

# HEADWAY

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## WHY A LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION?

**M**ANY MEMBERS OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION are perplexed. The League, they feel, is in a bad way. The Prime Minister has said that "it is no use in present circumstances to appeal to the League of Nations to obtain collective security" against war—the same Mr. Neville Chamberlain who on November 2, 1935, said at Birmingham: "The preservation of the League is the keystone of our policy because the first object of that policy is the establishment of settled peace, and the League alone can give us peace by the collective action of its members." If, indeed, the League has failed in its main purpose, why should there be a League of Nations Union to uphold the principles of the League Covenant and to gain support for them?

**M**ANY ANSWERS ARE GIVEN. One answer is that the world must come back, soon or late, to the principles of the Covenant; that it is only the Governments of States-members of the League which have failed, not the League itself. Another is that the League has failed because it is not universal, and that it must be made universal. A third, given by the Prime Minister on February 22, is that "the only chance the League has of becoming again an effective factor in the preservation of peace will be when it has abandoned the idea that peace can be imposed by force."

**T**HIS IS OUR ANSWER. We think the weakness of the League—a League of Governments, not a community or union of peoples—lies in the unwillingness of sovereign States to act together on the principle: "Each for all and all for each." We know that the League of Nations Union and its purpose are older than the League itself, and that the achievement of this purpose is to-day more urgent than ever. We believe that through the action of such bodies as the League of Nations Union the peoples of this and other free countries can be helped to unite for the creation of peace.

**T**HE ORIGINAL IDEA that lay behind the League of Nations Union was a "League of FREE Nations Union." Under this name a group

was formed during the Great War, and from this group the League of Nations Union presently proceeded. The group was formed at a time when men and women understood that the choice before the world lay between peace in freedom and a peace imposed by the sword upon vanquished peoples in bondage. Before President Wilson rightly said that the Great War was being fought "to make the world safe for democracy" the founders of the League of Nations Union conceived a League of Nations as a bulwark of human freedom, and a pledge of justice, against the tyranny of the warlike.

**T**O-DAY THIS TYRANNY, in other forms, threatens the free, democratic and peace-loving nations of the world, including our own. These nations need, now more than ever, to unite their hearts and minds, their resources and their policies to save themselves and the world for freedom. The present task of the League of Nations Union, as we conceive it, is to understand this need, to make it known, to work steadfastly for the truth that without freedom there can be no peace, and without peace no freedom.

**T**HE HOUR IS GRAVE, graver than any we have lived through since the summer of 1914. The nations are piling up armaments. The League seems paralysed. Yet it is not an hour for doubt or despair. It is an hour for high-hearted resolve. "Let courage rise with danger, and strength to strength oppose"—the strength of moral conviction, of free men and free women, of free and peace-loving nations against the misguided strength of those who have abjured freedom and placed their sole trust in armed might.

**O**THER NATIONS, now enslaved, look to the free nations to stand together and to save the world from woe. When it is known that they stand together the struggle for peace will be more than half-won. It is for the League of Nations Union to take the lead in this great cause, sure of triumph—sure, too, that out of triumph will come such a union of the forces of freedom that mankind will at last gain peace.

**NOW IS THE TIME TO JOIN THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION.**



# HEADWAY

TOWARDS FREEDOM AND PEACE

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MARCH, 1939

No. 6

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## BEHIND THE NEWS

WHAT kind of a world have we got? What kind of world do we want? What kind of a world can we hope to get? What kind of a world can we hope to keep, when we have got it?

These are the questions we ought to be able to answer. If we are unable to answer them now we ought not to rest until we can. The purposes for which HEADWAY exists are to find the facts, to put the facts before its readers, and to suggest the logical conclusions. From time to time changes will be made in the paper in order that it may carry out those purposes effectually.

\* \* \*

### HOW TO LIVE IN PEACE

WAR IS FAILURE. It is failure to solve the problem with which a nation is confronted. That problem is always at bottom the same: how to live comfortably and peaceably side by side with one's neighbours. The one sound object of a foreign policy is so to adjust the contacts between nations as to safeguard their vital interests and to afford them fair opportunities for the fulfilment of legitimate ambitions.

A resort to war is like the folly of a man who breaks up the puzzle he is set to work out. Though only patience and clear thinking can help him he smashes the pieces and scatters them in all directions. Then when the rage is past he has to gather them together again and finds them much more difficult to get into their right places. War is stupidity.

THIS is not empty theory. Experience confirms it. Japan in China, Italy in Abyssinia, Italy and Germany in Spain, Germany in Austria and Czecho-Slovakia have all of them created for themselves embarrassment, difficulty, danger by their choice of violence. The more open and extreme their use of force the greater the present risks. And the years from 1914 to 1918 teach the same lesson: all the bloodshed and ruin did not make Europe an easier place in which to live in contentment and prosperity.

\* \* \*

BECAUSE danger is close Great Britain is arming on sea and land and in the air with all haste. Meanwhile British foreign policy at each threat of conflict appeases the prospective aggressor. In the conditions of the hour, any alternative might lead to ruin. But arms and concessions do not give security. They only put off the evil day, which, nonetheless, sooner or later, inevitably will arrive, and allow a hope that the evil day when it comes will not be the worst. Lasting security is impossible except in a world order based on justice, and therefore accepted by peace-keeping nations, and assured of common defence, and therefore not at the mercy of an aggressor.

The only real peace policy is the building of such a world order. Every chance of peaceful co-operation between peoples must be sought out and exploited to the full.

THE PEOPLE ARE NOT TOLD THERE IS SOMETHING odd about the general state of public affairs, something almost paradoxical. It is as though the Government were not telling the people what it really thinks, while the people have no means of telling the Government what they think.

\* \* \*

A VERY CURIOUS series of letters appeared in *The Times* last month. They seemed to show that a lot of people would rather not know the truth. A lady wrote to complain that the B.B.C. news bulletins gave her "the jitters," or words to that effect. Somebody else wrote to say that the only way to go to bed with a quiet mind, and to be "fit" next day, was not to listen to the B.B.C. bulletins at all, but to wait till next morning when the papers would not be half so alarmist. Then another correspondent mildly suggested that the B.B.C. might be trying to tell the truth, as far as it could on the strength of News Agency reports, and that the papers might wish, for reasons of their own, to be more reassuring. So we do not quite know whether the public wants the truth—or soothing syrup.

\* \* \*

### "HIDE-THE-TRUTH"

AT CERTAIN PERIODS during the Great War much was said about, and against, the "hush-hush" and the "hide-the-truth" press. In those days certain Ministers, if not the whole Government, thought that the country would be too frightened if it knew the

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news of danger, or set-backs, or even disaster got out, the temper of the country rose, and people said: "This must be put right." Before conscription was introduced—after much hesitation on the part of the Government as to whether the country would "stand it"—men rushed to enlist whenever the news was bad.

Something of the same sort seems to be going on now. A general impression has been spread that "things are better." Lord Runciman went off on a holiday the other day and said before leaving that he was going "with a light heart." A few hours later Sir John Simon, Chancellor of the Exchequer, informed the House of Commons that rearmament expenditure in the coming financial year would be not less than £580,000,000, a sum not far short of our total national debt in 1914. We should not be spending such an amount if all were well.

**THEN THERE IS** the distribution of steel air raid shelters. If they are not wanted, this is waste. If they are wanted, there must be danger. Exactly what the danger is, and whence it may come, we are not frankly told. It can hardly come from Germany because she has been "appeased" by the sacrifice of Czechoslovakia. Besides, the Prime Minister and Herr Hitler signed on September 30 a declaration "symbolic" of the desire of Great Britain and Germany never to fight each other again.

One incident in the House of Commons last month was singular, and perhaps significant. In reply to a question whether Herr Hitler had been sincere in giving a certain assurance, the Prime Minister said he thought Herr Hitler was sincere at the time the assurance was given. Does that mean that he doubts Herr Hitler's sincerity now? If so, what reason had he to think him sincere at the moment when the assurance was given?

#### WITNESS FROM AMERICA

**WE HEAR VERY LITTLE** nowadays of what foreign countries really think of us, our policy and our position. Yet onlookers are supposed to see most of the game. One has to look for these things with a magnifying glass. Take, for instance, Lord Lothian's first

whole truth, and, on behalf of the public, followed the principle that "where ignorance is bliss, 'tis folly to be wise." They were thoroughly wrong. When article "America After 'Munich'" in the *Observer* of February 19. Of all public men in this country Lord Lothian is probably the man who has put the fullest trust in Herr Hitler. He went to see him repeatedly, and came back to preach the gospel of "appeasement" long before the Government were converted to it. But he has recently been in the United States, a country he knows fairly well. Here is what he writes about the position of Great Britain in American eyes:

There is no doubt that Great Britain has fallen off her pedestal. This is partly because she did not instantly rally to the support of Czechoslovakia and democracy as she did in the case of Belgium in 1914, but rather made the Czechs pay the price of peace, and partly because the "peace" of Munich, following the other retreats of the last eight years, have revealed to every thinking American the changed position of Britain in the world to-day, as compared with 1914. Consciously or subconsciously, Americans everywhere have begun to realise, as they have never done before, the extent to which American security and freedom from international preoccupations have depended in the past on the British Navy and, consciously or subconsciously, they are realising that that security is not what it was.

Lord Lothian is a truthful witness. There is reason to think that even some members of the "inner Cabinet" are not far from the American way of thinking. Only they do not tell the country; and it is part of any sound democratic system that the country should be told. What is our true position?

#### DANGERS IN EUROPE

**IT CHANGES** from month to month, and in ways of which the public knows little. Month by month we are better armed, and should therefore be in less danger of sudden attack. Our Government knows well that Herr Hitler and his advisers have of



Herr von Ribbentrop

late been uncertain whether the next Nazi advance shall be made on the east or on the west of Germany. Great preparations have been going on in both directions. But the States of Central Europe have put up a stiffer resistance to German pressure than they were expected to do after Czechoslovakia fell. Poland has not quite come to heel, notwithstanding the secret arrangement which is said to exist between her Foreign Minister, Colonel Beck, and the German Foreign Secretary, Herr von Ribbentrop. She seems inclined to dance on a tight-rope between Berlin and Moscow.

Hungary has come into the anti-Comintern Pact. But, here again, the Magyars are proving somewhat indigestible. The great landlords, who are the real rulers of Hungary, are not quite sure that Nazism would respect their properties and their privileges, and the Magyar people do not want to be drowned in a German sea.

In Yugoslavia, too, the Stoyadinovitch Government has fallen. Germany felt she had M. Stoyadinovitch in her pocket. Now the pocket is, for the time being, emptier. She will try to fill it again, though the effort will cost her time, and perhaps money.

Roumania is anxious. Her King and Government probably know that, after Czechoslovakia, Roumania was the next candidate for the Nazi operating table. But the Balkan Entente—Turkey, Roumania, Yugoslavia and Greece—has been getting together. Turkey is apt to be a tough customer; and the relations between Turkey and Soviet Russia are close. So Germany has to think twice before trying to get hold of Roumania, and of the Roumanian oilfields, as a basis, if not for operations against the Ukraine and Russia, at least as a means of pressure upon Russia.

#### POSITION OF ITALY

**THEN THERE IS ITALY.** One part of Herr Hitler's embarrassment comes from the necessity of "doing something" for Mussolini before Germany expands eastwards. In the Nazi Party, and especially in the German army, or Reichswehr, there are many partisans of a policy of leaving Mussolini in the lurch. Hitler opposes this policy. He fears that if Mussolini were to go empty-handed, Italian discontent might threaten the Fascist system; and were Fascism to fall, German Nazism would be unpleasantly isolated. So, as Mussolini wants to "cash in" on the help he gave to Hitler at Munich, Hitler would like to do something for him. The question is, How?

**THE OBVIOUS ANSWER** is, by helping Italy to get "concessions" from France and by backing her up in Spain. It may not be a matter of "Tunis, Corsica, Nice" all at once, but of a payment on account. Great Britain was expected to "mediate" with France for it. In this expectation the visit of Mr. Chamberlain and Lord Halifax to Rome was arranged. But the Italo-German net was rather too openly spread for the British Ministers' feet, and France declined to accept British "mediation" which, among other things, was intended to estrange Paris from London.

These plans fell through. The French said they would not yield an inch of their territory; and the Prime Minister and Lord Halifax made it quite clear in Rome that any Italian or Italo-German attack upon France would be treated as an attack upon a vital British interest.

#### THREATS ON FRONTIERS

**THERE WAS GOOD REASON** for this warning. Italy and Germany had been thinking of a joint attempt to bring Switzerland on to their side, either by threats or by actual military pressure, or by both. Two months ago a great mass of German railway material was concentrated on the northern Swiss frontiers, apparently in readiness for a German advance into Switzerland. The idea seems to have been that Switzerland could be used, willingly or unwillingly, for an Italo-German attack upon France in the direction of Lyons. Then, suddenly, the German railway material was sent elsewhere—perhaps to the north, near the Dutch frontier. But there remain huge quantities of German ammunition of many kinds not very far from the Swiss border.

#### WHAT DOES ALL THIS MEAN?

Does it mean that Germany and Italy want war, and want it soon? Probably not. Everything seems to show that Germany and Italy wish to continue their "Munich" tactics of extracting concessions by threat of war without actually making war, and that they will push these tactics to extreme lengths. If they are resisted they may make war—or they may draw back. It is very difficult to know exactly how much is bluff and how far they are in deadly earnest.

This may be one reason why our Government hopes for the best while preparing (in some measure) for the worst, and refrains from telling us what it knows. Since it abandoned the League of Nations, even as an agency of public inquiry and discussion, and since



with the Czechoslovak-German treaty, it lacks a firm basis of principle for British policy. It has, therefore, to weigh the question, ever and again, whether this or that colonial or other concession which Germany or Italy may demand is really worth fighting about, and whether the people of this country (and those of the Dominions) would be ready to fight for some material issue after the great moral issue of defending the independence and freedom of a peace-loving democratic State has been thrown to the winds.

#### SYMPATHY WITH MINISTERS

**IN A WAY IT IS HARD** not to sympathise with His Majesty's Ministers. They have retreated before force and the threat of force in Manchuria, Abyssinia, Czechoslovakia and Spain. Where are they to stop? They have a world-wide Empire to defend. In many parts of the Empire the weakness of the British position is more fully and more clearly appreciated than it is at home. This is certainly the case in Canada and in the United States, where the outrageous aggression of Japan in China is felt to be a direct threat to countries bordering on the Pacific. And Japan goes hand in glove with Germany and Italy in the anti-Comintern Pact.

These are only the outlines of the situation. Details might add thicker and darker shades to some parts of them without altering essentially the general picture. We are rearming, and are to that extent growing stronger. But the most important part of our rearmament, moral rearmament, is being neglected. We have to find a cause for which all Britons, the world over, would stand together and risk everything. We may find it. Then we shall be really strong and able to take a moral offensive against the Powers that scorn freedom, hate democracy and practise blackmail of the largest sort.

it brushed aside the Czechoslovak proposal, last September that Germany's claims should be submitted to arbitration in accordance with the League of Nations. **ONE THING IS CLEAR.** If freedom goes, the British Commonwealth, which is based on freedom, may go with it. If our Government would tell the people the whole truth, there would be little doubt what answer the people would give. It would be: We stand for freedom as the only foundation for enduring peace.

**IN** a speech in London on February 18 to the General Council of the International Peace Campaign, attended by sixty delegates from seventeen countries, Viscount Cecil said:—

In the last few years the cause of peace has suffered much more than the cause of the League of Nations. The fundamental controversy is: Is the rule of law to prevail in international affairs, or are we to go back to the rule of the jungle, pure international anarchy?

There must be outside each country some tribunal to which appeal can be made to say whether a particular action is in accordance with international law and the principles of justice or not.

Lord Cecil added:—

We desire peace, but do not be mistaken: we are going to fight if British interests are attacked. You will find that almost in every speech of the present spokesmen of the Government. It is fundamentally the wrong way of putting it. No country has the right to fight merely for its own interests. The fundamental thing is that we fight not for our interests or gain or prosperity, but for the establishment of the rule of law in international affairs. If we can really set that forward as the great policy of our respective countries, we shall receive support from all over the world. We do right to increase our strength, as other countries are increasing their strength military, but no one can believe that that by itself is going to create international peace.

#### TASK OF A GREAT POPE

**PIUS XI** earned the gratitude of millions, not all of his own faith. In the moment of loss he has been compared to the greatest of his predecessors, Gregory VII and Innocent III. That is foolishness. It is true, however, that he was confronted with the most difficult task in the world of to-day and that he performed it with wisdom and courage. He was a worthy successor of Benedict XV, who throughout the war years worked tirelessly to be never a partisan but always a peace-maker. Pius XI, offering no provocation, was resolute against any surrender of principle.

The State idolatry of totalitarianism is a denial of Christianity. Pius XI saw that truth with crystal clearness. For the Christian each individual human





being has an imperishable value. He is more than raw material for the building of a grandiose political structure. The end is not yet, but already it is certain that Bolsheviks, Nazis, Fascists have failed to crush the Church. The new Pope, no matter who he is, will continue to labour for the peace of Christ in the kingdom of Christ.

### HIGH ABOVE TRUCULENCE

**DURING** February President Roosevelt made two important declarations of policy at the opening of two great American exhibitions. The first was San Francisco's Golden Gate Exhibition, to which the President sent a message by radio. He said:—

We must lift democracy high above ugly truculence. The nations of the American continent, by setting an example of international solidarity, mutual trust and mutual helpfulness may keep faith alive in the hearts of anxious and troubled humanity. The maintenance of peace in the Western Hemisphere must be the first concern of all Americans.

The second was the Fernando de Soto Memorial Exhibition, at Tampa, Florida, when once more Mr. Roosevelt broadcast his speech:—

We desire by every legitimate means to promote freedom in trade and travel and in the exchange of cultural ideas among the nations. We seek no territorial expansion. We are not covetous of our neighbours' goods. We shall cooperate in every proposal honestly put forward to limit armaments.

We abhor any appeal to force except for the repulse of aggression. But we say to all the world that in the Western Hemisphere—in the three Americas—the institutions of democracy, government with the consent of the governed, must and shall be maintained.

**I**MPORTANT as are the resolute words of President Roosevelt, a note which the United States Government have sent to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations is more important still. It expresses appreciation of the work undertaken by the technical and non-political services of the League, and announces an intention to continue and increase collaboration in the health, social, economic, and financial fields of the League's activities. It says:—

The League has been responsible for the development of mutual exchange and discussion of ideas and methods to a greater extent, and in more fields of humanitarian and scientific endeavour, than any other organisation in history. The United States Government are keenly aware of the value of this type of general interchange, and desire to see it extended.

Encouraging as has been the progress already made, much remains to be done for the promotion of human welfare in health, social, economic, and financial fields. This Government regard each sound step forward in these fields as a step towards the establishment of that national and international order which, they believe, is essential to real peace.

The United States Government look forward to the development and expansion



Scouting Planes of U.S. Navy

sion of the League's machinery for dealing with the problems in these fields, and to the participation by all nations in active efforts to solve them. It would not be appropriate for them to make specific suggestions for the development of the League's activities, but they will follow with interest the League's efforts to meet more adequately problems relating to the health, humanitarian, and economic phases of human activities. They will continue to collaborate in those activities and will consider, in a sympathetic spirit, means of making their collaboration more effective.

### SWITZERLAND AND FASCISM

**S**WITZERLAND'S recognition of General Franco—which can no longer be disguised as anything but complete—has surprised no one who has followed the policy of M. Motta during the last three years, though it seems to have come as a disagreeable shock to many moderate elements of public opinion in Switzerland.

Rightly or wrongly, M. Motta has made up his mind that the future of Switzerland depends on doing everything possible to placate Switzerland's powerful totalitarian neighbours. Hence Switzerland's flight from the Covenant in May last; hence the drastic laws regulating Press comment, which are being increasingly used against the advocates of democracy; hence the refusal of an amnesty for Swiss nationals who fought on the Republican side in Spain; hence also the decree making punishable by imprisonment or a fine anyone who recommends a trade embargo against a friendly foreign state.

No doubt the Federal Council was within its constitutional right in deciding, without reference to the Chambers, to recognise the rebel government—a recognition which, although the words "*de jure*" have not

been officially mentioned, has involved the immediate withdrawal of the Spanish Minister from Berne. But public opinion in Switzerland has been considerably stirred by the somewhat suspicious haste with which Switzerland has "rushed to the support of the conqueror."

Press comment in journals of the Centre is cautious and a trifle shame-faced. The extreme Right, of course, is jubilant, but the big Radical-democratic and Socialist organs of German Switzerland are unanimous in their condemnation of the recognition. Government apologists have suggested that the Federal Council took its decision thus early in order not to give the impression of being dragged at the chariot-wheels of Great Britain and France. Critics of the government at once replied that nobody ever suspected the Federal Council of taking orders from London or Paris.

### WHAT HAPPENED AT LIMA

**T**HE German Press greeted the recent Pan-American Conference in Lima with sneers. The leit motif of the concerted Nazi attack on Lima was that the Conference was a façade that the Central and Southern American states counted for nothing in it: in short, that it was a parade of satellite states ordered by the all-powerful United States.

An American who attended his fifth Pan-American Conference at Lima sends HEADWAY an interesting footnote on this campaign. For him the salient feature of the Conference was that, for the first time, the American states really seemed to get together on a basis of equality. Much to his joy, he realised that the United States was no longer regarded as the big bully, but rather as the big brother. The whole atmosphere of the Conference as between the various delegations was that of equals thrown together to negotiate and to concert measures of collective security against a common danger.

### LEGIONAIRES TO STAY

**I**N the general welter that succeeds the collapse of Catalonia, attention might with advantage be fixed upon two points of interest: one, the future of Catalonia in the new Spain, and, secondly, the future of the Italian "legionaries" at present with General Franco's forces.

Already the Catalan question would seem to have been tackled by the Generalissimo. Catalan independence, local or federal, is a thing of the past. Centralisation is the order of the day. It remains to be seen

whether General Franco has solved his problem or is merely creating a fresh one.

As regards the future of the "legionaries," we all know that Signor Mussolini has promised to withdraw them. But he has hardly yet finished sending them. In the past fortnight 6,350 soldiers, 260 air-pilots, 500 "technical experts," 275 non-commissioned officers and 101 officers have reached Franco Spain from Italy.

In the meantime the Fascist Press has entered into highly significant discussions of the possibility of rewarding the gallant "legionaries" (note the Roman flavour) by transforming them into "settlers." Naturally, their families would accompany them, and they would become "Spaniards," while in some curious way retaining their Italian nationality. Such a scheme is being seriously canvassed, and to those who know the Duce's dreams of a new Roman Empire there is food for thought in this throw-back to the conception of the Iberian Peninsula once more a "colony" of Rome. After all, so was Britain—once. But there are still some hurdles to be crossed. Anyway, watch the future of the "legionaries."

### DE JURE RECOGNITION

**G**REAT BRITAIN and France have recognised General Franco as the *de jure* ruler of the greater part of Spain. If the Republican Government continues the struggle it will be recognised as the *de facto* Government of the territory still under its control. Several other States have taken similar action.

In some quarters protests have been raised at the delay in recognising General Franco. He is assumed to have been unfairly treated, in disregard of the precedents of international law. In fact, from the lawyer's point of view, there has been an almost indecent haste.

The authoritative books lay it down that when a new head of a state comes to power through a *coup d'etat*, a revolution, or some other break in the normal continuity of constitutional title, recognition does not follow as a matter of course. There must be some assurance that the new government will last, and the fundamental conditions of civilised statehood must be satisfied: a people, not a mere assemblage of diverse human elements; a country, not a broken-off part; a government, not a lawless confusion; a sovereign state, not a façade covering a foreign master.

In the past on many occasions *de jure* recognition has been long delayed. More recently members of the League of Nations and the United States have refused to acknowledge a new order called in being by violence or breach of

the Covenant and the Briand-Kellogg Peace Pact.

### PLAN FOR PALESTINE

**T**HE CONFERENCE on Palestine at St. James's Palace has not yet led to an agreement. Its promise is not bright. Jews and Arabs both stand resolutely to their claims. The Jews demand a national home and for immigration limited only by the capacity of the country to absorb new Jewish settlers; the Arabs demand the ending of the Mandate, national independence as an Arab State, no immigration. British Ministers are for a compromise. But they do not seem clear in their own mind on what terms would be just.

At the moment outside intervention in the argument, no matter how well intentioned, is unwelcome. This much may be said safely. Peace in Palestine depends on neither party having inflicted upon it what it will continue to feel an intolerable grievance. The one hopeful way yet suggested of escape from the deadlock is a self-governing Jewish Palestine with guaranteed liberties inside a great Arab Federation. The Arabs busy building up a great Arab State, comprising Saudi Arabian, Yemen, Irak, Transjordan, and perhaps Syria and Egypt, would have no excess of population for their vast lands outside Palestine and would have every reason to value the constructive help of Jewish intelligence and Jewish energy.

**R**ECENTLY the All-India Legislative Assembly at Delhi passed a resolution demanding the resignation of India from membership of the League of Nations. The Assembly debate revealed two main points of dissatisfaction: (1) The Indian delegates to the League are not elected by the people or by central or provincial legislatures, but are nominated by the British Government; (2) The manner in which the League has abandoned the interests of smaller and weaker members.

### HELP CHINA

**T**O give information about the economic position of Japan and the work of reconstruction that is going on in inland China, a National China Conference is being held on March 10 and 11 at the Friends' House, Euston Road, London. It will discuss the policies of Great Britain, France, the United States and the U.S.S.R. towards the war in China. It will also hear of the rebuilding of China; of students who marched thousands of miles to establish new universities in South China; of peasants who organised



themselves into co-operative societies to stimulate production; of culture spread among the people. It will hammer out a policy of aid for China which can be given by the British Government and people and will plan a campaign to secure that policy's adoption.

**I**N the United States the no-silk campaign has been a great success; it has swept from one end of the country to the other, helped by actresses clad in lisle or rayon, society women who refuse to wear silk in any shape or form, and by Harpo Marx, who played the harp at a film actors' boycott meeting. United States imports of silk from Japan have fallen by more than 50 per cent.; and the boycott goes on.

**I**N Cardiff there lives an enterprising woman. She keeps a boarding-house for seamen, and is interested in China. Just before Christmas she received an appeal for the International Peace Hospital in South Shansi. She was eager to help. A ship with a Chinese crew had just come into the port, and some of the crew were staying in her house. So she enlisted them as collectors and made a drive in the house and the neighbourhood. Each seaman's mite she entered prominently on a large sheet of paper.

### WHOSE FAILURE?

**T**HE PRIME MINISTER has said that the failures of the League of Nations are due to those who imposed on the League tasks it was not strong enough to bear. Surely the truth is that the League has failed because those who were pledged to give it the strength it required defaulted on their bond. They denied it the resources that were necessary for the performance of its task. The plea was: "Too dear, too dangerous." As a consequence the nations are spending ruinous sums on armaments and confront risks immeasurably more awful than any they knew in the League's more vigorous days.



## WORK THE LEAGUE IS DOING

FROM OUR GENEVA CORRESPONDENT.

GENEVA, February 23.

THE outstanding events here in February have undoubtedly been the American Government's note on U.S. collaboration with the technical work of the League and the housing by M. Avenol of the priceless art treasures of Spain.

The State Department's views on the technical services of the League, which were received here only yesterday, came as a welcome "pat on the back" in the period of depression and self-distrust through which the international institutions have inevitably been passing during the last year and, in particular, since Munich.

The U.S. note was the more welcome in that, accidentally no doubt, it arrived some twenty-four hours after the British Prime Minister had explained to an apathetic House of Commons the reasons for the failure of the League in the political sphere. The State Department deals, of course, solely with the technical services of the League. But it makes no secret of its support for this work, and its robust optimism is in heartening contrast with the Prime Minister's misery.

"The growing complexity of the modern world," says the note, "has for many years made increasingly clear the need for intelligent co-ordination of various activities and the pooling of information and experience in many fields . . ."

Plain words and full of hope. They implement indirectly the determination of the Lima Conference to defend international collaboration against international brigandage, and they hold out a hand which should assuredly be grasped. It may be the last chance.

\* \* \*

Although, strictly speaking, the temporary housing in the League building of the chief art treasures of Spain is not a matter of League activity, the actual transference to Geneva of these treasures has been not without dramatic significance.

As all the world knows, the transference has been effected without protest from the Nationalist authorities and without serious damage to the precious freight. Nay, more, General Franco has designated two acknowledged experts, José Maria Sert, whose magnificent mural paintings in the Council Room are one of the glories of the League Palace, and Eugenio d'Ors, the well-known art critic, to assist at the inventory and to discuss with M. Avenol the possibility of a partial exhibition of the treasures, in order to cover the expenses of transport already incurred by the disinterested international committee of experts, expenses



The League Buildings in Geneva, where the art treasures of Spain have found harbourage with the consent of both sides in the civil war.

which amount to close on 200,000 Swiss francs (£10,000). It must be admitted that, whether it be in respect of refugees or art treasures, the League, whatever its political failures, so loudly trumpeted by Mr. Chamberlain, has at least the record of doing its best to pick up other people's bricks.

A typical instance of quiet unheralded work for international collaboration is afforded in the recent development, through the medium of the League, of special study tours for Government statistical officials desirous of acquiring information concerning the statistical administrative methods of other countries. That the League has been able, with its diminished resources, to launch these study tours is due to the generosity of the Rockefeller Foundation—another instance, if any were needed, of the appreciation felt in the United States for the value of the League's technical work.

It would be difficult to find a subject more important for the future of international collaboration in any sphere that could be mentioned, and at the same time more devoid of "news value," than the standardisation of statistics. The International Labour Office has accomplished invaluable work in standardising statistics of unemployment, wages, prices, etc. The League can now, thanks to the Rockefeller Foundation, perform its part in placing the statistical officers of certain countries in touch with the administrations of those countries which are, from this point of view, more advanced.

### MENTAL HOSPITAL & INSTITUTIONAL WORKERS' UNION.

London Office: Swinton House, 324, Gray's Inn Road, LONDON, W.C.1.  
Head Office: 1, Rushford Avenue, Levenshulme, MANCHESTER, 19.  
Gen. Sec.: GEORGE GIBSON.

"The salaries paid to nurses are, in general, too low."—

Interim report of Inter-departmental Committee.

## Do women talk PRINCIPLES?



It may be principle which induces a woman to shop at the Co-operative Society and buy C.W.S. goods. The knowledge that her purchases help maintain the best standards of life for producers and distributors may weigh with her. On the other hand the main attraction may be the acknowledged value-for-money she gets at the Co-op. But whichever it is she safeguards both principle and pocket when she purchases

### C.W.S. goods

The study scheme is now in full swing. Yugoslavia has availed herself of it. Rumania is centralising her statistical administration; Belgium is completely reorganising hers. Three Swiss officials have been making a tour of the United States and Canada, and are winding up with a visit to England. Similarly, a Danish official has been enabled to visit Switzerland and Belgium to study population statistics, and Holland and Great Britain to examine statistics relating to industry, labour and shipping.

Another point of great interest in this connection is that, in view of the forthcoming Indian general census in 1941, an official of the Government of India is shortly to start on a special study tour in the United States, Canada and Sweden to enquire into the methods of collecting and preparing census figures in those countries. All this sort of thing is international collaboration at its best, and it is clear that the League of Nations remains easily the cheapest and most efficient clearing-house for such beneficial studies.

\* \* \*

Meanwhile the League prepares for its participation in this year's New York World's Fair. In a hundred-acre zone beyond the "Lagoon of Nations" sixty-one Governments and the League of Nations are to assemble their displays round the "Court of Peace." The site allotted to the League of Nations Pavilion is a commanding one.

The pavilion has been strikingly designed (by Mr. M. G. Struyt) with a keynote of extreme simplicity and pure white as the colour. The building, which is circular, is divided into five main rooms. One of these shows the historical development of the League ideal from Confucius to Woodrow Wilson.

The idea is to show visitors that the conception of the League is no new conception, but rather the fulfilment of a longing that has filled the hearts of men throughout the ages. The other rooms give examples of what the League has actually accomplished in the spheres of health, social service, economics, finance, transport and—"pace" the dictators!—politics. Finally, the central room is so designed as to pose the question—"World Order or Chaos?" Is mankind to go forward to greater things or is civilisation doomed to man-made disaster?

New York should be especially worth a visit this summer.

\* \* \*

The International Labour Office has taken up at least one study of major importance this month—that of the position of elderly workers in industry and possible methods of safeguarding against undue discrimination against them. This is a subject which is close to the hearts of the trade unions in the U.S.A. and in Great Britain, and the intensive study of it by the Labour Office is a sign that, under its new American director, the office, though crippled for funds, is undauntedly looking ahead to the problems which may confront labour if and when the present artificial armaments boom gives place to more normal conditions in industry. The subject merits closer treatment, and the researches of the Labour Office will be invaluable for the detailed study of it.

\* \* \*

One final word. The International Labour Office has cut its staff, and all those whose services are dispensed with have been informed. This is not the case with the League Secretariat. Uncertainty is the worst of incentives to good work. Could the League authorities not take a leaf out of the book of the Labour Office chiefs and remember that, in the general uncertainty of tenure, the League Secretariat staff is being subjected to an intolerable psychological strain, which cannot but have unfortunate reactions upon efficiency?



## THE JEWS

By MAHATMA GANDHI

SEVERAL letters have been received by me asking me to declare my views about the Arab-Jew question in Palestine and the persecution of the Jews in Germany. It is not without hesitation that I venture to offer my views on this very difficult question.

### Untouchables of Christianity

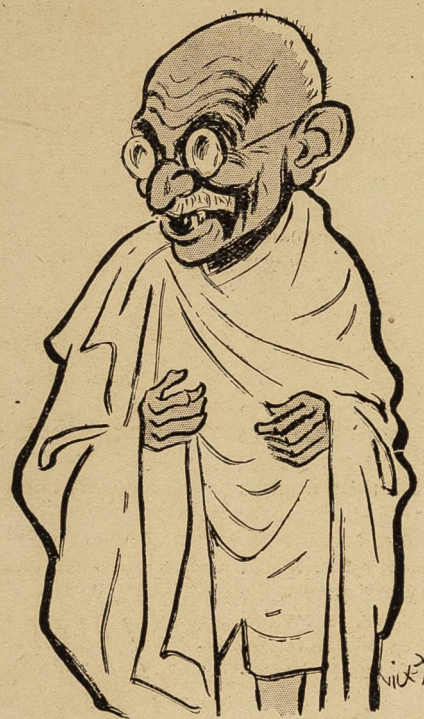
My sympathies are all with the Jews. I have known them intimately in South Africa. Some of them became life-long companions. Through these friends I came to learn much of their age-long persecution. They have been the untouchables of Christianity. The parallel between their treatment by Christians and the treatment of untouchables by Hindus is very close. Religious sanction has been invoked in both cases for the justification of the inhuman treatment meted out to them. Apart from the friendships, therefore, there is the more common universal reason for my sympathy for the Jews.

The nobler course would be to insist on a just treatment of the Jews wherever they are born and bred. The Jews born in France are French in precisely the same sense that Christians born in France are French. If the Jews have a home in Palestine, will they relish the idea of being forced to leave the other part of the world in which they are settled? Or do they want a double home where they can remain at will? This cry for the national home affords a colourable justification for the German expulsion of the Jews.

### Insist on Just Treatment!

The German persecution of the Jews, however, seems to have no parallel in history. The tyrants of old never went so mad as Hitler seems to have gone. And he is doing it with religious zeal. For he is propounding a new religion of exclusive and militant nationalism in the name of which any inhumanity becomes an act of humanity to be rewarded here and hereafter. The crime of an obviously mad but intrepid youth is being visited upon his whole race with unbelievable ferocity. If there ever could be a justifiable war in the name of and for humanity, a war against Germany to prevent the wanton persecution of a whole race, would be completely justified. But I do not believe in any war. A discussion of the pros and cons of such a war is therefore outside my horizon or province.

But if there can be no war against Germany, even for such a crime as is



being committed against the Jews, surely there can be no alliance with Germany. How can there be alliance between a nation which claims to stand for justice and democracy and one which is the declared enemy of both? Or is England drifting towards armed dictatorship and all it means?

Germany is showing to the world how efficiently violence can be worked when it is not hampered by any hypocrisy or weakness masquerading as humanitarianism. It is also showing how hideous, terrible and terrifying it looks in its nakedness.

Can the Jews resist this organised and shameless persecution? Is there a way to preserve their self-respect and not to feel helpless, neglected and forlorn? I submit that there is.

### Belief in a Living God

No person who has faith in a living God need feel helpless or forlorn. Jehovah of the Jews is a God more personal than the God of the Christians, the Mussulmans or the Hindus, though as a matter of fact, in essence he is common to all and one without a second and beyond description. But, as the Jews attribute personality to God and believe that He rules every action of theirs, they ought not to feel helpless.

If I were a Jew and were born in Germany and earned my livelihood

there, I would claim Germany as my home even as the tallest Gentile German may, and challenge him to shoot me or cast me in the dungeon; I would refuse to be expelled or to submit to discriminating treatment. And for doing this, I should not wait for my fellow-Jews to join me in civil resistance, but would have confidence that in the end the rest would be bound to follow my example.

### Inner Strength and Joy

If one Jew or all the Jews were to accept the prescription here offered, he or they would not be worse off than now. And suffering voluntarily undergone would bring them an inner strength and joy which no number of resolutions of sympathy passed in the world outside Germany can do.

Indeed, even if Britain, France and America were to declare hostilities against Germany, they could bring no inner joy, no inner strength. The calculated violence of Hitler might even result in a general massacre of the Jews by way of his first answer to the declaration of such hostilities. But if the Jewish mind could be prepared for voluntary suffering, even the massacre I have imagined could be turned into a day of thanksgiving and joy that Jehovah had wrought deliverance of the race even at the hands of the tyrant. For, to the God-fearing, death has no terror. It is a joyful sleep to be followed by a waking that would be all the more refreshing for the long sleep.

### Indian Example

It is hardly necessary for me to point out that it is easier for the Jews than for the Czechs to follow my prescription. And they have in the Indian Satyagraha (civil disobedience) campaign in South Africa an exact parallel. There the Indians occupied precisely the place the Jews occupy in Germany. The persecution had also a religious tinge. President Kruger used to say that the white Christians were the chosen of God, and Indians were inferior beings created to serve the whites. A fundamental clause in the Transvaal Constitution was that there should be no equality between white and coloured races, including Asiatics. There, too, the Indians were consigned to ghettos described as locations. The other disabilities were almost the same type as those of the Jews in Germany. The Indians, a mere handful, resorted to Satyagraha without any backing

from the world outside or the Indian Government. Indeed, British officials tried to dissuade the Satyagrahists from their contemplated step. World opinion and the Indian Government came to their aid after eight years of struggle. And that, too, was by way of diplomatic pressure and not of threat of war.

### From Despair to Hope

The Jews of Germany can offer Satyagraha under infinitely better auspices than the Indians of South Africa. The Jews are far more gifted than the Indians of South Africa. And they have organised world opinion behind them. I am convinced that it someone with courage and vision arises among them to lead them in non-violent action, the winter of their despair can be turned into the summer of hope.

And what has to-day become a degrading man-hunt can be turned into a calm and determined stand offered by unarmed men and women possessing the strength of suffering given to them by Jehovah. It will then be a truly religious resistance offered against the godless fury of dehumanised man. The German Jews will score a lasting victory over the German Gentiles in the sense that they will have converted the latter to an appreciation of human dignity. They will have rendered service to fellow-Germans and proved their title to be real Germans, as against those who are to-day dragging, however unknowingly, the German name into the mire.

Let the Jews who claim to be the chosen race prove their title by choosing the way of non-violence for vindicating their position on earth. Every

country is their home, including Palestine, not by aggression, but by loving service.

### Chosen Creature of God

A Jewish friend has sent me a book called "The Jewish Contribution to Civilisation," by Cecil Roth. It gives a record of what the Jews have done to enrich the world's literature, art, music, drama, science, medicine, agriculture. Given the will, the Jew can refuse to be treated as the outcast of the West, to be despised or patronised. He can command the attention and respect of the world by being man, the chosen creature of God, instead of being man fast sinking to the brute and forsaken by God. He can add to his many contributions the surpassing contribution of non-violent action.

## FRANCE AT BAY

By JOHN ELLIOTT

*The well-known American foreign correspondent who from his headquarters in Paris keeps watch on the affairs of Egypt.*

PARIS, February 19.

FRENCH foreign policy in Spain is showing the same marks of indecision and weakness that characterised it in the last three years in the case of Ethiopia, the Rhineland, and Czechoslovakia.

No single factor contributed so much to the downfall of the Spanish Republic as the closing of the Pyrenees frontier to the passage of arms and munitions to the Loyalists by the French authorities acting in the sacred name of non-intervention. But now that General Franco, thanks to the overwhelming superiority of his armaments supplied him by the Germans and the Italians, has driven the Republican armies from Catalonia, the French are visibly worried about the possible consequences of the Nationalist victory to the security of their Empire.

The end of the Spanish civil war is expected to be the signal for the launching of Mussolini's diplomatic offensive against France.

Clearly the installation of Italian aviators in Majorca and the presence of Italian troops in Spain are pawns which the Duce means to employ to the utmost in his diplomatic chess game against the French. In 1914 France had all she could do to defend one frontier. In the next European conflict, she is faced with the unpleasant prospect of having three frontiers to cover simultaneously—the Rhine against Germany, the Alps against Italy, and possibly the Pyrenees against Nationalist Spain.

### Minister's Pet Theory

Of course, the pet theory of Georges Bonnet, the French Foreign Minister, and his friends, is that General Franco is a Spaniard, first, last, and all the time, and once the civil war is ended he will send the Italians packing, bag and baggage. The principal argument raised in favour of extending immediate recognition to the Nationalist leader is that it would hasten the process of detaching him from his German and Italian allies. The Daladier Cabinet has already decided in principle in favour of recognising the Burgos Government, but before taking the plunge it wants to be certain that Franco has not committed himself to support Mussolini's imperialist aspirations.

The same desire to get the Italians out of the Peninsula explains the French pressure on the Spanish Republicans to

make them see that they are licked. So long as the civil war continues, Mussolini has an excuse to maintain his soldiers in Spain.

Meanwhile the Opposition Press in Paris is charging that M. Bonnet, despite his public protestations that France will



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not "cede an inch of her territory," is already secretly attempting by negotiation to buy off Mussolini. The accusation is made that the French Foreign Minister, through the intermediary of private emissaries, is offering concessions to the Fascist Government.

### Envoy to Rome

One of these envoys is said to be his friend, M. Baudouin, a director in the Bank of Indo-China, who has frequent occasion to go to Rome as administrator of a Franco-Italian company for the exploitation of the salt monopoly in Italian East Africa. On one of these trips he is supposed to have seen Count Ciano and to have suggested that the French Government would be willing to give Italy representation on the board of the Suez Canal, as well as a parcel of shares in the Jibuti-Addis Ababa railway, to create a free port at Jibuti, and to concede permanently the privileged status of the Italian residents at Tunis, who, according to the still-born Laval-Mussolini agreement of 1935, were to have become French citizens after the lapse of thirty years. Furthermore, M. Baudouin is alleged to have intimated that the French Government was prepared to make certain territorial concessions as part of a general settlement, including a rectification of the southern frontier of Libya and the cession of Tibesti in French Equatorial Africa.

The emissary to Berlin is said to be Fernand de Brinon, a French journalist who has long been interested in a Franco-German *rapprochement*, and is at present vice-president of the France-Germany committee. He was several times sent to Berlin as his private agent by Pierre Laval when the latter, as Premier, was seeking to come to an understanding with the Reich. It is presumed that the object of M. de Brinon's visit was to convince Baron von Ribbentrop that France was willing to go half-way to meet Italian aspirations, and to persuade the German Foreign Minister to use his influence to moderate Italian claims in accordance with the terms of the Franco-German declaration of December 6 last.

### Much Good Undone

Undoubtedly much of the good derived from the firm speeches delivered by MM. Daladier and Bonnet before the French Parliament, and the French Premier's voyage to North Africa, with its display of French military might, will be undone unless the Foreign Minister can convince his interpellators in the Chamber that he is not saying one thing in public while carrying on an entirely different policy in private. Otherwise Mussolini will be encouraged to believe that the "decadent" French Republic can be blackmailed into submitting to a "Mediterranean Munich."

## PARLIAMENT AND PEOPLE—No. 5.

By RONALD CARTLAND, M.P.

THIS is the question of the moment: Is the foreign gale blowing itself out, or is the lull in demands, threats, abuse and mobilisation presage to further storms?

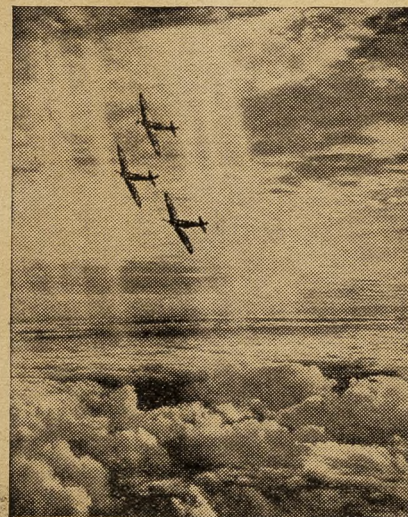
In the last five years we have lost our sense of values in international behaviour. Almost anything short of a declaration of war is labelled a peace appeal. Peaceful intention now means withholding the command to fire. Herr Hitler's January oration was received with universal relief, the antithesis of which nowadays is what Sir Samuel Hoare would term jittering.

### Confidence Campaign Mistakes

Sir Samuel's jitter-bug speech was the first shot in the campaign designed to impress foreign countries with our renewed might and to cure Britain of any apprehension that the Government had left undone those things which it ought to have done. If anyone were so obtuse as to inquire whether the Government had done those things which it ought not to have done, Sir Kingsley Wood's Air Force and the scream of Mr. Hore-Belisha's guns would supply the answer. But the timing of the confidence campaign is faulty. At the same moment as Sir John Anderson and Mr. Ernest Brown are appealing for volunteers for A.R.P., we are told that Mr. Chamberlain's appeasement policy is succeeding, and if it

fails we are ready, thanks to the aforesaid Sir Kingsley Wood and Mr. Hore-Belisha. This is bad statecraft. Government declarations require careful co-ordination, for the psychological effect of contrary statements by Ministers will almost certainly be reflected in recruiting figures.

The Government's decision to ask Parliament for powers to borrow a further four hundred millions for defence, though not unexpected, came when it did as a surprise. Sir John



First photograph of British Supermarine "Spitfire": 362 m.p.h.: sea level to 11,000 feet in 4.8 minutes

Simon was admirably phlegmatic when he made the announcement, but the House gave an audible gasp. I even detected a whistle of astonishment. Four hundred millions is a lot of money, but it is a cheap purchase of Peace, and if peace can be purchased by the expenditure of such a sum, few people will complain.

There is no doubt the mere statement that we are prepared to spend this additional amount has had a profound effect. Likewise, who has not heard it said that our diplomatic language grows stronger daily relative to our growing strength in arms. If there is such a relief of the tension, and there is, the outlook is not as black as it was. Even on the trade front Messrs. Oliver Stanley and Hudson have made progress. Germany, despite the Fuehrer's speech at the Berlin Motor Show, is obviously desirous of trade discussions and agreement.

One mentions in a whisper the United States, but President Roosevelt's words resound and wring an echo from every Democrat's heart. Russia is, to many minds, the great interrogatory.

### Spain and Defence

Spain, Defence, and Unemployment have been the main pre-occupations of the House since it resumed. The background of course—the German scene—remains, but we are growing accustomed to its features and plan our



Into an Air Raid Shelter

lives accordingly. One Chapter of a history closes with General Franco's victory. Recognition will be accepted by many people for different reasons.

Czechoslovakia's torments came to the fore when the Loan Bill was being discussed. Mr. Wedgwood Benn was moving and masterful; Mr. Duff Cooper was bitter; all felt ashamed. The Munich Agreement has been set aside; we are faced with a *fait accompli*, an injustice about which we can do nothing. One prays that in Madrid and elsewhere the Czech miseries will not be re-enacted.

The refugee problem remains for solution. Members are inundated with letters, mostly from charitable folk desirous of doing their share. The Home Office is besieged; but a second may make the difference between freedom and slavery, between life and death.

### Unemployment

It was time that the unemployment figures became headlines again. Passing the two million mark—the normal, seasonal rise in January was the immediate cause—seemed to awake public and Press to what is happening here at home. Alas! the debate in mid-February was disappointing and inconclusive. I noticed that some of those who have been publicly most concerned about the unemployed made no appearance. The attendance was better, however, than for most debates on unemployment in the past, but an almost fatalist belief that we can do nothing about it appears to exist. No one could find fault with Mr. Brown's analysis of the problem or Mr. Oliver Stanley's appreciation of our trade position, which, of course, is relevant to employment, but of a policy of steps to initiate a national effort to grapple and conquer this scourge, not a word.

As was well said by Major Lloyd George in one of the best speeches he has made: "to face facts is no more a proof of gloom than to ignore them is proof of courage and statesmanship." The over-riding fact of the unemployment situation is that it disgraces the reputation of democracy, and weakens our power of resistance to its foes.

Mr. Dingle Foot, Liberal member for Dundee, deserves congratulation. The amendment to be made in the Official Secrets Act is as much to his credit as to anyone's. He has battled for amendment for some time, and in his success lies the moral of persistence.

### Old Age Pensions

It will be interesting to see if those who wage continuous agitation on behalf of the old age pensioners are as persistent and eventually as successful. There is no doubt in my mind that the demand for an increased pension and an alteration in the scheme to meet the many existing anomalies will grow stronger. Whenever one is addressing a meeting the question arises. It will be, when it comes, a major reform, though in fact no more than an alteration in details.

The time is hardly opportune to talk of increased expenditure on social services, yet one must view national existence as a whole. Deputations have visited Sir John Simon. He was sympathetic, if not assenting. There is everything in favour of the pensioners' case being kept at the top of the list of desirable reforms. Sooner rather than later the whole structure of our social services will have to be re-examined. The numbers of our population will alone compel such an examination. In the meantime, one wonders whether the insurance societies could not undertake a preliminary investigation to see how far they can and will assist in a nationwide scheme of adequate pensions for men and women, married or single.

I saw somewhere the other day the House of Commons described as middle-aged. Pre-election characteristics of restlessness and mental sclerosis apparently predominate. Perhaps the outsider sees most of the game. The truth probably is that, since 1931, the same Government has been in power; there has been ineffectual opposition to an overwhelming majority; and crisis, first domestic, then originating from abroad, has succeeded crisis so that of necessity the business of Parliament has become rubber-stamping the actions of the Executive.

### General Election

The possibility of an election even at so distant a date as the autumn, does unbalance the House; but far more acute, though may be unconscious, is the feeling that the old party system is breaking down. Newer alignment will appear though the old names may be kept. There are question-marks all over Europe's map; in Vatican City, in Poland (are we moving Beck-wards?), in the Balkans, where the former sick-man of Europe appears in the rôle of doctor. At home, perhaps, there is a question-mark quite definitely over Parliament and its future.

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Hint...

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WITH EVERY MEAL



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## CHINA OLD AND NEW

By JAMES BERTRAM

*Mr. Bertram, a New Zealander, and a Rhodes scholar at Oxford, went to China in 1936 to study the Chinese language and social and political developments in China and Japan. He has spent the last three years in the Far East and has been an eye-witness of the historic events which have happened there during that time. He has wandered all over Northern and Eastern China, often accompanying the fighting troops of the various Chinese armies on their marches. He is the author of "China in Crisis" and "North China Front." In the article which is printed below he sets out the underlying realities of the Far East; it is the first of three in which Mr. Bertram will explain to "Headway's" readers the China which is coming to birth.*

WITH the recent extension of hostilities to Hainan, Japan has carried her flag of conquest to the southernmost of Chinese possessions. The front of war in the Far East now stretches some two thousand miles across the rim of Asia, from the frozen plateaux of Mongolia deep into the tropic zone. It is a battlefield unique in history, and one on which the issue must be decisive for nearly a quarter of the human race.

Where is it all going to end? Already clumsy overtures for a dictated "peace," rejected out of hand by the Chinese Government, have shown that there can be no swift or ready-made solution to a problem on so vast a scale as this. Present indications are that the war in China will be fought to a finish, and the "finish" in this case must change the face of a continent.

Yet on the most likely outcome of the present struggle, opinions are still widely divergent.

### The Balance of Forces

With Japan—there is this virtue at least about compact and totalitarian Powers, from the point of view of the student of international affairs—we know more or less where we stand. Japanese Governments, with remarkable unanimity, have made no secret of their designs for a "new order" in East Asia. And there is a growing feeling that, after eighteen months of war, something like the true measure of Japan's military strength has been taken. The strength of her naval arm—the greatest riddle of the Pacific—remains untried; but, however disturbing to other guardians of maritime possessions, the Imperial Navy holds no terrors for China now.

The real "unknown potential," in any estimate of the development of the Far Eastern war, is still China herself. So far, that unhappy country has held together remarkably under many handicaps, in the face of the most ruthless and savage assault. But is there any guarantee that resistance can be continued indefinitely; more relevant still, is there reason to believe that China can in time rally her forces for any successful counter-offensive?



General Chiang Kai-shek, inspirer of the new China and leader of the Chinese people in their resistance to Japanese conquest

### China's Chances?

It is not enough, for those whose sympathies are all with China, to point to the incomplete nature of Japanese military successes to date, and exclaim rhetorically that "the Chinese people can never be defeated." It is not enough, as some Chinese are fond of doing, to list the vast reserves of

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China's man-power, the great material resources still lying hidden in her intact western provinces, and observe philosophically that "the war has only just begun."

The limitations of the Japanese war-machine may be exposed, the myth of "invincibility" shattered; but Japan still retains an overwhelming advantage in offensive strength. China's reserves, human and material, are immense indeed, but these reserves can never turn the scale until they are fully utilised. One remembers how, in the only comparable earlier struggle in the Far East, a Russia infinitely stronger in human and material resources was yet defeated by a Japan exhausted to the point of collapse largely through the "intervention" of other foreign Powers.

### Factors of Victory

The really pertinent questions that must be asked are these: (1) Has a "new China" actually emerged from these months of trial, with a new national consciousness, an uncompromising spirit of resistance, and a real will to victory? (2) Has China to-day a sufficient degree of political unity and active leadership to survive the test of a protracted war, and organise to the full her immense resources? (3) Can this war be fought to a finish "in isolation," or will it not involve other foreign Powers, either before a decision has been reached, or in such a way as to influence that decision?

To answer these questions fully would take three volumes rather than three articles; and the danger of oversimplification, in discussing anything so complicated as Chinese society, is immediately apparent. But I believe we are now in a position to answer two of them, at any rate, with some confidence; and even a brief consideration along these lines may bring us closer to an understanding of the real movement of social forces in China to-day.

### Is there a "New China"?

Since Napoleon, in a moment of rare insight, spoke of the "sleeping giant" of Asia who "when he wakes, will shake the world," speculation has often played with the thought of a resurgent

China. The giant turned over in his sleep once or twice under the impact of western imperialism, during that long nineteenth century of Chinese humiliation and defeat. Once at least in our time, in the revolutionary years of 1925-27, he was roused in earnest, when the greatest mass-movement since the Taipings swept northwards to the Yangtse. But the impulse died; and it has taken a Japanese invasion to revive it again.

In the interval between the collapse of the revolution in 1927 and the latest phase, there was much talk of "modernisation," and sympathetic foreigners saw the "New China" of their dreams boldly taking shape under the energetic administration of General Chiang Kai-shek. New roads, new public buildings, the new life movement were the symbols of a process that was to turn China into a "modern nation." But to anyone who travelled through the interior at this time the process remained painfully on the surface. By now, most of the monuments of the "Nanking era" have crumbled under the Japanese bombs.

Perhaps the most significant achievements of these pre-war years were the improvement of communications, and the building-up, with the help of foreign military advisers, of a fairly well equipped central army. Unfortunately, for far too long, both these assets were chiefly employed in an effort to reduce "opposition elements" within the country. China's trade and credit prospered throughout this decade; but these gains were offset by disastrous territorial losses. And the moral of the people as a whole, down to the winter of 1936, was hardly such as to inspire confidence in China's chances in a trial of strength with Japan.

### Turning Point at Sian

But something happened, over the New Year of 1937, which transformed the internal situation in China; the peaceful settlement of the revolt at Sian, and the subsequent reconciliation of the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communists after ten years of civil war. Into the new form of political unity thus secured was poured all the tide of national sentiment that had been mounting steadily over a period of years. And the results were spectacular.

For when Japan attacked the following summer, no crack or fissure appeared in the new front of national solidarity. No single war lord reverted to the traditional "crisis" tactics of individual opportunism; even the faint-hearted, like Han Fu-ch' in Shangtung, refused to go over to the Japanese. Communists and militarists pledged their



Mme. Chiang Kai-shek

support to the National Government, and lived up to their pledges. In the light of her history since the revolution it would be hard to deny that a "New China" appeared to the world in 1937.

### The Spirit of a People

And all that has happened since has only strengthened this impression of a new mood and temper in the Chinese people. It is not easy to describe such a thing as "national spirit"; but it may be felt easily enough. It is to be judged rather by the action of the rank and file than by the speeches of leaders. And anyone who has been in China during these war years, who has seen the reaction of the common people to the war situation and their response to effective leadership when they have had it, must concede the prevalence of a new spirit that hardly existed three years ago.

"Old China" is not dead yet: certain political weaknesses, the dilatoriness, obstinacy, or plain incompetence of local officials and commanders,

have led in particular instances to premature collapse. (One might cite certain passages in the North, the final debacle at Nanking, the state of affairs in Canton before the Japanese took it.) But all these are problems of the organisation of resistance, and the lapses—when all is said—have been surprisingly few.

What is incontestable is that, in the areas where the Chinese people have been given the fullest freedom to arm, train and organise in their own defence, their resistance has been most stubborn and effective. I shall not soon forget the experience of travelling through a countryside devastated by Japanese armies, and finding how the able-bodied villagers, almost to a man, had voluntarily joined the mobile units or the self-defence corps. These areas are being steadily multiplied as the war goes on; and increasingly the action of the Chinese regular armies is being combined with the partisan activity of a whole people under arms.

This spirit of popular resistance, which the Japanese terror first kindled in the north, is found to-day in every province of China directly touched by the war. And it is this spirit which is building a New China on the ruins of the old.

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## A YEAR UNDER NAZI RULE

### WHAT IT HAS MEANT TO THE AUSTRIAN PEOPLE

By F. RAINER

*In March, 1938, the armies of Nazi Germany entered Austria. Austrian independence was destroyed. The Austrian people were promised a part in the greatness of Germany. Now after a year's experience they know what annexation means. Two Austrian liberals exiled in England have summed up in articles specially written for "Headway" the sufferings of those people.*

THE violent annexation of Austria by the Third Reich in March, 1938, did not involve only the destruction of the political independence of a country, which has always been an indispensable link in the framework of Europe—it involved also the attempt by all possible means to put an end to that peculiar Austrian art, culture, and way of life which have arisen out of the womb of its thousand years of history, and have continued down the centuries to enrich the mind of Europe.

#### Essentially Hostile

Austria must go! That is the slogan of National Socialism. It must go, because its entire character stands in the sharpest opposition to the militaristic Prussian mentality which dominates the present Germany and brutally suppresses any free movement of the spirit.

On this account National Socialism regards everything characteristically Austrian as essentially hostile, and on this account it is liquidating the very name of Austria, although it is several centuries older historically than the name Prussia.

From time immemorial a deep gulf has separated Austria from Prussia in the world of culture, in their conceptions of life and in history; in fact, in every sphere of human activity. The Austrian "idea" has always been a spiritual idea, a special manifestation of the European mind, which has contributed a shade of its own to the general picture of European culture. The Austrian idea, to which any cult of the individual is alien, is the precise reverse of the spiritual pride which is entirely built up on the cult of the self. As against the super-man ideal of this spiritual pride, it sets up the ideal of a simple realism and a day-to-day humanity.

#### Deep-Rooted Antagonisms

Down to the present day these deep-rooted antagonisms operate in their full force. The poetry of the Austrians, Grillparzer, Saar, Ebner-Eschenbach, Rossegger, Anzengruber, Rilke, Wildgans, reveals a deep humanity and a love bridging social distinctions, which may be compared with the contempt for the masses shown by Nietzsche, George, and Spengler, who are not by

accident alone the spiritual forbears of the present National Socialism.

It is, therefore, very easy to understand that the National Socialist conquerors have made it their business not only to destroy the political independence of Austria, but also to extinguish every spiritual and cultural tradition in the only area in Central Europe where civilisation has had an unbroken continuity from the early Middle Ages to the present day.

#### Mission in Europe

There has arisen here in the course of the centuries as a result of Austria's special situation and her mission in the heart of Europe a peculiar mingling of peoples and races, an independent culture, a design of life and an idea of the world of its own. This peculiarly Austrian facet of the European mind is very closely connected with the Austrian landscape, its charm and musicality, its situation at the cross-roads of Slav, Latin, and Magyar peoples and cultures. Thus every kind of national chauvinism is fundamentally alien to Austria, and her consciousness of the European idea has taken deep roots in her soil.

For the world the spirit of Austria is embodied above all in its music. Haydn, Mozart, Schubert, Johann Strauss, these are the best exponents of the Austrian character: they won for her the understanding and the love of the whole world.

#### Music No Longer

But what has National Socialism done with this country of music, Austria? Vienna as a city of music exists no longer. The best artists had to leave Vienna, a large section of Austrian music is suppressed. The music reports of the assimilated Press have fallen to a most lamentably low standard. The directors of the Vienna Opera, Bruno Walter and Felix Weingartner, the best opera singers such as Lotte Lehmann and Elisabeth Schumann, Richard Tauber and Alfred Piccaver were driven out, forty musicians were expelled from the Philharmonic Orchestra, once the best in the world, and among them was the great artist, Arnold Rosé, who had done fifty years' work on it. The works of Gustav Mahler, the celebrated Austrian composer, have been banned, his bust

by Rodin has been removed from the foyer of the Opera House, and the Vienna street called after him has been renamed. The world-famous Salzburg festivals, which attracted every year an art-loving public from all lands, have lost all their attractiveness as a result of the expulsion of Toscanini, Bruno Walter, and Max Reinhardt, and have sunk to the level of provincial performances. The known Vienna operetta composers, whose waltz tunes were once proclaimed from the house-tops of Vienna, Kalman, Oscar Strauss, Benatzky, are banished from Vienna together with their waltzes, and along with the best operetta singers and actors, such as Max Hansen, Karlweis, Rita Georg, Christl Mardayn. The inimitable Vienna comedian and speaker, Fritz Grünbaum, is installed in a German concentration camp, the same one where a short time before his colleague Paul Morgan, was announced as "deceased." The Third Reich has room for humorists only in the concentration camp.

#### Famous Theatre Closed

The Vienna Theatre, the oldest and most traditional theatre in Vienna, has not opened its doors this season. This genuine People's Theatre, founded by Tchikaneder, the poet who wrote the text for Mozart's operas, was the scene of the original production of Beethoven's "Fidelio" and of the celebration of Raimund's and Nestroy's triumphs. Countless Vienna operettas began their tour of the world from this theatre. Yet under national socialist rule its right to live is denied.

Instead of the charming popular songs of Vienna, the city's youth is taught to-day chauvinist songs of hate, which are wholly contrary to its character. Through the streets of Vienna drone the alien bellicose tunes of the national socialist storm troopers and the Hitler youth. They sing such songs as "To-day Germany is ours and to-morrow the whole world will belong to us," or "We will beat France and be victorious."

#### Poor Vienna

Poor Vienna, what have they done to thee? Whither have all thy charm, thy grace, thy privileges, thy enjoyment of life disappeared? The chained

dogs have been let slip, and they are not satiated by plundering Jewish shops; they rage against anything that does not subordinate itself completely to the totalitarian claims of the national socialist state. According to national socialist principles, science, art and law are in the present state functions of politics. The pursuit of any cultural activity, whether as actor or film-operator, as writer or as newspaper vendor, is dependent on adherence to the National Socialist Reich Chamber of Culture in Berlin. Wireless, films, newspapers and periodicals are completely assimilated and deal in nothing but chauvinist, militarist propaganda—the exact opposite of what the world was accustomed to look for in Austria.

#### Homely Austria No Longer

"You must show that the world lied when it coined the phrase 'Austrian homeliness,' said Goering to the Austrians on May 13, 1938. That means: you must abandon everything that the world was used to finding in the Austrian people; your enjoyment of life, your artistic temperament, your softness. There is no room for it in the third reich."

There is no room either in the third reich for free scientific activity and research. A large number of the most important professors were driven out, on political or racial grounds, from the University of Vienna, which enjoyed a high reputation in the whole scientific world. Numerous scientists and doctors committed suicide in the months following the annexation (Professors Fürth, Knöpfelmacher, Nobel, Fränkl, for example), several were arrested, and are still to-day in concentration camp (the Theological Professor Hollnsteiner and the Professor of Political Theory, Herr Spann, for example), while many, including Professor Sigmund Freud and Professor Neumann, had to leave the country. Countless others, among whom were holders of Nobel prizes and world-renowned intellectuals, were simply deprived of their chairs.

#### Faculties Without Heads

The result is that the majority of the most important faculties of the Vienna University are to-day without heads and are therefore lifeless. Examples are the Faculty of Psychology (formerly Professor Bühler), the Pedagogic Seminary (formerly Professor Meister), the Department of Theoretical Physics (Thirning), the Chemical Laboratory (Marck), the Faculties of Mineralogy, Geology, Zoology, Anthropology, and the Phonetical Institute, as well as the Seminary for Latin and Slav Philology. At the same time the num-

ber of students has fallen from 9,180 in the winter term of 1937-38 to 8,029, in the summer term of 1938, in spite of an influx from the Reich. That is the fate of the oldest German University (after Prague) under the domination of national socialism.

The Vienna School of Medicine enjoyed special renown in the scientific world. For very many years many of the Vienna doctors and professors, particularly the more important ones, such as Notnagel and Zucherhandl, had been of Jewish descent. As all medical practice is now forbidden to the Jewish doctors the preservation of health is seriously imperilled. The medical course had to be shortened by two years, so that the young students could more quickly take the places in the hospitals of the experienced doctors, who had been kicked out overnight.

#### Hospitals Distrusted

The distrust of the population for these half-trained youths prevents many invalids from seeking medical help. There are numerous cases of mothers who prefer to give birth to children in unsuitable conditions at home rather than go to the lying-in clinic, and this results in an increase of childbirth fever. On the other hand, in cases of accidents and sudden illnesses it is impossible to get hold of a doctor for hours, because the number of doctors after the exclusion of the Jews is much too small. Thus the racial policy of national socialism is developing into a direct threat to the health of the people, a continuance of which must have the most disastrous results.

## TALES OF THE FOOD SHORTAGE

By WILLI FRISCHAUER

"IS Germany on the verge of economic collapse?"

This question is asked all over the world. It is most difficult to answer.

No budget is published in Germany. All figures from official sources smack of careful manipulation. The German dictator takes his military decisions without considering the country's economic resources, and it is left to the ingenuity of Dr. Schacht, or his successor, to devise a financial system which shall keep both the German people and foreign observers ignorant of the true state of affairs. Of this system it has justly been said that hardly anybody but Dr. Schacht really understands it.

I shall try to draw a picture of Germany's economic position from a different angle. The wealth of a country is the welfare of its people. In Ger-

The "cultural" policy of national socialism with its fundamental claim to totality is intended to weld Austria even culturally into a pliable province of the third reich.

National socialism wants to change Vienna from a centre of European culture to a centre of national socialist propaganda. From Vienna the whole of South-Eastern Europe is to be ideologically and economically conquered for the third reich, in order to provide it with the necessary basis for the campaign against the Democratic western powers. Austria is no longer to be the mediator between east and west, but the starting-point for the German drive to expansion. The conqueror's policy of assimilation, however, is rousing in the Austrian people an awareness of its own culture and tradition, which is irreconcilably hostile to the national socialist alien domination.

#### Austria Lives

Austria lives: Long live the will of the Austrian people to freedom and independence! The destruction of Austrian independence has—as we see to-day in all clarity at the end of a year—shattered the European order. Therefore the Austrian drama is a European drama, and in the last resort the fate of Europe hangs on the issue. The words of the French Premier, Painlevé, are more applicable to-day than ever. A few days before his death he said:—*"Austria is a spiritual beacon, which must not go out, for the independence of Austria is the lynch-pin of the European order."*

many this is not entirely the case because the people do not benefit by the country's resources. To a very great extent German resources are invested in preparation for war. To me it is the welfare of the German people that is most important, and I shall look at the problem in terms of bread and butter.

There is scarcity of both bread and butter to-day. The quality of the bread is poor—"soon we shall have white bread again" said Goering recently, but his promise has not been fulfilled. There is not enough butter to satisfy ordinary demands. It was also Goering who said that guns are better than butter.

An evil is less obvious if it is introduced slowly. That is why the German people are only now awakening to the facts. The true feeling can



best be judged where the change has come about rapidly, in Reich Austria and Sudetenland.

These two countries have suffered the shock of a sudden reduction to the All-German standard of life. This is characterised by a serious shortage of foodstuffs.

Soon after the Anschluss German tourists poured into Austria. But they did not come to look at the lovely Austrian landscape; they came to drink milk, eat white bread and butter, and foodstuffs wherever they could lay hands on them. Laden with trunks and bags of food, they returned to Germany proper. They loved Austria.

### Not Enough to Eat

But Austrians did not love Germany. When Austrian workers returned from excursions into the Reich, where they were taken by the Labour Front Organisation, they told grim stories. The purpose of the excursions had been to give Austrians a glimpse of life in Germany. After their return they were quickly thrown into concentration camps. Some of them had started a riot in Leipzig, because they did not get enough to eat. Now behind bars they try to figure out the difference between Germany and Austria. They will not be able to tell the tale for a long time.

But other Austrians do not need their testimony. By now the Austrian housewife has experience of her own. Vienna markets are presenting spectacles hitherto unknown to their customers, but fairly general in German cities. Half an hour after the beginning of sales market officials announce that goods are sold out. Market reports tell readers that purchasing power is so great that supplies are quickly disposed of.

### Queues for Vegetables

Only those who wait in queues for three or four hours get vegetables or fruit. They can afford to buy what they want. But they cannot get it. Every morning brings the same scenes at the market. Angry housewives storm the stands, grasp what they can lay hands on, and run off with their dearly bought stuff, as quickly as their legs can carry them.

At first police were reinforced to stop the scenes. But they were unable to restore order in the markets. Now food has been rationed and foodcards issued, but during recent holidays not even the small quantities of food allowed under the new ration were available.

This state of affairs does not affect the workers and poorer classes alone. The well-to-do suffer from lack of food-

stuffs on which they were accustomed to live.

I do not mean to say that the many dinners given by Field Marshal Goering are conspicuous for their frugality. But a friend of mine returning from Berlin the other day gave me an interesting account of a dinner party in a distinguished German's house. The host is a rich man and well known for his lavish parties.

This time his wife invited praise for the six-course dinner which was being served:

"Imagine," she told her guests, "all this has been produced without a grain of butter, without . . ." and she gave a long list of missing ingredients. She particularly asked for recognition of her cook's artistry. A dish for which the cookery book prescribed a dozen eggs had been made with only three.

### Clothes Dissolve in Rain

My friend told me also about the poor quality of the soap, about the clothes which dissolved in the rain—that is why troop exercises are suspended on rainy days, about the poor quality, for instance, of the many substitutes that are replacing almost every gadget and even medical instruments. Shoes, furniture, paper—everything has become steadily worse. The list could be continued indefinitely.

In short, the German people are going through a period of privation, the effects of which are severely felt. Germans are accustomed to make sacrifices, but they think that a limit has now been reached beyond which life would become intolerable. This feeling is bound to express itself sooner or later in open dissatisfaction.

The German Government is aware of the threat. What is it going to do about it?

The reply might provide an interest-



ing pointer to German policy in 1939. Already the air is buzzing with rumours about a plan to limit expenditure on armaments in Germany. Some say Herr Hitler desires to invest more money in submarine building. It would be the first time that he had abandoned one project in the field of armaments in order to carry out another.

### Stores for War

There are, of course, some reserves of foodstuffs in Germany. Store houses are being built all over the country. But they are part of the latent economic mobilisation for a future war; their contents will never be released in peace time for distribution among the hungry Germans.

How can Hitler deal with the situation without risking open revolt? To use an old German proverb: Revolt like love comes through the stomach. He has decided to make 1939 the year of financial and economic aggression. The necessity of an "economic Munich" is freely asserted in Germany.

Dr. Schacht's plan to demand a ransom for the release of the Jews from Germany was a first step in this scheme. The second will be taken on the home front.

Plans for a new war tax are being prepared. Some think that it will turn out to be simply a capital levy of 20 per cent. But others believe that a more ingenious way of camouflaging the Nazis' rapid adoption of Bolshevik methods will be sought.

The register of the Church's property which is being compiled brings the expropriation of the Churches a step nearer.

### Food from Balkans

Further subjugation of South-Eastern Europe will take the form of "trade agreements," designed to provide the German people with something to eat. Czechoslovakia is serving this purpose now; Hungary is being forced into the same role; Yugoslavia and Rumania are to follow.

The final coup will be an economic peace offer by Hitler to the Western Powers. In return for far-reaching trade concessions he will offer France and Great Britain to abandon economic nationalism in Germany. He will even offer to regulate the German currency "to the benefit of free trade in the world."

He will ask his price. And, whatever it is, he hopes for a second Munich. Once again his two weapons are the threat of war or the complete bolshevisation of Germany.

I am told that a third possibility is near: the patience of the German people may come to an end.

## HAPPIER LIVES FOR COUNTRY PEOPLE

By FREDA WHITE

*The League of Nations is holding in July a European Conference on Rural Life: it will cover all action by every kind of public authority to raise the standards of living of country folk.*

TOWNS are apt to forget their dependence on the country.

Food comes to them so elaborately prepared, so many processes removed from the soil, that it seems almost artificial. Yet even those perfected viands which range the grocers' shelves in tins and packets were once plants and animals. And the housewife, pausing before the brilliant beauty of a fruitshop, must often have a vision of the apple on the bough, of the lettuce pulled up by the roots from the damp-scented earth. She must often think, as she looks at her children's faces, pale with smoke-dimmed light, "How I wish we could live in the country."

### Town Wife

But does she really wish it? Would she give up shops at hand, running water, electric light, the doctor near too, the cinema round the corner, the crowds in the streets, Friday night's pay in her husband's pocket (if he is in work). Give them up, in exchange for what? Rosy faces for the children—if the man's wage is large enough to buy good food. Woods for them to play in—if the local landowners and farmers allow it. Dirt on stone floors, a reeking cottage, water to carry from the well, outside sanitation, oil-lamps to trim, no amusement except the rare village fete, loneliness, boredom, silence.

The fact is, townspeople cannot do without the country which feeds them. Country people can do without the town. But country people, the real, the essential part of humanity, lead harder, duller, poorer lives than the dwellers in cities.

They know it. That is why they leave the land and go to town. The drift from the country is marked in all industrial states; so marked that even politicians—the most urban of men—are worried about it. They have begun to think "How can we make life in the country worth living?"

### Country Wife

The country people, armed with an education their ancestry did not know, think much the same. In many lands the peasants have become literate only recently. Their imagination is stimulated by books and newspapers; and they cannot see why they should not share the material advances of town life.

### Buses and Broadcasts

Besides book-learning two factors have greatly changed the condition of the villager. One is the motor-bus. All the small towns which serve agricultural districts are packed on market day with people who will take "the Six o'clock" into the country again. The other is wireless. I remember passing a cottage at the far end of Unst, the most northerly island of the Shetlands. "That's Jimmie Andersen's," said my companion. "He's got the best receiving-set money can buy. He's not content with picking up Bergen and the weather-signals from Wick. He wants the concerts and the lectures from London."

Perhaps the most active movement towards the amelioration of country life must be attributed to the new education of girls. The Women's Institutes, adopted in Britain from Canada date from the end of last century. Almost simultaneously similar countrywomen's leagues sprang up in Germany, Sweden, and many other countries.

### From 30 Countries

Thirty countries now belong to the In-

ternational Countrywomen's Federation. They meet this May in London, and are going to hold an exhibition of country crafts from all their lands. It is, perhaps, easier for women than for men to keep a sense of values about living—they are never for long allowed to escape from the fundamentals. The countrywomen know well that they share the same needs, skill in



European Peasant Women in a Country Store.

housekeeping, cooking, making and mending in arts to exercise hand and eye, in education and amusements and companionship for happiness. They have created a community sense which has revived the villages. It is beginning to spread an international country culture, extremely varied by local custom, yet based upon a universality of feeling.

### Task for League

The League of Nations, in this problem of the improvement of rural life, found a task for which it is exactly fitted. Its flexibility in adopting any matter of international concern; its method of combining policy-making by government representatives with advice and study by independent experts are just right for such constructive work.

The European conference on rural life, which is to meet this July springs from a diversity of League sources.

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The I.L.O. has widened its view of raising working standards from industry to take in agriculture. The Health Organisation having organised co-operation in cure of disease, and action to limit epidemics, is now at work on preventive medicine, and on measures to make the peoples strong. It has organised three conferences on rural hygiene, in Europe, America, and the Far East. The great nutrition inquiry revealed, startlingly, that peasants are often miserably underfed, through poverty or lack of knowledge.

### Each to Tell Its Tale

The conference is to cover all action by every kind of public authority, to raise the standards of country life. Each state is to tell its own tale, and the conference will pool conclusions and set governments to work on them. It is to cover land tenure (and may the absentee landlord, the rackrenter, the usurer tremble!); co-operatives; education, general and technical, culture and folklore, and leisure; rural planning; health; nutrition.

These are dull words; and League conferences, at a first glance, look dull meetings. Just a collection of men talking at length to each other in heavy committee rooms. Yet these discussions, detailed, technical, serious, are actually thrilling. They are fascinating on their own merits; all shop is. I remember with excitement now, a young Frenchman, strongly beautiful as a

patrician of old Rome, discussing passionately on middens and plumbing as an element in civilisation—which, indeed, it is. But this League technique expresses an essence more thrilling still; and that is the use of knowledge for the aid of life.

### Science is a Terrific Force

Our science of to-day—as we constantly repeat—is a terrific force. How misapplied, in the main! How perverted to ingenuity of destruction! We hear of babies in their fleeing mothers' arms machine-gunned from aeroplanes. We long to curse the evil cleverness of mankind, to turn our faces to the wall, and die. But science is a neutral force, terrific, but neither wicked nor good in itself. It can be turned to beneficent purposes, too; only the good use of knowledge is far more laborious, needs far greater imagination and constancy than the bad. Anybody can destroy life in an instant, with a blow. It takes years of patience to rear a man. This is a truism, I know, yet truisms need saying now and then. War is an old thing; except in machinery there is nothing to choose between the ways of Japan in China and the ways of Attila.

### League a New Beginning

The League is at the beginning of a new thing. In using the wisdom of the world to better the life of country people it is doing what has never been tried before.

## SILENCE

By A COUNTRYMAN (MAX BOWDEN)

HAVE you ever thought of the varying degrees of silence—or, rather, what we loosely call silence?

I stood one morning on the summit



of a rugged limestone escarpment in Westmorland. It was my first day in the country after months of London, and as I drank in the splendid view that lay below me I revelled in the peace and quietness after the clatter and roar of the city.

All round and beneath me beech-trees stood silent and solemn like grey elephants. Underfoot was a carpet of moss strewn with dead leaves, while bramble, ivy and withered bracken rioted among the jagged outcrops of rock.

How necessary silence is to the human soul, I thought, as I leant against the smooth friendly trunk of a beech and filled my pipe. My mind wandered idly round the theme of silence, and before long I was analysing what I had been thinking of as silence. In reality it was a medley of subdued sounds, each harmonising so perfectly with the scene around me that it gave the illusion of complete quiet.

Straining my ears I could distinguish the busy puff of a train in the valley below, the far-away hum of motor-cars, and the distant barking of a dog—a scarcely audible church clock struck the half-hour. In the background the wind souged gently through the trees. The sounds shifted, altered their perspective, slipped in and out, and changed continuously, but not for one moment did silence have the stage entirely to herself.

### Summer on Cotswold

I remember an early summer morning in the Cotswold Hills—a morning of soft mist and sunshine. There was a different quality in that silence—it was more intense, probably because there were no trees nearby and little wind, but I could make out the plaintive bleat of a ewe on a distant hillside, the faint crowing of a cock, answered by even fainter voices from every point of the compass. Over a shoulder of the hill hungry rooks were cawing querulously. There was a sharp "clack" of a closing farm gate and the soft expectant low of the waiting dairy herd in the ten-acre meadow. All these sounds and many lesser ones wove themselves into a soothing pattern—like the soft movement of a symphony. Rarely does one "hear" complete silence, though I did strike it once in the "back blocks" of Australia.

### Prospecting for Opal

I was prospecting for opal and was on trek across a great open plain which lay in the centre of a drought-stricken area. No hill or tree relieved the vast expanse of baked and dusty earth. All herbage had long since disappeared and with it all beasts, birds and insects. It was a land of the dead.

The silence had oppressed me all day, and when I halted for a brief rest at midday it seemed to close in all round. The sun was brazen in the sky with not a cloud showing from horizon to horizon. The heat shimmered and danced off the parched ground. Nothing in all heaven or earth stirred. Stark silence sat with me that day. It was dwarfing—almost menacing. I tried to ward it off by whistling and singing, but it sounded strangely indecent—my voice went out into nothing and was lost, and the silence settled down again like dust. There was no music in it, nothing soothing and nothing kind. It was as if God's presence had been withdrawn from the world—the sense of loneliness was indescribable. Glad I was to reach the ridge country again with trees for company and small sounds—even if only the creaking of a branch.

## NO PEACE FOR THE SMOKE-MAKERS

By ERNEST RESTELL



MAN is a wasteful animal. He wastes water in winter and complains of the lack of it in summer. He wastes old toothpaste tubes and rubber tyres, so that his dictators bring him to heel and the toothpaste tubes to the Four-Year Plan.

He wastes fuel, and then complains of the smoke and dust which dulls his life, angers his wife, dirties his children: smoke which is the outward and visible sign of good fuel lost.

Smoke is the biggest waste of all. Smoke is a captain in the army of disease. And smoke at last is being banished.

### Whitehall Really White

The Government has banished smoky, open fires from the House of Commons and departmental offices, so that at last Whitehall is really white. Manchester is contemplating an experimental smokeless zone. The London County Council is thinking in terms of smokeless housing estates. Smoke is news.

Not that smoke is an accomplishment of modern civilisation. Ever since the use of coal became general in this country—and Henry III granted the first licence for the digging of coal to Newcastle in 1239—there have been spasmodic agitations against smoke.

### Executed for Burning Coal

Six hundred years ago a man was brought to trial on a charge of burning raw coal, found guilty and executed. Three centuries back (recorded a contemporary diarist) "the nice dames of London would not come into any house or room where sea coals were burned." Now "nice dames" everywhere are protesting again; and high time, too!

For smoke means wasted health and wasted wealth.

Mr. Herbert Morrison recently estimated that smoke costs Londoners the equivalent of a 1s. 4d. rate every year. Over the whole country the direct liability mounts at the most modest reckoning to a total of £40,000,000—enough to transform the social services.

How much smoke costs in health and wasted effort no one has dared even to guess at. But every doctor, every medical officer of health, every Minister of Health knows the consequence of its insidious effects on respiratory systems. Every mother knows that sunless streets breed rickets and other grim "diseases of darkness." Every housewife knows that smoke doubles her daily work. And every chemist knows that the coal that makes the smoke might have been making money.

### 85 per cent. Waste

Burn a ton of ordinary bituminous coal in an old-fashioned fireplace and you get from it only 15 per cent. of the heat it is capable of producing; but you send forth a large volume of smoke on its round of endless nuisance. (Between them Londoners alone send up enough smoke every winter day to produce a fair-sized fog.) The smoke goes up and the soot and the ash and grit and sulphuric acid come down: enough of it in a month in the Country of London alone to form a filthy pyramid that would reach halfway up Nelson's Column in Trafalgar Square.

But coal can be transformed into smokeless fuels. At the generating stations it becomes electric power. Carbonised at your gasworks, it is changed into gas and coke. And in the process of carbonisation the by-products, vital to the nation at critical periods like the one we live in, are captured instead of being lost—in smoke.

Coal is an industrial Aladdin's lamp. Year after year the scientists in their laboratories win new wonders from it.

### All from Coal

Our roads are surfaced with tar—from coal. The motor lorries that run on them are fuelled with benzole—again from coal. The motor

lorries carry lamp black, lacquers, explosives, tannins, firefighters, bricquettes, sheep dip, black varnish—all made from coal.

If the lorry driver is unwell he can get antiseptics, sedatives, laxatives, aspirin, wintergreen oil—all from coal. If his hobby is photography, the photographic chemicals he needs come from coal. If his wife uses homely things like baking powder, smelling salts, household ammonia, soda, moth balls, coal is again the source.

Liquid metal polish, pencil leads, pipe joint compositions, acids for bleaching and refining, paints and varnishes, wood preservatives, carbolic, dyes, plastics—all come from the "black gold."

In home and industry the development of coal's properties has meant a silent revolution.

### Clean and Rich

Once those who lived under a perpetual smoke-cloud found consolation in the belief that "where there's muck there's money." Now it is known that a town that is rich and dirty would be still richer if it were clean.

Industrialists in their factories and individuals in their homes are turning to fuels that don't foul the air, but which do fill Britain's needs from Britain's treasure house.

We have progressed. The annual deposit of soot in London has been reduced from 650 tons to the square mile to 234 tons. The growth of the use of gas has saved, for example, South Wales from a yearly sootfall of 50,000 tons.

The day may not be far ahead when Britain will be free from smoke, and will be healthier and wealthier because of it. Until then there must be no peace for the smoke-makers!

WHAT IS HAPPENING IN MARCH?

## THE NATIONAL CHINA CONFERENCE

Friends' House, Euston Road, N.W.1.

Friday, March 10th

7.30 p.m. CHINA AND OUR RESPONSIBILITY.

Saturday, March 11th

10 a.m. THE ATTITUDE OF THE POWERS TO THE WAR.

2.30 p.m. THE RECONSTRUCTION OF CHINA.

7.30 p.m. HOW BRITAIN CAN HELP.

Speakers include Sir Archibald Sinclair, M.P., Mr. P. J. Noel Baker, M.P., Professor Radcliffe Brown, the Rev. Ronald Rees, Dr. C. C. Wang, etc.

ALL WHO ARE INTERESTED IN CHINA ARE WELCOME.



## THE COMMUNITY CENTRE

By HERBERT COLLINS (an architect who writes as an expert on the planning of housing estates)

IN time of foreboding like the present it is a good thing to look for any signs of a possible silver lining to the future. The advent of community centres is one of the brightest.

These centres consist of groups of people who meet to cater for the welfare of the community in which they live. This is done by organising educational, recreational and provident groups, all of which are part of the main group or association using the same building. They are "Community Associations," the headquarters being the Community Centre.

### By-Product of Housing Problem

The idea was a by-product of the housing problem; housing the people is not only a question of building houses but also of providing the amenities with which they must be accompanied, and as a result of the lead given by the National Council of Social Service it is now recognised that a Community Centre is a necessary amenity.

Many new housing estates have been built without sufficient thought being given to the provision of amenities. Usually sites have been properly reserved for shops, schools and churches. Cinemas and public-houses also usually find a place. None of these institutions, however, seems to satisfy the apparent need for a common meeting place which is free from sectarian bias; and since the war about ninety new community centres have sprung up in new housing estates throughout the country. Recent legislation has given local authorities power to provide these centres out of public money, and many have been and are being built.

But why cannot churches and public-houses satisfy the gregarious nature of the people? The answer is, they do so, but only in part. Churches, being generally denominational, cater for a section of the people; public-houses are run for profit and do not usually study the welfare of the community.

### Meeting Place For All

A community centre can have all the advantages of both these institutions and none of their disadvantages. It may seem strange to suggest that as a meeting place a church has a disadvantage. The fact remains that churches to-day do not attract all the people. Perhaps if there was greater co-operation between the denominations and if they were provided with the necessary accommodation for recreation, they

might serve the same purpose as the community centre.

It may quite likely happen that community centres may produce more unity of religion, for they are the kind of ground where such seed may easily germinate. Religious services on broad lines are already being held at some centres.

Most of the existing centres have been promoted with the assistance of philanthropic persons who have realised the need to house existing social groups such as a boys' club, scout group or girl guides. Other groups have come into existence and a fully fledged centre is only a matter of time. One centre near London, known as the St. Helier Community Association, comprises about fifty groups, including adults and youth.

### Example of Slough

The Slough centre is one of the largest; it was promoted by manufacturers on the Slough Trading Estate. The Corporation of Glasgow on one of their estates have an ambitious scheme including a public library and a swimming bath which is to cost about £80,000.

The important centres at Peckham and Finsbury have a different character and do not specialise in educational activities. Peckham health centre was initiated by doctors who are convinced that the best way to combat ill-health is by organising regular inspection so that incipient disease can be dealt with at an early stage and by the provision of physical recreation. The centre is fully equipped with a swimming bath, gymnasium, and other sport facilities. The Finsbury centre was promoted by the municipality, and comprises an ultra-modern building which houses the usual municipal health services. These centres serve

a useful purpose, but are not promoting the public welfare to the same extent as the more comprehensive centre advocated by the National Council of Social Service. In the latter cultural activities have an important place.

### Adapted to Local Conditions

The constitution of a centre is not always the same. In some cases it is managed by a committee composed of representatives of the various groups, and accommodation is let to the groups at a minimum rent. In other cases a similar committee manages the centre, but all members of the groups are also individual members of the centre, and consequently there is likely to be more "esprit de corps."

It is generally considered that a paid secretary is necessary and, of course, leaders in the various groups.

A centre is thus organised on a representative and non-partisan basis, and affords a first-rate training ground in practical democracy.

With the aid of grants under the Physical Training Act the movement is spreading. Is it a sign of the advance of a better civilisation?

## NATIONAL UNION OF SEAMEN

SEAMEN THE WORLD OVER ARE UNITED IN THEIR HATRED OF WAR BECAUSE THEY KNOW WHAT WAR MEANS.

BRITISH SEAMEN GREET THE NEW "HEADWAY" AND WISH IT SUCCESS IN ITS EFFORTS TOWARDS FREEDOM AND PEACE.

W. R. SPENCE, C.B.E., *General Secretary.*

J. B. WILSON, *General Treasurer.*

GEO. REED, *Assistant General Secretary.*

St. George's Hall, Westminster Bridge Road, LONDON, S.E.1.

## THE HEALTH OF THE WORLD

### A HISTORY IN A SERIES OF PICTURES

FROM THIS



TO THIS



In older days, when a ship's captain presented the ship's bill of health at Marseilles, the health officer leant from his balcony, seized it with the tongs, and whisked it through the fire, for fear of infection.

To-day there is no need to be quite so nervous. Most civilised nations are bound by a convention to send regular information concerning epidemics to an International Bureau in Paris, which distributes the information. The Bureau was established at the end of last century, and since then its methods have greatly improved.



## YOUTH STEPS OUT

By HENRY W. NEVINSON

On February 18 and 19 the Youth Peace Campaign, to which "Headway" has given much publicity and to whose funds "Headway" readers have contributed, brought several thousand young men and women to London on a Pilgrimage of Peace. On the Sunday 10,000 crowded a public meeting in the great Empress Hall, Earl's Court. Mr. H. W. Nevinson, a veteran fighter for freedom and democracy throughout the world, entertained two of the pilgrims. Below he tells "Headway" readers what thoughts and feelings were aroused in a man who is 80 years young by those who are 20 years old.

IN our poet's well-known line I have sometimes transposed a word and written "Age and crabbèd Youth cannot live together." But on Sunday, February 19, I felt that, though I am incredibly old, I could manage to live quite well with the youths that swarmed in thousands around me. Perhaps it was partly because I have always lived in company with Youth from the days of school, through my long service as war correspondent in the British and other armies, and have always found it easier to associate with the boys or the "Tommys" than with headmasters or generals. Men who have followed a strict routine imposed on themselves and their innocent victims for many years are likely to become a little stiff and even crabbèd from sheer habit, while those whom they instruct or command are still plastic and to some extent may be formed to this shape or that. Certainly there was nothing crabbèd about the boys and girls, the youthful men and women, who came in thousands on the Youth Pilgrimage of that Sunday when the hope of spring was near.

### Under Town Banners

I watched them with astonishment as they trooped into Trafalgar Square and later into the vast Empress Hall near Earl's Court. They marched under plain white banners inscribed with the names of their own towns or counties; a few even from Scotland, the largest number from the industrial north (Manchester, I was told, sent most of all, and they came in motor-coaches that took some eight hours on the road), a fair number from Wales, and the rest, making up a total of about 2,500, from the South and East of England, the Midlands, and the extreme West. I could not say how many Londoners marched, but the hall holds some 10,000 I was told, and it was cram full.

### What is Their Future?

As I said, the sight filled me with astonishment, but not at the mere numbers. I was filled with wonder at the present and the future lives of all these growing human beings, all endowed with the incalculable gift of existence at this age in the world's troublous history, and each possessing a distinctive and separate mind and

nature. They were setting out upon an unknown and very uncertain future, just as I had set out, let us say sixty years ago, not in the least foreseeing what I was to do or what was to become of me. It wants a lot of courage to start upon that veiled path, uncertain of life or even of livelihood. But I suppose that not even the numerous undergraduates coming from Oxford, Cambridge, London, and other Universities had any clear notion of the next step in their Pilgrims' Progress.

### Admirable Discipline

Very few in the whole crowd thought of much more at the time than the pleasure of marching together, listening to the eloquent speeches, catching the right tram, train or coach and

getting to their own homes in time for breakfast and to-morrow's work. In passing I may notice that, as an old student of war and an expert at drilling battalions, I much admired the order with which the various delegations extricated themselves from the confused mass of Pilgrims and spectators in Trafalgar Square, and marched off in "fours" down Whitehall. Conscriptio is not essential for discipline.

### Handicap of Poverty

Another thing I noticed. The Pilgrims came from all classes of birth and property, but the undergrads from the Universities were plainly bigger and stronger than the rest. Probably their average age was higher, but the real cause of their greater health and

(Continued on page 25, column 1)

## THE 21ST BIRTHDAY OF THE L.N.U.

The League of Nations Union is under a deep debt of gratitude to the distinguished artists who have volunteered their services in the design of the Birthday Stamps which are to be one of the many ways in which the Twenty-First Birthday of the Union is to be celebrated.

We reproduce here an enlargement of the Sixpenny Stamp. The symbolic

picture of "Peace and Justice" has been specially designed by Ferdinand Victor Blundstone, F.R.B.S., who is known to our readers as the sculptor of the beautiful figure of Peace which looks across the sea at Folkestone, the Plimsoll Memorial on Victoria Embankment, and the Prudential War Memorial at Holborn Bars. He is also the designer of the very charming "Alice in Wonderland" panels in the Lewis Carroll Memorial Ward at St. Mary's Hospital which was opened last year by Her Majesty the Queen.

The stamp is printed in deep blue on water-marked paper by photogravure process.

The other stamps bear strikingly attractive designs by eminent artists; soon the whole series should be nearly as familiar to Union members as are the national postage stamp.

Another way in which the Birthday Year may be marked is by wearing from now till the culmination of the celebrations in November, of the Button, specially made for the occasion, in the Union's colours of blue and white.

Supplies of the button have already been distributed to the Branches, and it is hoped that every member of the Union will wear this emblem with the same pride as an official decoration would be worn.



strength was the better feeding from babyhood given by parents who were able to afford it. It was the old story: what is wrong with the poor is their poverty. Most of the young men and women looked pretty fair, but with plenty of wholesome and regular food, such as the middle classes can afford, they would have been much finer. I have watched the effect upon scores of recruits in the regular Army.

### Army Example

Army rations are nothing luxurious, but they are regular and fairly wholesome. Six months of them improve the strength of the average city boy remarkably. It is one of the few points in favour of compulsory service, and the Germans insist upon it to the full. Another point is the general friendliness and sympathy between all classes that a common service in any great purpose certainly gives, if the purpose is high enough to appeal to all generous youths. The appeal must be high enough to rouse the emotion of any great gathering of Youth. As Napoleon said, "It takes a lot to induce a man to give up his life." In his case Napoleon himself, as leader of a great revolution, was the motive.

What, then, was the motive strong enough to induce all these crowds of young British people to gather in London with a good deal of trouble and expense? Their Youth Charter calls it, "Peace and Social Justice." No aims could be more inspiring to the young, for together they create the ideal of an almost religious bond, and under that kind of inspiration the British peoples have often shown them-

selves ready to die. As for Peace, the whole country desires it fervently. The memory of the Great War (that was "to end war") still lives among the fathers of the Pilgrims of Youth. Forty years of war and its futile results have taught me that the famous American general was literally right when he said that "War is Hell." And we need not go back to the beginning of the War twenty-five years ago. From China, Abyssinia and Spain we are even now witnessing what war really is. Living at present peacefully here in London, we are sickened in opening every paper with the stories and pictures of what war now really is. In the last war we saw the meaning of bombardment from the air as a terrible new invention, and in Spain we have heard what it means when developed by the most modern "improvements." When I try to realise what heavy bombing would mean against a vast target like London, my one consolation is that, whether they take shelter in palaces or Government buildings, or underground shelters, the authors of the war will be exposed to danger of death almost as much as the people who are called common.

### Old in Danger

In the *Sunday Pictorial* of February 19, my friend Captain Liddell Hart, one of the great authorities on warfare observed with indignation that "the policy which will determine the fate of the young is being decided in this country mainly by men, who are too old even to have fought in the last war." In the next war it is some comfort to me to reflect that these old men who doom Youth to death will not be

so safe in Whitehall or Parliament Square as they formerly were. But I also maintain that, though the Pilgrims are out for peace, they ought to be plainly informed what they are fighting for, if war is not avoided. If they are called upon to defend the policy that has betrayed the Czechoslovaks and the Spanish Government, thousands of our Youth may have something to say about it, and that is why I think it was a mistake of our Prime Minister to refuse to receive a small deputation from the Pilgrims.

### Not Britain Only

Another point that one noticed in the Pilgrimage was that the aim was not limited to "British interests" in our foreign policy, but sympathy was extended to all countries and races suffering tyranny and persecution. This sympathy was in former years the characteristic and almost invariable line followed by British policy and it made the name of England almost identical with the name of Freedom. That was a noble prestige which the Pilgrims were resolved to uphold against every selfish and material attack.

Their demand for Social Justice was naturally limited to the grievances and desires of the vast majority of our own people in these islands. Limited hours of work, minimum wage fixed, vocational training, holidays with pay, raising of school-leaving age, and a few other claims are set out as demands in the "Twelve Point Charter of Youth," and I can hardly imagine anyone of decent sympathies denying them, even if some fraction of our enormous grants for armaments were scraped off.

## TRADE AND PEACE

By A CITY CORRESPONDENT

DESPITE the colossal arms bill which the Government has been forced to run up, the taxpayer looks like being spared any new swinging increases in his contribution to the national revenue. That is some consolation for the moment, seeing that £580 million will be spent on defence in the coming financial year. As £350 million of this will be raised by loan, the taxpayer will be relieved of the immediate burden to that extent, though, of course, interest on the borrowed money will have to be provided in future Budgets.

Staggering as it is, there is no doubt that this £350 million will be raised without much immediate difficulty. The annual savings of the country are estimated at about £400 million a year. But it is unlikely that the defence borrowing will be financed entirely from this source, as it would leave too small a margin for other borrowers, notably the municipalities and arms firms who wish further to extend their plant and machinery. The Government must take steps to expand the basis of credit in order to ease the monetary situation occasioned by the forthcoming loan expenditure. With over two million unemployed, however,

an expansion of credit would do no harm. On the contrary, it seems highly expedient.

The City is under no illusions about the undesirable financial consequences of further additions to the national debt. Nevertheless, it realises the political necessity of being well armed. Even the Stock Exchange seems to have acquired some confidence at the prospect of Britain being able to take a more independent line in foreign policy.

Before the British Government embarks upon a new struggle for exports it must be sure that no possibility has been neglected of an amicable arrangement with the Germans for the division of markets. As the British coal owners have already made a deal with their competitors in the Reich, it is natural that every effort should now be exerted to extend the same method of negotiation to other industries affected by Anglo-German competition. The terms of the coal agreement have not yet been disclosed, and so one cannot tell how accommodating the Germans are likely to be. The Federation of British Industries, which is despatching an official delegation to Berlin, will not be long in finding out. Of course, the German industrialists will obviously be willing to make agreements on their own terms, and, as the Nazi Government is behind them, they will be in a strong tactical position.



## VATICAN POLICY

By KEES VAN HOEK

IT is a significant coincidence that Pope Pius XI and Cardinal Pacelli—his Secretary of State and closest collaborator—served as Nuncios before they became Cardinal, and that both experienced lasting impressions which accounts for the Vatican's uncompromising attitude against Bolshevism: Public Enemy No. 1!

Mgr. Achille Ratti was Nuncio in Poland after the war, during three hectic years, in which he saw famine sweep from Russia with typhus and cholera in its wake. It was at his house that the diplomats and Herbert Hoover, then American Relief organiser, gathered when the Soviet steam-roller threatened the capital. The diplomats decided to leave for a safer place, Nuncio Ratti stayed; even when General Weygand, Foch's famous collaborator, came to ask for his prayers, and the Bolsheviks were only twelve miles away from Warsaw, he remained. The danger was arrested, the invaders driven out, and Parliament passed a special vote of thanks to the Nuncio, whose example had stiffened the nerve of the populace.

### Pacelli—The Man

An almost similar experience befell Mgr. Eugenio Pacelli. At the close of the war he was Internuncio at Munich, where he kept at his post through the Communist terror, after the Government and the Diplomatic Corps had fled to Bamberg.

I once had the privilege of being received by Cardinal Pacelli in his high and light study at the Vatican, at the end of a flight of imposing salons and anti-chambers. He is small, slim, and elegant, an aristocrat to his finger-tips, and his large brown eyes have a trick of probing one to one's very depth. There is not much which one can hide from him, even the possessor of a poker face would be helpless under his searching gaze, so I felt!

He talked in his quiet, clipped voice about his time at Munich. What fascinated me was his complete unawareness of any danger he might have run. The Communists had taken his car. Day after day he phoned to whichever chieftain was in power at the Town Hall, demanding its return. Threats did not impress him. And he got his car back in the end.

The Vatican has been famous for its great school of diplomacy. To meet Cardinal Pacelli is to understand. Pleasant charm but distant; vast knowledge but discreet; ruthless logic based on strength; no fear of intimidation and therefore no desire to compromise, no need for patch-work successes. Policy is here planned for generations!

### The Pope and Fascism

When Cardinal Ratti ascended the Papal throne, Italy was seething with unrest from the Brenner to Calabria, successive weak governments had let it slip to the very abyss of revolution. As Archbishop of Milan the new Pope had had unusual opportunities of watching the growing movement of Fascism—it originated in Milan. He knew both Benito Mussolini and his brother Arnaldo. When a

memorial in honour of the fallen was to be inaugurated at the Cathedral, Mussolini solicited permission to attend with his blackshirts. This was gladly extended, for the Archbishop frankly dreaded the growing excesses of Communists who had already taken possession of half the factories in Milan.

Six months later Mussolini became head of the Italian Government. His first act was to order a service of invocation, which the King, he himself, and all members of the Government attended in State—an unheard-of event in previously anti-clerical Italy. It did not fail to impress the Pope. Further measures followed which won his heart, such as the restoration of the Crucifix in all Government buildings, the insistence on religious education in all schools.

### Conciliation With Italy

When the Vatican became convinced that Fascism had come to stay, the time for a reconciliation was ripe.

With the Lateran Treaty of 1931 the Pope became an independent Sovereign again, be it that his territory did not exceed one hundred acres. It was not the size which mattered, it was the completeness of his sovereignty which counted. But his territory is surrounded by Italy, as he himself is surrounded by Italians. Fascism had turned an anti-clerical Italy, seething with Communism, into a well-ordered State, which proclaimed Catholicism its national religion. Nevertheless, the Pope had more than once to hit out vigorously against Fascism, and to place Fascists' books on the Index.

During the conquest of Abyssinia, Mussolini tried hard to bring the Pope out on his side, but he did not succeed. A neat distinction was drawn. Whatever the Italian bishops might do as Italian patriots, the Vatican could not follow as Vatican. The Pope protested against outrages, too strongly for Italian liking, which was deeply annoyed; too feebly for public opinion in the world, which was as deeply disappointed. One can claim many excuses: the Pope's advanced age, his failing health, his Italian entourage; but all the same, the Abyssinian tragedy must have cost the Holy See a loss of prestige.

### Seeds of Conflict

When Fascism's urgent task was to restore order and discipline, the Church, with its great authoritarian tradition, was wholeheartedly on its side (as animated by the same tradition, it fostered Anglo-Irish conciliation, to which the Pope always makes a point of referring when he sees Irish and British together). But now that Fascism swings over to a conception of man as the tool of State machinery, a clash is becoming inevitable. This did not happen, however, during the lifetime of the late Pope and Duce. They respected each other too highly, they knew each other too well, and the value of each other's support.

But the clash has come already in Germany, where the existence of God is denied, and where the traditions of Christianity are no longer treasured. A general stiffening of animosity is unmistakable.

Mussolini has constantly to exercise all his influence, in both camps, to prevent an open break. A complete rupture between the Vatican and Germany would be particularly unwelcome to the Duce. Fascism has never been anti-Catholic, the vast majority of Fascists are staunch Catholics. The new German ally is by no means popular among the Fascist rank and file, and should Nazism be stigmatised by Rome as a second Bolshevism, the bottom would fall out of the Rome-Berlin axis propaganda!

I had some interesting conversations on the subject of Church persecution in Germany. The Vatican takes a long view of events and refuses to be panicky. All opinions tend to show that the trials through which Christianity is passing have a stimulating effect. Only the dead wood, never of any value, has fallen off. The great body of the faithful is holding out, particularly the riper youths. It was for the youngest that the Pope feared, brought up, as they now are, with false gods.

### Re-Orientation

There will be no further compromises with dictatorships, however much one may have flirted with them before. The Church works with all who are of good will. If the Pope was long drawn in one direction, Cardinal Pacelli is known to be less inclined that way. There are many records that he was steadily gaining ground, winning over the late Pontiff. His visit to the United States in 1936 was a first sign, even stronger than his spectacular journey to France last year, where he made the sensational announcement that but for his bad health the Pope would have come himself. The decoration of the French Premier and Foreign Secretary with the highest Papal Order was significant, as significant as the truly royal reception which the Government of the Republic accorded the Papal Secretary of State.

In the Spanish conflict the Vatican had no choice, since hostilities opened with a wave of crime against the Church, its institutions and servants, with a ferocity unmatched even by the Soviets. But the Pope was aware of the Church's shortcomings in Spain and resolved that the new Spain should be influenced in a sense of truer social justice, which the



Vatican recently formulated as the right balance between a just share (but not superabundant riches) for the wealthy and ample sufficiency for the wage-earner.

One finds, too, that the Vatican's influence is concentrated on a strengthening of the Central European States to stem the Nazi advance. With Poland, Hungary, Yugoslavia, even with Czechoslovakia, relations have never been more cordial. It throws a hard light on the changes of our times to see how in the course of a dozen years a whole policy had to be revised: early in his reign Pius XI excommunicated some of the leading French Catholics, because they opposed the *rapprochement* between France and Germany, which he desired, a coming together of victor and vanquished, for which he worked so long.

## SHAW'S "GENEVA" IN GENEVA

By "HEADWAY'S" SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

IT was a kindly gesture of Mr. Shaw to allow the Geneva English Drama Society to give the first performance on the Continent of his latest play. Geneva, not to be outdone in courtesy, filled the theatre for two nights while an amateur cast, consisting largely of officials of the two international offices, put Shaw's brilliant inconsequences very efficiently across.

From one point of view at least, the cast was worthy of the international city. On strict nationality it consisted of five English, two Americans, one Canadian, one Scot, two Irishmen, one Belgian, one Swiss, one Pole and one Greek. There is a catch here, of course, since in several cases the institution of marriage had been responsible for a change in nationality. But the list is impressive, and let it stand. It in no degree impaired the powers of the cast to interpret Mr. Shaw in his own language. The whole performance was distinguished by team work rather than by starrng; and for this the producer's judicious original choice of his cast must be held largely responsible.

Indeed, this was the main contribution made by the producer (Mr. N. Little, of the I.L.O.) to the success of the production. Shaw's newest play needs little production. Roughly speaking, the characters find seats and sit and talk. When they have quite finished they go out. And

when they have almost all got themselves off stage the play is over. So notable is this immobility that when, by contrast, an Anglican bishop faints in the first act the audience feel they are watching some very rough stuff indeed.

Geneva's general impression of "Geneva" was that it conspicuously lacked a central theme. The dialogue is sometimes shatteringly witty, but the squibs seem to explode aimlessly, and there is no hint of construction to leaven the slapstick destructiveness which hits out impartially at dictators, democrats, Jews and judges. Of course, Geneva is now an "institution," and Mr. Shaw has never liked institutions. There are signs in this play that his previous admiration of "Bombardone" as a man is now tempered by a healthy and altogether Shavian suspicion of him as a possible "institution." Without going so far as to echo George III on Shakespeare ("sad stuff, my dear, but one must not say so"), I have a feeling that in this play the great name of Shaw has covered a multitude of trivialities and *non-sequiturs*, and that if the play had been by "Mr. X" it would have received shorter shrift.

But nothing can lessen Geneva's debt to Mr. Shaw's kindness in presenting the international amateurs with the chance of laughing at themselves as healthily as Mr. Shaw has laughed at them.

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## A Commentary on Books

# THE ART OF PERSUADING MAN IN THE MASS

By ROGER FORTUNE

PROPAGANDA. By R. S. Lambert. (Nelson. 2s.)

WORD WARFARE. By John Gloag. (Nicholson and Watson. 3s. 6d.)

PROPAGANDA IN THE NEXT WAR. By Sidney Rogerson. (Bles. 5s.)

PROPAGANDA BOOM. By A. J. Mackenzie. (Gifford. 10s. 6d.)

Propaganda is in favour. Though not everywhere liked, it is praised everywhere. It is the proclaimed key to world mastery. Words, words, words; and pictures! If skillfully used, they will persuade whole peoples and overturn empires. In a sense not even guessed at by Bulwer Lytton when he wrote the line, the pen is mightier than the sword. It gives victory in war. That momentarily most successful of all propagandists, Adolf Hitler, is sure of the fact. And what the dictator of Europe asserts hosts of lesser folk repeat. There ought to be no doubt—?

Recently a spate of books on propaganda has deluged a bewildered public. The authors are convinced that their subject is supremely important. But most of them rather assume than prove their case. There is inadequate appreciation, despite an occasional admission, that propaganda is decisive only when it is favoured by events and catches the people to whom it is addressed in the mood to listen to it and be influenced by it.

The success of British propaganda in the closing months

of the last war is cited often as a convincing example of how effective skilled propaganda can be; it is, perhaps, even better evidence of the limits within which propaganda gives results. Herr Hitler pays lavish tribute to Lord Northcliffe and his associates. But his sincerity is not complete; he is anxious to find other reasons than military defeat for the collapse of Germany. The German armies were not beaten; the German people at home allowed their will to win to be undermined and shaken by cheats and traitors and clever advocates, by the sea blockade, by Jews, by Lord Northcliffe. Hitler is obliged to insist on the efficacy of the agents to which he attributes the fatal damage, since he cannot explain otherwise how the invincible German troops came to throw down their arms. But actually, so far as the German people at home and at the front were concerned, the statements of Hitler reverse the facts. He changes cause into effect. Germany did not lose the war because her civilians listened to British propaganda. Both her civilians and her soldiers listened to British propaganda because she had lost the war and they were beginning to know it. Propaganda hastened the final collapse.

Another point is worth making. The Germans were brought into a mood to be affected by British propaganda by their impending defeat. They were the more exposed to its influence by the deceit which their own rulers had practised on them. Further it was effective in proportion as its news was true and its promises were sincere. After twenty years of disappointment, disbelief is easy. But the original inspiration is not disproved by all the later betrayals. The British people were fighting a war to end war; they intended to build upon the ruins a world order from which war had been eliminated. They were strengthened to endure both by their assurance of ultimate victory and by the ideal which was proclaimed on their behalf by their leaders and spokesmen. "A man is not easily persuaded to give up his life," said Napoleon. In 1914-1918 the British people answered to a nobler inducement than any lure of territory or trade. Their purpose carried across the fighting line. In the unfamiliar confusion of peace-making they lost their way and allowed themselves to forget. They were much to blame and have paid heavily for their error. Yet it is true that had there been vision and courage in high place, had the right word been spoken at the right moment, they would have responded generously and Versailles would have been different.

On the German side a footnote must be added here to save this argument from being wholly unjust. The army, war, victory had a place in the German mind which they were far from having in the British. While the British counted upon muddling through, the Germans were confident of triumph. Therefore to face a military overthrow was for them an inner revolution. But they also had their more generous ideals. Especially they saw themselves in their historic rôle of the defenders of Europe against Asia, of crusaders and colonisers going out to plant civilisation in the barbaric wastes of Slavdom. When Russia crumbled they were ruthless in the terms they imposed at Brest Litovsk, and at the same time an enfeebling doubt crept into their hearts. The struggle went on against the wrong enemy, the West, France and Great Britain, and the United States.

Why does this article dwell so much on "old unhappy, far-off things, and battles long ago"? Because propaganda is very much a topic of the moment; and because, like all other practical activities, it is best studied in the light of



experience, and because the war of 1914-18 put to the test, in the midst of desperate events, as never before or since, the possibilities of persuading man in the mass to heroic endeavour or quiet submission. The conclusion is less grim than present fashion suggests.

The old American maxim holds true: it is possible to fool all the people some of the time and some of the people all the time, but not all the people all the time. Man and his mind are not infinitely malleable. His obstinate loyalty and service and his last sacrifice cannot be enlisted except in a cause which he understands and finds worth the price he is asked to pay. Reason, slow and hesitant, gradually asserts its power. Shams are detected. No matter how adroitly it may be encouraged, a sentimental approval of one set of catch-words and disapproval of another, with the consequent readiness to cheer this man and his proposals and to hiss that man and his gestures, evaporates at the harsh touch of reality.

Propaganda is so serious that it must be the business of statesmen, philosophers, scientists, poets. It is much too serious for its substance to be left to propagandists, journalists, advertising experts. Their part is the technique. That they can be permitted, without too great danger, to manipulate and develop, and subject to the whims and fancies of the moment and explain in an always more elaborate jargon. Happily the ecstatic orator who, at a nationwide conference of the fruit trades in St. Louis, implored his hearers to make the American people "banana-minded," was asking for something beyond the reach of even the cleverest publicity in his own or any other country.

Incidentally, the House of Commons during February found time to discuss propaganda. One of the few sensible speeches, among many that were silly, was made by Mr. Vernon Bartlett. He laughed at the panic provoked in some quarters by the blatant self-advertisement of the totalitarian States. Boasting and bullying are not good publicity. The important thing is to command confidence; and confidence is the reward of moderation in tone and accuracy in fact. If what one says is disbelieved, the object of saying it is missed.

Mr. Bartlett rightly praised the British Press agencies and the Press officers of the British Government departments. Their reputation for truth-telling stood high, and, therefore, their word carries. All over the world weight is given to news from London which is denied to news from many

other capitals. Perhaps, in changed circumstances, there is need for a more elaborate and systematic projection of Britain, but care must be taken not to win the *réclame* and lose the reality.

Long ago a nearly forgotten chapter of newspaper history showed how sound is the opinion Mr. Bartlett now expresses. At the time of the Boer War a great news agency was suspected of too great a tenderness for the interests of the gold-mining industry. It was even accused of being in the pockets of the mineowners. The damage was immediate. Although it continued to give an excellent service, an always-widening circle of readers ceased to believe its messages. The suspicion may never have been justified; certainly any excuse for it was soon removed. But its harmful effect was both marked and persistent. The propagandist's first task is to inspire trust, and the only sure way to do that is consistently to tell the truth.

At the head of this article are set out the titles, authors, publishers, and price of four recent books on propaganda. They are all well-informed, interesting, lively. Each has its particular merits; all are worth reading. Mr. Lambert is the most detached, the soundest, the best aware of the serious implications of this subject. His treatment could hardly be bettered. Mr. Gloag is the liveliest: he is not afraid of pungent judgments. Mr. Rogerson lets the reader most intimately into the minds of the experts who run publicity. Mr. Mackenzie writes at greatest length and depicts in fullest detail the contemporary world, with its many totalitarian States employing every device to win popular tolerance, if they cannot get enthusiasm, for their ambitions. His seven essential points of successful propaganda are very clearly and neatly stated. The four authors supplement one another admirably; between them they leave little unsaid.

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## Letters to the Editor

### DEMAND FOR A CONSTRUCTIVE BRITISH POLICY

#### What is the Use?

Sir,—What is the use of HEADWAY? It is arguing a case that is already lost.

If the rulers of the world wanted peace, peace could be had. But they don't. If the rulers of the democracies wanted to save freedom, freedom could be saved. But they don't. If the professed supporters of the League wanted to work the League, the League could be worked. But they don't.

We are all of us being had for mugs. We are told that peace was won at Munich by men who know very well that what they did there was to surrender abjectly to naked force. We are told that freedom is the glory of the democracies by men who are stealing from us our freedom of speech, of the Press, of meeting, of election. We are told that the League failed because it was not strong enough for its task by men who denied it the strength it needed.

They think they are avoiding trouble. They think they are averting the crash of the present social order. They are doing neither the one nor the other. They are leading us, deceived, gagged, bound, helpless, to both.

HEADWAY had my goodwill. I have no use for it any longer. It means well, but it is not telling its readers all the grisly truth. It ought to cease publication. There are plenty of other periodicals to mislead us.

JAMES STAUNTON.

Bedford.

#### Freedom and Peace

Sir,—Freedom and peace—are they desirable only for the British? If not, why are our troops now in Palestine killing and being killed? At the end of the Great War the Arabs on the east side of Jordan became independent, but those on the west side were handed to Great Britain. At that time they formed 90 per cent. of the population. Palestine had ceased to be the land of the Jews for more than 1,300 years, and had become as sacred to the Moslem as to the Jew. Since 1918 Great Britain has been trying, without the consent of the Arabs, to establish by force a colony of Jews, called speciously a national home. What should we English say if the Welsh, on the ground of ancestry, claimed now the site of Westminster Abbey as a home for Welsh unemployed? Before we can honestly criticise Nazis or Fascists we must have clean hands.

Secondly, while recognising Mr. Winston Churchill's power of literary expression, I do not consider him a safe political leader. His political colour has resembled the chameleon in its changeableness. During the first National administration he used all his knowledge of Parliamen-

tary tactics to prevent the extension of self-government to the people of India.

In conclusion, if any of your readers accept the Christian obligation to prayer, and were instant in supplication during the late crisis, can they now criticise the turn of events and the human instruments of the peace? S. R. BROWN.

#### Don't Take, Give

Sir,—I have been interested to read the many letters in HEADWAY on the international situation.

Every state seems to have taken a selfish view. All have been trying to get as much out of the League as possible. Hence, Germany, Italy and Japan have left the League. The countries who gained a great deal from the War (i.e., Britain and her Dominions, and France) are the bulwarks of the League.

The Covenant was dressed in Versailles Treaty, instead of being dealt with separately. In spite of this dressing in Versailles clothes, it is still the greatest international code of law ever written.

How shall we work it?

Let's all get down to it and not be so selfish. National politics must broaden their outlook in many countries. Hitler and Mussolini must find their mistake sooner or later. They must tackle their job from a different angle.

HERBERT HOLDEN.

45, Devonshire Rd., Burnley.

#### Houses Rather than Flats

Sir,—I was surprised to find Mr. Boumphrey, in his article in HEADWAY, advocating towns consisting of blocks of ten-storey flats in your current issue as the best method of solving the housing problem, especially after recognising the need for optimum conditions of sunlight.

I wonder how many people would prefer a flat to a house or cottage with its garden. I venture to say that the majority would prefer the latter. Neither can I accept the suggestion that ten-storey flats, on a basis of 250 persons per acre, will provide optimum conditions of sunlight. Such a high density will of necessity produce a much larger area of shadow than housing at a density of fifty persons per acre.

I would like to suggest that the root cause of the housing muddle is the absence of any master layout plan and control. There exists a network of owners most of whom place their own interests before the welfare of the town, and until this root evil is removed there can be little hope of improvement in town planning.

I cannot help wondering whether Mr. Boumphrey is acquainted with the Report of the Unhealthy Areas Committee, 1921, and that of the Departmental Committee, 1935, both set up by the Ministry of

Health, advocating Garden City methods by which the whole of the town is owned and planned by either a public utility company, as in the case of Welwyn Garden City and Letchworth (Herts), or by a municipality, as in the case of Wythenshawe (Manchester). I submit that these garden cities demonstrate the only scientific method by which ideal towns can be secured.—Yours truly,

HERBERT COLLINS.

Southampton.

#### Surplus Wheat—a Challenge to Civilisation

Sir,—May another countryman give his emphatic approval of the letter of "Rural England" in February HEADWAY?

We read there is to be an international conference to discuss (always so much discussion)—the surplus wheat production.

How can there be any justification for talk of surplus and over-production of any essential commodity while there are millions of human beings in the world starving, hungry and undernourished? To find those in the last category we need go no further than our own country.

Surely here lies a challenge to civilisation.

Surely here is an opportunity for the League, and for democracy to show the way to the world in this direction.

Surely by a "Feed the people" policy the League can attain what politically it has failed to secure.

To ordinary people this seems an opportunity of such overwhelming importance that no difficulties in organisation should intervene or set it aside.

Let the League take an immediate option on this surplus wheat at a flat rate covering the cost of production, and evolve a scheme for the distribution of a sufficiency to satisfy the hungry and underfed millions.

That surely would be a greater triumph than any political success.

ANOTHER COUNTRYMAN.

#### The Farmer's Wages

Sir,—I feel that Lord Astor is misinformed about farming. I am not a farmer. I worked the first ten years of my working life in coal-pits, and I have worked thirty-nine years on the railway; now I am on the scrapheap. I tell you this so that you will know that I am not, nor ever have been, in clover.

Lord Astor says that prices of farm produce should not be fixed to allow a profit. Surely the noble lord knows that the prices do not allow for wages, and the labourer is worthy of his hire, even if he is a farmer. The farmer does not make any interest on outlay. I myself have tried poultry farming in a small way to help out my wages. I had no rent or rates to pay for my pens, and I had all the green food my hens could eat free. My hens laid very well, but it took me all my time to pay my corn bills. There was nothing for labour. I learn that the farmer's wages are a penny-farthing a gallon for milk. The farmer has to invest about £3,000 in land, buildings, and stock,

sit up nights with sick animals, supervise his farm, and work as a labourer for that, while the brewer makes 8d. a gallon profit.

You will see by my letter that I am no scholar, and it is like my face to differ with the noble lord. But I do not understand why milk is above the reach of the worker at 7d. a quart while beer is the popular drink of the workers because it is cheap at a shilling. Perhaps it is owing to my bringing up.

DAVID EARDLEY.

Silverdale, Staffs.

#### A New Peace Conference

Sir,—At the end of November a meeting was called in Birmingham of a large number of representative persons and organisations and a committee was set up for the organisation of the Petition for a New Peace Conference. Mr. F. E. Pearson, the League of Nations Union County Secretary, was appointed as secretary, and the L.N.U. office thus became the office of the petition. Mr. T. N. Veitch, who was responsible for the organisation in Birmingham of the Peace Ballot five years ago, was elected chairman.

The committee initiated organisations in over twenty of the municipal wards, and it was decided to make a house-to-house visitation for signatures in a concerted effort during the week February 5 to 12. Well over a thousand workers were obtained and 100,000 petition forms and nearly 200,000 yellow explanatory leaflets

were distributed. A number of window bills and large posters were printed and displayed at many important points throughout the city. All the peace organisations took part together with workers from churches of all denominations and from political parties.

"PEACE THROUGH JUSTICE."

Birmingham.

#### Conference at Lichfield

Sir,—May I draw the attention of your readers in the Birmingham and Staffordshire areas to the United Christian Peace Service and Conference to be held in Lichfield on Saturday, March 18.

The Conference, which is under the auspices of a Joint Committee convened by the League of Nations Union, will be presided over by Dr. E. G. Bryant, and the chief speaker will be the Dean of Chichester. The service to follow will be in Lichfield Cathedral, and the sermon will be preached by the Bishop of Lichfield. Prominent Free-Church ministers of the Midlands will take part in the service. The theme of the conference will be "The Present Problems of Peace."

Full particulars of the service and tickets for the conference may be obtained from the joint secretaries, H. H. Stainton, 18, Queen's College Chambers, Birmingham, 1, and A. L. Garratt, 12, Market Street, Lichfield.

R. D. BIRCH  
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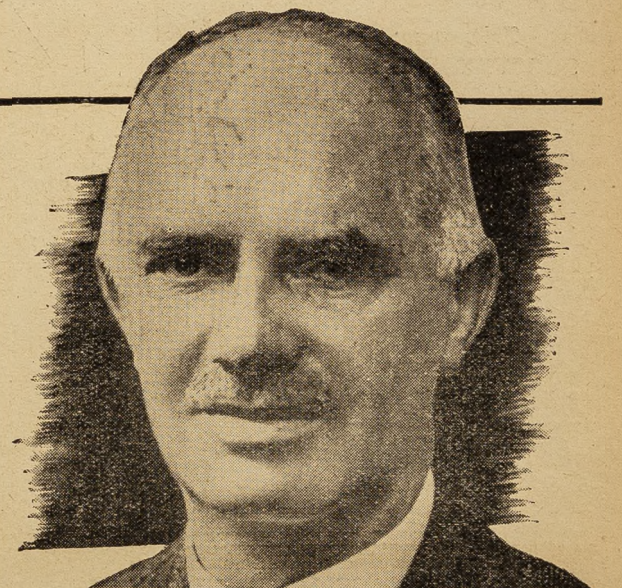
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