1927 were functioning 4000 playgrounds serving about 260,000 children." Some conception of the educational endeavour of the Soviet authorities may be gathered from the fact that whereas in pre-revolutionary days there were practically no pre-schools, there are as many as 10,000 at the present day. In this connection it may be stated that the number of pupils in elementary schools which was 51,34,334 in 1914-15 stood at 66,49,423 in 1926-7 and that of those in higher schools which was nearly 4 lakhs in 1914-5 now exceeds 7 lakhs.

Provision of a *crèche* for the children of the employees is obligatory on every factory-owner; but in addition all factories are required to maintain hearths, kindergartens and playgrounds for children up to eight years of age. These, Dr. Wilson tells us, are financed "from the culture fund of the factory organised by the factory committee of workers, but professionally supervised either by the Health

Commissariat for children under 3 or by the Education Commissariat for the older children." These institutions are open for the whole working day of the factory and each child is first examined by the doctor. If it is found to suffer from any contagious disease, it is at once transferred to the hospital or clinic. If not, it is given a bath and dressed in fresh clean clothes. In kindergartens and hearths there is provision for the child being fed twice and even thrice in some cases during the day and for two hours' sleep. Needless to add that there are ample facilities for sports and recreation which combines instruction, for the Soviet State believes that "sleeping and food are as essential to the education of the pre-school child as are work and play." At present of course it is the bigger and more important towns that can boast of such institutions; but the ideal is to develop a kindergarten in connection with every elementary school in the country. The Russian Government attach such importance to the proper conduct of these institutions that even the few private nursery schools that have recently sprung up are subject to strict supervision by the Education Commissariat.

From the pre-school the child passes into the unified labour school which is a combination of elementary and secondary school. The elementary stage lasts from 8 to 11 years and the secondary from 12 to 16 or 17 years. Children seeking to enter these schools are supposed to have acquired a knowledge of the three R's; but this is true only of the urban areas. The aim of the elementary grade is not merely, as here, to enable the children to read, write and reckon, but also to impart to them an elementary knowledge of science which "will give them, within the limits of their faculties and age, a correct understanding of their surroundings, of human labour, of natural phenomena, and of public life." (p. 59.) During the remaining three years, education of the secondary or high school type is given. There is a further two years' course in the secondary grade school which seems to correspond to the first two years' course in our colleges. The seven year school aims at giving "its pupils a complete knowledge of human labour activity as a whole, of the social organisation of mankind, and of the elements of the laws of nature and of public life so as to help the student to become a conscious citizen of the Soviet Republic;" while the nine year school aims at training a mass of qualified workers for certain branches of labour. Dr. Wilson has appended to the book detailed programmes of work in these institutions, to which it is impossible to make any detailed reference here. Suffice it however to say that the education has an agricultural bias in rural parts, a technical one in industrial areas and "a municipal one in cities." A striking feature is the total absence of examinations either for admission or for promotion. All students undergo medical examination four times a year and are allowed perfect self-government in the management of their school affairs. There is universal co-education and excursions are freely availed of as a means of education, which is only as it should be. It may be added that the ultimate aim of the present Russian Government is to provide the unified labour school education for every child in the land.

But the Russian authorities are not content with confining their attention to the education of the rising generation. They are bent upon "liquidating illiteracy" even among adults and are straining every nerve to achieve the consummation at no distant date. They started their campaign against adult illiteracy so as to make all people between 8 and 50 years of age literate and in a single year

taught as many as 25 lakhs of them to read and write. The famine with the resulting scarcity of money intervened and upset their plans. It was consequently found impossible "to conquer illiteracy among all inhabitants between 18 and 35 years of age by the tenth anniversary (of the revolution) Nov. 7, 1927." But they are determined not to lose heart. The course in adult schools extends over two to three years and the school times are so arranged as to suit the learners. Thus there are day schools held on week days and also Sunday schools for those who can study only on that day. There are schools for the illiterates and the insufficiently literate, as also elementary political schools "to train organisers and other workers for the Soviet, trade union and Party departments—and higher schools for county and provincial Party departments." Other forms of education are "extra-mural, for example, self-education in charge of a special commission; libraries; clubs; and propaganda work for special campaigns—such as famine relief, improvement in agriculture..." (p. 120). An idea of the useful work done by cottage reading rooms in the field of adult education is gained by the fact that in 1926-7 there were 14,188 of them with 25,500 "red corner" branches; and the previous year they served nearly 12,000,000 during three months."

Dr. Lucy Wilson describes the origin and growth of the Youth movement, which in Russia unlike other countries did not originate in a spirit of revolt against the elders. She deals also with many other aspects of Russian education to which it is difficult to refer here owing to limits of space. All that can be done here is to refer all those who are interested in the subject to Dr. Wilson's well-written and exhaustive book.

D. V. A.

OUR EUROPEAN LETTER.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

GENEVA, February 21.

THE CRUCIAL QUESTION.

NO one who takes the trouble to study the international situation as it appears from Geneva can long remain in doubt about its central point. That is, most obviously, what is called in the characteristically idealistic Anglo-Saxon political parlance the freedom of the seas. This question is at the base of all disarmament, for, as Viscount Cecil has observed, "You cannot expect the great military nations to make effective agreements for reduction and limitation of armaments unless the naval powers show themselves ready to do the like." It is the determining factor in the foreign policy of the United States and, consequently, also in that of Great Britain. By reaction it sets the political trend on the continent of Europe which so largely depends on British influences. Sir Esme Howard's recent pronouncement on the subject has served to show the world once more that such is the case, for not only has it caused immediate repercussions in the British Foreign Office, but every newspaper of consequence in Europe, America, and Japan has evidently decided that the matter is of the utmost importance.

What the Americans mean by the expression, the freedom of the seas, is the right of every neutral state to carry on its commerce in times of war with all the belligerents as in normal times. On every

occasion of a naval blockade interfering with its commercial freedom, as in 1812 or in 1917, the United States Government has demonstrated its impatience. The recent action of the American Senate in approving the Cruiser Bill, with the time clause retained, making the construction of fifteen cruisers and one air-craft carrier within the next three years practically certain, is an expression of the determination of the American people to have a navy large enough to be able to enforce its ideas in this regard. All through the discussion of the Bill this motive was discernible.

The Cruiser Bill is America's answer to the failure of the preliminary Naval Disarmament Conference held in Geneva in 1927. It has been suggested that it is the first step in a policy which aims at making the United States Navy "second to none." Nevertheless, it is not such an ambitious programme as that put forward by the Secretary of the Navy immediately after the failure in Geneva. He had demanded the construction of fifty-three warships of all sizes and types, involving a total expenditure of some \$1,000,000,000,—a scheme which proved too ambitious even for the wealth of the United States. The practical initiative came from the Naval Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives, which declared that it would consider only such ships as could be built within the next five years. Then came the Cruiser Bill which was passed by the House with a substantial majority and with no very bitter debate. It was left to the Senate to dispute hotly the time clause, added after the measure went to the Upper House, but even after a severe battle the Opposition could only obtain twelve votes against the Bill.

It is not without some significance that the same day the Senate voted the Cruiser Bill it adopted Senator Borah's proposition calling upon the United States Government to examine the question of the rights of neutrals in times of war by means of an international Conference. Not only is this the only question which divides the two great Anglo-Saxon Powers today, but it is almost the only threat to world-peace, for, quite apart from the improbability of war between America and any other European State except Great Britain, it has become almost a truism since 1917 that no war in which the United States declines to play a part can be of much importance.

Great Britain's answer to American demands is that the only deviation from its traditional naval policy that that country can effect is to accept equality with America regarding naval armaments. As soon as the question of the freedom of the seas, as the Americans understand it, is raised, the British point to the Covenant of the League of Nations with its sanction of economic blockade and their obligation to enforce it.

A ready, and the only, means of reconciling the American and British contentions would seem to be to revive the old distinction of wars of defence and of aggression in international law. The case of a war condemned by the Covenant but acceptable to the Pact is obviously impossible, and it is no less

inconceivable that the United States Government would assist, even indirectly, a power which broke the Kellogg Pact. The Pact and the Covenant, therefore, could together constitute the criterion deciding the character of a conflict. Senator Capper's proposal that the United States Government should refuse financial and other aid to any State violating the Paris Peace Pact, which has been described as "giving teeth" to the Pact, is an indication of the direction in which America is drawn by the logical necessities of the document to which Secretary of State Kellogg set his seal in Paris. No less indicative of realities is the widespread belief that the famous Article 16 of the Covenant is impracticable and would prove impossible of execution in the event of a really serious crisis. Many things must of course happen before American opinion can be brought to reconcile itself to "entangling alliances" in consequence of America's foreign commitments, and the international authority of the League can be compared to the national authority of the State. Meanwhile it were well to remember that the old distinctions of international law were of avail in a world (or part of the world) rendered into one by a common allegiance, and not until a similar allegiance has been created in our day would the principle of legitimate warfare have any meaning. It were also necessary to remember that in an age in which the ruling idea is democracy, to make the dispenser of sanctions in international politics the virtual authority would be like endowing the policeman with all the powers of the judge. The British position as regards the freedom of the seas would be invulnerable if the League were all that it should be, but is it as yet safe for internationalism?

REVIEWS.

CONSTANTINE OF GREECE.

POLITICAL MEMOIRS, 1914-1917. By H. R. H. PRINCE NICHOLAS OF GREECE. (Hutchinson.) 1925. 9¼ × 6¼. pp. 309. 24s.

WE have read somewhere that "politics is the science of fraud and politicians are professors of that science". Politics in Greece between 1914 and 1918 was full of duplicity, craftiness and venomous dealings. Greece was ruled at that time by that upright king, Constantine, but this good king had the misfortune to be served by Venizelos, a politician whom we may characterise as a Cleon in demagogy and an Alcibiades in duplicity. This Cleon-cum-Alcibiades sold his country's honour and independence to the Entente, carried on a campaign of vilification against his sovereign through a subsidised press, brought about his abdication, and himself became the Dictator with the help of the Allied bayonets.

These facts form the subject matter of the volume before us. King Constantine has been represented by the Venezelist Press as a pro-German, a tyrant who overthrew the constitution, and an irreconcilable enemy of the Entente. In this book the noble king's brother, Prince Nicholas, sets forth all the events of the period so that the unbiassed critic may form a correct estimate of Constantine. And we have no doubt that any one who goes through the

book, which has been written with the aid of official documents and the author's own diary, will regard Constantine as Modern Greece's greatest king and Venezilos as a Judas Iscariot.

The book is a continuation of the author's "My Fifty Years," and deals with the events which played so great a part in the history of his unfortunate country and the fortunes of the Greek royal family. It is authentic and impartial. Prince Nicholas is not the first in the field to clear the memory of Constantine who had been so grossly slandered. Mr. Paxton Hibbon, an American, in his book "Constantine and his people", Mr. G. F. Abbot in his "Greece and the Allies, 1914-1922" and Cosmetatos in his "Tragedy of Greece" have done justice to the memory of Constantine. The author quotes profusely from the above-mentioned authors, for they had followed the political situation very closely and have courageously written the truth.

It may be asked: "Why was Constantine grossly slandered and why was his abdication brought about?" The Allies wanted Greece to join them and in this they were heartily supported by the Prime Minister, Venezilos. But Constantine, who had the interests of his country at heart, thought otherwise. He knew that participation in war would lead to disaster: His sympathies, however, were on the Allied side and so he adopted a policy of benevolent neutrality. But the Allies would not allow him to be neutral; they helped Venezilos in his intrigues; they helped the "Secret Police Service," an organisation which was undermining the foundations of Constantine's government; they helped the Provisional Government, the notorious "Triumvirate" of Venezilos, General Dangalis and Admiral Coundouriotis; they landed their forces in Salonica and violated the neutrality of Greece, a violation which makes the German violation of Belgian neutrality pale into insignificance, for while the Kaiser at least had the candour to tell the world that "necessity knows no law," the Allied diplomats proclaimed from house-tops and platforms the principles of freedom and justice and practised the gospel of 'Might is Right' in Greece. The Allies did many more things. They forced Constantine to abdicate and set up their tool Venezilos as Dictator without giving the people of Greece the right to express their opinion.

If Constantine had only cared about the safety of his throne, he would have acceded to the demands of the Allies. But he loved his country more than himself, and in trying to save his country lost the crown. Speaking to his brother, Prince Nicholas, in 1915 while he was an exile in Switzerland, he said, "Perhaps I was wrong in not doing as Venezilos wanted; in that case, I would not be sitting here in exile, but Greece would have been crushed and that is just what I did not want. No, on the whole, I prefer being here in exile to knowing that our country was destroyed, if only partly, through my fault." (p. 64.) The author draws the attention of the Allied diplomats to what Lord Kitchener thought of Greece's benevolent neutrality. "Lord Kitchener told Constantine," says the author at p. 96, "that under the circumstances neutrality was the attitude best suited to our interests, while those of the Allied Powers would be well served by the continuance of Greece's benevolent neutrality." Constantine was attacked by the Allied countries for following a policy considered by no less a distinguished person than Lord Kitchener to be the best for Greece as well as the Allied countries.

Why were the Allies suspicious of Constantine? The fact was that Constantine had the misfortune to be the brother-in-law of the Kaiser. He had a German Field-Marshal's baton and several members of

his General Staff had finished their military training at the Berlin Kriegsakademie. It was therefore believed, but without any justification, that Constantine was a pro-German.

The author points out how Constantine was shrewd enough to discover that Bulgaria would join the side of the Central Powers, and how the Allied diplomats were living in a fool's paradise hoping to draw Bulgaria to their side by the offer of Cavalla, a Greek trophy of the second Balkan War. He also points out how Venezilos jumped at the idea of imperialism in Asia Minor and how Constantine regarded it as impracticable. The author also says that the king's view of the Dardanelles expedition was justified by events later on.

With reference to the telegrams of Queen Sophia of Greece to her brother, the Kaiser, sent between December 1916 and February 1917, the author rightly says that it was not a treacherous act to appeal at the twelfth hour for deliverance. This is what he writes: "If your house is broken into and plundered and finally set on fire by persons whom you considered to be your best friends, have the latter any right to call you a 'traitor' because in despair you opened your window and screamed for help?"

The Allied countries must hang their heads in shame for their crimes in Greece, crimes committed in the name of justice and freedom. The author who was himself the victim of Allied persecution (for he was asked to leave Greece after the abdication of his brother) never uses strong language to describe the duplicity of Venezilos and the venomous dealings of the Allies. He places all the facts before us and asks us whether Constantine served his country's interests or Venezilos.

The book is valuable and interesting to historians and politicians and is illustrated with 32 photographs.

M. V. SUBRAHMANYAM.

A SOUND CURRENCY.

MONETARY POLICY, 1924-1928. By D. M. MASON. (Hopkinson.) 1928. 8½ × 5½. pp. 113. 7s. 6d.

THE Sound Currency Association in which Mr. Mason has throughout taken a leading part is composed of some of the most eminent bankers, traders and economists in Great Britain. By their repeated attempts to educate public opinion and to impress on successive Chancellors of the Exchequer the need for the restoration of the Gold Standard the Association has contributed materially to the stabilisation of currency, not only in that country but all over Europe. For this reason he deserves to be heard. In this small volume Mr. Mason has brought forward very cogent proofs in support of his thesis that a sound monetary policy consists in the universal adoption of a Gold Standard. Mr. Mason begins by criticizing the lack of any provision in the Currency and Bank Notes Bill for guarding against inflation by the action of the Treasury; to this defect he attributes much of the chaos and confusion in England in the post-war period. He is a great believer in the Gold Standard "which acts as a check upon redundancy and inflation" by insisting on convertibility into gold. As against innovators he declares that so far no other system for regulating trade in the form of a managed paper currency or by means of

an index number approaches the gold standard in its simplicity or in its automatic operation. Mr. Mason is never weary of repeating that the advantage to exporters from a depreciated exchange is temporary and in the long run a stable standard like the gold standard is the true basis of a steady international trade. The book reproduces a few of the memoranda forwarded to the Chancellor of the Exchequer by the Sound Currency Association, of the Executive Committee of which Mr. Mason was Chairman, and in all of them the Association pleads earnestly for adoption of a currency system based on gold in all European countries. Discussing the Dawes Scheme Mr. Mason advises Russia to recognize that debt paying is good finance as well as good politics; if she does this it would do good to her as well as to the rest of the world; which will be glad to assist the peaceful development of her inexhaustible resources. One indirect effect of the success of the Dawes Scheme was the improvement of the New York rate of exchange on London and this made it easy to realize the anticipation of the restoration of a gold standard in England. Mr. Mason indicates the part played in this by the advice of the Sound Currency Association. He tells us how he proposed an international commission to examine French finances and establish French credit which had suffered through inflation; ultimately a purely French committee of experts was appointed which recommended currency stabilisation along with reduction of state expenditure. It is creditable to Mr. Mason that he took strong exception to the statement made by M. Poincaré in 1927 that an increase in the note issue used for the purchase of foreign currencies was not inflation and warned the French Ministry of Finance that any attempt at stabilisation without contracting the note issue was foredoomed to failure.

As to the future monetary policy in England the author suggests that the provision of the Currency Act of 1914 by which the Bank of England may temporarily issue notes in excess of the legal limit should continue, provided that profits of the new issue are surrendered to the State. He is also in favour of the transfer of the control of the Treasury note issue to the Bank of England. He is a severe critic of Mr. Churchill's policy of carrying out the funding operation at a loss by issuing new stock at a large discount. *A propos* of this he believes that successful disarmament would increase the loanable capital available in all countries. His advice therefore that the attempt to fund into a long term security should only be made when the market conditions both at home and abroad are favourable is eminently sound. We cannot agree however in his strong condemnation of those who recommend a substantial increase in the Sinking Fund; a strong Sinking Fund is an index of a nation's bona fides with regard to repayment of debt, provided of course that it is supplied out of the ordinary budget sur-
Mr. Mason welcomes the advent of an international Commission for fixing a definite total reparation from Germany and the final settle-

ment of the inter-Allied debts due to Great Britain. Mr. Mason does not believe in safeguarding duties; and he thinks that on the whole England will do well to get rid of taxes and imposts of all kinds so as to secure the widest expansion of trade and commerce. His final advice about taxation is the abolition of indirect taxes and concentration on income tax and other direct taxes. There is much truth in all this. Taking all the arguments advanced in the book by the author, the conclusion is irresistible that a sound monetary policy is synonymous with the adoption of a gold standard by all the nations of the world. And he is rightly proud that Great Britain has, for the second time during a period of almost a hundred years in her history, restored her currency to its pre-war parity—a thing that could be said of no other country in Europe.

V. N. GODBOLE.

SHORT NOTICES.

LAISSEZ-FAIRE AND COMMUNISM. By JOHN MAYNARD KEYNES. (New Republic, New York.) 1926. 7½ × 5. pp. 144.

WHENEVER Prof. Keynes speaks or writes on economic subjects, he does so with very good authority. In his opinion, communism is a queer and unsuitable compromise between two opposites—the extreme claims of individualism and the compact theory of the State. Its mission is to destroy the money-making monster in man and utilise him for producing wealth for the society with utterly unselfish motives. Built up on the quicksands of "an obsolete economic text-book," Bolshevism far from achieving anything so good is sure to topple down under the weight of its own sins. "But if Russia is going to be forced in the outside world, it will not be the result of Zinovieff's money." All sensible leaders of society are agreed that "Capitalism is absolutely irreligious, without much public-spirit—a mere congeries of possessors and pursuers." To eliminate it however and vengefully draw its blood as Russia does, instead of making it completely subject to generous and democratic impulses, is to introduce chaotic inefficiency and slovenliness. Besides, the extermination of capitalists will not kill the inherent acquisitive instinct of the individual. If at all, it may sink under the surface for the time being for fear of the Bolshevik machines of torture. Prof. Keynes after impartial observation finds that it has not been possible even for the Soviet with all its callous seriousness and dead earnestness to bring about a complete equality of incomes. "A clever successful person in Russia has a bigger income and a better time than other people. The Commissar with £5 a week (plus sundry free services, a motor car, a flat, a box at the ballet, etc., etc.) lives well enough." Herein lies the subtle hypocrisy of Leninism. According to Prof. Keynes, there is just a doubtful good point in the dreadful avalanche. "Leninism is absolutely—defiantly nonsupernatural, and its emotional and ethical sense centres about the individual's and community's attitude towards the love of money." But as the Soviet works out in practice, all is oppression and tyranny. It has done nothing new. A different kind of bourgeois now rules in place of the old. Its peculiarity, however, consists in this that it has dragged out of buried obscurity the ferocious fanaticism of the Inquisition and supplied a new motive-power to it—that of an unconvincing economic dogma which carries no intrinsic appeal in it but has to be forced

down the throat. Prof. Keynes' book has to be read in order to be fully appreciated.

K. VENUGOPAL RAO.

CIVIL LIBERTY. Edited by EDITH M. PHELPS 1927. 7½ × 5. pp. 194. \$ 0-90.

FIVE-DAY WEEK. Compiled by LAMAR T. BE-MAN. 1928. 7½ × 5. pp. 150. \$ 0-90.

JURY SYSTEM. Compiled by JULIA E. JOHN-SEN. 1928. 7½ × 5. pp. 176. \$ 0-90.

THE Reference Shelf Series, published by the H. W. Wilson Co. of New York, of which these three books form part should be on the desk of every thoughtful person. He who reads them will not jump to hasty conclusions. The question of civil liberty has been so well threshed out and so many authoritative opinions quoted in support, that the reader learns in a nutshell almost all that there is to be known on the subject. Personal liberty is the natural and inalienable right of man, but it has its limits. "Your right to swing your arms ends just where the other man's nose begins." Bradlaugh asserts that "better a thousand-fold abuse of free speech than denial of free speech. The abuse dies in a day but the denial slays the life of the people and entombs the hope of the race." Mark Twain goes a step further and asks: "Must the citizen even for a moment resign his conscience to the legislator? Why has every man a conscience then?" On the other hand Trotsky has it that "Red Terror" which blows the hollow trumpet of Freedom the loudest "is a weapon utilised against a class doomed to destruction which does not perish." Engles says that "the proletariat needs the state not in the interests of liberty but for crushing its opponents." Lenin declares that "a special instrument, a special machine for suppression—that is the state,—is necessary." "They speak of liberty" observes the Fascist leader, "But what is this liberty? Does liberty exist?"

Five-day week is the subject of discussion in another book. There are persons of authority supporting the sweating system for their own reasons while there are others holding responsible positions, who favour the eight-hour day or five-day week scheme.

The third book deals with the Jury system which some regard as "a relic of barbarism"—totally inefficient and unsuited to bear the burdens thrown on it—therefore indefensible. Other wise men think that it is the only available means of obtaining popular and open-minded judgment on matters under judicial trial.

The books are a treasure-house of information.
D. P. I.

BIRTH CONTROL FALLACIES OF DR. M. STOPES. By HENRY DAVIS, (Burns, Oates & Washbourne.) 1928. 7¼ × 5. pp. 80.

THIS book is the outcome of a fanatical piety outraged by Dr. Stopes' so-called unholy contraceptives. In the interests of "Christian morality" Father Davis sets out to undo what appears to him as the mischief done by Dr. Stopes. He strongly condemns evacuation of the uterus for the reason that it means "killing of a living embryo." Coming from a Roman Catholic priest who shows no mercy to the innocent animals he swallows at every meal, this argument sounds ridiculous. In the event of Dr. Stopes' advice being seriously followed, Father Davis sees visions of a world denuded of humanity. He prefers unrestricted procreation with its attendant evils of congestion, poverty, starvation, disease, crime and chaos

to the sinful practice of birth control. This curious line of reasoning leads the Reverend Father to the pathetic conclusion that

"The use of contraceptives would inevitably reduce occupations. The great army of doctors, nurses, medical students, chemists, instrument makers, makers of baby linens, midwives, chauffeurs and innumerable others can hardly be grateful to Dr. Stopes for such a suggestion."

By way of comment, we simply supply the omission of those important occupations which have escaped Father Davis' memory viz., the undertakers, the grave-diggers, the readers of the last service, makers of drugs for venereal diseases, builders of jails and lunatic asylums, etc.

Father Davis will do well to hold his soul in peace.

H. N. S.

WOMEN IN HINDU LAW. By K. T. BHASHYAM AIYANGAR. (S. Ganesan, Madras.) 1928. 7¼ × 5. pp. 48. As. 4.

WOMAN'S strength is man's power. A woman utterly devoid of her own intellectual and financial resources is a burden on man. The Indian woman is a type by herself—perhaps the most handicapped of her sex. The laws of her religion are hard on her. By laying down iron rules for her guidance, they entirely deprive her of her powers of self-reliance and initiative. They say unequivocally that independence is not to be woman's. There is no separate existence for her but as a slavish "hanger-on" of man, for have not the ancient lawgivers decided once for all that "a woman's wisdom brings doom?" Mr. Bhashyam Aiyangar's book is an eyeopener to those of us who mechanically translate the holy decrees into practice, causing the woman needless injury and humiliation. He finds historical evidence to prove that "the free woman" of the Vedic period, falls into the clutches of bigotry and passing through periods of slavery and semi-slavery, finds herself at last reduced to the pitiable position of a chattel—a position which she continues to occupy because the British judges with the best of intentions try to fulfil instead of destroying the unjust laws of tradition. The sense of justice, if that we value at all, now requires that

"we must give back their (women's) rights and privileges in law of which we have robbed them. Hindu women are capable of managing not only properties but large commercial businesses, have distinguished themselves in arts and in sciences, in politics and in administration."

This chivalrous book must be read by all Indians—reactionaries, reformers, legislators, judges, women lawyers particularly.

M. N. O.

MISCELLANEOUS

THE GRAVE OF REPUTATIONS.

Under the above caption Mr. W. McGregor Ross, author of "Kenya From Within" writes in the February number of the Monthly News Sheet of the Women's International League a thoughtful article about the Hilton Young Report which is printed below:—

The average Briton who has not maintained any close watch upon developments in East Africa is perhaps surprised to find that yet another Commission has reported on that much-investigated region. This report although it embraces the affairs of Kenya Colony, the Uganda Protectorate, Zanzibar, Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia, and the mandated territory of Tanganyika, has been precipitated by the action of a small

minority of the white landholders in Kenya. The total number of Europeans employed on the land there, including landholders, managers, premium pupils, mechanics, and others, together with their women folk, is less than 3,500. The actual landholders are less than 2,000, and a series of preposterous demands by a minority of these people has led to the present situation. This minority is afflicted with the malady of undue selfimportance, which has been aggravated in recent years by the deference paid to it by the present Governor, who was appointed four years ago—admittedly under a handicap in having had no experience of administration in tropical Africa. The affairs of East Africa are in the melting pot as a result of the demand that the political destinies of Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, and Zanzibar shall be dominated by this tiny white group in Kenya, numbering less than *one-fiftieth of 1 per cent.* of the combined populations! Mr. Amery's contribution to the solution of the question they have raised has been the appointment of this Special Commission. Its report was published simultaneously in London and Africa on January 18, 1929. As a result selfimportance and amiable credulity alike stand rebuked.

These few bush politicians in Kenya maintain, with increasing difficulty a farmers' debating society, which meets periodically in Nairobi, and calls itself the Convention of Associations. In its palmy days it mustered thirty or forty talkers, but latterly there has been some difficulty in obtaining a quorum. Its star turn, some years ago, was to cable to London that it considered that it was entitled to representation on the Imperial Conference, and proposing Lord Delamere as its spokesman. A polite Secretary of State gravely declined the offer. The impending general election here has forced the hands of this group in Kenya. It was, for them, a case of now or never. They advocated the federation of Kenya, Uganda, Zanzibar, and Tanganyika into a sort of East African Dominion, with Kenya as the dominant partner, of course, adding, *à la* quaint *non sequitur*, that this involved the prior grant of responsible government to the Europeans in Kenya, placing them in complete control of 11,000 Arabs, 26,000 Indians, 2,600,000 Africans, and the entire Colonial Civil Service in the Colony! The Governor of Kenya gave them great encouragement, even addressing them upon the steps which would need attention when the official majority in his Legislative Council gave way to an unofficial one. The imminence of the change was, by his delighted hearers, almost taken for granted.

The Commission, with the greatest kindness and suavity, has, in effect, told him and them not to be silly. Leaving their heated imaginings out of the picture, it states that Britain's overriding concern in East Africa is the advancement and welfare of the native populations. (Smiles of satisfaction in Tanganyika, Uganda, and Zanzibar!) That is Britain's Trust in Africa. All other matters are "of minor significance" in comparison. It must be an essential part of British principle that there must be no abandonment of official control in the Legislature of Kenya until there is established a high supervisory authority, armed with adequate power to enforce the Imperial Government's policy in native affairs and other matters of more than local interest, including conflict of interest between different racial groups. The Commissioners propose the appointment of a High Commissioner, to spend part of each year in Africa and part in London, followed, after much preliminary research and action have been carried out, by the substitution of a Governor-General, in charge of Imperial policy in the four countries.

Obviously, it will be of critical importance that selections for any such posts should be men of experience, capacity, uprightness, and undeflectibility, but remedy will still be possible for unsuitable discharge of duties, because "it would still be the authority of the Secretary of State and ultimately of the Imperial Parliament on which the Governor-General would depend." *There must be no impairment of that demand.*

The appearance of this report ought to be followed by a strong forward movement in Britain in support of its smashing, and badly needed, re-statement of sane British policy in tropical Africa. There will then be ample time to go into some of the details of the proposed programme. Notably the timidity of the Commissioners upon the qualification Africans as spokesmen for native interests in the Legislative Council must be questioned. Their *caveat* cannot, in any case, be maintained for long. A race-bar at this point in the programme will soon be intolerable. Must the African attain the outlook, standing and attainments of a K. C. or a university graduate before he may speak for Africans? The writer has sat in the Legislative Council of Kenya listening at times for hours on end, to crude, crass clamour of self-interest from the benches of the elected European members. There are already Africans in Kenya who could do better than that. As for the elected members' notions of native welfare, we may recall their recent and unanimous demand for State or municipal brothels for Africans in Nairobi. This was turned down—principally under castigation by *The Times of East Africa*, a British owned settlers' paper which maintains a wholesome stream of derision upon Lord Delamere's dwindling party, and equally upon the local Government when it accepts the views of that party as its own earnest convictions.

But in certain quarters in Africa, that Grave of Reputations, the report has caused pain. The Convention of Associations has had it under consideration. The Governor is in London at present, so, with no one to comfort them, they retired into secret conclave and grieved over it for two days. Emerging, they announce that "no progress will be possible unless the Imperial Government repudiates the fundamental conceptions of the report regarding self-government [*sic*] in the future!" It *must* be an effect of climate.

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- CHRISTIANITY AND THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA. By ARTHUR MAYHEW. (Faber & Gwyer.) 1928. 8½ × 5½. pp. 260. 12s. 6d.
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