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HEADWAY

TOWARDS FREEDOM AND PEACE

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says :—

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HEADWAY

TOWARDS FREEDOM AND PEACE

Editorial Offices 19, Devereux Court, Fleet Street, London.

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BUILD A BETTER BRITAIN

NOW is the hour. The British people recognise that they stand in grave danger. Even the Cabinet Ministers who are most lyrical in their praise of the Peace of Munich confess their alarm when they call upon the nation to arm as never before. At the present moment Great Britain is spending between three and four times her Service budgets in the years immediately before 1914. Part of the cost is being met from loans. Yet this vast sum is insufficient; it must be multiplied. Next year or the year after one quarter or more of all the wealth produced in Britain may be swallowed up in preparations for war. Their purpose is to prevent war. Nevertheless they are preparations for war. Peace is an ironic misnomer for the situation in which they must be made. We live under a hot and coppery sky in an air thick with the fumes of sulphur.

The British people stand in grave danger. All they have achieved, and all they value and all they own is threatened. The last great war in which Britain was defeated was the American War of Independence. In that conflict as never since she was subjected to attack on a world theatre by many enemies. She had sacrificed her friendships. She lost an Empire and at home underwent an eclipse from which she might not have emerged had not the Industrial Revolution come to her rescue. Between 1914 and 1919 Britain had to resist and defeat an immensely powerful enemy but she was supported by a world alliance, and geography also was on her side. Never during those "our tormented years" was she exposed to serious direct attack either at home or in her territories overseas. Had due use been made of the one genuine strategic idea struck out by the Allies, the landing on Gallipoli, the essential security which she enjoyed would have given her an even more decisive advantage. In a world war to-day, in what ocean and on what continent, except North America, would the British World Commonwealth be remote from attack? The Pacific, the Mediterranean, the North Sea, even the South Atlantic, raided from hostile bases in Spain and the Spanish islands, might be fatal hazards for British shipping. Britain has desperate need of vast armaments, sea and air and land, or of a world order, built upon sound principles, giving satisfaction to just claims, defended by the common strength against disruption. "There is no way out of war except organised peace," said Mr. H. G. Wells twenty years ago. Those words were plain common sense when they were spoken; to-day they have the ring of prophecy.

What then must we do? We must prove ourselves worthy of our heritage and our opportunities. The British people hold a great place in the world, won for them by their fathers. Throughout the centuries the thought and passion, the labour and sacrifice of countless thousands of British men and women, famous and unknown, have built up a realm to which history affords no parallel. They have bequeathed to us not only wide possessions, but also a noble tradition. And to others as well as to us who are their sons and daughters. Because of what they did and suffered the world is a better place and life is a happier venture in countries still undiscovered when their career of world leadership began. If freedom and order, popular rights and public authority, individual inclination and national duty are united in a lasting partnership over that considerable part of the earth where a liberal civilisation prevails, the general debt of gratitude is due in no small measure to them. If the resources of nature are put to profitable uses from which all classes of citizens derive some share of the benefit, without an intolerable oppression of the dispossessed by the privileged, then once more much is owing to their example. The care of the sick, the relief of the unfortunate, the support of the workless, the teaching of the young, the pensioning of the aged—in all these humane tasks the British record is honourable. To-day a more equal enjoyment than ever before of security and leisure, of health, of daily necessities, and at least the minor luxuries, demonstrates that Britain has not exhausted her social invention or her generous temper.

Something we have added to our splendid inheritance. But we must do more. We must build a better Britain, a nation strong enough to survive, free and unafraid, in the most difficult times, giving all its citizens every chance to develop their gifts and capacities to the utmost and to lead full and satisfactory lives. From such a better Britain waste must be eliminated. The most stringent economy must be exercised, not the false economy, however, which begrudges and denies, but the true economy which employs every national resource both human and material. There must be no ill-fed children, no untrained youths, no would-be workers condemned to lose hope and skill in an endless succession of idle years. There must be no slums. There must be an active acceptance by all citizens of responsibility for the well-being of all. The details of the programme need not be set out here; it is a programme to whose fulfilment HEADWAY will devote itself.

AN OUTLINE DIARY OF EVENTS, MOSTLY BASED ON THE COLUMNS OF THE "TIMES"

By PHILIP NOEL BAKER, M.P.

WHY did Herr Hitler agree on September 28 to a Conference on the Czechoslovakian question?

"We know," in Mr. Duff Cooper's words, "that never before had he given in, and that then he did." What caused the change? Was it, as Mr. Duff Cooper and Mr. Eden suggest, the uprising of public opinion throughout the world, the "authoritative statement" of September 26, and the mobilisation of the British Fleet on September 27, which were decisive in stopping Herr Hitler from plunging into war?

These questions may best be answered by a diary statement of the main events from March till October.

Only those events are mentioned here which bear on what may be called the "Collective Security" point, and much must be omitted which would make the picture more complete.

MARCH 24.—Prime Minister's declaration in the House of Commons that Great Britain had an interest in the Czechoslovakian question, and that it must not be assumed that Great Britain would not be involved, if an attack on Czechoslovakia should lead to war.

AUGUST 27.—Sir John Simon's speech at Lanark, re-asserting the Prime Minister's declaration of March 24.

This was received in Berlin "with anger and disappointment." (Berlin correspondent of "The Times," August 29.)

SEPTEMBER 6.—"Times" leading article proposing cession of Sudeten Territory to Germany.

SEPTEMBER 7.—(i) Official Communiqué declaring that H.M.G.'s policy was *not* the cession of territory.

(ii) The Henlein Party seized an excuse to break off negotiations with President Benes.

SEPTEMBER 11.—(i) "A high political authority" (understood to be the Prime Minister) told the Press that:

"British political leaders are very anxious that the German Government should not count upon it that a brief and successful campaign against Czechoslovakia could safely be embarked upon without the danger of the subsequent intervention first of France and later of Great Britain."

SEPTEMBER 12.—Herr Hitler's speech in Nuremberg. Violent attacks on Czechoslovakia, but the only positive demand was that President Benes' negotiations with Henlein should continue.

SEPTEMBER 13.—Joint Declaration by Russia and Rumania that neither country will remain neutral if Czechoslovakia is attacked.

SEPTEMBER 14.—Prime Minister announces his first visit to Herr Hitler.

SEPTEMBER 15.—(i) Prime Minister's flight to Berchtesgaden.

(ii) Herr Henlein also flies to Berchtesgaden and for the first time demands re-union with the Reich.

SEPTEMBER 18.—(i) MM. Daladier and Bonnet fly to London. The "Anglo-French Agreement" for the cession of Sudeten Territory is drawn up.

It is agreed to by the French Cabinet, but with specific pledges to M. Paul Reynaud and other Ministers, that no pressure will be brought to bear on the Czechs to accept it, and that, if they refuse, French obligations to Czechoslovakia will be fulfilled.

SEPTEMBER 20.—An Anglo-French ultimatum at 2 a.m. obliges President Benes to accept the Anglo-French Agreement.

SEPTEMBER 21.—(i) M. Litvinoff declares in Geneva that Russia stands by Collective Security, and will fulfil her obligations to Czechoslovakia.

SEPTEMBER 22.—(i) The Prime Minister flies to Bad Godesberg.

(ii) The Hungarian Government sends a note to Prague demanding the same treatment as Germany.

(iii) Three French Ministers resign.

SEPTEMBER 23.—(i) Herr Hitler presents the Godesberg Memorandum to the Prime Minister. After an exchange of letters, the Prime Minister agrees to transmit the Memorandum to the Czechs.

(ii) M. Litvinoff re-affirms Russia's loyalty to her obligations in Geneva, and the Russian Government warns the Polish Government that, if it attacks Czechoslovakia, Russia will denounce the Russo-Polish Treaty of Non-Aggression.

(iii) M. Daladier gave a delegation of Radical Deputies an "uncompromising affirmation" that France would, if necessary, fulfil her obligations, if Czechoslovakia were attacked.

(iv) At 2.5 a.m. on the night September 23 to 24 the Prime Minister said to the Press in Godesberg, "I am making certain proposals to the Czech Government." Asked if the situation was hopeless, he replied: "I would not like to say that. It is up to them (i.e., the Czechs) now." ("Times," September 24.)

SEPTEMBER 24 TO 25.—(i) The Czech Government reject the Godesberg Memorandum. "The nation of St. Wenceslas, John Hus and Thomas Masaryk will not be a nation of slaves."

(ii) "We had a long and anxious discussion in the Cabinet with regard to the acceptance or rejection of those (Godesberg) terms. It was decided to reject them, and that information was conveyed to the German Government." (Mr. Duff Cooper, Hansard, October 3.)

(iii) The French Government ordered "partial mobilization." "Nowhere was there any sign of flinching." (Paris correspondent of "Times.")

(iv) "The Times" reports that Russia has mobilized on the Polish frontier "a formidable force . . . capable of making a nasty mess of Poland in a very short time." This force includes thirty infantry divisions, five cavalry corps, 2,000 tanks and 3,000 aeroplanes, "mostly heavy bombers and fast fighters of the newest types. . . . Even without mobilization the Red Army is much above nominal peace strength."

(v) General Hertzog declared that "when it became necessary, South Africa's obligations towards the League would be carried out." ("Times," September 26.)

(vi) "The Times" reports "a steadily growing solidarity of national sentiment" that Canada must help, if Great Britain decides that Nazi aggression must be resisted.

(vii) "The Times" reports that Italian public opinion is against war. The Duce's "delay in ordering any special military precautions (which is the subject of general and rather surprised comments) is also probably calculated . . . to avoid increasing the existing feeling against war."

SEPTEMBER 26.—(i) Sir H. Wilson flies to Berlin with a letter from the Prime Minister to Herr Hitler.

(ii) "The Times" reports that "Both Yugoslavia and Rumania consider that Hungarian demands (in Czechoslovakia) should be settled in accordance with the Bled Agreement of August 23, which is morally binding in its exclusion of all recourse to force."

(iii) "The Times" reported from Warsaw: "The atmosphere here to-night is one of suspense and uncertainty. . . . The turn of events since Friday morning has not been at all in accord with the expectations which were held in the highest quarters here." ("Times," September 27.)

(iv) President Roosevelt telegraphs a message to Herr Hitler and President Benes recalling the Briand-Kellog Pact and the Arbitration Treaties which bind the Governments, and urging that there should be "no resort to force."

(v) In the evening Herr Hitler speaks in the Berlin "Sportpalast." He declares that the Godesberg Memorandum is his last word. Acceptance or war—"Let Benes choose."

(vi) Directly the Sportpalast speech is finished, the British Government issues the following communiqué to the Press: "If, in spite of all efforts made by the British Prime Minister,

a German attack is made upon Czechoslovakia, the immediate result must be that France will be bound to come to her assistance, and Great Britain and Russia will certainly stand by France."

SEPTEMBER 27.—(i) Thirty-two messages from Indian Princes, promising support in case of war received by the Viceroy. The leaders of the Indian National Congress also demand a firm stand against German aggression.

(ii) Sir Archibald Sinclair declares on behalf of the Liberal Party, "If peace is preserved it will be because even at this late hour the forces of Collective Security have at length been invoked."

(iii) General Franco declares: "We have no cause to mix ourselves in other people's affairs. We desire to remain neutral." ("Times," September 28.)

(iv) "The general feeling in Berlin was intense depression and nervousness." (Berlin correspondent of "The Times," September 28.)

(v) In the evening the Prime Minister made a broadcast in which he said, "I must say I find this attitude (of Herr Hitler) unreasonable."

(vi) At 11.45 p.m. orders were given for the mobilisation of the British Fleet.

SEPTEMBER 28.—(i) At 2 a.m. (i.e., two hours after the announcement of the mobilization of the British Fleet) the German radio stations broadcast a communiqué of the "D.N.B." (German Government Official News Agency) denying that Germany will "mobilize" on Thursday at 2 p.m.

(ii) At 11.45 a.m. this communiqué appears on the streets of London in the early editions of the "Star" and other papers in the following form:—

"The official German News Agency to-day issued the following statement:—

"The news was published in London yesterday evening that Germany intended to proclaim a general mobilization to-day at 2 p.m. if Prague had not accepted the German memorandum at that hour. In well-informed German circles it is declared that this news is false."

The Importance OF LITTLE THINGS

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It gives you value to the utmost limit.

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(iii) The Hungarian Legation in London issued the following communiqué: "The rumours . . . to the effect that Hungary is mobilizing are completely untrue."

(iv) The Polish Government publish the news of British and French mobilization, and submit to Prague "a concrete plan" for settling the Teschen question. This is received by Polish public opinion "with relief and satisfaction." (Warsaw correspondent of "The Times.")

(v) "The Times" correspondent in Rome reports: "No signs of military preparation are apparent. . . . The only evidence of preparation for war is the steps which are being taken by the National Union for Protection against Air Attacks. . . . This organisation is asking householders to state in a special form the composition of their families, presumably with the object of ensuring that gas-masks should be available for all in case of need."

(vi) "The Times" correspondent in Berlin reports: "The fear of another great war lies deep in the German people. . . . The German people, moreover, are not merely fearful of war and anxious for peace. They appear to be positively apathetic towards the whole Sudeten German question."

(vii) The "Times of India" declares that: "The fundamental issue . . . is far clearer to India than it was in 1914. The roots of India's opposition are embedded in a burning desire to protect the democratic system of government, which India has adopted with enthusiasm, against the aggression of dictators."

(viii) The New Zealand Government declares: "If the ordeal begins we can only do all possible to support the Motherland in the stand she has taken for peace and democracy."

(ix) President Roosevelt addressed a second appeal to Herr Hitler (but *not* to President Benes). He proposed "a Conference of all nations directly interested . . . in some neutral spot."

(x) At 3 p.m. the Prime Minister speaks to the House of Commons and announces Herr Hitler's invitation to the Munich Conference next day.



In shopping at the Co-operative Stores and insisting on C.W.S. brands (of everything from furniture to food) you are laying the basis for a happier Britain. It's a little thing to do. The results are gigantic.

BEHIND THE NEWS

GRATITUDE FOR WHAT?

THE world acknowledges a debt to Mr. Neville Chamberlain. The reports given by Ministers of opinion everywhere leave no doubt of the universal gratitude. But for what? This question does not withhold from the Premier any credit which is his due. It must be asked because unless we see clearly where we are we shall not be able to choose where we are going.

By his flights to Berchtesgaden, Godesberg and Munich Mr. Chamberlain drew the nations away from their bad old habit of war into the happier paths of peace. His personal friendliness with Herr Hitler guarantees that in future Great Powers will seek their ends not through threats of violence, but in co-operation. They will behave as if they have suddenly remembered the Briand-Kellogg Peace Pact and intend to honour their signatures. That is a noble claim: it registers a great achievement and a great change. In quarters where it is most loudly urged, however, its effect is weakened by an alternative contention. Mr. Chamberlain, say these advocates, left Czechoslovakia to her fate because at the last critical moment he learnt from his Service advisers that Great Britain could not win a war against Germany. The defects in her armaments made certain that in such a struggle she would be defeated. If that be true, then the excuse is abundantly sufficient. But the claim and the excuse contradict one another.

A further confusion is revealed in the three companion pictures commonly painted of Berchtesgaden, Godesberg and Munich. The first is the initial success of the "new diplomacy," the second a calamitous setback, the third its final triumph. If Godesberg had been persisted in, the sequel would have been war; the concessions of Munich made possible the preservation of peace. A clever exercise in logic, but—not borne out by the facts. Where is the immense difference between what had to be refused at Godesberg and what could be allowed at Munich? A close examination shows that the situation of Czechoslovakia to-day would not have been more miserable had Herr Hitler enforced his Godesberg terms without encountering a protest.

BOMBERS INTO FIGHTERS

IT CAN NOW be revealed that during the crisis week, when the threat of air raids on London came very close, the R.A.F. seriously considered using high-speed bombers to strengthen the defence force of fighters and interceptors.

The Air Ministry calculated that the first raid on London would be made with about 500 heavy bombers—slow moving machines, each carrying about 2 tons of bombs. Marshalling all the defence machines available for the London area, the British command found that the forces were just about equal.

But the technique of bombing is to send raiders in waves—and fighter machines have only a short flying range. If the entire defence force was sent up to drive off the first wave, the second and third waves would arrive while many of the fighters were on the ground refuelling. Colossal damage could be done before they were driven off.

Why not use as fighters squadrons of medium bombers—of which Britain has the fastest in the world. These 300-m.p.h. planes are almost as easy to manoeuvre as

fighters, and they carry two and more machine guns. Their flying range is immense, and they are much faster than the heavy bomber.

Auxiliary pilots attached to bombing squadrons were warned for duty as fighter pilots and squadrons of fast bombers were moved to strategic points near London.

It is now believed that the ratio of German planes to British in crisis week was higher than 5-1.

HIDDEN AIRFIELDS

CAMOUFLAGING of R.A.F. airfields was so successful that many pilots could not find their own stations. Hangars were left untouched as the only guide. Artificial ditches, streams, trees, roads covered all the airfields and blended them with the surrounding scenery when seen from above. In war time the hangars would be similarly treated.

ECONOMIC EFFECTS

WHATEVER the politicians may claim for the Munich agreement, the economists have not yet exhausted the list of consequences to be placed on the deficit side. The first danger they see is that the impetus given to Germany's drive to the East will cut short one of the most promising developments in British commercial diplomacy in the post-war period. That has been the promotion of trade by export credit guarantees. Such guarantees from the British Government have insured the exporter against possible default by the foreign debtor. This, for example, was the basis of the recent £10,000,000 credit to Turkey.

Now circumstances have changed and the German attempt to create a monopoly of the Danubian and Balkan trade has made it extremely difficult for the British Export Credit Guarantees Department to do anything more to increase British trade in these areas. In fact, it would be running the risk of losing taxpayers' money. After it had guaranteed credits to the Balkans, German barter arrangements might leave the debtor countries with insufficient free exchange resources to repay those credits. The obvious indication is that British traders may expect precious little assistance from the Government in South-Eastern Europe, for no department can legitimately face the risk of loss now involved in pursuing trade in directions likely to cut across the new German drive to the East.

GOLD TO U.S.

IN times of political uncertainty such as the present it is not only the politically oppressed who seek a place of refuge. There are also the owners of capital. Though not in any personal danger they have fears for the safety of their money and securities. Penal taxation or mobilisation of wealth for rearmament purposes are twin spectres which cause them deep alarm.

During October there has been not only a rush for gold but also a large scale transference of funds to America by French, Dutch, Belgian, Swiss and indeed by any other Continental investors whose Governments allow them to act in this way.

Even the British Government appears to have taken precautions to build up a gold reserve in the United States, so that in the event of an emergency it could purchase supplies in that country and Canada without having to run the risk of transporting gold across the Atlantic. How far this policy has been carried out it is not possible to say, though the

recent operations of the British Exchange Equalisation Fund show that some steps have been taken.

TRADE TREATY HOPES

THE unexpected hitch in the Anglo-American trade treaty negotiations must not evoke despair. The Americans are hard bargainers and naturally want as big a market as possible for their goods. The negotiations have already covered most articles entering into the trade of the two countries. Substantial agreement has been reached on tariff schedules. Only matters affecting general policy have now to be decided, and here the prospect has improved considerably within the last week.

ANY RIGHTS FOR RUTHENIA?

SELF-DETERMINATION is a fashionable phrase. Hitler invoked self-determination in order to induce Britain and France to secure the Sudeten lands for him—a new technique of conquest. And, so it is claimed, the principle must apply to Czechoslovakia's Hungarian minority. The Poles and Hungarians pleaded in favour of self-determination for the Slovaks also, and were deeply shocked when the Slovaks informed them that they intended to apply the principle themselves and remain within Czechoslovakia.

Both Poles and Hungarians have different ideas for the Ruthenians or, to give them their correct name, the Ukrainians of Czechoslovakia. Three-quarters of a million strong, they inhabit Czechoslovakia's eastern province, and the standard of living of these hardy, picturesque mountaineers is lower than in the other parts of the Republic. Their hilly, poverty-stricken province has the doubtful advantage of being considered a strategic passage towards Russia. So self-determination is good enough for Sudeten Germans, Slovaks or Hungarians; but not for Ukrainians, according to Hungary and Poland. They are alleged to have no real national consciousness, and by a curious coincidence Hungary happens to need a common frontier with Poland, and the Ukrainians, according to Budapest, also need the blessing of Hungarian rule, which they enjoyed until the Great War.

Unfortunately for Hungary and Poland, all is not going according to plan. The Ukrainians were, and are, loyal citizens. They now have their own autonomous government. Despite their internal divisions, all are united on one point—the desire to remain citizens of free, democratic Czechoslovakia, and not to return to the Hungarian yoke, under which they suffered for so long. They know the difference. And lovers of justice and fair play will support their plea, no matter what Polish and Hungarian Imperialism may say.

CARDINAL INNITZER

CARDINAL INNITZER'S experience during last month should be carefully pondered. The Austrian Archbishop was prepared for a deal when the Nazis marched into Austria. He held his hand out to Herr Hitler; he even raised it in the Nazi salute. In exchange he hoped to obtain some concessions for Austrian Catholics and a better treatment under Nazism than their German co-religionists had received from the Nazi State. Herr Hitler and Herr Buerkel, his Austrian commissioner, took the outstretched hand of the Cardinal because otherwise it might have given the signal to armed resistance to the Nazi invasion of Austria.

Having done his job, the "Heil-Hitler-Cardinal" (as he had been nicknamed) demanded his reward. The reply was (1) the closing of schools ("... they belong to the State in Nazi Germany!"); (2) disregard for Catholic

marriage laws co-ordinated by the Concordat with Austria's state laws (but now as the foundation of the German people's growth the exclusive affair of the party); and (3) every other possible restriction on Catholicism in Austria.

The Cardinal protested to Herr Buerkel and also in public. That was what the Nazis had been waiting for. It gave them an immediate pretence to mobilise party fury against the Cardinal. His palace was stormed and devastated (although Herr Buerkel declared that this outrage was the work of Czech Jews. Czech Jews of all people!) Napoleon once complained about a diplomat in his service: "So-and-so lies too much. One may well lie sometimes, but always is too much." It was decided to do what had been planned a long time ago: get hold of the immense property of the Catholic Church in Austria. It is the old story all over again. "Kill the Jew—and take his money!" Now it is: "Strike at the Catholics—and take their money!"

RUMANIAN MINORITIES

NOT LONG AGO the Rumanian Government issued a Minorities Statute. Rumanian minorities cannot be said to have enjoyed the best of treatment since the Great War. It was a welcome relief to see the Government issue a decree granting the minorities their full cultural and economic rights.

Now there are rumours to the effect that the measure exists on paper only. Victimisation of minority languages is continuing in many districts. Recently Rumania's one and only Ukrainian newspaper (there is one weekly, severely censored, for Rumania's million odd Ukrainians!) attempted to print the new law in full. What more proper than to tell the Ukrainians of their rights accorded by a benevolent Government? But the censor had other ideas. The Ukrainians must not know—the troublesome people might start asking for their rights! So the paper was forbidden to publish the dangerous text.

ITALY CHANGING HER MIND

ITALY is changing her mind. The fact is beyond question. What she is going to think is uncertain, but, clearly, she has ceased to think the Berlin-Rome axis and the Berlin-Rome-Tokio triangle quite the wonderful contrivances she supposed in the first flush of their dawn. She asks more and more often: "Where do I come in?" And, however frequent the challenge, she receives no reassuring response. Germany, dominating the Brenner, ready for a sweep to which no effective defence could be offered; Germany, in control of the Danube basin and driving towards the Eastern Mediterranean, eclipses many an Italian ambition long and expensively nursed. In such a situation Italy is far from sure that she will not soon be relegated to a junior and unconsidered partnership.

ROYAL TRIUMPH

THE meetings in London of the International Labour Organisation Governing Body have been an unqualified success. Much good work has been done, and British official hospitality has delighted the visitors. Especially charming were their Majesties the King and Queen at the Royal reception at Buckingham Palace. In the most friendly fashion they talked with everyone, showing a lively and informed interest in social and industrial problems and an enviable command of French and German. Their tri-lingual conversations excited a triple admiration for substance, form, and fluency.

I.L.O. opinion was buoyed up to predict with confidence the return of Germany to the organisation.

PARLIAMENT AND PEOPLE

By RONALD CARTLAND, M.P.

Mr. Ronald Cartland has sat in the House of Commons as Conservative Member for the King's Norton Division of Birmingham since 1935. 30 years of age he has already won a recognised position by his lively and informal interest in world affairs.

MOST members seem to have spent October in their constituencies. We may see the results of their sojourn when the King's Speech comes to be debated. This is one of the few opportunities Parliament gets for talking of the Nation's ills comprehensively. Few people to-day believe you can separate foreign from internal affairs. A great many more consider the solution of national problems may signpost the road to the solution of international difficulties.

Uncertain of Popular Feeling

I formed the impression, when the House met after the Berchtesgaden and Godesberg Conferences and again after Munich, that members were uncertain as to the feeling in their divisions. The proportion of letter-writers to a total electorate is very small. There was, of course, in the first week of October plenty of whistling (and whiping) to keep spirits up. But Parliament meets in London, and I doubt if any of us accurately estimates the effect that London opinion has upon the House of Commons and Government.

Emotion Over the Radio

The Provinces get their crowd scenes at second-hand, from the picture papers or the cinema. Mass emotion trickles half-heartedly over the radio. But there is always something to cheer in London, and there are always people in London ready to cheer. Industrial England has prospered by getting on with its job. It has developed not unnaturally a wholesome contempt for metropolitan meandering. And in the Midlands and the North the perspective being longer, and Fleet Street and Downing Street further away, a slower but undoubtedly surer political judgment has developed. Compare, for example, the provincial with the London papers, not merely the "leader," but the correspondence columns.

Munich and Post Munich

Munich and post Munich, therefore, have been seen in a different light in

different parts of England. I believe the House will discover this in November. Admiration for the Prime Minister's efforts, particularly at his age, abounds,

to drive these couple of dozen men from public life. This is hardly so, but heresy hunting does bring rewards. National Unity will not be obtained through bludgeoning the critics. On the other hand, should those who criticised the Munich Agreement surrender before the clamour of the party caucus, they would do neither themselves, their Cause nor Parliament anything but harm.

"Peace with Honour" and "Peace for our time" have caused more trouble than their ephemeral effect was worth. Business circles, alarmed at the activities of Dr. Funk and the obvious need for far greater re-armament measures here, question the peace which is purchased at a cost of an extra shilling on the income tax. National service, which the majority of our people seem ready for, would be stomached easier if our defence preparations were not so glaringly inadequate.

Defence Deficiencies

The Sandys' case, which *The Times* described as silly rather than sinister, will to large numbers of the non-*Times*-reading public appear serious, not because of the case itself, but because of the deficiencies revealed of our anti-aircraft defences.

Ministers have been proved now to have been optimistic to a degree almost of mis-statement. Assurances which later are shown to have been without foundation create condemnation as well as confusion.

A.R.P. Chaos

Reports of A.R.P. chaos are universal. Yet it was not so long ago that our big centres were visited; there were air flights and inspections and photographs, and all the paraphernalia that goes nowadays with Ministerial peregrinations, and the public were assured by impression, if not in so many words, that they needn't worry too much.

However, this is not the time for post-mortems. There will doubtless be some decent burials and indecent exhumations in Parliament. But I am convinced it is of the future that the British people



THE AIR MINISTER, SIR KINGSLEY WOOD, M.P., launching the first battle plane produced at a Birmingham shadow factory.

but inquests on their effects are ceaseless. There are divisions in all three parties: in all four, if I include Mr. Maxton's I.L.P. Only the Communists reveal a united front. Tory Party organisations are now not quite so sure that an immediate General Election would result in Socialist extinction, but the card of Chamberlain the Peacemaker is being played for all it is worth in the Municipal Elections.

Heresy Hunt Rewards

This seems to me a pity. It exacerbates party feeling, and makes National Unity the harder to come by. The "floating vote" public have watched, still a little undetermined in their views, the struggles the Abstentionists have had with their local associations. It has been suggested that a deliberate attempt, fostered by Headquarters, is being made

are anxious. The recent speeches of Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eden have been devoured because they have been expressing (so it appears to many) the views of the time and the desires of the people.

Hitler's Speech Annoys

Can that be said of any speech made since the Crisis by any Cabinet Minister? Hitler's Saarbrücken speech amazed many and annoyed more. Was it considered unworthy of reply, or does the unworthiness to make reply lie in us? Lord Baldwin used to talk of the harlot of the arts. A little democratic gambolling with the lady would not do either ourselves or Germany any harm.

Anyone who has lately travelled about the Provinces will bear witness to the almost universal desire of men and women to be told at once what is needed to be done and how they can best help to do it. There is no fear of the public determination relaxing. The public fear that the Government may relapse into compromise measures. I confess I am amazed at the breadth of vision revealed to-day by the non-hide-bound party voter; only, alas, at a certain stage obscurantism seems to develop in proportion to income. If one could carry out the type of social enquiry, of which America is past-master, to record truthfully how political opinions are formed, quite a number of comfortable delusions would be exposed for what they are.

Very Near Censorship

The insidious growth of dictatorship in this country should be brought to light as often as possible. We are very near to Press censorship; film censorship already exists. But it is the dictatorship mind which causes me alarm. The right to one's own opinions is being constantly and openly challenged. The petty Fuehrers in politics and industry advocate the suppression of free speech and the contraction of individual liberty without hesitation. It is hardly surprising that when these same people are loud in their plea for national sacrifices, others begin to ask exactly what sacrifices are meant, are they necessary and for what purpose: above all, will the principle of sacrifice be fairly and equally applied?

There is a suspicion that the argument (already produced in the House of Commons) that the wealthy are so heavily taxed as it is that no more need be asked of them, will excuse the rich from further efforts. I know, I hope the Defence Ministers do too, that in the factories it is being asked whether private profit-making can continue when we are faced with a menace which can only be met by a national policy executed through industry as a whole. Hitler has presented the advocates of State control with arguments stronger than any they have previously possessed.



SIR KINGSLEY WOOD emerging from one of the balloons of an anti-aircraft barrage.

These are questions that must be answered and soon. Is it possible for individual freedom, national security, and industrial efficiency to exist together in the modern world? Whatever is necessary the impetus must come from Government, and no Government in this country, whatever their admiration for dictatorial achievement, can neglect for long the sympathies of the common man. The question he is asking is, can democracy . . .

But can democracy and England survive without becoming inoculated with totalitarianism? And shall we eventually fall victim to the disease without perhaps displaying any of the more rabid symptoms? The party system as it is at present manipulated seems a continual handicap both to free co-operation and free criticism. It has unbalanced the machinery of Parliament. It may unbalance our national life, two words which in conjunction

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PROMISES

DOES Herr Hitler honour his agreements? The keeping or breaking of peace now lies in his hands; it is instructive to examine in detail just what the accusation of broken promises amounts to in his case.

Mr. Chamberlain got very little in the way of concessions in exchange for his journeys to Germany, but he seemed genuinely elated at the document signed by Herr Hitler, which he read aloud to the crowds at the aerodrome on his return home. Does that document contain the seed of lasting peace, or will it be treated at Germany's convenience as the traditional scrap of paper?

Let us look at the records.

First, in the field of foreign policy:—

(1) On January 30, 1934, referring to the Saar problem, Herr Hitler said in a speech to the Reichstag:—

After this question has been settled, the German Government is ready to accept not only the letter but also the spirit of the Locarno pact.

Again, he assured the French Government in a note dated March 13 of the same year that:—

the German Government had never questioned the validity of the Treaty of Locarno.

On March 7, 1936, Germany denounced the Treaty of Locarno, which she had signed as a free agent, and re-occupied the demilitarised Rhineland area.

(2) On July 20, 1933, a Concordat was signed in Rome between the Pope and Herr Hitler's special envoy, Herr von Papen. Herr Hitler had eagerly negotiated this agreement in order to gain the support of the German Catholics in the critical early days of National Socialism. By its terms the Catholic clergy and their congregations were guaranteed full liberty of conscience, and a promise was made that Catholic organisations and schools should not be interfered

with in any matters purely spiritual. This Concordat was never observed in the letter or in the spirit. On the flimsy excuse of "political Catholicism," schools were closed, priests imprisoned, and an organised campaign of hostility which gradually turned into active persecution was set on foot by the Nazis. The Papal Encyclical of March 21, 1937, which calls attention to this persecution of Catholicism, is one of the most damning indictments of Nazi duplicity.

(3) In the case of Austria, Herr Hitler declared in his Reichstag speech of May 21, 1936, that:—

Germany neither intends nor wishes to interfere in the internal affairs of Austria, to annex Austria or to conclude an Anschluss.

The Austro-German agreement of July, 1936, reaffirmed the "full sovereignty of Austria," disclaimed the Austrian Nazi movement and approved the Austro-Italian partnership. On February 12, 1938, at his first Berchtesgaden meeting with Dr. Schuschnigg, the Austrian Chancellor, Herr Hitler gave a further definite assurance on the subject of Austrian sovereignty. Yet a month later German troops marched into Austria and the Anschluss was complete.

(4) On August 27, 1936, Germany put her signature to the Spanish Non-intervention Agreement. The utterly farcical nature of her adherence was proved only three days later when an important consignment of German war planes was delivered at Cadiz. Subsequently the German Press has referred openly to the work of German interventionists, both civil and military, in Franco territory.

(5) With regard to the annexation of Sudeten territory in Czechoslovakia, Mr. Chamberlain stated in the House of Commons on March 14 of this year that Germany had given assurances that she had no hostile intentions against Czechoslovakia. Added to this, the annexation specifically breaks the general promise, made on March 7, 1936, by Herr Hitler in a speech to the Reichstag, that:—

Germany will never break the peace of Europe. . . . We have no territorial demands to make in Europe.

NATIONAL UNITY—FOR WHAT?

By SIR NORMAN ANGELL

HAVE you ever noticed what a dismal failure the Ten Commandments are? And also the Christian religion? And the Churches?

Look at the world around you and say honestly whether it guides its conduct by either the Commandments, the Christian religion or the rule of the Churches. Examine the wide range of your acquaintances and say whether you can point to one single man or woman who in business or in private matters guides his life entirely by their principles, or even pretends to. Never was there such failure of any system, any institution.

* * * * *

Very well, what do we propose to do about it? Life must go on. The children have to be fed and clothed and educated. They must somehow have to-morrow morning's breakfast and next summer's holiday; and it is time that Johnny went to boarding school. And they must have some sort of guide. After all, it is just as well that they should not make a worse mess of things than they need.

You admit to them that the Commandments are not kept, that Christianity is disregarded, and the Churches fail. And then? Will you proceed to say:

You see how utterly that body of principles has broken down. It is a complete wash-out. The work of dreamy impractical idealists who do not know the world. Pay

no attention to it. It is not worth a second thought. Instead of guiding your conduct by those idealistic but unworkable principles, be realistic: lie, steal, swindle. Break your word. Betray your friends. Let them down if it suits your book. Toady to any successful gangster who has got the goods. Promise not to interfere with his racket if only he'll leave you alone and give you a rake-off. Go into partnership with him if you can, and in doing so explain to the Sunday school lot that you are trying to appeal to his better nature and convert him by friendliness. Praise the Commandments occasionally as a great ideal which the world may one day realise: It will please the mugs and stop them from sticking their noses into your business affairs.

* * * * *

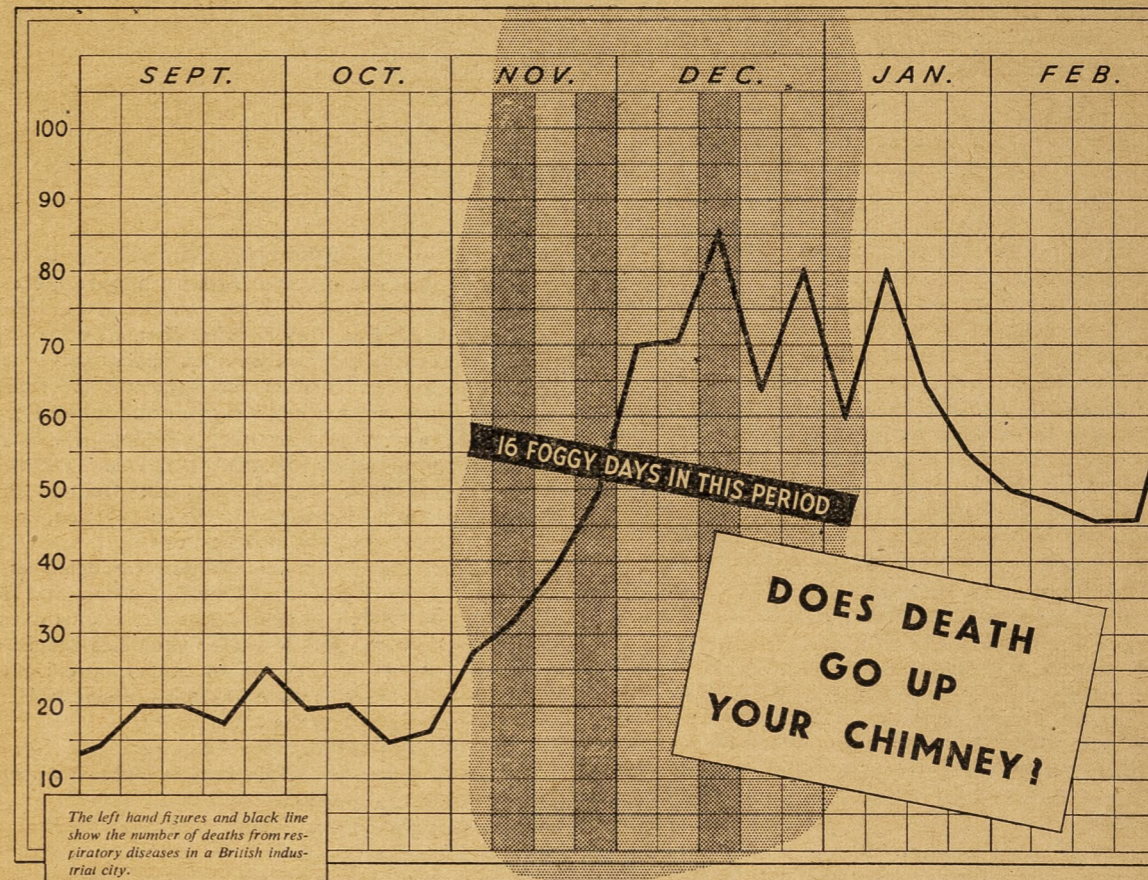
Is that the sort of homily which, in view of the failure of Christianity, the Churches and the Commandments, you propose to deliver to your son on the threshold of his life?

It is not. You will point out the failure of the codes and the ideals for an entirely different purpose. You will say something like this:—

The world is in an awful mess and you are not going to have too easy a time. You will find that the rules

(Continued on page 12)

DEATH CHART OF FOGGY DAYS



This graph and its legend are taken, by permission, from a new booklet 'Britain's Burning Shame,' published by the National Smoke Abatement Society. In view of the importance of this book copies have been made available free at your Gas Showrooms. The booklet tells the whole horrible story of domestic smoke and the damage it does, inside and out.



(such as gas or coke), it means an extra minute, perhaps, of sunshine somewhere. Gas and Coke are working miracles to make homes clean inside. Eventually there will be a national miracle of an air fit for children and old people to breathe. Gas and Coke will have helped to bring that miracle to pass.

70% of a city's fog and grime come from home chimneys burning old-fashioned raw fuel. City fogs bring more disasters than head-on crashes, loss of business and jokes in the humour pages of magazines. They bring death to the sick and old. Sudden death to lung sufferers who would otherwise have seen the summer again.

Fogs are brought on by certain weather conditions. But city fogs are composed at least 70% of soot and grime from home chimneys—chimneys burning old-fashioned smoke-making fuel. Every smoking home chimney is adding to the 'aerial sewage' of England, increasing by ever so little the ill-health of the country.

Can't something be done? Yes, it is being done, slowly. Every time someone decides to do away with an old-fashioned smoke-making fire in his house and burn a smokeless fuel

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GAS AND COKE

The fuel of clean homes and clean cities

★ The above facts and many others as to the injurious effects of smoke may be found in publications of the National Smoke Abatement Society, Chandos House, Buckingham Gate, London, S.W.1. By joining the Society, which is an independent body, you will keep up to date and help the campaign for cleaner cities.

Issued by the British Commercial Gas Assoc., Gas Industry House, 1 Grosvenor Place, London, S.W.1.

are not kept—that's why the world is in a mess. But your life won't be any better for joining in the general orgy and beastliness or by toadying to the racketeers and letting down your friends. Things will only be worse for you if you do that, much worse. And you can pull things together and bring this savagery to an end, rescue your generation from the gangsters and make a decent life for yourselves possible if you and other youngsters go at it as you might. It is a man's job. Even if you fail, you'll get happiness in the trying. Go to it.

And you would add, perhaps, that if things have gone wrong because a certain rule has not been followed, it won't put things right just to abolish the rule.

* * * * *

The principles of the League have been applied about as little as the principles of the Ten Commandments, with the result that, at the end of last month, we suddenly found ourselves at the edge of the abyss. We were saved by no virtue of ours (as Lord Halifax among others explained), but by the fact that the last remaining democracy east of the Rhine decided to sacrifice itself without making a fight for it. The supply of third parties who can be sacrificed to give us (not them) peace is now running very short.

Everyone admits we remain in deadly danger. Say the critics of the League: "Instead of trusting to the League, let us be stronger," which proves that they have not troubled to understand what the League is, its purpose, its function. Its purpose was not to make us weak, but strong; not to dispense with our strength, but to make it effective to defend us and to prevent war.

Our Government says very truly that we cannot possibly be secure merely by our own strength. It tells us continuously that the security of France is absolutely indispensable to our own; that if France is overwhelmed we are done for; and that that is why we have to defend France. But France cannot be defended at all if bit by bit she is placed in a strategically indefensible position, and one by one indispensable allies are removed.

The greatest living English authority on strategy has written: "If you postpone a stand until the ground has been strategically undermined, you cannot fight." You can only surrender. Even great armament can be rendered quite useless. Czechoslovakia had an army more than twice the size of ours, had spent enormous sums on armaments, had modern and efficient equipment. But she had to surrender. And her surrender has added enormously to the power which threatens us. Another ally has been wiped out.

Well, it is argued, we could not possibly have helped Czechoslovakia for geographical reasons.

Those who say that have not realised one of the rudimentary principles of League action, which is that "peace is indivisible"; that to resist aggression anywhere is to resist it everywhere; that if you resist it where you can you help to resist it where you cannot. The place to have defended Czechoslovakia was in China and in Spain.

* * * * *

A strongly-resisting China would so preoccupy Japanese power as to release Russian forces in Europe to act as a counter-balance to German power and thus prompt a greater degree of German caution; a Spanish government able to face the German and Italian invader would improve France's position on the Pyrenees (to say nothing of the Rhine), and hers and ours in the Mediterranean.

If, instead of giving moral support to Japan in 1931, we had accepted the American proposal to do what we could to resist her, and had given economic aid to China and in other ways done what we might have done to make the way of the Japanese aggression hard, it is unlikely that

Mussolini would have challenged us in Africa; and if Mussolini had not had an easy success there, it is doubtful whether Hitler would have risked his Rhineland coup and all that has followed.

The Germans realise all this, if we do not. Dr. Goebbels in his last speech tells us that critics within Germany itself described the risks of the Czechoslovak adventure as too great.

In reply to those critics Dr. Goebbels says:—

It was more of a risk to go into the Rhineland, to leave the League, than now to go into Czechoslovakia. Then we were weak. This time we could already bank on the strength gained by rearming, by going into the Rhineland and by incorporating Austria.

* * * * *

If we are to rebuild the broken situation, to retrace our steps, what are the lessons that we should learn from experience?

We cannot face Germany without allies. But if others are to undertake to fight for us we must undertake to fight for them. But that may drag us into disputes that do not concern us, perhaps compel us to support an unjust cause. So we must have some guarantee of good political behaviour on the part of our allies. Membership of the League affords such a guarantee. Without it we should either be involved in quarrels in which justice was not on our side, or in the attempt to avoid that, fail to support allies indispensable to our own defence and so enable Germany to destroy in detail the combination by which alone effective resistance to her can be made. Only on the basis of League principles can we erect a combination which will at one and the same time meet aggression and yet so deal with the potential aggressor's grievances as to offer him some means of redress—so that aggression become unnecessary.

But that code is necessary for another reason. The nation is now being called upon to make sacrifices so that when the war comes we shall have victory.

And then after victory? We had victory before, remember, and it does not seem to have lasted very long, for we certainly cannot call ourselves "victors," top dogs, now. Nor can our victory be said to have brought us security or peace, because we are daily told by the Government that we are perilously insecure, and our peace is in deadly danger; in such danger that in order to save it we have to surrender, and surrender to the enemy that was so completely beaten such a few years since.

We must know for what we ask our youths to fight. Everywhere now goes up the cry for national unity. Yes, but unity for what? For alliance with Germany to permit the dismemberment of Russia, and with Japan to pick the carcass of China? Our youth will not die, nor will the nation go on arming for that.

Nor will they arm and die merely to repeat another victory as fruitless of good and as pregnant of evil as the victory of 1918 has proved to be. If we have to fight again twenty-four years after the last victory, how soon after the next shall we have to fight?

* * * * *

Let us, if you will, distinguish between the principles and the institution.

Perhaps the machinery of Geneva was defective; that it was a mistake to gather sixty nations when there was no nucleus of four or five powerful States who were agreed on the principle of standing together in the way described. But if now we sacrifice the principle we shall find that all that is best in England will tend more and more to become Pacifist and all that is most reactionary will try to make common cause, or bargains with the gangsters. Which will mean that in the end we shall be at their mercy.

HAPPY HEALTHY CHILDREN

By EDITH SUMMERSKILL,
mother, doctor of medicine and Member
of Parliament.

I HAVE often been complimented by my acquaintances on having two healthy, sturdy children.

It seems a matter of surprise to some people that a woman who has a profession and is a Member of Parliament can also have had sufficient leisure to rear two physically fine specimens of childhood.

I have little admiration for the woman who succeeds in some sphere outside her home if in the process she neglects her children. Not that maternal love plays a great part in producing healthy youngsters. There are other factors which, if lacking, cannot be substituted merely by a lavish display of affection.

Diet the First Essential

In my opinion an adequate and properly balanced diet is the very first essential if a child is to thrive. After that I place fresh air and sleep.

It has been proved by Dr. McGonigle that to rehouse a child from a slum does not make any vast improvement in its health if at the same time the family cannot budget for sufficient



are healthy and well nourished but often dirty and ill-clad. The mother, by some fortunate instinct, spends the greater part of her housekeeping money on food. On the other hand, there is the child of very respectable parents who struggle to keep up appearances, very often at the expense of their child's stomach.

Meals at School

Pressure is being brought to bear on our educational authorities to improve our elementary schools. It is urged that more modern schools are needed, staffs should be augmented, and the numbers in the classes reduced.

I believe that a child is not educable unless it is properly fed, and I would therefore introduce a scheme of school feeding as the first reform in our educational system.

It cannot be disputed that increased consumption of milk at school by our children has given the most beneficial results. Teachers themselves admit that, everything else being equal, the well-fed child is brighter and quicker at assimilating knowledge than his underfed companion.

Better Houses Needed

Do not let it be supposed that I

UNTIL NEXT MAY
WINTER SHELL

under-estimate the advantages to be gained from good housing. The Medical Officer of Health of a congested London borough always impresses upon me that the most important advance which can be made to-day in public health is the acceleration of our housing programme.

This doctor, who does his work in a most conscientious manner, finds himself frustrated. On the one hand he has thousands of people living under impossible conditions, whose health will gradually deteriorate unless they are quickly rehoused at moderate rents. And, on the other hand, a prohibitive price is asked for the only available land suitable for the purpose. £15,000 to £40,000 for an acre of land in a London suburb makes the supply of houses at a reasonable rent outside the means of a local authority.

In most of the new houses to-day the architect has shown imagination and foresight. But unfortunately there is still a type of house going up which, instead of being a suntrap and a joy to the housewife and family, proves to be a gloomy prison.

The builder and architect should, in the construction of a house, be guided by one important principle. And that is that the living-room should get the maximum amount of sunlight.

Sunshine and Fresh Air

It is a mistake to build a house with the parlour facing south when it is well known that the family will live in the room with a northern aspect, adjacent to the scullery, and that the parlour will be kept only for high days and holidays.

A sunny room is not only a healthy room, but it also has the effect of minimising troubles, and brings good cheer to the most luckless of families.

The effect of sunlight in promoting growth in children and giving them extra resistance to disease cannot be over-emphasised.

Although children's clothing, particularly little girls', is much more sensible to-day, there is still room for improvement.

Our sunny days are so few that it seems a great pity to see small boys in long woollen stockings, collars and ties, and caps, trudging to and from school. Their legs, necks, and arms, if possible, should be free to the sun and air.

The tradition in these matters is as hard to break down as the rest of the code which shackles the average school-boy.

In these days, national fitness is worshipped, and all members of the family, from father down to the youngest, are urged to do their physical jerks. I believe that in this desire for a

healthy body there is a very real danger that our children may suffer.

There is too much stress laid upon exercise, and not enough upon rest. The average child, except when he is sitting at his lessons, is exercising most of his muscles from the time he gets up in the morning until he reluctantly goes to bed.

Rest and Sleep

Children do not have sufficient rest and sleep. The pace at which life is lived to-day, and the endless distractions to which a child is subjected, call for a new conception of living.

It may sound sheer heresy to our daily-dozen devotees, but I am con-

vinced, as a doctor, and as a mother who surveys her own two children at very close range, that to teach the ordinary child to do physical exercises morning and evening is sheer stupidity. I go farther—I believe that it is against the best interests of the child.

One of the most distinguished dieticians in the country has announced that 50 per cent. of the population in Britain are undernourished. His analysis of the diet of many thousands of families revealed the fact that it was the more expensive foods—meat, eggs, milk and fish—which were lacking. It is these foods which are needed to replace wastage, and to promote growth.

Perhaps many a harassed parent on reading this will demand:

"Well, and how do you propose to make a child rest?"

In the first place, I believe that our child welfare clinics do not stress sufficiently the necessity of the morning rest for the toddler. If a child is



"THERE IS NO WEALTH BUT LIFE"



trained from birth to sleep in the morning there is very little difficulty in establishing that habit until four years of age.

The real trouble arises when school begins, and here I am a staunch advocate of early bed. This, I know, presents an insoluble problem in many households. Children who are forced to share a bedroom will play rather than sleep.

Exercise Warning

In spite of this valuable information, the small boys and girls up and down the country, who need their diets supplemented, are now subjected to new

Radio and Summer Time

The radio is also not an unmixed blessing. In a congested street it is possible for one loudspeaker to keep a dozen children awake.

The introduction of Summer Time, also, while conferring a boon on adults, is responsible for curtailing the sleeping hours of our child population.

In spite of these difficulties parents must be taught that rest is as essential to the proper functioning of the human machine as adequate fuelling.

DESPATCHES FROM THE CAPITALS

WHITHER GERMANY?

BERLIN, October.

WHITHER Germany? To that question I must answer "I don't know." Never in my long experience of the country have I found it more difficult to sum up events and the changes of opinion and sentiment, picking out the more permanent trends from the swirls and eddies of the hour.

Even Dr. Goebbels's Ministry of Propaganda seems to be at a loss and speaks with contradictory voices, although, of course, always with its habitual violence. Friendly and simple folk in Great Britain are impressed by the repeated insistence from Berlin that the licence of the Press in the Democratic countries must be curtailed. They do not know that the grossest abuse in word and picture of countries and statesmen who happen to be in disfavour with the Nazi régime is standing dish in German papers. "A noisy man is always in the right," wrote William Cowper; Dr. Goebbels never incurs any risk of going wrong through economy in noise. But during the past three weeks the uproar has not struck its usual note of self-confidence.

The fact is the German people have shown themselves more sensible and more independent than their present masters had thought them. In consequence, those masters are profoundly uneasy. Hitler's latest triumph, they argue, ought to have strengthened immensely Nazi rule. But has it? The virtual conquest of Czechoslovakia has not aroused popular enthusiasm. Heartfelt relief there has been at the avoidance of war. Mr. Neville Chamberlain has become a hero; expressions of gratitude to him are general and obviously sincere. And thanks are given him not on any calculation of power politics but because his efforts are believed to be inspired by a single motive, to save peace. In many parts of the country, amongst social classes, I have encountered the same feelings. The crisis induced millions of Germans to appear in their true colours as practical pacifists.

The peoples of the world want peace. No more than their neighbours will the Germans consent to be unconsidered units sacrificed "in the great State game whereof the pieces are men." It is all very well to preach to them the doctrine of "living dangerously"; they are not prepared to die hideously for a purpose which is none of theirs. Perhaps in the final account Munich will remain historic, not for what the statesmen did there, but for the mounting

tidal wave of public opinion which warned them that their power had limits.

I have confined myself to this one truth. It is the one ray of hope in a dark world. It is a steady ray, and I have reason to believe that it has been seen and noted and is being very seriously pondered by personages whose devotion to peace has hitherto been doubtful.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA AFTER MUNICH

PRAGUE, October.

ONLY five weeks ago there was in the centre of Europe a strong and democratically ruled Republic—well armed, resolute, loyal to the League of Nations, to the friendship of the Western Democracies, and to the ideals which all of us in this country hold dear. Its economic affairs were so happily organised that it possessed a sound currency, and no worse unemployment and similar troubles than many other countries. At its head was a capable and respected man. Although it had steadfastly opposed revision of frontiers for what seemed to it valid reasons, and had not yet managed to regulate perfectly the relations between the State and the minority populations—though these were among the best-treated minorities in Europe—even in this respect Czechoslovakia had shown herself ready for extremely far-reaching and even dangerous concessions.

To-day Czechoslovakia is a very different country. The arms and the fortifications, the resolution to defend her integrity at any cost, have been spirited away. The territorial losses to Germany and Poland have diminished her taxation revenue by 40 per cent., and her overhead expenditure has not yet been reduced to anything like the same extent. Enormous expenditure was necessarily incurred in the military preparations of this summer, culminating in the mobilisation in September.

In Prague in the early days of this month I found that leading people were already thinking out the measures of reconstruction needed to restore the economic position, the interrupted communications (entailing the building of new railways and roads to replace those cut by the new frontiers) and the industrial production of the country. Certain industries were evidently capable of being re-established in the interior of the country, their previous factories having been lost to Germany or Poland. However, at that stage fresh blows were still raining upon Czecho-

slovakia, as the full import of the Munich Agreement gradually became clearer through the successive decisions, territorial and otherwise, of the International Commission. Five days after Munich, the President was obliged to resign at the dictation of Germany. Purely Czech districts were being occupied for the sake of their industries or mines. The unjust criterion of the 1910 census figures had been adopted as the basis of the new frontiers. Now, with the frontiers in the eastern half of the Republic still unsettled, a determined effort at reconstruction is already being made, and will be carried through with the anticipated help of British and French loans. Already, men are being enlisted for labour camps, to carry out the road-making and railway construction that must be undertaken.

Certain luxuries of a democratic State have had to be abandoned, as the price of good relations with a great neighbour whose demands can no longer be resisted. The Communist Party has been suppressed; the Social Democratic Party and its Trade Unions have cut adrift from the Socialist and Trade Union Internationals, and are amalgamating their Union and gymnastic organisations with those of other parties. There is a Government composed of Right Wing politicians and soldiers. There is censorship and a certain hostility towards the Jews. The alliances with Russia and France have gone by the board. Czechoslovakia must be considered as willy-nilly in the German political orbit. It was thought wise to get the ex-President out of the country, lest worse befall. He will be an honoured guest in Great Britain and in the United States.

FRANCE MUST BE STRONG

PARIS, October.

NOW that France's system of interlocking alliances in Eastern Europe has broken down, Paris must inevitably reverse its diplomatic policy of the past twenty years and make direct approaches to Germany. However, before France can hope to treat with equanimity with Germany she must strengthen considerably her internal situation.

That is the task which M. Daladier is now attempting. At the moment he has not even strengthened his own Government, in spite of the fact that the Popular Front upon which it nominally relies for Parliamentary support has been disrupted. Nevertheless, dissolution of

Parliament would not help much, for it is not certain that the Radical Socialist Party, which M. Daladier leads, would gain many seats in an election. Accordingly, he is seeking to widen the basis of the Government by salvaging Socialist votes from the broken Popular Front and at the same time approaching more closely to the Centre and Right Wing groups.

There is much to be said for his plan. For the problem of financial and economic restoration is essentially a political one. Everything depends in the first instance, on obtaining the consent of the workers to a rapid increase of production. Without this, industrial efficiency will decline and national revenue diminish. Above all, rearmament will fall below the post-Munich standards of national security and put France dangerously behind in the arms race.

M. Daladier dare not alienate the workers and so drive the Socialists into the arms of the Communists. Equally he needs the confidence of the Right Wing, as representative of the employing and investing classes who are responsible for leadership in finance and industry. This explains the tentative nature of the Premier's change in the forty-hour week and also his promise not to interfere with capital by any imposition of exchange control or conversion of public loans.

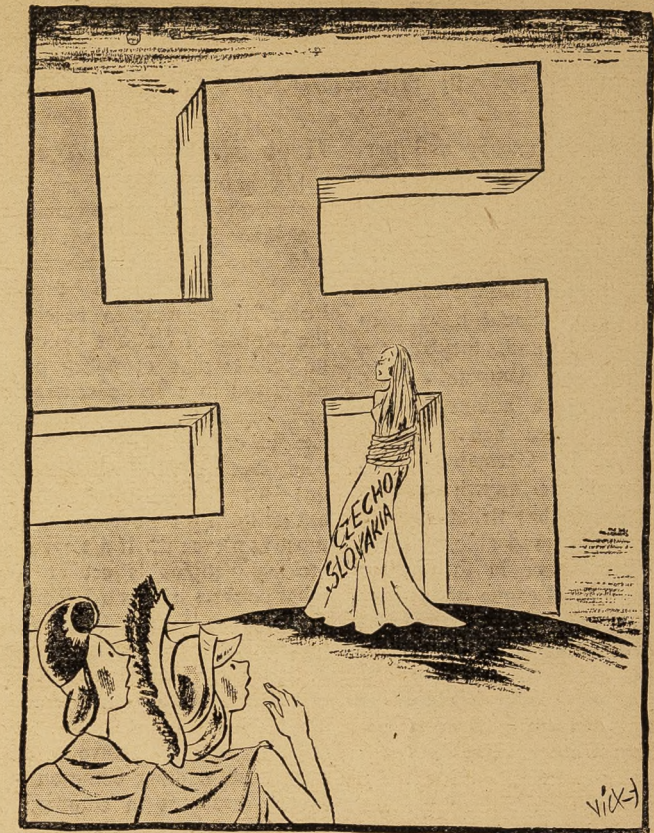
The inference rightly to be drawn is that a Coalition Government more representative of national interests should be formed. That is in fact the essential condition of a united effort in industry, trade and finance, which alone can give France the power to take part in building a happier world future. It is the hope of peace-loving Frenchmen that M. Daladier will not allow his extra-Parliamentary powers to lapse without laying the basis of such a development.

APATHETIC AUSTRIA

VIENNA, October.

SEVEN months of Nazi rule in Austria have not left a single stone unturned in the entire social and economic structure of the country. It is, however, difficult to pronounce a definite judgment on the factual results of this upheaval.

One of the first claims of Nazi leaders that unemployment would be abolished within a few years has been achieved much sooner. There are now hardly any able-bodied men and women in Austria unemployed. Whether or not this is an improvement on the former position must be judged in the light of a recent official pronouncement in Germany. There the new great drive for the "Winterhilfe" (winter relief fund) was initiated by Herr Hitler himself; it was announced that more than nine million Germans had profited by the "Winter-



"Nay, all of you that stand and look upon me. . . . Though some of you with Pilate wash your hands, Showing an outward pity; yet you Pilates Have here delivered me to my sour cross And water cannot wash away your sin."

(Richard II.)

hilfe" during 1937. In Germany, therefore, although unemployment hardly exists and there is in fact a serious shortage of labour, the standard of living is so low that at least every tenth German must be assisted from public funds. This applies to Austria in the first place. Unemployment has practically disappeared, but the standard of living has fallen rapidly and universally.

The political atmosphere is far from satisfactory from the point of view of the new rulers. A reorganisation of the concentration camps throws some light on the state of affairs. It has recently been announced that new and smaller camps are to be established. These camps will serve to keep prisoners of different creeds apart.

The new measure is the consequence of a unique development. When the Nazis seized Austrian members of the patriotic Fatherland Front (Schuschnigg supporters) were the first to be sent into camps. Monarchists and Jews soon followed in great numbers. A Nazi revolt, following signs of deep dissatisfaction among the earlier supporters of Herr Hitler in Austria, was quelled ruthlessly. In pursuit of drastic measures taken by Herr Buerkel, the Nazi commissioner for Austria, hundreds of Nazis were sent to the camps.

Then a policy of reconciliation towards the former Austrian Socialists failed with the return of a worker's expedition to Germany. They had been intended to see and judge for themselves in order that they might voluntarily attach themselves to National Socialism. Upon their return to Vienna these Austrian workers made such strong criticisms of what they had seen and witnessed that they had to be locked up. This was necessary to keep them from spreading their views. Publicity had been the original purpose of the expedition. With them to the camp went thousands of old members of the former Socialist Party. The policy of reconciliation was abandoned. Lately, trouble with the Catholic Church arose and priests and militant Roman Catholics joined the "prison population," thus completing a fair representation of the Austrian people.

The "free people" in Austria are those who have profited by the political change, the small army of new Party officials and members of the S.S. and S.A., in so far as they have not been demobilised. The rest—I have seen them—are listless, apathetic, wondering what new sacrifices will be demanded from them for the sake of Greater Germany's aggrandisement.

"IN TRUTH AND EARNESTNESS"

By THE RT. HON. WINSTON S. CHURCHILL, C.H., M.P.

OUR people are uneasy and perplexed. They rejoice that what seemed to be the danger of terrible war has been averted. Yet their rejoicing is shot through with doubt.

Some are sad and ashamed that the price of our peace should have been the dismemberment and, maybe, the servitude of the only democratic State of Central Europe, a country where racial minorities were better treated than they are in Germany, Italy, Poland, Hungary or anywhere else. Some are indignant that Britain should not have been ready and able to stand for freedom and peace in the service of ideals, which the League of Nations was founded to uphold and to fulfil. Some are fearful lest this failure be but the harbinger of worse to come in days when armed might, careless of right, may bid us choose between surrender and desperate resistance.

Has the League a Future?

Some, again (and these include scores of thousands of members of the League of Nations Union), are asking themselves whether the League has a future, whether its Covenant is not a dead letter, and whether the League of Nations Union itself can now have any sense or purpose.

To all these sections of our people in their perplexity I would speak, as I spoke by wireless on October 16 to the people of the United States, "in truth and earnestness while time remains."

This is not a moment to seek the barren satisfaction of saying: "I told you so." We must think more of what may be than of what might have been. It is to the future that I would direct the thoughts of my countrymen and countrywomen.

Outlook Dark and Threatening

The outlook is dark and threatening. As I said in the House of Commons on October 5: "We have sustained a total and unmitigated defeat." We may not yet realise this fully, for the nation to-day is still unaware of the whole truth. But other nations know it and are acting upon it. They know, too, that France has suffered even more than we have. With France we were believed to stand for free institutions, democratic government and the rule of law in the world. This belief is shattered. Many a weary day may pass before it can be restored.

Hope Six Months Ago

Six months ago there was hope, though the sands were running out. In the Free Trade Hall of Manchester I said, on May 9—at a meeting organised by the "Defence of Freedom and Peace" movement in association with the League of Nations Union—that our immediate plan of policy ought to be expressed in a single sentence: "Arm, and stand by the Covenant of the League of Nations." If the League has been mishandled and broken (I went on) we must rebuild it. "If the authority in the Covenant is derided, we must reinforce it. If a League of peace-seeking peoples is set at naught we must convert it into a League of armed peoples too faithful to molest others, too strong to be molested themselves." I said that France and England, the two Parliamentary democracies of the West, had come together openly and publicly in a defensive alliance; that they were making common cause and taking measures in common for their mutual safety and for the defence of the principles of freedom and free government for which they stood. And I asked whether this was more than a first and most important step towards collective security against unprovoked aggression upon themselves and others.

Collective Security

This collective security, I urged, could be organised with the help of Yugoslavia, Rumania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Greece, and Turkey, all of them States that wished to preserve their individualities and national independence. To the East of Europe lay the enormous power of Russia, a country whose form of government I disliked, and dislike, but which, at any rate, seeks no military aggression upon its neighbours. How improvidently foolish we should be, I argued, to put needless barriers in the way of the general association with the great Russian mass at a moment when dangers were so great.

Were the non-aggressive nations to league themselves and arm themselves against aggression—as they could have been led to do—I believed, and believe, that the war danger would have been removed from us, perhaps for our lifetime; and across the Atlantic the United States would have signalled their encouragement and sympathy.

This could have been done. It was not done. Instead we have now the Munich Agreement of Great Britain and France with aggressor nations that

put their faith in force and war. To-day, as I write, comes the news that Herr Hitler has told the Sudeten Germans of his triumphant addition of ten million people and 38,000 square miles of territory to the Third Reich without striking a blow, thanks to his armed strength and to his determination not to shrink from the use of force if he were resisted.

Leadership of Europe

Disaster has befallen not only ourselves, but Europe. We have presented the Central European Dictators with the unchallenged leadership of a Europe that might have been saved for freedom, a Europe that would have welcomed as an equal member of its family the great German people when they should have regained liberty of thought and speech, religious tolerance, respect for human right, and should have abjured the cult of war.

Let us turn this dark page and see what we may write upon another. Let us take counsel together while we remain free to do so. If the lights are going out all over Europe, as they have gone out in great regions of China, in Abyssinia and in Spain, let us, to whom freedom and Parliamentary government still mean something, earnestly think ourselves and speak our thoughts.

A Faith to Defend

Have we not a faith to defend, a proud heritage to safeguard? Need we bow the neck to any form of tyranny? Is our freedom merely freedom to choose the gallows on which the heroes of our free past shall be hanged in effigy, while the fruits of the triumph they won for human dignity, for the souls of men, for the sanctity of the human personality, are trampled upon by uniformed mobs at the dictate of some infallible "Leader"? Do Magna Charta, the Petition of Right, the Act of Habeas Corpus, the Statutes which enact religious and political toleration, mean nothing to us? Can we not produce, in defence of these achievements of free men, champions as bold, missionaries as eager, and, if need be, swords as sharp as any that totalitarian States are able to command?

I call for the union of all Britons in defence of our rights, our beliefs, our ideals. I would call a halt to the weak and short-sighted tactics of surrender to the threat of force. If I speak of disaster and of danger it is not because

I underrate the danger or overlook our unpreparedness, which, despite deceptive assurances, is now revealed. It is because I know the virtue of our people, because I know their steadfastness in face of peril, their readiness for self-discipline and self-sacrifice, their willingness to waive hard-won privileges when honour and duty call. It is because I know their utter devotion to peace and all that well-founded, well-defended peace would mean to mankind. But if the price of freedom be eternal vigilance, the watchful eyes of weak men and weak nations will descry naught save the approach of swift-footed woe. Let us make ourselves strong to stand firm for the faith that is in us and be ready and able to defend it, come what may.

Britain Welcomed the League

Who, if not the British peoples, gave the warmest welcome to the League ideal when President Wilson of the United States proclaimed it in the last year of the Great War? In what country, if not in England, did men and women first flock to the League of Nations Union in the hope of serving the purposes which the League Covenant proclaimed? If the League itself to-day be stricken, if the hopes it inspired be dashed, if the League of Nations Union seems to be fighting a losing fight, are these reasons why we should abandon those purposes, why we should revile the League which British and other Governments have failed—despite constant lip-service to it—rightly to use, why we should turn our backs on the League of Nations Union, which in this country has striven most whole-heartedly for peace and justice?

I say: No! I say it would be craven and mean to forswear the faith we have held. Without this faith I say that there can be no moral basis for British policy, no certainty that our people will feel they are serving a cause greater than themselves should dread decisions be forced upon them. Nay, more, I am sure that proof of our fidelity to the cause of freedom (without which there can be no true civilisation), to the cause of human right, would hearten the peoples that now wander in darkness and help them again to see in the distance a shaft of light.

Resistance to Tyranny

As we look back over the long story of the nations to see that their glory has been founded upon the spirit of resistance to tyranny and injustice, even and especially when these evils seemed to be backed by heavier force. We know that such progress as mankind has yet made has been towards freedom through the fulfilment of duty to others no less than to self. At the



Westminster, the nerve centre of the British World Commonwealth of Free Nations

heart of all dictators, no matter how mighty their arms, lies a gnawing canker of fear—fear of free words and free thoughts, fear of the workings of the human mind, fear of the light, fear of the truth.

It is not in the power of one dictatorship, or of two or three, to cramp and to fetter the forward march of human destiny. The preponderant world-forces are still on our side. If they be united they will be obeyed. Let us unite them by example—and, if need be, by fortitude in sacrifice. We must

arm. We must enjoin willing national service upon all our citizens. We must lead in a swift and resolute gathering of forces to confront aggression, military and moral.

Let Britain lead. Around her will rally in faithful and zealous comradeship, almost between night and morning, the English-speaking peoples and all others who love freedom and peace. Thus we might clear the path of progress and banish from our lives the fear that to-day darkens the sunlight to millions of men.

YOUTH AND NATIONAL SERVICE

MORAL BASIS FOR BRITISH POLICY

A report of a Conference of 700 delegates on policy and defence by GABRIEL CARRITT

IF you are concerned at the position with which we are faced it would have done you good to have been at a conference of youth organisations held in London, on October 15, which discussed Policy in relation to Defence and National Service.

The 700 young people there from England and Scotland were not dismayed or confused.

While Captain Liddell Hart, the famous military expert, addressed the opening session, there was an atmosphere of earnestness, and eagerness to know the true facts of the situation. When discussion followed there was evidence of hard thinking, adherence to conscience, and devotion to freedom such as some of our rulers would do well to appreciate.

The average age of those 700 was about twenty-four; they spoke with the characteristic vocabulary and manner of their callings, young teachers, clerks, machinists, engineers, business men, and shop-assistants. Anyone who dropped into that meeting must have been amazed to hear the overwhelming majority of speakers of different political convictions speak on the questions of foreign policy and defence as if with one voice.

They spoke, not with expert knowledge, nor in diplomatic phrases and persuasive arguments, but with a language of conviction and with intense sincerity to serve a cause in which they have been brought up to believe.

It was this that enabled them to speak without hesitancy or confusion on issues

which have paralysed the will and courage of many. Speaker after speaker presented the issues facing young men and women of military age. Each recognised an emergency situation, which is the fault of a policy pursued over the course of seven years. What has brought it about? What policy will avert catastrophe? What service can youth give now to secure peace and freedom? These are the questions the speakers asked and endeavoured to answer. Captain Liddell Hart gave a lead when he said:—

The keynote of your movement should be, co-operation with anything that fosters freedom; non-co-operation with anything that fetters it.

It is spiritual folly to go totalitarian in an effort to stand against totalitarianism, therefore it is important to devise a test of sincerity and belief in freedom.

There is room to-day for a "New Model" of modern "Ironsides"—men who make some conscience of what they do.

He suggested that the Youth movement, in order to give authority to its demand for a policy, and reality to its offer of service, should organise units, large or small, composed of its members, in offices, workshops, universities, and youth organisations, who should agree to serve in various kinds of voluntary organisations on fulfilment of certain conditions.

The spokesmen of the Youth organisations made it clear that those condi-

tions are of vital importance. While their members do not wish to be put in a position of refusing anything which could provide effective defence of the civilian population, they do emphatically refuse to reinforce a foreign policy leading to disaster. Only a tiny minority advocated that they boycott all forms of voluntary organisation and become negative citizens. Most politically active young people appear to stand by the words of one of them, who said:—

We do not support a policy which has dismembered Czechoslovakia and associates our country's policy with that of Fascist aggressors. We cannot give national service to reinforce this course. If the Government now requires our service to stand up to Hitler and Mussolini, we must ask, "Why have you pursued and do you pursue a policy which strengthens Hitler and Mussolini and weakens the nations which are our friends—a policy which has led and will lead to defeat for our people?"

Democrats of all parties must be glad and hopeful that the younger generation has digested and made a part of itself the essence of democracy. They must support the conviction of youth which accepts responsibilities towards democracy and freedom and rejects completely the theory that youth must give unquestioning obedience to the State and its leaders.

In their different ways and according to their posts in life, they have found expression for their sense of responsi-

bility. Some of the girls are A.R.P. wardens, many of the young men and women have volunteered to take charge of A.R.P. on their floors in the office or the works, some have joined the Territorials.

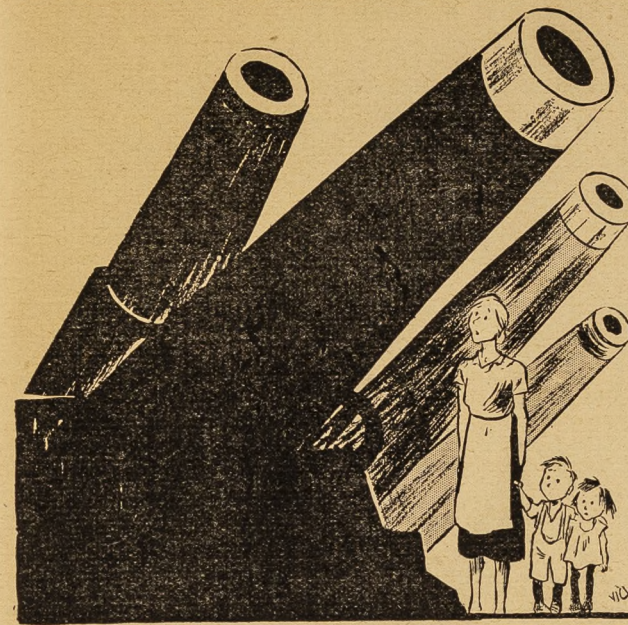
One young engineer at the conference expressed the opinion that he and his fellows would produce with a will for a policy which gave them confidence, and which gave the Democrats of Spain the means to resist aggression.

The Youth movement does not vote for or against National Service as a thing good or bad in itself. It judges it according to the foreign policy of the Government for which that service is required. There are circumstances when the correct foreign policy demands voluntary national service and possibly compulsory service; but this is only when and if the right policy is pursued and if democracy is maintained and extended in all its forms and in the armed forces.

In such circumstances, compulsory organisation can even become a demand, if the people and particularly if youth understand the situation; for under these conditions compulsion comes from within. It is self-discipline.

Therefore only the right foreign policy can bring about national unity, with all its amazing political psychological consequences, which result from letting loose the untapped resources of initiative and enthusiasm latent in the mass of ordinary people.

A QUESTION THE WORLD MUST ANSWER



GUNS OR BUTTER?

So we who sat as onlookers were pleased, and it was clear that our gratification was shared by the two officials of that office in Victoria Street, which is Geneva's modest outpost in London.

Mr. Ernest Brown's final words brought back our attention. He reminded us that there was an agenda before the meeting and that, unlike some agendas, it was not a programme of fine speeches but a plan of work. That was profoundly true, and if any spectators came to Burlington House expecting reverberating oratory or dramatic decisions they must have gone away disappointed. To follow a Governing Body meeting is like following the machinery of an excellent automobile—that is, assuming the bonnet were opened when the car is in motion. Any startling behaviour on the part of the engine would be a cause for concern rather than satisfaction.

Towards Social Justice

The items on the agenda of the Governing Body meeting are merely part of the routine work of a supervisory committee which watches over the work of the office, determines the agenda of the annual conference, appoints expert committees of investigation and hears reports of committees previously set up. Scanning the agenda and listening to the discussion on whatever item has been reached at any particular moment, one can, however, envisage the course that the I.L.O. is pursuing and guess at some coming milestones in the journey towards social justice.

There is, for instance, the report received by the Governing Body from its Committee of Experts on Silicosis. The I.L.O.'s interest in the subject is a powerful stimulus to this fight against dust in which doctors, employers and workers themselves are looking for new weapons and fresh manœuvres. There is also the report of the Committee of Holiday Experts (its official title is the Committee on Recreation). This is in logical sequence to the recent Convention on Holidays with Pay. Millions of workers are now beginning to receive a week's holiday a year, and in consequence millions of families are joining the already considerable exodus into the country and to the seaside in the holiday season. Some consequent disorganisation of transport is threatened and accommodation might well

become too crowded. Moreover, these new holiday-makers are all poor people. Something must be done, not to arrange their holidays for them, but to see that cheap, easy and pleasurable opportunities are there for them to take.

The Most Burning Question

And then there are two items on the agenda which touch the most burning question for all working people and the most cruel of all injustices thrown up by our complicated industrial system—unemployment. The Governing Body is discussing "the question of discrimination against elderly workers." In other words, it examines the condition of those over forty-fives who once out of work find all doors of employment shut in their faces. There is not, alas! perhaps a great deal that can be done here, but in receiving the Report of the International Public Works Committee the Governing Body puts its hand to something that can combat unemployment even while economic disorder follows in the wake of the present fanatical drive for national self-sufficiency. The I.L.O. has been collecting from its member-States information about their public works enterprises and stimulating the movement to absorb the unemployed in constructive work for public and local authorities.

But everything the I.L.O. does costs money. Not only do meetings cost money, but collecting and publishing information and distributing it in various tongues also costs money. Before the first day's meeting was over Mr. Butler was on his feet pointing out that the stringent economy imposed on the office strictly limited the extent of its useful activity. This is an old story reminding us how Albert Thomas, the first Director, fought for his budget before the Financial Committee of the League and how the I.L.O.'s success has been in spite of its own continual poverty and financial worry.

THE GOVERNING BODY COMES TO LONDON

By KATHLEEN GIBBERD, author of "The I.L.O.: The Unregarded Revolution."

Burlington House, October 25th

THE Governing Body of the I.L.O., which meets four times a year, has developed a pleasant custom of holding its autumnal meeting away from Geneva. A year ago it met in Prague at the invitation of Dr. Benes; this year it has met in London at the invitation of the British Government. The nature of the reception arranged for the group of government representatives, employers and workers and for the Geneva officials who accompanied them shows that the usefulness and success of the Organisation are sufficient even to disturb the scepticism and reticence of our national leaders. No honour has been omitted. The King and Queen have received the delegates; the Ministry of Labour has given a party; the Lord Mayor has arranged a banquet. Even *The Times* has played a triumphal march for social justice. And since we are apt to cherish a superstitious belief (quite unjustified) that our fickle weather never betrays us on great occasions, let it not be forgotten that a November fog of the first order antedated itself by a few days, so that our guests from sunnier

lands might view the British capital in its famous condition of daytime invisibility and torch-lit dusk.

All this has pleased us, but while Mr. Ernest Brown was declaiming his welcome at the opening meeting, some of us in the seats reserved for public and Press found an additional pleasure—and that was to see in Burlington House old friends and familiar figures whom we had come to know in our former pilgrimages to Geneva. Not only did we enjoy seeing well-known and well-tryed delegates like M. Berg (who succeeded Mr. Leggett in the chair), M. Justin Godert, M. Jouhau, M. Oersted and M. Mertens, but there were also our friends from the Office. There were the same interpreters, the same efficient and amiable secretaries, the same energetic Distribution official, who has the reputation of never supplying a wrong document. And leading them all, of course, were Mr. Harold Butler, ever ready with helpful intervention; Mr. Phelan, who plotted and planned an I.L.O. with Mr. Butler in the autumn of twenty years ago; and Mr. Winant, who has turned his back on the opportunities that were awaiting him in the United States in order to receive Elijah's cloak from Mr. Butler on January 1, 1939.

THE REFUGEE SPEAKS

By WILLI FRISCHAUER

Who was a distinguished Vienna journalist and is now an exile because he championed the cause of Austrian independence.

AMONG the many voices that have been raised on behalf of the refugee, his own has not yet been heard. This is not surprising. For in his own country the refugee is even less able to speak his mind than the ordinary citizen. And when he escapes to a haven of refuge in a foreign country the catastrophic change unfits him to propound a policy on behalf of his fellow-sufferers. His mind is darkened with the memory of the day when he was suddenly declared an outcast among his own countrymen.

Day and night, for weeks past, he has concentrated all his efforts on getting out. To get out—that is all he has heard from his new rulers. To leave his home, to leave the business he has built up, to leave the shop he has inherited from his father or perhaps the clinic where he has treated many of his new tormentors—to leave these is now his highest hope. It is the *better* alternative to leave the country where he was born and which he loves no less dearly than those who tell him that he can no longer stay there. It takes a long time to readjust the mind after such an experience.

The first few weeks are devoted to a frantic attempt to rearrange the day-to-day details of living. Slowly he awakens to the new life which now lies before him in the country to which he has fled because there was no room for him in his own.

No Room For Him

No room for him . . . there seems to be no room for him anywhere. I do not wish to minimise the magnificent work done by many individuals in many countries, nor the success which has met their efforts to make for refugees a new home, a new life, and a new hope.

In almost every country the public spirit towards refugees has been marvellous and has inspired me with the conviction that the world is not so bad as it sometimes seems. Indeed, if the feelings of individuals about refugees could be translated into action there would be little difficulty in solving the problem.

It is only when the refugee question is tackled as a national or as an international problem that difficulties arise. For even democratic governments seem to become infected by the exaggerated



spirit of nationalism which emanates from the Fascist countries. This is the only explanation one can offer of the scene that was witnessed at Evian when representative after representative rose to his feet to inform the refugees that his own country would be unable to offer them hospitality.

My experience on behalf of refugees has brought me into contact with a great number of minor, and with an even greater number of important officials. Not one of them was able to or wished to withstand the arguments contained in the utter despair of every single case. It was only the official policy of the country concerned that made it impossible for them to intervene. My argument has been proved conclusively and most recently by the case of the Sudeten refugees. To an appeal on their behalf there was an immediate and generous response from the public.

Is it impossible to solve the problem nationally in the same spirit in which it presents itself to the individual members of the public?

The magnitude of the problem is the greatest obstacle. But it is this very magnitude which presents threatening possibilities—and not only for the refugees themselves. In its present dimensions the refugee problem constitutes a social and economic problem which will in the long run affect everybody. It is not too much to say that it will touch the foundations on which civilisation is based.

Three hundred years ago England had to face the problem of a large vagrant population. And to-day there are few democratic countries which do not recognise the danger of leaving the unemployed without help.

Is Slavery Dead?

How can success reward any endeavour to raise the standard of life when every day a new multitude of fellowmen is made destitute? Has slavery really been abolished when thousands of people are forced to perform slave labour—unpaid labour without any freedom—in concentration camps? We do not think of Europe as having quantities of nomad

tribes, yet hundreds of thousands are on the move to-day in search of food. What remains of the work of those great liberators who inspired humble men and women with confidence in their own worthiness—when a new race of pariahs is being created? More than a million Europeans are being forced to-day to live under conditions which we proudly proclaimed were gone for ever.

Let no one bemuse himself with the idea that he need not worry over these problems because they only occur in foreign countries. The history of the past few years should have made it clear to everyone that no country is immune from the ideological and economic forces at work in other countries. The low standard of living of the Japanese worker directly affects the Lancashire mill owner and textile worker. That is on the material side. On the spiritual side, ideas have no frontiers.

Yes—the existence of the refugee problem will affect every country, every man, woman and child in every country, if it is not solved.

I have often heard it said that there is no solution. Objections have been raised to every proposal. A recent suggestion that an international body should try to extract concessions from Germany for the refugees has been greeted with cynical smiles. Justly so. People who make such suggestions do not understand the reasons behind the creation of refugees, reasons which are predatory. The whole racial theory, for instance, is merely an attempt at a moral justification of the plain robbery of one group of people for the benefit of another group.

Open the Colonies

I have a different suggestion to offer. Herr Hitler has stated on many occasions that he must have colonies for two reasons: first, because he needs raw materials; and secondly, because he wants room for her surplus population. But recently he has boasted that Germany has built up an economic régime which makes her independent of the sources of raw materials. Herr Funk stated on his return to Germany from a tour of the Balkans, that the trade agreements he had concluded will supply Germany with all the reciprocal markets she needs.

So the claim for colonies can now rest only on the need for finding a place to absorb surplus population. Would it not relieve Herr Hitler of a large part of his population, precisely that part which he is anxious to lose, if all the Jews, and all those in opposition to the Nazi régime, could be removed from German territory?

It is recognised that negotiations over the question of colonies cannot be delayed much longer. Instead of transferring colonies to Germany, let them be opened to the refugees. It may be said that the colonies do not want the refugees. If their alternative is to come under German rule and become a territory for exploitation by Nazism, the objection to accepting refugees will perhaps not persist.

Task for Britain

This is a proposal which will have to be dealt with primarily by Britain, a country that has always been distinguished by idealism and a hard-headed grasp of practical advantage.

The people of Britain want to help the refugees. The tradition of helping the weak against the strong, the spirit that sent Byron to fight with the Greeks, the spirit that freed the slaves, the love of liberty that helped Garibaldi—this same spirit lives to-day in



British men and women. I have no doubt that most of them wish this small island could accommodate the refugees. That is impossible. But there is room overseas. Could not British shrewdness join with British idealism to accept this solution of the refugee problem? Because, as I have said before: there is a grave danger in leaving this refugee problem unsolved.

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.

L.N.U. POINTS THE WAY TO WORLD ORDER

IN a world situation of extreme gravity the League of Nations Union has felt obliged to think out its problems afresh. Where does it stand? What does it mean to do? What policy does it propose? The Executive committee has made a thorough but rapid survey of the whole field, and has drawn up a statement which is now being communicated to the Union branches.

The occupation by Germany of the Sudetenland, the break-up of Czechoslovakia, with all that it involves, and the methods by which these results have been brought about, following so closely on the events in the Far East, Abyssinia, Spain and Austria, have aroused world-wide resentment and indignation, and have demonstrated the absolute necessity of an international authority capable of preventing such lawless disturbances of the peace.

Save the Covenant

The League of Nations Union believes that there is no other effective measure of prevention than insistence upon the principles which underlie the Covenant of the League, e.g.:

1. That aggression is an international crime, and it is the duty of all civilised nations to do their best to prevent or stop it.
2. That any war or threat of war is a matter of concern to all.
3. That all disputes between nations should be submitted by them to some form of third-party judgment.
4. That effective machinery should be provided for the ventilation of grievances and the removal of injustices, so that all conditions likely to impair the good understanding between nations should be remedied before they become acute and result in war.
5. That it is an essential part of any scheme of world appeasement that there should be a limitation of national armaments by international agreement.

These principles have been abandoned by some governments and neglected by others, with the result that there is now a risk of the collapse of the League system. Therefore the first need of the time is to reconstruct the shattered front of the League of Nations.

It was, indeed, partly the failure to deal with the Sudeten question by the League method and to deal with it in time which gave the pretext for the attack on Czechoslovakia by Germany.

There are several other territorial arrangements in Europe and elsewhere, including the Colonial problem, which

need careful examination if future disturbances are to be avoided.

Moreover, the economic situation of most if not all countries is such as to breed dangerous discontent. Excessive tariffs and other commercial hindrances add to these difficulties.

Conditions of a Conference

We believe that all political and economic conditions likely to lead to war should be submitted in time to the procedure of international conference for searching examination and remedy by agreement.

Any such conference should conform to the following principles:—

1. It must include all the parties affected by the dispute or its settlement.
2. It must be held under such conditions as to secure the procedure of the League of Nations and the services of its trained secretariat, where alone can be found the necessary experience and impartial outlook.

The co-operation of non-League Powers, especially of the United States, should be invited and their initiative welcomed.

If we are to avoid in the future hurried decisions arrived at by one or two negotiators under the immediate threat of war; if we are to avoid further the risk of acquiescence in the claim that four Powers should settle the destinies of other countries, it is essential that the principles embodied in the Covenant should be upheld.

Prosperity depends on confidence; confidence depends on security; and security depends on organised co-operation for peace between the civilised nations and their mutual protection against aggression.

We believe that the proposals here made might give a new hope for civilisation, and thus the sacrifices of Czechoslovakia might not have been made in vain.

Youth is not Pacifist

A most interesting footnote to the Executive Committee's statement is the report on a conference of young men and women held in London in mid-October. Between 700 and 800 representatives of seven youth organisations attended

from all parts of the country. Amongst the seven were the L.N.U. Youth Movement and the British Universities League of Nations Society. The L.N.U. is not in any way responsible for or committed by either the decisions taken at the conference or the report. The report is in the form of a simple explicit of the Youth Movement's attitude towards national service. It is as follows:—

What Is It For?

National service of a voluntary or compulsory nature is not in itself a good or bad thing. That depends on the foreign and domestic policy for which service is required. A foreign and domestic policy which defends peace and provides security and welfare for the people will have the understanding and confidence of the people. Such a policy will bring about national unity. People will support voluntary—and in certain circumstances, compulsory—national service, provided such a policy is accompanied by the democratisation of all forms of service and of the armed forces.

THE RIGHT TO DECIDE.

We in the youth movement reject completely the theory that youth must give unquestioning obedience to the State and leaders. We recognise we have special responsibilities as young people and we wish to fulfil them.

WE ASK ALL YOUNG PEOPLE

1. Are you prepared to support any form of national service to reinforce the foreign policy at present pursued?
2. If we are convinced that the policy is wrong, what is the duty of our organisations, whose members want to serve people and do not want to be negative citizens?

THIS IS OUR ANSWER.

We will co-operate with any measure that fosters freedom and oppose any that fetters it. We do not support the

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.

Hospital Workers Know What War Means.
Twenty Thousand Mental Hospital Nurses
Welcome "Headway."

Let Us Organise to Prevent War.

Government's policy, which dismembered Czechoslovakia and associates our country's policy with that of fascist aggressors. We cannot support national service which would reinforce this foreign policy. If the Government now advocates national service in order to stand up to Hitler and Mussolini we answer: "Why have you and do you pursue a policy which will strengthen Hitler and Mussolini and weaken the nations which are our friends—a policy which has already led to 'a total and unmitigated defeat for us'?"

COMPULSION OR VOLUNTARY SERVICE.

The Government is introducing a register for national service as a first step to compulsory service, because the Government's policy does not receive the

backing of the nation. This backing is refused by the Labour and Liberal Parties, the trade unions and the whole of the peace and progressive movement. Youth cannot blindly fall into line without becoming the dupes of a policy leading to disaster.

WHAT CAN WE DO?

We believe that the attitude of the youth movement should be declared.

1. The right foreign policy is the best defence of the people. We have outlined the policy for which we would willingly serve.
2. Defence of the people requires a united nation, an extension of democracy, a strong and healthy youth. Real defence, therefore, also means

the right domestic policy in relation to working and living conditions.

3. We are prepared to give our service to make A.R.P. the best possible defence and to participate and take the initiative in all forms of democratically organised measures to protect the people.

4. We are not pacifists. We are ready to do everything that is necessary to make Britain strong in defence of international law. This will never be accomplished while a policy is pursued which sacrifices and demoralises our allies and fetters our liberty. Whatever is necessary to arouse and inspire the youth of this country can be carried out through the machinery of the free youth movement. We are prepared to play our part.

WHY NOT BROADCAST THE TRUTH?

By A RADIO EXPERT

TO-DAY as never before the British public understands the immense dangers implicit in a government control of the sources of information.

During these recent anxious weeks, when a European war seemed inevitable, thousands of people asked "why cannot the Germans be told?" Eagerly clutching at hope, they believed that if Germany had known the truth about the Sudeten question and the fact that we intended to use the collective system against an aggressor, then public opinion would have prevented war.

B.B.C. Hesitated

"Why don't we broadcast the truth in German?" The question was on everyone's lips.

There were several reasons why we did not. Until, in the last emergency, we issued a German translation of Mr. Chamberlain's speech on that critical Tuesday night, the B.B.C. had remained indifferent to diplomatic purposes and—in the name of democratic principles—had refused to submit to propaganda uses. Further, any statement (explicitly critical of the Nazi régime) issued by Great Britain would have been treated with prejudice and suspicion in Germany.

There is urgent need for an International Radio Commission, a broadcasting League of Nations, transmitting vital information from neutral territory and pledged to disseminate impartial and objective truth, endorsed as such by all the member States.

Membership would be extended to every leading Power in the world, regardless of its past attitude to an ideal which the new effort would seek to revive. Nazi Germany, whose Leader (in *Mein Kampf*) enjoins his people "not to seek out objective truth in so far as it may be favourable to others, but uninterruptedly to serve one's own truth" might decline to co-operate in such a scheme. But States which stood out would be condemned by their own action.

Every Nation Invited

Before the transmission of each news bulletin listeners would be reminded that every nation had been invited, on a basis of equality, to assist in this free and uncompromising quest for truth. The names of the member States would then be read out . . .

News would be broadcast every evening in English, French, German, Russian and Italian—and, at any given time in supplementary languages, for the benefit of nations whose interests were specially affected. At present, for example, Arabic and Czech would be added to the other languages. The bulletin would conclude with the names of the signatory Powers and their respective delegates whose endorsement has sanctioned its translation . . .

Difficulties in the Way

It is useless to deny the numerous difficulties which stand in the way of success. The most inaccessible public are the people of the dictator States, for whom these broadcasts would be most informative. Penalties might at first be imposed on those with sufficient courage to tune into "Radio Truth." Rationally minded people, however, who cherish an instinctive desire for the simple and unadulterated truth, would risk the penalties. If courage is lacking, truth is doomed. "Radio Truth" would in time become a world influence so powerful that, whatever attempts were made to persecute listeners, the truth, which is "the foundation, the superstructure and the glittering dome of progress," must in the end prevail.

When will the International Broadcasting Union at Geneva begin to consider this new and predominantly urgent need?

"WHO STEALS AN OLD MAN'S SUPPER DOES HIM NO HARM"

Thus a Spanish proverb and partly true, of course. It is recognised that all—old and young alike—enjoy better health and more refreshing sleep if heavy supper is replaced by a light and nourishing meal. BARLOVA, the modern health food-drink, meets that need to perfection. Taken as a supper dish it soothes and rests body and brain. It induces sound, healthful sleep; it nourishes and restores. BARLOVA is obtainable in two forms: BARLOVA Blue Label (Chocolate flavour) made from finest malt, full-cream milk, new-laid eggs and slight addition of chocolate. BARLOVA Red Label (malted milk—plain flavour) made from finest malt and full-cream milk. In neither form is BARLOVA cloying.

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BOOKS THAT ARE WORTH READING

By ROGER FORTUNE

IN this our time of confusion we are made even more unhappy by a babble of conflicting tongues and by a splutter of contradictory pens. Books on all the subjects of the hour tumble hourly from the press. They are topical, sensational. They make shattering revelations, they predict inevitable disasters, they formulate the only policies which can bring salvation. They are printed, read, and forgotten within a month. And they deserve no better fate, for, able as are many of their authors, their information is incomplete, partial, dubious, even misleading. Lacking power, they afford no illumination. They help their readers as little towards any real understanding of the problems with which they purport to deal as do the "scandalous revelations" which are the stock-in-trade of one kind of journalism.

Yet books are amongst the best hopes of the world. If a lasting order emerges out of the present turmoil, it will be because there has come into existence between nations and individuals that knowledge of one another and mutual sympathy which books are specially able to evoke. The true peace books are not those which draw out some peace design, either grand or trivial, but those others, fortunately still to be found in the lists of every publishing season, whose effect it is to make a reader understand better his own country and his own countrymen and the men of other countries and the countries in which they live.

THROUGH FRENCH WINDOWS.
By David Horner. (Macmillan. 8s. 6d.)

Last month I called attention to "Vienna," a felicitous interpretation of a great city, by Edward Crankshaw. This month David Horner's "Through French Windows" is a welcome recruit to the same series of guide-books on a new plan. Mr. Horner does not tell you where to go or what to see. You will get from him no advice on what to buy or where to buy it, and no estimate of your probable budget. But reading him will assuredly make your French holiday much more worth while. Mr. Horner knows France and the French and likes them, and he puts his readers in the way of knowing and liking them also. France for him is not only Paris; it is the whole country, a country whose notes are the many in the one and the one in the many. The chalk downs of the North-East, with their wind gaps and their grass and their sneep, and the sand dunes of the South-West, with their creeks and their

pinnes and their goats, are very different, and both beyond contradiction entirely French. The French people also are obstinately provincial and obstinately national. Neither La Fontaine from Champagne nor Rostand from Gascony could have belonged to another province or another country. "My village before your village, my province before your province, France before all" expresses something central and prominent in the French character.

French culture carries the stamp of the country and the people. It is uncompromising and yet accommodates the most stubborn individualism surviving in the modern world. It pervades every aspect of life, and yet has a sharp edge which forms a frontier difficult to cross. If France were ever to go Fascist, her dictator would have to be much more civilised than either Hitler or Mussolini. He would have to be modelled on Julius Cæsar, not on Al Capone. These things are reasons why onlookers who lack the critical mind, who are not quick to note the twist and caress of individuality in the details of daily life, who are tricked and intimidated by marching millions and standardised cheers, by meticulous obedience to fantastically national commands, always undervalue France; they are reasons why France must be preserved unweakened. On France depends the chance of all of us of a future tolerable, liberal, humane.

Mr. Horner recounts his chances in Burgundy and in the Rhone Valley with a lively pen. He is both sympathetic and detached. He erects no idols and he throws no stones. He likes the French and often he smiles at them. His book is a guarantee that a reader's next visit to France shall stimulate a healthful activity of mind.

LAUGHING DIPLOMAT. By Daniele Vare. (John Murray. 16s.)

Signor Vare, the son of one of the liberators of Italy, a distinguished servant of Italian foreign policy, in a very different manner, by very different paths, arrives at the same goal as Mr. Homer. He arouses in British readers an affection for a foreign people and a foreign country. Despite recent political developments, his task is not really difficult. Italy is too lovely, the Italians

are too agreeable, Italian services to humanity have been too many and too vital for his appeal to fall on deaf ears. But that does not detract from his skill and charm.

The Italians are kindly, intelligent, thrifty. The conquest and domination of their neighbours is not an ambition which occurs naturally to them. They are realists, humanists. Their brains do not harbour the cloudy mysticism of the North. Sunshine, friends, a modest superfluity of the material goods of life are what they ask. Horace has a phrase, "Italian vinegar," which is not out of date to-day. The genuine admiration of multitudes of Italians for Mussolini is flavoured with an astringent irony, is restrained by a mocking suspension of complete belief, which is a warning against totalitarian crusades. Hitler is a gambler of genius; Mussolini only plays poker when he has had a peep at all the hands.

Signor Vare is a supporter of Mussolini. What is more, he likes the man for himself. In passing, he makes an interesting case for Fascism as a genuinely Italian method of meeting an Italian crisis. He is so plainly a truthful witness that it is difficult to refuse him credence when he describes the inertia and decay into which Italian government fell in the years after the war. The Communist danger was not serious. Authority, however, had disappeared. The rulers would not rule. They were stricken with a paralysis of the will. The King's Government did not carry on. Mussolini changed all that; he was not afraid of responsibility; he gave orders and insisted on their being obeyed; the wheels of public business began to revolve again. Coming from a man who is not a Fascist partizan, such evidence deserves a hearing.

Equally interesting is Signor Vare's case for professional diplomacy. It is made lightly, but, nevertheless, cogently. His clouds of anecdotes, most of them satirical in the fine Italian fashion, do not conceal a deep respect for his colleagues and a high value set upon their work. They worked hard to eliminate causes of friction. When quarrels sprang up they did their best to compose them. They were neither

very wise nor very powerful. Signor Vare does not say they were. He does say they were not mischief-makers.

Signor Vare served in Vienna, in Rome, twice in China, in Geneva, in Luxemburg, in Iceland. About scores of his famous contemporaries he tells lively stories. He thinks, on the whole, the world has changed for the worse. And who shall contradict him? He has a good word for President Wilson, and he approves of the principles of the League of Nations. But comparing them with their predecessors, he complains that delegates to Geneva used better professions to cover over worse practices. Peace depends on satisfaction being given to the vital needs of the peoples of the world. Policies which fail to give that satisfaction are words, words, words.

WORLD ECONOMIC SURVEY.
1937-1938. (League of Nations. 6s.)

Once more the League of Nations presents us its survey of economic conditions all over the world.

This is an invaluable book of reference for the general reader as well as a textbook for economists. Here is no mass of indigestible statistics, but answers in the clearest and simplest language possible, without a sacrifice of accuracy, to just the kind of questions on the present economic situation which business men, students, and social workers are driven to ask. They are illustrated by many fascinating diagrams which portray in their own vivid terms the ever-shifting scene.

The main theme running through the volume is the latest recession in economic activity which began in the United States in the middle of last year. Its manifold effects are traced in chapters on wages, production, prices, money, etc. The chapter on wages and employment may be singled out as among the most interesting. There is a striking argument on the effect of wages on costs and unemployment, but no reference to variations in wages per unit of output, surely the only form in which they enter into costs. The diagram (p. 97) showing the gold reserves of different countries will startle many readers, for it reveals a fantastic accumulation of the precious metal in the vaults of the United States. In the event of another war, the world might as well carry its entire supply of gold to New York at once and make a fresh start, for the "Monopoly Game" will then be played to a conclusion by the Americans who introduced it.

The last chapter points the contrast between the situation to-day and the situation at the onset of the last depression in 1930. The differences are so great that it would be childish to base any prophecies on what occurred seven years ago. All countries feel much freer now to adopt policies of State-inspired economic expansion to combat the depression that they did then. The Survey points out the importance of international co-ordination in planning and timing.

Letters to the Editor

"HEADWAY" READERS OFFER THEIR COMPLIMENTS AND CRITICISMS

Vital, Indispensable

Sir,—I am glad to have discovered HEADWAY lying enigmatically on the counter of a local newsagent. The present number has many fine contributions. That from the pen of Mr. Harold Nicolson is as noble a piece of English as I have read, ranking, among "crisis" literature, with Mr. Tawney's letter in the *Guardian*, Kingsley Martin's in the *News Chronicle*, and Lord Hugh Cecil's in the *Telegraph*. HEADWAY is vital, indispensable. May it make unlimited headway!

GEORGE RICHARDS.

Regent's Park, N.W.1

Our Sorrow Too

Sir,—May I congratulate HEADWAY on its principles of freedom, peace and reason amongst European Powers? In the present crisis I feel we may well accept the Czechs' sorrow. To dictators and aggressors let me say, with disgust, these words:

What shall it profit a man to gain the whole world and lose his own soul?

He brought nothing into this world, and will take nothing out.
Southampton. E. W. DIXON.

The Hordes of Stalin in Piccadilly

Sirs,—I do not wish to have anything more to do with the L.N.U., and so ask you to discontinue sending me the paper HEADWAY. The League of Nations in twenty years has failed to do what four men achieved in one night at Munich—the application of the principle of self-determination, and thus of the only wise article of the Geneva Pact—Article 19.

For twenty years, as a Bulgarian born, I have seen every appeal sent by Bulgaria in favour of Macedonia thrown into the wastepaper basket. Nothing has been done for the Dobvudja. I do not wish to start a list which would use up all my notepaper.

To-day I received the so-called *new* HEADWAY.

I respect Lord Cecil, who is an idealist, and Gilbert Murray, who is a Saint; but I protest against the harmful, prejudiced articles written by the embittered *Wickham-Steed*, one of the chief supporters of artificial Czechoslovak State created in 1918; by *Lady Violet Bonham-Carter*, who does not know what she is writing about; by *Viscount Cranbourne*, the tremulous friend of his over-lord Eden; and by

IS LORD WINTERTON RIGHT?

Has Russia been weakened by the purges? This question is being discussed everywhere, particularly by those who advocate an Anglo-Russian alliance in defence of Collective Security. It is therefore of vital importance that a true picture should be formed of the real position in Russia to-day, and that questions should be answered as:

Is Stalin a Dictator?

Is there freedom in Russia?

Why is there no official opposition?

Are Russia's critics right?

PAT SLOAN,

who has lived for five years in Russia, working as a teacher, Trade Union organiser, and wall-newspaper editor, and travelling widely, deals with all these problems in

7s. 6d. **RUSSIA** *Just out*
WITHOUT ILLUSIONS

Mrs. Sidney Webb, the eminent sociologist says: "I strongly recommend this book for serious consideration by students of Soviet Communism."

Sir Charles Trevelyan, former Minister of Education, says: "I have not seen any recent book likely to give a fairer idea of Russia."

FREDERICK MULLER

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CHOCOLATE

Harold Nicolson, who owes his career and his position to all that he now denounces, and who, I beg to remind you, once endeavoured to support Mosley. This I do not specially resent, but HEADWAY will!

Without our Prime Minister, Neville Chamberlain, 15 Grosvenor Crescent might by now be a mass of smoking ruins, civilisation as we know it wrecked, and the hordes of Stalin in Piccadilly!

N. MUIR.

Blair Drummond,
Perthshire, by Stirling.

Who Is the Final Arbitrer ?

Sir,—The first object of the Union is to secure the acceptance of the League as (among other things) "the final arbitrer in international differences." The Covenant, of course, does not make it so, for, under Article 12 (1), a signatory is entitled to refuse arbitration and to choose enquiry by the Council instead. Even if the Council's report is unanimous, the parties to the dispute are not bound to accept it. Their only obligations are, firstly, not to go to war with a party that does accept it (Article 15 (6)); and secondly, to postpone an attack on any other party for three months (Article 15 (7) read with Article 12 (1)). The Pact of Paris provides no machinery for the settlement of disputes, but merely lays down negatively that they shall not be settled except by peaceful means. It is fallacious, therefore, to speak of it as closing the gap in the Covenant. Nor does the General Act do so. For, apart from the far-reaching reservations which accompanied the signature of Britain and others, international lawyers are agreed that Article 28 of the Act can be interpreted so as to limit its application to disputes regarding legal rights.

In view of these facts, it is surely surprising that the General Council of the Union has limited itself to recommending Commissions of Enquiry and "advice" by the Assembly as suitable machinery for effecting peaceful change. Without some supreme tribunal, the League cannot be the final arbitrer, and the international duel will inevitably continue to perform that office.

W. L. ROSEVEARE,
Major, R.E., retired.
Pall Mall, London, S.W.1.

What Is International Law ?

Sir,—The Lord Chancellor, in his speech, is quite correct. We have not given away Czechoslovakia; it was not ours to give. But the amazing thing to all decent-minded men is that the Lord Chancellor and his party are perfectly content that it shall be stolen, as they are content that China, Abyssinia, Spain and other territory that is not theirs shall be stolen. Never have they raised a hand to prevent such barbarity, but condoned it.

Even now their sole idea of International Law and Order is to save their own skins and their own Empire by huge increases in British armaments, which they admit, by the distribution of millions of gas-masks, to be a mad and futile policy of despair.

International Law and Order can only be enforced by an all-powerful International Police Force.

The Labour Party is the only party that has the sense and justice to see this obvious fact. Hence the Labour Party must be returned to power with an overwhelming majority without delay if we are to be saved from such perpetual horrors as the Conservative Party has brought us to.

Putney, S.W.15. WRIGHT MILLER.

Remove the Causes of War

Sir,—It would appear we have survived the present crisis without being involved in war. But crises will occur, again and again, in the future, imperilling peace and finally leading to strife if we do not now commence, not to try to prevent war, but to remove the causes of war.

Take the question of colonies. Those colonies which cannot be made self-governing should be handed over to the League of Nations to administer in trust, not shared out on the mandate system for various Powers to exploit. Their raw materials should be fairly shared out amongst those countries requiring them.

All nations must throw their colonies into the common pool. Italy would have to give up Abyssinia and Japan the parts of China she has taken. Thus the League would wipe out past "failures."

Of course, with such a scheme, it would be absurd for any one nation, such as Britain, to continue to police the seas for the good of all. An international fleet would be formed of the combined navies of the world. It would be forbidden that any national warship be used outside purely national waters and any attempt by one nation to interfere with the shipping of another would be taken as piracy and the offending ships chased and confiscated.

In the event of a war, a complete and effective blockade could be maintained against the aggressor State.

Under such conditions war would become futile and much more could be gained or saved by submitting disputes to an international court.

The personnel of this body could be formed of men and women selected by competitive examination open to everybody in the world. It would be necessary, of course, to adopt an international language in which the examinations could be held and with which the administration of the fleet and colonies could be carried on. Esperanto would do excellently for the purpose. It is easy to learn and could be learnt by everybody as a supplementary language to the native tongue.

This scheme is not so impossible as people would make out. It needs a country with a large colonial empire, such as Britain, to propose it, but any countries unwilling to co-operate can be left outside. They will be very glad to enter the scheme when they see it working and themselves in danger of being "left out in the cold."

C. M. HILLIARD.
Edgware, Middlesex.

One Hope—Palestine

Sir,—The article in the October issue of HEADWAY entitled "It happened in Vienna" bears out in poignant manner the sufferings of all persons of Jewish blood who still are, or were, citizens of Austria and Germany.

No lover of democracy can but be shocked at the sufferings and ignominies to which Jews have been, and still are being, subjected in the Third Reich.

As the doors of most countries are closed to refugees, there only remains one hope, and that is Palestine, the age-long home of the Jewish people. But now even Palestine is in danger, due to Arab rebels supported by the Fascist countries of Europe. Some of the recent atrocities perpetrated by the Arab bandits are only comparable with those of the Nazis in Germany and Austria.

In 1917 the British Government pledged itself to assure the establishment of the Jewish National Home in Palestine, and must keep its bond by throwing open the doors of Palestine to Jewish immigrants to the limit of the country's economic absorptive capacity.

Nearly 8,000 Jews have already been enrolled as auxiliary police, and are doing valuable work in assisting the British military in defending agricultural settlements and buildings against the attack of Arab marauders. There are at least 50,000 more Jewish young men in Palestine who are willing to co-operate in this work of self-defence, but await the Government's sanction.

In Palestine, the Jews must be freed from the minority status which they occupy in every other country of the world, and given full opportunity of living and working in peace in their ancient homeland.

BERNARD KRAMRISCH.
Prestwich, Manchester.

What did Mr.—Say in 1935 ?

Sir,—The last general election took place on November 14, 1935, and the following extracts from *The Times* prior to that date, in November, may be of interest:—

Sir Samuel Hoare: "Our straightforward and simple policy of loyalty to the League."—*The Times*, Nov. 5, 1935.

Mr. (now Earl) Baldwin: "We seek world peace through the League of Nations."—*The Times*, Nov. 11, 1935.

"Mr. Chamberlain, in his election address issued in Birmingham on Saturday night, declares that the preservation of the League of Nations is the keystone of the Government's policy, because the first object of that policy is the establishment of settled peace!"—*The Times*, Nov. 4, 1935.

JAMES W. STEWART (Hon. Sec.),
Sunderland Branch, L.N.U.

Wanted—a Truth Bureau

Sir,—May I suggest that one of the best ways of serving peace by eliminating distrust among the nations would be to establish under the auspices of the League of Nations an International Truth Bureau. This bureau would be supplied with news by a body of international observers sworn

to speak "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth," and the facts thus collected would be broadcast to the world in different languages under an impeccable guarantee of their veracity. Even the most intelligent may well be bewildered by the contradictory reports of world events, and by the distortion of facts to suit national or party interests. In wireless we have an incomparable instrument for disseminating truth. Let us use it.

RUTH DUFFIN.

Riddel Hall, Belfast.

The Policy Must Be Right

Sir,—Being of the opinion that any nation basing its politics on power rather than international law is a menace to world peace, I am refusing to undertake any national service until the British Government, in accordance with its election pledge, fully supports by word and deed and bases its foreign policy on the League of Nations. I hope the League of Nations Union will ask all members to make a similar declaration.

RICHARD A. WHEELER.
Rosalind, Rottingdean.

There are no wars nowadays, only "incidents." Mobilizations, expeditionary forces, invasions, sieges, bombardments—all the trappings are there, but the complete chain of events is seldom described by either party as a war. An insurrection, perhaps; or an *Anschluss*; but more commonly just an incident.—*The Times*.

An Open Letter

Lead Us, Mr. Chamberlain, Or—!

Dear Mr. Chamberlain,—I think it is timely to warn you of a danger which neither you nor any member of your Government may have perceived, a danger which grows more imminent with every fresh surrender to the demands of the dictators, and which is strengthened each time they abuse our country or our statesmen in their speeches and their controlled press.

Do you realise that, unless you or some other democratic statesman gives us that strong lead for which the country now longs, there may be born in Britain a policy fundamentally fascist and created to defend democracy against—fascism! It would be well to consider deeply before dismissing as impossible this paradox, as ironic as it is potentially perilous.

After long years of patience, of submission to insults and humiliations, the British Lion is at last beginning to get a little irritable; he wants to stretch his claws; and unless you help him to do so, somebody else may—and that somebody may not be quite so democratic as you.

Let you and your Government launch an appeal that will stir the hearts of our people, rouse us to such an appreciation of the values of the things which are in jeopardy that volunteers will come forward in their thousands to defend them.

Point out to us in speeches the Creed and the Ideals which are endangered, and

we will not fail you. For be sure that our spirit is willing; our only fault is that we are a trifle lethargic, a little lazy. You have only to fire our imaginations, and our response would be overwhelming—in men, and money, and energy, and industrial sacrifices.

Either democracy must be given an inspiring lead, or democracy will begin to lose faith in itself. What a tragedy if we must have a dictatorship to combat dictatorships, if our love for our country and all that it stands for should give birth to something which would suppress the very things which arouse that love—freedom of thought and speech and ordered action.

Have faith, then, in us, Mr. Chamberlain, and we shall not fail you—provided your Government gets a move on.

Our industrial freedom has been won in a hard way, by men who were willing to starve, and watch their women and children starve, rather than give way to demands which they thought unjust.

Our country itself has been in danger before, from the days of the Armada to the days of 1914, and the very essence of our character is this: that you can drive us a long, long way down the path towards political servitude, but with a certain broadminded, tolerant consent to give way in the interests of tranquillity. We hate "making a scene," either individually or nationally. But there comes a point when we cry, in a rather hurt way, "Enough! This nonsense must cease."

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A WOMAN OF TWENTY-FIVE.

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ADOLF HITLER

THE MAN OF GOOD AND EVIL GENIUS

By ROBERT SCHAUROTH,

who watched at close quarters the first rise of Hitler to importance in the local politics of Munich.

IT never does to belittle one's opponents. In the past Adolf Hitler has been for millions an eccentric clown; now he has become the most dangerous man in Europe.

To-day we must ask ourselves, "Who is this man with whom rests the decision how long we shall be allowed to enjoy peace?" What is the secret which has made an unskilled labourer, a man with scarcely any education, the leader of 75,000,000 people in Central Europe? How is it possible that when so many negatives are totalled up they form a positive? His appearance is slovenly. He does not know how to dress. Neither does he know how to occupy his hands. His voice is coarse and uneducated. The whole man is unimpressive—he could easily walk down Oxford Street unrecognised, and yet—and yet—!

One thing is certain. This man has an enormous faith in himself, and it is faith which made all the prophets of the past. Only those who have faith in themselves are able to give faith to others. Hitler has this faith, and he has been able to transmit it to millions of Germans. He has given them a new creed and a new belief. We know that his ideas and ideals in nearly every respect are opposed to our own, but that does not alter the fact that they have been enthusiastically received by millions of Germans.

The principal rules of his philosophy are very simple. They are sacrifice and self-respect. "You are a Nazi. Well, prove it by sacrifices. You want to wear the brown shirt? You will have to pay for it even if you are on the dole." For every meeting the Nazi members had to pay, but on the other hand, what were they told at such a meeting? "You are an Aryan and a German. You belong to the greatest race and nation on earth. You are destined to govern the inferior races."

Hitler understands that a man speaks the simple language of the people if he wants to win over the masses. What is more, he has shown us that the masses have a heart which is easier won by an idea and ideal than by trade union politics and economic statistics. That is Hitler the mass leader. To him the German nation is indebted in many ways.

Hitler the statesman. Machiavelli says in his book "Il Principe," "The given word of honour was a necessity of the past, the broken word a necessity of the present." Hitler probably never read that book, but he acts on the advice given by the Italian thinker. Hitler is convinced that politics know no morals. Politics for him are, and always will be, a game for power. He rightly believes that the world belongs to the strong, and without exactly despising the strength of the spirit, he much prefers to trust the strength of the sword. He has betrayed friends and opponents alike from the early post-war days of furtive home politics until the time that he

occupied Austria, whose independence he had solemnly and repeatedly guaranteed, and until this moment when he is violating his pledges in Czechoslovakia. What is happening in Czechoslovakia goes far beyond even the proposals of Godesberg. We see the might of the sword!

At all times in his political career, it has been Hitler's good luck to have been vastly under-estimated by friends and enemies alike. A typical example is the formation of the Harzburg front, where the German Nationalists under the leadership of Hugenberg joined hands with the National Socialists, a union which led to the first combined government formed from these two parties in January, 1933. It was a cat and mouse game in which each group reserved the honourable part of the cat for itself. What shortsightedness on the part of Hugenberg! How quickly Hitler showed that he meant mischief! Through terror and fear, and the medium of the Reichstag fire, Hitler soon overcame all political opposition. Never did a democratic organisation crumble more quickly and in cowardly fashion than in Germany. Again a proof that those who are weak and hesitating stand no chance against the strong.

Like lightning Hitler destroyed the Roehm plot. The truth has never been revealed. Whether it was jealousy

which prompted Hitler to destroy a great number of his closest followers, or whether there was a real revolt intended by Hitler's lieutenants, one thing is certain. Hitler acted swiftly and with great decision. Fear reigned in the rank and file of the party, and the opposition were seized by terror.

The question of internal power was settled once and for all, and Hitler could follow his ambitions abroad. We all know what followed. After the Saar the Rhineland. The generals warned him, but he smiled. "No, the democratic Powers are not willing to fight." Austria! The generals raised their eyebrows, some of them even protested. But Hitler's judgment of his opponents was right. "We march!" was his order.

A much bigger game followed; it brought us to the brink of war. The game ended with a dozen losers and only one winner—Hitler. During the war it was often said that those nations would win whose nerves held. The Allies kept their nerves best, but in the political poker of the last five years it cannot be denied that Hitler has outbid his opponents. Even when Hitler received the information of the mobilisation of the British Fleet, a thing he feared more than anything else, he kept cool. He believed that England would not fight; with that belief he won another victory.

Such is the man with whom the world has had to deal during the last few years, and with whom it will have to deal in the future. The question arises, how can one deal with a man who does not recognise any other law than the laws given by himself?



A caricature drawn from life by a Continental artist to whom the great popular orator on the public platform was long a familiar figure.

A DIARY

FOR WOMEN ONLY

Dear —,

It would be interesting to know just how many women *do* read HEADWAY. I've a shrewd suspicion that—apart from really keen L.N.U. members—most women in the past have, either secretly or openly, thought it rather dull, or at any rate suitable only for husbands or brothers, "who like politics and all that sort of thing." Dare I confess it—years ago I was inclined to think so too. Anyhow, you cannot say that the new HEADWAY is dull. Perhaps, too, the last few weeks have brought home to some the realisation that we women have a very vital part to play in the establishment of peace.

Spared for Some Purpose

I suppose our first instinctive reaction to the end of the "crisis" and to Mr. Chamberlain's and Herr Hitler's Munich agreement was thankfulness that, by the mercy of God, we had been saved from the appalling horrors of war. We felt, as one must who has been restored to life from the very gates of death, that we—millions of men, women and children throughout the world—had been spared not only a ghastly form of death but the untold moral and spiritual degradation and destruction that war must always bring, that we had been spared for some purpose. And surely, our immediate task as women is so to foster and encourage that universal longing for peace which the crisis revealed that the Prime Minister is stimulated to make those further contacts with the rulers of other countries which he promised. Let us urge him to call a world conference—or to ask President Roosevelt to do it—so that all grievances may be discussed and the causes of war removed.

We Must Make Sacrifices

When we think of the sacrifices made for our peace, we all feel we must make sacrifices, too, or we shall be eternally shamed in our own eyes as well as in those of the world. As a nation we must surely be willing to make sacrifices of the same kind as those demanded from Czechoslovakia, sacrifices of our economic advantages, our imperialism, our sovereign rights and our armaments—though the last would be no sacrifice, but the lightening of what has become an intolerable burden. All nations are in the same state, and would welcome a lead. Have you ever thought there is

really no problem in the world to-day that is not, ultimately, the same sort of problem that we have to solve in our own homes—by reconciliation, give and take, and mutual respect and affection? So it comes to this: we have to try to run the world as a family.

Flowers and Peace

What is the psychological connection between flowers and peace, or the ending of tension? Many of you, I'm sure, were among those who, in relief at the sudden ending of the crisis, hastened to fill their homes with flowers. My own first impulse on that Friday morning, when the garden looked lovelier than ever, was to pick every single bloom—roses, chrysanthemums, Michaelmas daisies, nasturtiums, gladioli, and all the rest—and rush out and give them to someone, anyone, quickly. What international things gardens are, and how much we are indebted to the whole world for the lovely flowers we often take so much for

granted—marigolds from the tropics of Africa, poppies from the snow-clad Himalayas, gentians from Alpine slopes, anemones from Japan—just to pick a few at random. Would it be better if statesmen met in a garden instead of round the conference table in some imposing hall?

Brave Norwegian Secretary

If you listened in to the B.B.C.'s spelling bee for business men and their secretaries the other Sunday evening, didn't you think it brave of the travel agent's Norwegian secretary to enter? She received a good clap when she spelled "stomachache" correctly and, in the final result, she did better than two of her fellow secretaries, both presumably English! I couldn't help wondering how many Englishwomen would dare to enter a spelling bee in a foreign language and would come out of it so well. We really are lazy, most of us, aren't we, in learning—or rather not learning—other people's languages? It's a good thing for us that folks of other nationalities take more trouble to learn foreign tongues. A few years ago I went alone to Germany, knowing about a dozen words of German. I had a wonderful time, and whenever I was in difficulty over tickets, my destina-

VERNON BARTLETT

continues to
write on

WORLD AFFAIRS

in the

NEWS CHRONICLE

tion, or the way there, someone always seemed to be just waiting to help me—in perfect English! Only on one day was I forced to rely on my twelve words, plus a small phrase book, and I was somewhat surprised when I got the lunch I had asked for!

Help for the Home

However many labour-saving appliances we install in our houses there are still so many things that must be done—meals to prepare and wash up, children to dress and feed, clothes to make and mend. Are you worried by the difficulty or impossibility of getting sufficient or efficient domestic help? If so, have you considered the possibility of having an Austrian or German refugee, a "non-Aryan" or Jewish Christian, who, because of her race, must leave her own land and would be grateful for a chance to work in an Englishwoman's home? Permits for such domestic workers to come to this country will be granted by the Home Office if posts are guaranteed for them at a salary of not less than 15s. a week. The Society of Friends will make all the

necessary arrangements. (Refugees of full Jewish race are dealt with by the German Jewish Aid Committee.) If two or three friends in a district each agreed to take a refugee as domestic help, such an arrangement would help to solve the problem of loneliness which any woman must feel who is suddenly transplanted from her own to a strange land.

German Women Thankful

So many have been accustomed to think of Germany as a militaristic nation that it has been a revelation for thousands of women in this country to realise that German women are as desperately anxious for peace as we are, and that when they suddenly knew of the possibility of war with England they were appalled. Judging from letters from German friends of my own, the main reactions of German women during the week of crisis were deep gratitude for expressions of friendliness and sympathy from this side, a passionate longing for peace, and a very real appreciation of, and immense thankfulness for, Mr. Chamberlain's efforts at conciliation.

Dress and Mind

Does a uniform dress conduce to uniform thought? In other words, do all nurses think alike? Does every Garbo fan who follows her style of hair-dressing hold the same opinions as the film star? Do the lift girls in our large stores all vote for the same party at elections? On the face of it, the answer appears to be in the negative. But in so far as the wearing of the same uniform or the choice of the same fashion indicates a similarity of interests or duties, there does seem to be some danger of uniformity of thought resulting; or is it merely a case of "birds of a feather flock together," those of similar taste and mode of thought choosing similar occupations or types of hat? If a uniformity of dress *does* inculcate uniformity of thought, then modern men—the most conservative and mass-produced creatures in the world so far as their dress is concerned—should have minds as like as peas in a pod. Fortunately—or is it unfortunately?—they still show a vast dissimilarity in many directions. Anyhow, it's an interesting theme to discuss round the fireside. IRENE.

"THANKS FOR YOUR KIND HOSTILITY"

By J. VIJAYA-TUNGA.

SOMETIMES I ask myself—and sometimes English people ask me—why, if England is so hateful as all that to you, do you not go back to where you came from? If wishes could undo deeds how many times have I not lived my life over again in that village in Ceylon where I was born, eating the rice grown in the green fields almost outside my door, drinking the delicious water of coconuts from my own garden, growing up and marrying a maiden of my village, begetting children, and knowing no other sorrows than the sorrows of living and dying.

And yet how futile the wish! For the village is no longer what it was. It is now both the slave and the poor relation of the town. And the town, though some seventeen days' distance from Tilbury, is very much in awe of London Town, and almost wholly at the mercy of Threadneedle Street, and its destinies in the palm of a young man at Whitehall who not so long ago was an undergraduate at Oxford.

Before I ever came to England, England had come to me in all its power and might that would not be stayed. So

that, in any event, I should not have wholly escaped the problems I have met and meet living here as a Black Man in a White Man's stronghold. Therefore, every time I ask myself that question, or someone else asks me, I have an answer.

If Europe had not come chasing after Asia! Asia was well content to go on on its way. And despite wars, vandalism, famines and plagues, the respective nations of Asia managed to retain their entity very satisfactorily, making their particular contributions to culture and civilisation at the same time.

However, those of us from India, Ceylon, Africa and other Colonies of the British Empire who are here in England, are here for obvious reasons. Most of us are here to persuade British universities and institutions to take notice of us, and testify that we have brains enough to go back to our respective countries and get jobs. To get noticed takes a long time. There are some two thousand Indians on an average each year in the various schools and colleges in Great Britain. They, the elect and the most ambitious of their

respective communities, are here because of the testimony of similar institutions, modelled strictly on English lines in their own country, is supposed to be not high enough. Why, even the papers for my school-leaving certificate examination in Ceylon were set from Cambridge, the answers sent back there, and the certificate granted by Cambridge for a fee of £2 5s. per head.

All of us need accommodation. Undistinguished fellows like myself find, as I have done, every door of every hotel and boarding-house in long Bloomsbury streets shut to us except one, a hotel run by an Italian. After seven years I stick to the Italians in London.

Instances of Indians turned away from bathing-pools and dance-halls are legion. More than once I have had Englishmen—of the class who patronise Lyons—get up when I sat down at the same table, and move, taking their tea with them. And I am more Brown than Black, and have never had to use Life-buoy soap. In the streets we hear either "Hey, Darkie," or "Look Mummy, Black Man."

On occasions Indians and Africans and West Indians are invited, with intentions evangelical, to certain homes. And everybody is studiously nice to the tamed animal, watching his every move. It was after such an ordeal that an African student said to his hosts on leaving: "Thank you for your kind hostility."

THE DEFENCE OF FREEDOM AND PEACE

An Address by The Rt. Hon. WINSTON S. CHURCHILL to the People of the United States of America, broadcast on October 16, 1938, by the National Broadcasting Corporation

I AVAIL myself with relief of the opportunity of speaking to the people of the United States.

I do not know how long such liberties will be allowed. The stations of uncensored expression are closing down; the lights are going out; but there is still time for those to whom freedom and parliamentary government mean something, to consult together.

Let me then speak in truth and earnestness while time remains.

The American people have, it seems to me, formed a true judgment upon the disaster which has befallen Europe.

They realise, perhaps more clearly than the French and British publics have done, the far-reaching consequences of the abandonment and ruin of the Czechoslovak Republic.

I hold to the conviction I expressed some months ago, that if in April, May or June, Great Britain, France and Russia had jointly declared that they would act together upon Nazi Germany if Herr Hitler committed an act of unprovoked aggression against this small State, and if they had told Poland, Yugoslavia and Rumania what they meant to do in good time, and invited them to join the combination of peace-defending Powers, I hold that the German Dictator would have been confronted with such a formidable array that he would have been deterred from his purpose.

This would also have been an opportunity for all the peace-loving and moderate forces in Germany, together with the chiefs of the Germany Army, to make a great effort to re-establish something like sane and civilised conditions in their own country.

If the risks of war which were run by France and Britain at the last moment had been boldly faced in good time, and plain declarations made, and meant, how different would our prospects be to-day!

But all these backward speculations belong to history.

It is no good using hard words about the past, and reproaching one another for what cannot be recalled.

What of the Future?

It is the future, not the past, that demands our earnest and anxious thought.

We must recognise that the Parliamentary democracies and liberal, peaceful forces have everywhere sustained a defeat which leaves them weaker, morally and physically, to cope with dangers which have vastly grown.

But the cause of freedom has in it a recuperative power and virtue which can draw from misfortune new hope and new strength.

If ever there was a time when men and women who cherish the ideals of the founders of the British and American Constitutions should take earnest counsel with one another, that time is now.

All the world wishes for peace and security.

Have we gained it by the sacrifice of the Czechoslovak Republic?

Here was the model democratic State of Central Europe,

a country where minorities were treated better than anywhere else.

It has been deserted, destroyed and devoured.

It is now being digested.

The question which is of interest to a lot of ordinary people, common people, is whether this destruction of the Czechoslovak Republic will bring a blessing or a curse upon the world.

We must all hope it will bring a blessing; that after we have averted our gaze for a while from the process of subjugation and liquidation everyone will breathe more freely; that a load will be taken off our chests; we shall be able to say to ourselves: "Well, that's out of the way, anyhow. Now let's get on with our regular daily life."

But are these hopes well founded or are we merely making the best of what we had not the force and virtue to stop?

That is the question that the English-speaking peoples in all their lands must ask themselves to-day.

Is this the end, or is there more to come?

There is another question which arises out of this.

Organised and Calculated Violence.

Can peace, goodwill and confidence be built upon submission to wrong-doing backed by force?

One may put this question in the largest form.

Has any benefit or progress ever been achieved by the human race by submission to organised and calculated violence?

As we look back over the long story of the nations we must see that, on the contrary, their glory has been founded upon the spirit of resistance to tyranny and injustice, especially when these evils seemed to be backed by heavier force.

Since the dawn of the Christian era a certain way of life has slowly been shaping itself among the Western peoples, and certain standards of conduct and government have come to be esteemed.

After many miseries and prolonged confusion, there arose into the broad light of day the conception of the right of the individual; his right to be consulted in the government of his country; his right to invoke the law even against the State itself.

Independent Courts of Justice were created to affirm and enforce this hard-won custom.

Thus was assured throughout the English-speaking world, and in France by the stern lessons of the Revolution, what Kipling called "Leave to live by no man's leave underneath the law."

Now in this resides all that makes existence precious to man, and all that confers honour and health upon the State.

We are confronted with another theme.

It is not a new theme; it leaps out upon us from the Dark Ages—racial persecution, religious intolerance deprivation of free speech, the conception of the citizen as a mere soulless fraction of the State.

The Cult of War.

To this has been added the cult of war. Children are to be taught in their earliest schooling the delights and profits of conquest and aggression.

A whole mighty community has been drawn painfully, by severe privations, into a warlike frame.

They are held in this condition, which they relish no more than we, by a party organisation, several millions strong, who derive all kinds of profits, good and bad, from the upkeep of the régime.

Like the Communists, the Nazis tolerate no opinion but their own.

Like the Communists, they feed on hatred. Like the Communists, they must seek, from time to time, and always at shorter intervals, a new target, a new prize, a new victim.

The Dictator, in all his pride, is held in the grip of his Party machine.

He can go forward; he cannot go back. He must blood his hounds and show them sport, or else, like Actæon of old, be devoured by them. All-strong without, he is all-weak within.

Totalitarian States Are Strong

As Byron wrote a hundred years ago: "These pagan things of Sabre sway, with fronts of brass and feet of clay."

No one must, however, underrate the power and efficiency of a totalitarian State.

Where the whole population of a great country, amiable, good-hearted, peace-loving people are gripped by the neck and by the hair by a Communist or a Nazi tyranny—for they are the same things spelt in different ways—the rulers for the time being can exercise a power for the purposes of war and external domination before which the ordinary free parliamentary societies are at a grievous practical disadvantage.

We have to recognise this. But then, on top of all, comes this wonderful mastery of the air which our century has discovered, but of which, alas, mankind has so far shown itself unworthy.

Here is this air power with its claim to torture and terrorise the women and children, the civil population of neighbouring countries.

This combination of medieval passion, a party caucus, the weapons of modern science, and the blackmailing power of air-bombing, is the most monstrous menace to peace, order and fertile progress that has appeared in the world since the Mongol invasions of the thirteenth century.

An Immense Disaster

The culminating question to which I have been leading is whether the world as we have known it—the great and hopeful world of before the war, the world of increasing hope and enjoyment for the common man, the world of honoured tradition and expanding science—should meet this menace by submission or by resistance.

Let us see, then, whether the means of resistance remain to us to-day.

We have sustained an immense disaster; the renown of France is dimmed.



[With acknowledgements to "The Times."]

The map shows the territories surrendered by Czechoslovakia to Germany. In some places they go beyond the Godesberg line. Since the map was drawn there have been further surrenders. The final result is worse than Godesberg.

In spite of her brave, efficient army, her influence is profoundly diminished.

No one has a right to say that Britain, for all her blundering, has broken her word—indeed, when it was too late, she was better than her word.

Nevertheless, Europe lies at this moment abashed and distracted before the triumphant assertions of dictatorial power.

In the Spanish Peninsula, a purely Spanish quarrel has been carried by the intervention, or shall I say the "non-intervention" to quote the current jargon, of Dictators into the region of a world cause.

But it is not only in Europe that these oppressions prevail.

China is being torn to pieces by a military clique in Japan; the poor, tormented Chinese people there are making a brave and stubborn defence.

The ancient empire of Ethiopia has been overrun. The Ethiopians were taught to look to the sanctity of public law, to the tribunal of many nations gathered in majestic union.

But all failed; they were received, and now they are winning back their right to live by beginning again from the bottom a struggle on primordial lines.

Even in South America, the Nazi régime begins to undermine the fabric of Brazilian society.

Union Would Avert War.

Yet, after all, survey the remaining forces of civilisation; they are overwhelming.

If only they were united in a common conception of right and duty, there would be no war.

On the contrary, the German people, industrious, faithful, valiant, but, alas! lacking in the spirit of proper civic independence, liberated from their present nightmare, would take their honoured place in the vanguard of human society.

Alexander the Great remarked that the people of Asia were slaves because they had not learned to produce the word "No."

Let that not be the epitaph of the English-speaking peoples or of Parliamentary democracy, or of France, or of the many surviving liberal States of Europe.

There in one single word is the resolve which the forces of freedom and progress, of tolerance and good will, should take.

It is not in the power of one nation, however formidably armed, still less is it in the power of a small group of men, violent ruthless men, who have always to cast their eyes back over their shoulders, to cramp and fetter the forward march of human destiny.

The preponderant world forces are upon our side; they have but to be united to be obeyed.

We must arm. If, through an earnest desire for peace, we have placed ourselves at a disadvantage, we must make up for it by redoubling exertions, and, if necessary, by fortitude in suffering.

We shall no doubt arm.

Arms Are Not Enough.

Britain, casting away the habits of centuries, will decree national service upon her citizens.

The British people will stand erect, and will face whatever may be coming.

But arms—instrumentalities, as President Wilson called them—are not sufficient by themselves.

We must add to them the power of ideas.

People say we ought not to allow ourselves to be drawn into a theoretical antagonism between Nazidom and democracy; but the antagonism is here now.

It is this very conflict of spiritual and moral ideas which gives the free countries a great part of their strength.

You see these dictators on their pedestals, surrounded by the bayonets of their soldiers and the truncheons of their police.

On all sides they are guarded by masses of armed men, cannons, airplanes, fortifications, and the like—they boast and vaunt themselves before the world, yet in their hearts there is unspoken fear.

They are afraid of words and thoughts: words spoken abroad, thoughts stirring at home—all the more powerful because forbidden—terrify them.

A little mouse of thought appears in the room, and even the mightiest potentates are thrown into panic.

They make frantic efforts to bar out thoughts and words; they are afraid of the workings of the human mind.

Cannons, airplanes, they can manufacture in large quantities; but how are they to quell the natural promptings of human nature, which after all these centuries of trial and progress has inherited a whole armoury of potent and indestructible knowledge?

Dictatorship is a Passing Phase.

Dictatorship—the fetish worship of one man—is a passing phase.

A state of society where men may not speak their minds, where children denounce their parents to the police, where a business man or small shopkeeper ruins his competitor by telling tales about his private opinions; such a state of society cannot long endure if brought into contact with the healthy outside world.

The light of civilised progress with its tolerances and co-operation, with its dignities and joys, has often in the past been blotted out.

But I hold the belief that we have now at last got far enough ahead of barbarism to control it, and to avert it, if only we realise what is afoot and make up our minds in time.

We shall do it in the end. But how much harder our toil the longer the delay! Is this a call to war?

I declare it to be the sole guarantee of peace.

The swift and resolute gathering of forces to confront not only military but moral aggression; the resolute and sober acceptance of their duty by the English-speaking peoples and by all the nations, great and small, who wish to walk with them; their faithful and zealous comradeship would almost between night and morning clear the path of progress and banish from all our lives the fear which already darkens the sunlight to millions of men.

America is Involved.

Far away, happily protected by the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, you, the people of the United States, to whom I now have the chance to speak, are the spectators, and I may add the increasingly involved spectators of these tragedies and crimes.

We are left in no doubt where American conviction and sympathies lie: but will you wait until British freedom and independence have succumbed, and then take up the cause when it is three-quarters ruined, yourselves alone?

I hear that they are saying in the United States that because England and France have failed to do their duty therefore the American people can wash their hands of the whole business.

This may be the passing mood of many people, but there is no sense in it.

If things have got much worse, all the more must we try to cope with them.

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