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BRITAIN

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THE

FIRST

STEP

HEADWAY

TOWARDS FREEDOM AND PEACE

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APRIL, 1939

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BEHIND THE NEWS

EUROPE stands on the edge of disaster. If its peoples and all the world are to escape the last calamity, the forces of freedom and peace must be mobilised in full and at once. Peace can no longer be saved unless freedom is saved first. When the defenders of freedom show themselves ready and resolute, peace will no longer be threatened.

Two policies are needed. A short-term policy of action is the first. With danger upon them, the peaceful nations must come together in a peace alliance, pledging themselves to help one another by every means in their power, both armed force and economic pressure, against an aggressor. Nations who keep the peace must assert effectually their right to live in freedom from violence.

A long-term policy of creative order is the second. It is still true that there is no way out of war except organised peace. A peace alliance of a few nations determined to present a united front to any attack will postpone war. But the final prevention of war depends upon the creation of an ordered and developing world. There must be (1) collective security, (2) peaceful change, (3) settlement of international disputes by conciliation, arbitration, or legal process, (4) all-round disarmament by international agreement, (5) a permanent international institution to operate the system. In short, the League of Nations.

IN its guarantee to Poland Great Britain has taken the first step towards a full and resolute adop-

tion of both policies. A peace alliance gathered round Britain, France, and Poland can be the centre of a complete League, pursuing all the objects for whose attainment such a League is necessary. The fact that Poland is not a State of unquestioned possessions and unblemished record, only throws the real issue into sharper relief. What is in question is whether Europe means to regulate its affairs by law or war.

ON Friday, March 31, in the House of Commons, the Prime Minister announced:—

"Certain consultations are now proceeding with other Governments in order to make perfectly clear the position of the British Government. In the meantime, before those consultations are concluded, I have to inform the House that during that period, in the event of any action which clearly threatened Polish independence and which the Polish Government accordingly considered it vital to resist with their national forces, His Majesty's Government would feel themselves bound at once to lend the Polish Government all support in their power."

THE resolute attitude announced on Friday was the consequence of Germany's destruction of Czechoslovakia. It was reached gradually. The first clear reaction to German aggression came on Friday, March 17, when Mr. Neville Chamberlain spoke at Birmingham. The crucial passages in his speech were:

Events which have taken place this week in complete disregard of the principles laid down by the German Government itself seem to fall into a new category, and they must cause us all to be asking ourselves: "Is this the end of an old adventure, or is it the beginning of a new?"

"Is this the last attack upon a small State, or is it to be followed by others? Is this, in fact, a step in the direction of an attempt to dominate the world by force?"

Those are grave and serious questions. They will require the grave and serious consideration, not only of Germany's neighbours but of others, perhaps even beyond the confines of Europe. Already there are indications that the process has begun, and it is obvious that it is likely now to be speeded up.

We ourselves will naturally turn first to our partners in the British Commonwealth of Nations—and to France—to whom we are so closely bound, and I have no doubt that others, too, knowing that we are not disinterested in what goes on in South-Eastern Europe, will wish to have our counsel and advice.

I do not believe there is anyone who will question my sincerity when I say there is hardly anything I would not sacrifice for peace.

But there is one thing that I must except, and that is the liberty that we have enjoyed for hundreds of years, and which we will never surrender. That I, of all men, should feel called upon to make such a declaration—that is the measure of the extent to which these events have shattered the confidence which was just beginning to show its head and which, if it had been allowed to grow, might have made this year

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memorable for the return of all Europe to sanity and stability.

Only six weeks ago I alluded to rumours and suspicions which I said ought to be swept away. I pointed out that any demand to dominate the world by force was one which the democracies must resist, and I added that I could not believe that such a challenge was intended, because no Government with the interests of its own people at heart could expose them for such a claim to the horrors of world war.

And indeed, with the lessons of history for all to read, it seems incredible that we should see such a challenge. I feel bound to repeat that, while I am not prepared to engage this country by new unspecified commitments operating under conditions which cannot now be foreseen, yet no greater mistake could be made than to suppose that, because it believes war to be a senseless and cruel thing, this nation has so lost its fibre that it will not take part to the utmost of its power in resisting such a challenge if it ever were made.

LORD HALIFAX SPEAKS OUT

THE next advance was made on March 20, in the House of Lords, by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Viscount Halifax outlined Britain's foreign policy in bolder terms than the Prime Minister's. He said:—

For years past the British people have steadily desired to be on friendly terms with the German people. There is no stronger national instinct among our people than the instinct which leads them, when they have had a fight, to shake hands and try to make it up.

Our people were not backward in recognising some of the mistakes that required remedy in the Versailles Treaty, but each time during these last years that there has seemed a chance of making progress in understanding, the German Government has taken action which has made that progress impossible; and more especially has that been the case in recent months. Very shortly after Munich certain measures were taken by the German Government that gave a profound shock to world opinion. Quite recently it was to be hoped—although there were many clouds over and below the horizon—that we could look forward to closer economic collaboration; and it was in the hope of developing that economic collaboration into something wider that we decided on those visits to which I have referred. All that initiative has been frustrated by the action of the German Government last week, and it is difficult to see when it may be easily resumed.

These fears have raised wide issues, and the events in Czecho-Slovakia require His Majesty's Government, and require other people, to rethink their attitude in these matters. Broadly speaking there have been since the War two conflicting theses as to the best

method of avoiding conflicts and creating security for the nations of the world. The first thesis is that which upholds the creation and supports the machinery for consultation, conciliation, and arbitration with, if possible, the sanction of collective force, and that involves an invitation to all States willing to accept the wider degree of obligation to one another, all agreed that an attack on one shall be treated as an attack on all. That has been the thesis expressed in the Covenant of the League of Nations. Perhaps it is true to say that more precise effect was sought to be given to it by the Geneva Protocol, and it has itself given rise to a number of regional agreements for mutual assistance between certain Powers concerned.

The second, which has been in conflict, has been upheld by those who consider that systems seeking to provide collective security, as it has been termed, involve dangerously indefinite commitments quite disproportionate to the real security that these commitments give. Those who took that view were persuaded that States conscious of their own specific purposes would be wise to refrain from such commitments which might draw them into a war in which their own vital necessities were not threatened and that States should therefore not combine themselves to intervene in conflicts unless they themselves were directly attacked. That is a conflict of philosophy.

HAVING stated the issue, Lord Halifax went on to declare for a return to the League alternative:—

I have no doubt that in considering these two theses the judgment of many has been influenced by the estimate that they placed, rightly or wrongly, upon the probability of direct attack. If it were possible in their judgment to rate that probability low, then that low probability of direct attack ought to be weighed against what might seem to them the greater risk of States being involved in conflicts arising out of their own concerns.

But if and when it becomes plain to States that there is no apparent guarantee against successive attacks directed in turn on all who may seem to stand in the way of ambitious schemes of domination, then at once the scale tips the other way and in all quarters there is likely immediately to be found very much greater readiness to consider whether the acceptance of wider mutual obligations in the cause of mutual support is not dictated, if for no other reason, by the necessities of self-defence.

His Majesty's Government have not failed to draw the moral from these events and have lost no time in placing themselves in close and direct consultation not only with the Dominions but with other Governments concerned upon the issues that have suddenly been made so plain.

FINALLY, most welcome to the British people, there came the warmest tribute yet paid by any British Minister to the heroic endurance of the Czechs. Speaking with deep emotion, Lord Halifax concluded:—

It is not possible as yet fully to appraise the consequences of the German action. History records many attempts to impose a domination upon Europe. But all those attempts have sooner or later terminated in disaster for those who made them. It has never in the long run proved possible to stamp out the spirit of free peoples. If history is any guide the German people may yet regret the action that has been taken in their name against the people of Czecho-Slovakia.

Twenty years ago the people of Czecho-Slovakia recovered their liberties with the support and encouragement of the greater part of the world. They have now been deprived of them by violence. In the course of their long history this will not be the first time that this tenacious, valiant, and industrious people have lost their independence, but they have never lost that which is the foundation of independence—the love of liberty.

Meanwhile, just as after the last War the world watched the emergence of the Czech nation, so it will watch to-day their efforts to preserve intact their cultural identity, and, more important, their spiritual freedom under the last and most cruel blow of which they have been the victims.

L. N. U. GIVES A LEAD

ON March 16 the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union published a "Declaration of Policy" which was published in full in *The Times*, the *Manchester Guardian*, and other newspapers, and commanded immediate attention in political quarters. It read:

On September 23, 1938, the League of Nations Union protested vehemently against the dismemberment of Czecho-Slovakia. They pointed out that it was part of a settled policy of domination in Central Europe which would be carried out step by step unless the peace-loving nations resolved that it should be stopped.

That is the plain truth, as all must see to-day. Czechoslovakia has been destroyed and her people enslaved. Whose turn next? Is it to be the French possessions in the Mediterranean basin, or Spain and the Balearic islands, or Holland or Switzerland or Rumania, or even Belgium? Are we to do nothing while all our friends in Europe are destroyed one by one, and we are left alone to face a far greater and more powerful Germany and Italy? Surely not. Surely while there is still time we should take effective steps to concert measures with other States to prevent further aggression. The warning recently given to Italy by Lord Halifax

with the co-operation of France alone should be immediately addressed to Germany, with the assured co-operation of other States whose interest in resisting such aggression is as great or greater than ours.

For this purpose the co-operation of France is already assured, that of Russia should be immediately invited, and if this is obtained a real beginning will have been made towards the restoration of that system of international defensive combination for the maintenance of peace for which the L.N.U. has always stood, and the departure from which has so greatly increased the danger of war. The strength of our own armaments must of course be progressively increased. But no action taken by this country alone can secure that lasting peace which we all so ardently desire, or re-establish the rule of law without which peace must always be precarious.

ON March 30 the Declaration of Policy was reinforced by a resolution which said:

The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union has already expressed its welcome of the policy, announced by Lord Halifax in the House of Lords, in support of the "thesis expressed in the Covenant of the League of Nations" including the proposition that those States which were willing to accept such an obligation should "agree that an attack on one should be treated as an attack on all."

The Committee feels that prompt and public action by the Government on the lines of this policy is essential if war is to be avoided, and regards with anxiety the absence of any statement by the Government as to the action it has taken in order to assure the co-operation of all peace-loving States in the policy announced by Lord Halifax.

RUMANIA BROWBEATEN

IN SPITE of denials to the contrary, the German Government did present an ultimatum to Rumania immediately after the Czech coup demanding economic vassalage from that country. The forthright rejection of this demand by King Carol, the despatch of troops to the frontier, and the lack of suitable roads through Ruthenia by which German troops might have been moved to the Rumanian border caused the Nazis to change their tactics. This has not, however, prevented them from wresting from King Carol a new economic agreement which subordinates Rumania to the rôle of purveyor of oil, raw materials and foodstuffs to the Reich. In return Germany becomes the main supplier of arms and machinery, presumably from the Skoda works as in the past.

The grant of oil concessions, free zones, and other trading rights enables the

Nazi Government now to achieve something very near the objectives sought in its original ultimatum. Rumania has not wanted this agreement. It has been forced upon her by the delay of Great Britain to provide the necessary economic and financial assistance in time. It is an agonising commentary on the hesitant policy of the British Government that the projected Board of Trade mission to Rumania will arrive in Bucharest at a time when the political value of any future economic and financial concessions will have been seriously diminished, if not permanently destroyed.

ECONOMIC PRESSURE

WHEN the Nazi Government stepped into Czecho-Slovakia and thereby removed one of the few remaining free markets from the trade map of Europe, the Federation of British Industries was busily negotiating with the Reichsgruppe Industrie for a division of world markets. Instead of breaking off negotiations, the Federation continued its efforts. It pressed for an agreement, in spite of the fresh proof of the worthlessness of the signature of the Nazi authorities who were lined up behind the German business men.

The agreement reached, of which the Federation is apparently still proud, caused considerable concern abroad as tending to drive Britain into a totalitarian trade alliance with Germany to the exclusion of other countries which do not wish to adopt the same methods. Even though Mr. Stanley assured the House of Commons that it was a private agreement between German and British industrialists, and did not conflict with the Anglo-American Trade Treaty, there can be no doubt that it was contrary to the spirit of the American Treaty, to say nothing of its adverse political reactions.

Specially ominous is the unwillingness of the Government to repudiate the agreement outright. Instead Ministers merely caused it to be put into cold storage against a change of circumstances which might allow the projected negotiations between individual industries in Britain and Germany to be resumed. The need at the moment is not to consider future economic pacts with the Nazis: it is to withhold from them whatever economic concessions they still enjoy from Britain. A penalty on German goods on the lines already laid down by the United States is the right course.

THE IMPOSITION by the United States of an additional 25 per cent. import duty on German goods was not

a consequence of the final outrage upon Czecho-Slovakia. It was a long-provoked retort to the German trade war, whose aggressive and destructive methods the Federation of British Industries has since found no difficulty in approving. But it came pat to the moment; and its effects will be much more serious than Nazi spokesmen are yet ready to admit.

German trade with America is now shrinking fast. It was already diminished by the United States' refusal to allow it most favoured nation treatment under the various treaties for freer trade negotiated by Mr. Cordell Hull; and American purchases of such goods as machinery formerly made in Germany were being diverted to Great Britain by the Anglo-American Treaty. The 25 per cent. penalty will complete the process. On the other side of the account Germany's chief call on the United States is for cotton and oil. Lately she has been buying cotton from Brazil and oil from Mexico; both Brazil and Mexico have begun to fall into line with their great northern neighbour.

AMERICA'S tariff increase just happened at the most noticeable time. The political reaction of the Washington Government was both calculated and prompt. A Note handed to the German Chargé d'Affaires on March 21 declared:

The Government of the United States has observed that the provinces referred to are now under the de facto administration of the German authorities. The Government of the United States does not recognise that any legal basis exists for the status so indicated.

POLAND AND THE CORRIDOR

THE Polish corridor to Danzig is front-page news once again, after a long interval of quiet. There are well-substantiated reports of troop movements on a large scale both in East and West Prussia, on either side of the corridor. The Poles are leaving nothing to chance and are mobilising several classes of reservists, while concentrating specially on the corridor's defences.

There is a popular delusion in some quarters that Poland might exchange or cede the corridor, possibly for Lithuania. Nothing could be more fallacious. To believe that is fundamentally to misunderstand the Polish character. Millions of pounds of capital have been sunk in this historic Polish province since 1919. Gdynia, Poland's great port near Danzig, was a squalid fishing village with a couple of hundred inhabitants, in

1921. To-day the population numbers 120,000, and the port tonnage is double that of Danzig.

The correct name of the corridor is the province of Pomorze (morze is sea in Polish). The population is of purely Polish descent, known locally as Cashubes. There is a small German minority, of less than 20 per cent. Many Germans have emigrated from Pomorze during the last twenty years, and the numbers of the German minority in the corridor are slowly decreasing. Indeed it is sometimes claimed that the Polish minority in Germany to-day exceeds in numbers the German minority in Poland.

MUCH play has been made of late in the German Press of anti-German demonstrations in Pomorze, and particularly in Bydgoszcz (Bromberg), the chief city in the province. Wild accusations of persecution and attacks upon helpless German citizens savours suspiciously of the tactics adopted with the Sudeten Germans. These charges have since been proved to be grossly untrue. German attempts to foment an anti-Polish agitation will meet with a firmness that the Fuehrer will find novel.

By no means all Poles are enthusiastic supporters of the Government, but at such a time all divisions cease. Feeling against German blackmail is intense, and the Poles are united in their resolve not even to contemplate the possibility of cession of any Polish territory and not to go the way of Czecho-Slovakia. Hitler is dealing with a Power of 35,000,000 in Poland and one, moreover, that speaks a language that he understands.

AN EXCUSE DISOWNED

AMONG THE MANY comments provoked by Germany's enslavement of what was left by Munich of Czechoslovakia, none has pointed out that the latest action of the Reich in subjugating 8,000,000 Slavs, besides being a departure from the principles of Mein Kampf, and a direct repudiation of Hitler's claim that he sought only to "free" Germans, knocks the bottom out of the only conceivable argument for the inconceivable Nazi persecution of the Jews. Marshal Goering and other Apostles of "Aryanism" have again and again told the world that the real reason for the barbarous tortures inflicted on the Jews was Germany's determination to have none but Germans in the German fold. Where is that argument now? We must now assume, as many of us have known

from the beginning, that the Nazis have no reason to persecute the Jews except their own Sadist instincts.

WHERE HONOUR IS DUE

THERE IS an undercurrent of opinion that the breaking up of the Czecho-Slovak State was inevitable and that Czecho-Slovakia should never have existed because of the incompatibility of Czechs and Slovaks. It is essential to nail this lie because its dissemination plays into the hands of the Nazi aggressor, who exploits the "Trojan Horse" technique of attacking his victim from within by disruption. Unless this Nazi technique is clearly understood now, when it is being applied to Rumania, Poland, Denmark, and Yugoslavia, the struggle against Nazi aggression will be lost.

The fact is that, apart from a brief period after the war, when Hungarian money poured into Slovakia, Slovak separatism never existed. Originally the Czechs and Slovaks were the same people. But the accident of history which led the Czechs to form first the glorious kingdom of Bohemia and then to become part of Austria, while the Slovaks remained for a thousand years under Hungarian rule, led to separate development. Under the Austrians the Czechs were industrialised, whereas the Slovaks remained backward peasants. Finally, Jan Huss won the Czechs over from Catholicism, whereas the Slovaks kept faithful to Catholic priests, who still dominate them.

IN spite of these differences, the Czechs and Slovaks got on well together. Some of the most prominent Panslav and Czech nationalists of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were Slavs. Masaryk, maker of Czecho-Slovakia, was himself the son of a Slovak coachman, while Stefanik, generalissimo of the Czecho-Slovak forces

at the end of the war, was also a Slovak.

In the early days of the Czecho-Slovak Republic the administration of Slovakia had to be conducted largely by Czechs owing to the absence of enough educated Slovaks. Slovak industry, deprived of its Hungarian markets, suffered for a while. But these difficulties were gradually surmounted, and until Hitler's access to power there was little support for Father Hlinka's autonomist party. Even at the last election in Slovakia, less than a third of the population supported Hlinka. The Hlinka Party itself had a reactionary clerical wing led by Father Tiso, and the Radical Fascists, led by Durcausky, Sidor and Mach. They were amply supported by Germany and Hungary, and were able to seize power after Munich. From September, 1938, onwards, the Nazi Government openly supported and directed Slovak separation, and finally used it as an excuse to overrun Czecho-Slovakia. Without Nazi intervention, without the war upon her by Nazi Germany, Czecho-Slovakia would have continued to flourish as a buttress of ordered democratic freedom in Central Europe. It was because she was a buttress of freedom that she had to go.



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PARLIAMENT AND PEOPLE—No. 6

By RONALD CARTLAND, M.P.

Mr. Cartland was one of the 35 signatories, all Government supporters, and including Mr. Winston Churchill, Mr. Anthony Eden, Mr. Duff Cooper and Mr. L. S. Amery, of the motion put down in the House of Commons: "In view of the grave dangers by which Great Britain and the Empire are now threatened, following upon the successive acts of aggression in Europe and increasing pressure on smaller States, this house is of opinion that these menaces can only successfully be met by the vigorous prosecution of the foreign policy recently outlined by the Foreign Secretary. It is further of opinion that for this task a national Government should be formed on the widest possible basis and that such a Government should be entrusted with full powers over the nation's industry, wealth and man-power, to enable this country to put forward its maximum military effort in the shortest possible time."

EVER since the days of Munich, the apostles of appeasement have asserted their belief that all was for the best in the nearly best of all possible worlds. They never questioned Herr Hitler's good faith, for the Prime Minister himself had declared his belief in it. Sir Samuel Hoare had told the jitter-bugs off; another Cabinet Minister had said the barometer was set fair. Why worry? Germany's internal policy, of course, was to be regretted; most of all, perhaps, because of the reflections it cast upon Mr. Chamberlain's appeasement efforts. Dr. Goebbels, too, was unfortunate in some of his utterances. Dr. Ley's contempt for Christianity, expressed on his return to Germany after his cordial interviews with the Prime Minister, was really deplorable. And things were going on in Sudetenland and Austria that it didn't do to think too much about. But confidence was returning; appeasement was succeeding. The Golden Age was nigh.

In Presence of Disaster

Though the Munich critics made no attempt to hide their feelings, the fault with them maybe is that they did not voice them sufficiently loudly or often enough. They cultivated their own constituencies. They omitted to gather up the tares of ignorance and fear which nearly smothered the faithful all over England. For a time it looked as though their forebodings would be proved to be wrong. But there were no recantations. Justification, when it came, came swiftly and terribly. Would that such justification had not come! When the House met on the 15th—the Ides of March—they were in the presence of disaster, too late to do more than sorrowfully regret the past, and shudder at the present.

Members confronted with Nazi morality were surprised, shocked, indignant; for how long would that temper last? Within twenty-four hours, in some circles, it had come to be considered of the first importance to restore approval for Munich and the policy of appeasement. However, this is not the general opinion. Nothing is to be gained by regret. The future alone matters.

Is it possible even now to get agree-

ment on policy, and on the immediate steps which must be taken for our own security and Europe's salvation? Arm and unite should be our cry. No personal prestige must be considered if by the sacrifice of individuals national unity can be obtained and made effective. If after this writing on the wall the nation is allowed to sink into lethargy and is misled into a false security, every member will stand arraigned.

Neglect of Our Arms

Parliament already bears a heavy responsibility for the woeful state of our arms; should we not now consider whether every effort for peace or for victory in war has been made? Should war come, would the daily skirmish between parties continue? Would not differences, often deliberately exaggerated, be sunk before the common aim. Nothing would impress Germany more—and thereby perhaps avoid catastrophe—than wide national sacrifices initiated by a Government of all the talents by whom universal service and a conscription of wealth could alone be effected.

A good deal of mystery surrounds the astonishing inspired statement which appeared three days before Herr Hitler's latest exploit, bidding us be of good cheer, and assuring us of the confidence of His Majesty's Government in an immediate improvement in the international climate. This form of official propaganda is suspect; it does our Press little good, and, as in this case, people at once ask whence cometh this sign?

Inaccurate and Unqualified

Could this be of Foreign Office manufacture, the intelligent public asked on the Friday morning. On the following Tuesday, when the German troops were on the march, the same public shifted the supposed authorship to 10, Downing Street. The *communiqué*—for such it was—is now seen to have been of the nature of a prescription written after an inaccurate diagnosis by an obviously unqualified practitioner.

Mr. David Grenfell, the Labour member for Gower, scored what I think I may call a Parliamentary triumph in the debate which took place on the

Czechoslovakia murder. His eloquence—what an asset the Welsh tongue can be—his sincerity and his argument moved the House and held them tense. His speech was in contrast to the Prime Minister's, which was a plain, unadorned tale of tragedy. Sir John Simon seldom makes a bad speech, but his final effort on behalf of the Government touched bottom. His argument about our League commitments was involved and based, surely invalid, that nothing has changed since Mr. Eden's day. I am bound to say that the manner in which he dealt with the situation, in particular with Lord Halifax's "Major Road Ahead" declaration, dismayed many of his hearers.

Mr. Eden's speech, admirably delivered, found general support until he expressed his belief in the need for a reformed National Government. Both the Labour Party and some of the high-necked Tories are highly suspicious of such a proposal. Commander Bower and Mr. Richard Law joined in the chorus.

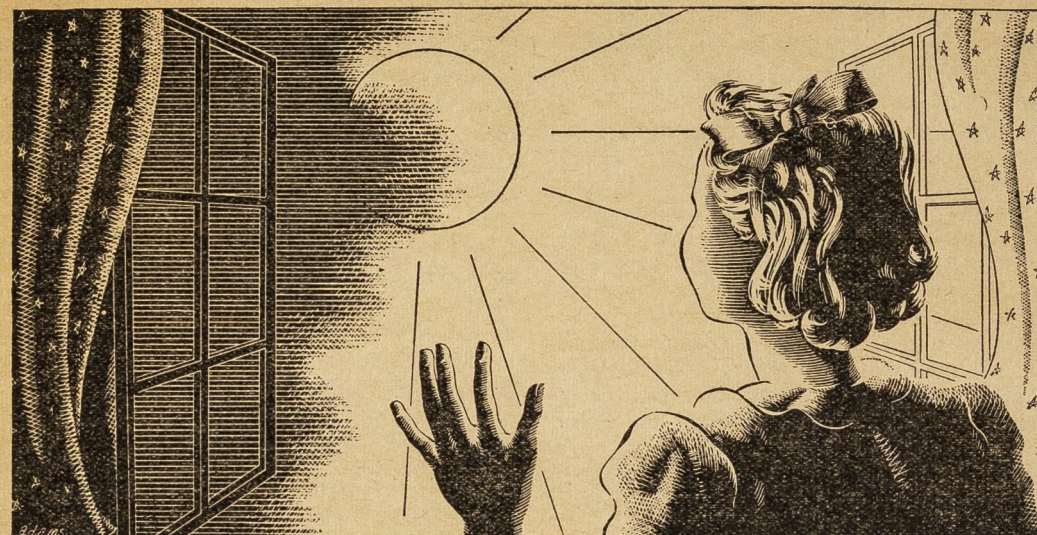
Breaker of Oaths

On the Naval Estimates the next day, Mr. Duff Cooper took the opportunity of an interruption to express his opinion of Herr Hitler: "That thrice-perjured traitor and breaker of oaths." Commander Fletcher followed Mr. Duff Cooper's example, and also expressed his opinion of the foreign policy which had resulted in such a disaster. It seems likely that, for some time to come, irrespective of the subject under debate, members will take any chance that comes to them of expressing their views, too, of the German Dictator.

These recent events have so overshadowed everything else that Parliament has done or thought about that, in retrospect, nothing and nobody individually remains clearly in one's mind.

With Lord Halifax's recent declarations and, in particular, the new approach to Russia, it seemed as though British policy was moving in the right direction to receive universal support for consequences which could only be beneficial to the whole.

Now, alas! all is again in the melting pot, and the future no one can foresee.



Smoke is Going!

Manchester has revolted against its pall of smoke. As a move towards making Manchester a smokeless city it is proposed to mark out an area in the city in which no smoke shall be emitted.

London, too, is taking action. In Whitehall Government offices 7,000 open fire places now burn smokeless fuel. And 94,000 out of the 115,000 tons of fuel burnt in Government offices are now smokeless.

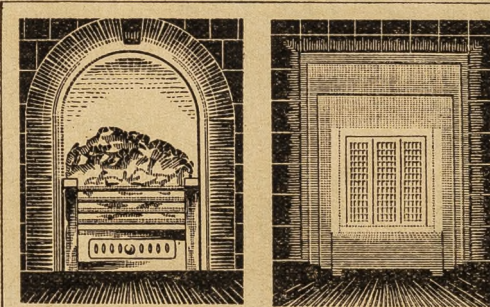
The Leader of the L.C.C., Mr. Herbert Morrison, has said, 'We are seriously considering the possibility of turning London into a smokeless city, at least as far as domestic smoke is concerned.'

Mr. Walter Elliot, Minister of Health, says, 'The development of smokeless fuels could make our cities clean as those of Ancient Greece.'

WHAT YOU CAN DO ABOUT SMOKE

Smoke cannot be banished without *your* help, because 70% of Smoke and Soot comes from *home* chimneys—*your* chimneys. Therefore every smoke making fire that is changed to smokeless fuel is a

contribution to clean homes, clean cities, healthier, easier living. Smoke is going, but you must help it go by using the cheap, labour-saving, smokeless fuels—Gas and Coke!



For a cosy, glowing, open fire that gives extra heat for less money—gas-ignited coke is the perfect modern fuel.

For quick, efficient heat on tap there's nothing so good as a modern gas fire. Smart to look at and cheap to run.

No soot—No smoke with

GAS & COKE

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POLAND THE COUNTRY OF THE PEACE PACT

POLAND is the country of the plain; its people are Western Slavs; their history has been a melodrama, sometimes rising into high tragedy, sometimes sinking into broad farce.

The Poles are admirable and tiresome. They have been prolific in great men, musicians, writers, scientists, soldiers. Europe owes them many a heavy debt. Catholics, in contact with the classical tradition, they have been the missionaries of civilisation into the East and its barrier against savagery from Asia. They have also fought heroically against the Turk along the Danube in another age when the West was blind to its duties in those regions. They have been the occasion of not a few crises for more prudent nations by their political incapacity, their failures to keep their house in order, their hatred of compromise, their delay in detecting their most deadly enemies. What the Poles have been they are still to-day.

Poland is beautiful. Its beauty is subdued and insidious: wide skies and level places and quiet colours. Everywhere lakes and rivers reflect the sky and are reflected back again. Forests of fir shelter the innumerable villages of peasants' timber houses, which cluster round sparkling churches, built of wood and plaster and washed either white or pink. Such is the heart of Poland, the basin of the Middle Vistula. Because long ago it was the floor of a vast lake the soil is fertile. Three Poles in every four are country dwellers. They harvest vast crops: twice the barley grown in Great Britain, three times the wheat and oats, fifty times the potatoes, besides immense quantities of rye and sugar beet. Northern Poland towards the Baltic coast is poorer, much of it sandy waste, the thin and scattered population wringing a bare subsistence from scrublands and

potato fields. Southern Poland again is different; there are hills and valuable mineral deposits, with industrial districts along the German Silesian border on the west and rolling wheat farms extending into the fabulous Ukraine in the east. Coal, oil, natural gas, iron, zinc are increasingly worked. The chief manufactures are textiles (both cotton and wool), paper, chemicals, timber, iron and steel, refined oils.

Poland has an area nearly twice the size of Great Britain. Its population is 35,000,000. It is much the greatest of the Powers outside the narrow circle of the Great. It has all the elements of national permanence; large population, extensive territory, varied resources, passionate independence, memories of glory and suffering which reach back a thousand years.

Such is the nation to whose help Great Britain is now pledged to come with all arms if it judges its independence threatened. France is likewise bound. In both Britain and France public opinion unitedly supports the governments. Nowhere is any serious doubt felt that the openly declared resolve of the democracies to join in resisting further aggression will help to save peace. But all danger is not over. Nor must Poland's honourable claims on the sympathy of the world be allowed to hide the weaknesses inherent in her recent history and her present situation.

Poland, indeed, despite many fine qualities, is far from being a perfect client. In a sudden fervour of admiration for a brave stand by the democracies, a multitude of time-servers are idealising Poland. That is only a second example of the paltriness they showed after Munich. Then they abused the Czechs. Czechoslovakia, they said, was a ramshackle state, standing on no foundation. It should never have existed, and could not have survived. It was itself to blame for its destruction. Having built up in twenty years the best ordered state in Central Europe, democratic, liberal, progressive, where the minorities enjoyed a freedom unknown in any neighbouring country, and suffered very few substantial grievances, the Czechs, just because they were betrayed, were blamed for the crime of which they were the victims. Now the Poles, who are not to be abandoned, are exalted by the same time-servers. Though a more generous line, it is not a more sensible one. The brutal truth is that if it was right to leave Czechoslovakia to be murdered, it is wrong to defend Poland. But it is not wrong to defend Poland.

Poland is a country of many minorities; Poles are a third of the population. Ukrainians, Jews, Germans, Lithuanians, Russians, Czechs—all have accusations to fling at their masters. The fate of many of the Polish Jews is scarcely happier than that of their brothers in Germany. In the south-east a long campaign of suppression, little removed from civil war, has been waged against a peasantry obstinately aware of the ties of race which reach across the Russian border. The Ukrainians are a rude, ignorant folk, but beatings and imprisonment and the destruction of their homes have failed to break them. In the east the frontier is drawn many miles beyond the dividing line between Poles and White Russians. In the north-east Poland holds Lithuanian territory. In the south-west the partition of Silesia under the peace treaty, twenty years ago, was carried out with little regard for justice. The claims of Poland outweighed the rights of Germany. Every one of Poland's neighbours can argue with good reason that she possesses lands which should be theirs, and that if she wishes for their lasting friendship she ought to make large surrenders.

Germany long looked upon the concessions she was com-

pelled to make to Poland as the least tolerable part of the peace treaty. She regarded the Silesian injustice with special bitterness. The corridor, a strip of barren country, in places only 50 miles wide, and little more than 100 long, which gave Poland her solitary outlet to the sea, was scarcely less disliked. It separated East Prussia from the rest of Germany, and its existence and purpose involved the German relinquishment of the famous ancient port of Danzig, which became a free city under the guardianship of the League of Nations. Because the facts were obvious and dramatic the corridor and Danzig caught the eye of the outer world as Silesia failed to do. Germany was generally confessed to have a real grievance. Almost as a matter of routine, prophets of an early war pointed to the corridor as the cause.

For a while Hitler changed all that. Five years ago he wished to make sure of Poland's benevolent neutrality. At the beginning of his career he grasped Bismarck's warning against a war on two fronts. He reproached the Kaiser for neglecting it. Before entering on a course of aggression which might bring him into conflict with France and Great Britain he secured his rear by withdrawing the German claims on Poland. In Poland, as in Tyrol, where under Italian rule a German minority suffers worse things than anywhere else in Europe, Hitler has shown that the need to redress injustice to Germany at any cost, even a world war, is not always imperative; when policy advises he can discreetly forget it. So for five years the corridor and Danzig and Silesia have been forgotten. Now, with the Rhineland occupied, Austria absorbed, Czechoslovakia annexed, Memel occupied, they are being brought back into notice.

Germany has a case against Poland. Especially in the matter of Silesia. Her case against Czechoslovakia was far less good, for the Sudeten Germans and their territory were not taken from her by the war or the peace. They were never hers. On the merits, to support Poland in an emphatic, unqualified "No," is a more dubious course than a firm defence of Czechoslovakia would have been. At the same time it must be added that the corridor and Danzig are not an outrage upon German rights. Free and secure access to the sea was promised to Poland in President Wilson's Fourteen Points, which were universally accepted as the basis of the peace settlement. And if Poland had to have a port within her unimpeded reach as a condition of her national existence, while the relatively liberal ideas of 1918 were still entertained, such a guarantee against economic strangulation is even more imperatively required in 1939 when Nazi Germany ruthlessly employs every economic influence under her control as a weapon of war.

Frederick the Great cherished less extravagant ambitions than Hitler, and was less wholly self-regarding in his dealings with his neighbours. Hitler has certainly not failed to remark that Frederick wrote in his political testament: "Whoever holds the estuary of the Vistula and Danzig will be more master of Poland than he who rules her," and he would have little scruple in following its advice to the utmost.

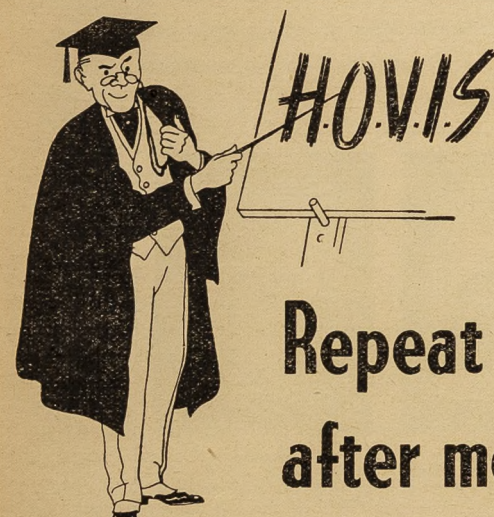
There is a case against Poland; there is also a case for Poland. But essentially both are irrelevant. What is fundamental is the right of nations to live free from the threat of violence. Britain's guarantee to Poland is justified on one ground and on one ground only. On that ground its justification is complete. It is a first, decisive step back towards the only world system which can assure the continuance of a civilised international order. It is a return to collective security, under which the peaceful nations co-operate in their common defence against an aggressor. It says to Poland: "You may be asked to negotiate; you must not be threatened with war."

FIRST IN THE FIELD



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WE NEED TO KNOW

By WICKHAM STEED

A commentary on a month of disaster for Europe

THE month of March, 1939, will long be memorable in our history. It formed a sequel to the (not less memorable) month of September, 1938. Of the September crisis we know something, though not enough. Of the March crisis we know little, far too little. We need to know more.

What we know is that on the afternoon of Thursday, March 9, representatives of British newspapers were given by someone in authority—rumour says by the Prime Minister himself—an encouraging statement. They were assured that the Italian claims upon France would soon be adjusted, that happy results were likely to flow from the impending trade talks between Great Britain and Germany, and that a Disarmament Conference might be held with good prospects of success before the close of the year.

In less than a week this authoritative information was shown to have been altogether wrong. What grounds were there for having believed it to be right? We do not know.

Promise of "Golden Age"

We do know, however, that shortly afterwards, on the evening of Friday, March 10, the Home Secretary and former Foreign Secretary, Sir Samuel Hoare, who is a member of the "Inner Cabinet," made a public speech at Chelsea, which was reported in the Press on Saturday, March 11. He announced a "great opportunity for the settlement of the world." Once freed from political crises, he said, trade and industry could start upon the most inspiring chapter of prosperity the world had ever known. He hinted at the existence of a five-year plan, "greater than any five-year plan that this or any other country had attempted in recent times," a plan which would ensure for the space of five years that there should be neither war nor rumours of war. And he went on, textually:—

Suppose that the peoples of Europe were able to free themselves from a nightmare that haunts them, and from expenditure on armaments that beggars them, could they not then devote the almost incredible inventions and discoveries of the time to the creation of a Golden Age in which poverty could be reduced to insignificance and the standard of living raised to heights never before attained?

Here, indeed, is the greatest opportunity that has ever been offered to the leaders of the world. Five men in Europe, the three Dictators and the

Prime Ministers of England and France, if they worked with a singleness of purpose and a unity of action to this end, might in an incredibly short space of time transform the whole history of the world. These five men working together, and blessed in their work by the President of the United States, might make themselves eternal benefactors of the human race. Our own Prime Minister has shown his determination to work heart and soul to such an end. I cannot believe that the other leaders of Europe will not join him in the high endeavour on which he is engaged.

Who Was to Blame?

We need to know on what grounds Sir Samuel Hoare spoke of the possible "creation of a Golden Age" at a moment when everything pointed to an age of blood and iron. His speech, and the echoes in the Press on Friday, March 10, of the statement made by or on behalf of the Prime Minister the day before, sent a procession of enquirers to Whitehall and the Foreign Office. The little they could learn was enough to convince them that neither Lord Halifax nor the Foreign Office knew anything of a prospective "Golden Age," and that at least one half of the Cabinet were equally ignorant of the reasons for the Prime Minister's and the Home Secretary's abounding optimism. So the mystery deepened.

These are matters of public knowledge. Quite as well known in many quarters, since it has been officially stated in France, is the fact that on Tuesday, March 7, the French Government received warning of Herr Hitler's intention to strike a "lightning blow" at the remnant of Czechoslovakia not later than March 15. By Wednesday, March 8, this warning reached London. It meant that the destruction both of Czechoslovakia and of the Munich "Agreement" might be at hand—the "Agreement" which the Prime Minister had described on his return from Munich on October 1, 1938, as giving us "peace with honour" and "peace for our time." We need to know how, in these circumstances, the reassuring information could be given to the Press on the afternoon of March 9 and how Sir Samuel Hoare could make his "Golden Age" speech on March 10?

There were other signs of coming evil. On March 9, Dr. Tiso, Prime Minister of the self-governing province of Slovakia within the rump Czechoslovak State, had attempted to

establish the complete independence of Slovakia by armed force. Our Government knew that Dr. Tiso was unlikely to have done this without the approval of Herr Hitler, whose instrument he was. But on Friday, March 10, the Czechoslovak President, Dr. Hacha, in the exercise of his constitutional authority, dismissed and ordered the arrest of Dr. Tiso and other Slovak separatists. On the morning of March 11 *The Times* (which is not, as a rule, unaware of British official views) congratulated Dr. Hacha on the firm manner in which he had dealt with the separatist movement, and said that his action seems "significantly to show that he is master in his own house and is capable of dealing with disaffection without need for foreign assistance in his task."

Meanwhile, throughout the week between Saturday, March 4, and Saturday, March 11, *The Times* had published a series of letters in support of the Prime Minister against his critics who, led by Dr. Gilbert Murray, had expressed distrust of Mr. Chamberlain's policy. On March 4, Dr. Gilbert Murray had written:—

I can never remember a time when the nation was so bitterly divided, and a large minority at any rate so full of an almost savage mistrust of the real aims of the Prime Minister. No doubt they are unreasonable. But, to take one instance, anyone who is familiar with the Youth Movements will have observed, on the one hand, their eager readiness for public service and self-sacrifice, and on the other hand their intense reluctance to put their lives at the disposal of a Government whose whole aims and purposes they regard with extreme—and no doubt unjustified—suspicion.

"Times" Leading Article

In the columns of *The Times*, at least, the weight of numbers was on the side of Mr. Chamberlain against Dr. Gilbert Murray. On the morning of Monday, March 13, *The Times* published a leading article in defence of the Prime Minister. It contained a significant passage, in the spirit of Sir Samuel Hoare's speech of March 10:—

They (British aims) remain in 1939 what they were in 1938. Now, as then, there is readiness to confer and to co-operate with any country, under whatever Government, that is prepared to enter negotiation in the spirit of reciprocity . . . If anything distin-

guishes this year from its predecessor it is the knowledge that Germany has completed those demands upon her neighbours which, by their own professions, they were unable conscientiously to contest, and yet had failed to satisfy while the way of orderly settlement was still open.

The second part of this passage was obviously aimed at Dr. Benes and the Government of unpartitioned Czechoslovakia, who had put forward on September 6—that is to say, before, not after, the Munich "Agreement"—proposals which Lord Runciman thought a reasonable basis for a solution of the Sudeten German problem within the Czechoslovak State. The passage was doubtless meant to justify Mr. Chamberlain's part in forcing Czechoslovakia to cede her Sudeten German regions, and her fortifications, to Germany, because (as Lord Runciman has recorded) the very reasonableness of the Czechoslovak proposals rendered them unpalatable to Hitler's men.

Next day, Tuesday, March 14, *The Times* reported that Herr Hitler had called Dr. Tiso (whom the Czechoslovak Government had been obliged to release) to Berlin, had paid him the honours due to a Prime Minister, and placed him in charge of Slovakia. In a leading article *The Times* described these things as "a proceeding which, in normal times, would cause something like stupefaction in the Chanceries of Europe."

Hitler's Normal Way

Why "stupefaction"? It had long been Herr Hitler's normal way of proceeding, as his treatment of Austria showed. More of this "normality" swiftly followed. Dr. Tiso had hardly flown back to Slovakia when President Hacha of Czechoslovakia was summoned to appear before Herr Hitler in Berlin, and was compelled, in the early hours of Wednesday, March 15, to hand over the remainder of the Czechoslovak Republic to Germany on pain of seeing Prague bombed by German aircraft. Before he left Prague German troops had entered his country. That morning *The Times* headed its leading article: "Czechoslovakia Destroyed." Before night Herr Hitler had gone to Prague as a conqueror, there to rule in the stead of Dr. Hacha, President Benes and President Masaryk.

It is needless now to recount the further stages of this destruction, or the subjugation of Memel and the bringing to heel of Hungary and Rumania by Hitler. Nor shall I dwell upon the indignant speech made by the Prime Minister at Birmingham on Friday, March 17—exactly a week after Sir Samuel Hoare's "Golden Age" speech at Chelsea—in which he asked: "What

reliance can be placed upon any other assurances that come from the same source," seeing that Herr Hitler had shown all the "Munich" assurances to be utterly worthless? What we need to know is why the Prime Minister and his colleagues ever attached any value to any assurance from Herr Hitler, and why they went bail for his sincerity, seeing that Herr Hitler has, throughout his career, respected no promise he has given save only his undertaking to make the "Aryan" German people the ruling race on earth.

Facts Which Were Ignored

Other things, too, we need to know. The Prime Minister and the "Inner Cabinet" have long had at their disposal trustworthy information upon the progress of German rearmament. They have known where it was strong and where it was weak. Mr. Winston Churchill and others have constantly informed the public, and have outlined the policy that ought to be followed. Why have the Government ignored this information? Even last September they knew that Germany could not hope to wage a successful war against Great Britain, France and Czechoslovakia, even should Soviet Russia hold aloof. They knew, or might have known, that the reserve divisions of the German army were inadequately equipped with transport and with heavy and light artillery; and they were, to

my knowledge, warned that should Hitler order his army to attack Czechoslovakia, that order might well be the last he would ever be able to give. They knew, or should have known, that Hitler cared little for the Sudeten Germans, but cared much for the removal of the Czechoslovak fortifications and of the Czechoslovak army as fatal obstacles to his domination of Central and South-Eastern Europe. Yet, in the name of "appeasement," they helped him to remove these obstacles.

In Power for Seven Years

Why? We need to know. It is said we were not ready. But who had been in power for seven years? By whom were our Ministers misled or duped? To their experienced advisers we know they paid no heed. They preferred to trust advisers without experience or knowledge—until they reached the climax of folly in their grotesque information to the Press on March 9 and in the Home Secretary's "Golden Age" speech next evening.

One thing more we need to know: How can we, as a nation, still put our trust in Ministers who have been so deaf to every warning, so blind to every decisive fact, and so ready to cherish ill-informed hopes?

To-day, this is the most urgent of the things we need to know.

TRUE FUNCTION OF L.N.U.

By the EARL OF LYTTON.

Chairman of Executive Committee, League of Nations Union.

THE League of Nations Union is not responsible for the foreign policy of this country; it is not concerned to attack or defend the Government, but to support the League of Nations and to educate the people of this country in the methods by which the League could be used for the preservation of peace.

The purpose of the Union, as defined in its Charter, is "to secure the whole-hearted acceptance by the British people of the League of Nations as the guardian of international right, the organ of international co-operation, the final arbiter in international differences, and the supreme instrument for removing injustices which may threaten the peace of the world."

It is our duty to pursue that purpose by every available means, regardless of any party consideration. We have first to convince the people of the country that the League can fulfil the functions enumerated above if it is used

both with faith and with courage. We have next to try to persuade the Government so to use it, to support all its attempts to do so, to criticise all its failures to do so.

In this connection it is important to remember that we have never suggested that this country should take unilateral action either in disarmament, conciliation or coercion. Agreement and common action are essential features of the Covenant system. We should never hold a British Government responsible for failure to secure agreement or collective action which it had genuinely and sincerely tried to obtain. But, though unilateral action has never been advocated, we have often urged our Government to take the initiative in proposing the collective action which is indicated in the Covenant either for the removal of grievances or for resistance to aggression. No corporate body like the Council or Assembly of the League of Nations can function without leader-

ship. It is that leadership which we have repeatedly urged our Government to supply, and rarely with success.

When to Criticise

To criticise a Government which was trying to make the League work merely because we did not like its political complexion would be to make a party use of an all-party organisation. But equally to refrain from criticising a Government that failed to use the League and belittled its powers merely because we approved of its political complexion or because it was composed of our political friends would be to put party before principles. If some who originally had faith in the League have lost it, and now agree with the Government that it is an ineffective instrument for peace, they are justified in resigning their membership of the Union, but they have no right to blame the Union for remaining true to its Charter.

In the House of Lords on March 20, Lord Halifax described the two theses which since the War have been advocated "as the best method of avoiding conflicts and creating security for the nations of the world." The first was the collective system, which he rightly

described as "the thesis expressed in the Covenant of the League of Nations," and which has been consistently advocated by the L.N.U. The second was that "upheld by those who consider that systems seeking to provide collective security involved dangerously indefinite commitments quite disproportionate to the real security that those commitments gave." That has, since 1935, been the thesis advanced by the Government. Lord Halifax rightly said they were conflicting. The moral is obvious.

Lord Halifax's Conclusion

The most significant feature of Lord Halifax's speech, however, was the admission contained in his concluding words that the recent destruction of Czechoslovakia by Germany had "tipped the scale the other way"—i.e., in the direction always advocated by the Union—and that the Government "had not failed to draw the moral from these events." These words are immensely welcome, for they encourage us to hope that the policy of the Union will now receive once more the official backing which, having regard to the election pledges of the Government, it ought never to have lost.

SOME RULE OF LAW AND JUSTICE

By GILBERT MURRAY

THE great need of the world is Security. It is Insecurity, and the Rule of Violence which causes Insecurity, that are poisoning all international relations and consequently all our economic social and moral life.

How are we to get Security? The failure of the League to protect Abyssinia and other League Members against obvious aggression has led different people to two opposite conclusions. Some are saying "The Covenant set altogether too high a standard for nations to follow. Politics are not morals. Let us drop the League, recognise that every nation fights for its own hand, and seek Security by avoiding danger and in every dispute siding carefully with the stronger."

The L.N.U. says: "We European nations have failed to live up to the standard of the Covenant. Yet no lower standard will save us. We must try again and try harder."

Take two contrasted statements: Mr. Eden to his constituents: "Many of us who fought in the Great War must

have felt that, if ever we survived, we must devote our energies to establishing in international affairs some rule of law and justice, without which peace can never be assured."

Herr Hitler in "Mein Kampf": "There can only be peace when the man of highest value has made himself sole lord of the earth. . . . Peace can only come when the victorious sword of a master people has seized the world" (pp. 315, 438).

These two principles or "ideologies" are not new. They are quite ancient, but they are opposed and incompatible: right against might, law against anarchy. The practical problem of British foreign policy is to establish the first principle without in the meantime precipitating a war against the upholders of the second. Compromises may sometimes be inevitable, but every compromise with violence is a defeat for the law. The recent controversies about Abyssinia, Czechoslovakia, Spain and China have all hinged on the balance of disadvantage between a cer-

tain surrender of principle and a possible or probable danger of war.

Two Forms of Attack

Our permanent danger is not a direct attack by the Dictators; our danger is the progressive undermining of security and the rule of law. This process is taking two forms:—

(1) The Dictators from time to time seek to subjugate by war or intrigue one weaker state after another, confronting us at each point with the choice of either risking a conflict by defending the victim of aggression or acquiescing in an injustice which weakens both our moral prestige and our military strength.

(2) The Dictators seek systematically to undermine the rule of law by taking all negotiations and disputes away from the League of Nations and International Arbitration and having them handled by the haggling of "power politics."

Our object must be to insist on having all such negotiations determined by League methods or at least in accordance with League principles. Our aim must be to re-establish the general belief in "some rule of law and justice," and not despairingly accept its utter defeat.

We have thus to rebuild the broken Society of Nations by—

(a) making it more just and progressive, and showing by our whole policy that we will give full consideration to every reasonable claim; (b) making it more solid, capable of a united defence of peace, and too strong for any aggressor or group of aggressors to attack.

The Peace Front

No doubt the Dictators could take Malta or conquer Denmark whenever they pleased, but that would not be the end of the business, and they are not likely to risk it. No doubt they could conquer an isolated Britain or France. But Britain and France are not isolated; they are united and armed—and not only Britain and France. Though it would be unsuitable here to speculate about the probable action of any foreign country in case of war, there is a profound identity of interest and principle which unites Britain, France, the United States, the European democracies, and, in foreign policy, even Russia, not to speak of other countries which share the universal human dislike of being threatened and bullied.

After all, the problem of peace is not purely military. It is not purely political. It is one in which the common will and conscience of mankind play a persistent and perhaps a decisive part. It is the falsest of "realisms" to ignore such realities. Surely we have here abundant raw material out of which good statesmanship can build that rule of peace and justice which almost the whole of humanity desires.

DESPATCHES FROM THE CAPITALS

HEADWAY'S SPECIAL CORRESPONDENTS

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT DETERMINED TO HALT RETREAT

WASHINGTON, March 7.

EUROPE, whether it likes it or not, might as well accustom itself to the idea of the United States as a factor in its balance of power.

That is the conclusion which is emerging here from a fervid nationwide discussion of foreign policy stimulated by the positive rôle President Roosevelt has elected to play in European affairs since Munich. The whole country, from the village cross road to the Senate of the United States, has been debating the subject. There has been much criticism of the atmosphere of menace which Mr. Roosevelt has created towards the axis Powers. But when the debates are analysed the fact emerges that by and large the American people agree with the President on certain fundamentals.

They agree, for example, that they don't like Nazism in Germany. They agree that there is something inherent in European aggression which is dangerous to the United States. They continue to be uneasy about some of the things Mr. Roosevelt implies. But, and this is what is most significant to Europe, there is no appreciable disposition anywhere to take the responsibility of stopping his foreign policy.

Opposition Is Split

The Republican opposition is split on the issue. In fact the President's most enthusiastic supporter is Henry L. Stimson, Secretary of State in the last Republican Cabinet. The Senate, which enjoys under the Constitution joint responsibility with the President for foreign policy, is disclosing an unexpected trend away from its traditional isolationism. I recently spent an entire week debating the Roosevelt policies. There was a vast amount of criticism. But when it was over and the speeches were analysed, it became apparent that the Senate's isolationism was much less in fact than appeared on the surface. The arch isolationist of them all, Senator Hiram Johnson of California, preached isolation, but included repeal of the neutrality act in his definition. Senator Arthur Vandenberg of Michigan, a prominent possibility for the Republican Presidential nomination in the next election, waved the old American catch phrase of "no entangling alliances," but warned the country against any assurance that the United States would not "join in a resistance to conquest and freebootery."

Behind the Senate scene an unexpected thing developed. Several Senators who are publicly hostile to the administration and critical of the President's policies conceded a willingness to accept repeal of the embargo section of the Neutrality Act which, if left in force, would shut off the supply of American arms to any belligerent.

The question of the arms embargo is the crux of the President's policy. If it is retained the effect is to make his remarks sound like a hollow bluff. If it is repealed it enhances their meaning many fold. The Senatorial willingness to consider repeal indicates a growing disposition to give the President the means of making his words more effective.

Twofold Purpose

As for the President's policy, its essential elements are now quite clear. Its purpose is twofold. First, it is intended to dissuade Hitler and Mussolini from any assumption that they can discount the United States as a factor in the European balance of power. Second, it is intended to force London and Paris to make a stand against further

aggression, quite regardless of whether they want to or not. The second aspect may seem in London to come with ill grace from the safe side of the Atlantic, which would not bear the brunt of war if a stand brought war. But it is the fact.

The means Mr. Roosevelt has taken to achieve this end fall in two categories. Under the first are tangible steps to increase the military potential of the nations which oppose the aggressor Powers. They include American rearmament, giving priority to English orders in American aircraft factories over U.S. Army orders, and releasing a particular type of new bomber for sale to France which the U.S. Army was very anxious to have exclusively for itself. The climax of this part of his policy would be repeal of the embargo section of the Neutrality Act. The President has indicated his desire to have this done, and the effort will be made in Congress to bring it about as soon as the national defence programme is completed. That will provide the real test of Congressional willingness to let him carry on.

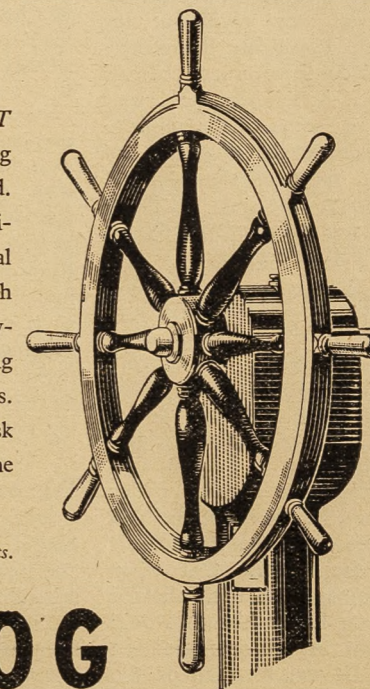
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Pressure on Paris and London

Under the second category are the speeches and statements familiar in Europe which have constituted a repeated warning to the dictatorships and a would-be rallying cry for general resistance to them.

If this policy is beginning to be resented as inflammatory and dangerous in London and Paris it occasions no regret at the White House. It is an open secret in Washington that Mr. Roosevelt holds the policy of "appeasement" in low esteem, and has no scruples whatever about attempting to force its abandonment regardless of what its sponsors desire. He holds the willingness to retreat equally responsible with aggressive intent for the deterioration of world order, and is relentlessly determined to halt it by all means within his control. White House circles are already pointing as justification to the apparent collapse of Italian demands on France. Rightly or wrongly, the President and his diplomatic advisers believe that his policy has been an essential factor in preventing another retreat, or a war, over these demands, and they therefore feel warranted in pressing on along the same line.

No Revolt in Senate

The important new element in the situation at this writing is the dwindling prospect of any revolt in the Senate against President Roosevelt's policy. It will continue unless checked by the Senate. And while the Senate is disturbed over some of the implications, it is increasingly disposed not only to refrain from interference, but even to trail along, providing the President does not use it too obviously for domestic political advantage.

MUNICH DESTROYED

PARIS, March 22.

HITLER'S invasion of Czechoslovakia destroyed completely the Munich policy of appeasement and the Franco-German declaration of December 6.

The Daladier-Bonnet foreign policy was based on the assumption that Hitler's promises could be trusted. It was built on the premise that when the Sudeten Germans had been allowed to join the Reich Hitler himself would respect the right of self-determination of the Czechs. It was founded on the belief, rather naïve, it must be confessed, in view of the Fuehrer's record, that his word could be taken at its face value when he said that with the incorporation of Sudetenland in the Third Reich he had no further territorial claims to present in Europe.

These illusions were utterly destroyed when Hitler substituted the theory of

"vital space" for "self-determination" as the basis of his policy, and when he proceeded to act in Central Europe without consulting the French as he was bound to do under the Franco-German declaration.

At last the bitter truth that no pledge given by Hitler is worth the paper on which it is written was brought home to Daladier, who ever since he was first Premier in 1933 had dreamed of bringing about a rapprochement between France and Germany. The tragic fate of the Czechs revealed how valueless is Hitler's renunciation of any claims to Alsace-Lorraine given in his speeches and in the treaty signed by Bonnet and von Ribbentrop at Paris. Obviously Mussolini knew what he was talking about when he remarked that "frontiers are not discussed; they are defended."

Force Alone Counts

It is now apparent that France must rely on her own armed might and on that of her allies for safety in a Europe in which henceforth force alone counts. Acting on this principle Daladier asked Parliament to give his Ministry plenary powers until November 30. The French democracy, he said, must be put in a position to fight on equal terms the dictatorships whose strength lies in the rapidity and secrecy of their action. Twice before in the eleven months it has been in office the Daladier Government has demanded and obtained these special powers—a sad commentary on the breakdown of the Parliamentary system in this country. But on the two previous occasions the decree powers were limited to taking measures to cope with the financial crisis. Now the powers extend to all fields of governmental activity. Its effect is, as Léon Blum has observed, to transform France into a "totalitarian democracy." Indeed, since the granting of these powers, the existing French political system greatly resembles the régime or emergency decrees by which Dr. Heinrich Brüning governed Germany in the last days of the Weimar Republic.

We are Facing a Tempest

Daladier's proposal was fiercely fought in the Chamber of Deputies by Socialists and Communists on the ground that it would enable the Premier to set up a quasi-Fascist régime in France. They accused Daladier of planning to enact the budget by decree so as to dispense with the necessity of summoning Parliament, of gagging the Press, of proscribing the Communist party, and of prolonging the mandate of the present Chamber of Deputies in order to avoid the holding of a general election next spring. Henri de Kerillis, the "anti-Munich" Nationalist deputy, thought it extraordinary that a Govern-

ment whose foreign policy had just collapsed so ignominiously should ask for such drastic powers as if on the morrow of a great victory.

Daladier, however, stood firm in his demand. "We are facing a tempest," he told the Senate. "Peace-time methods no longer suffice. We are in a trench which we must defend to the end!" He promised not to misuse his powers and to respect the "Republican liberties" of France. But he would give no pledge about holding elections next year, saying that depended on circumstances. The Bill was adopted by the Chamber by a small majority of 54 votes, but the Conservative Senate responded more handsomely, giving 286 votes for it to only 17 against.

More Munitions

The first batch of decrees promulgated are not extreme. They confer on the Government the right to increase the cadres of the professional army, to levy additional forces of North African natives, to call up reservists to the colours at any time, and to make the publication of military information not revealed by the authorities punishable by law. Production in munitions plants is to be increased by establishing a sixty-hour week in national defence factories, and orders from the Defence Ministries are to receive priority over those placed by private buyers. But, contrary to expectation, a centralised Ministry of Supplies was not set up, neither was a Ministry of Propaganda. Nor was the forced conversion of the public debt into a uniform rate of 3 per cent. put into effect by Finance Minister Paul Reynaud, though it had been freely predicted.

M. Flandin Opposes

In the diplomatic field the lead has been taken by Britain in proposing a peace league to stop Hitler that would include Soviet Russia. That delights Blum and Kerillis, who have all along urged the importance of tightening up the Russian alliance. It is also in conformity with the traditional policy of France. The Catholic kings of this country solicited the support of Islam Turkey to keep Austria in check and Republican France did not scruple to form an alliance with Czarist Russia against Imperial Germany. But the British initiative runs directly counter to the policy of certain influential French politicians such as Flandin, who urged the denunciation of the Franco-Soviet Pact, and, relying on the Franco-German declaration, thought that France could limit her commitments to defending her homeland and her empire and could let Eastern Europe shift for itself.

BERLIN, March 12.

PERSONAL conversations and newspaper letters suggest that there are British business men who have a sneaking regard for the Nazis and their methods. They will tell you that they are disgusted with the cold pogroms against the Jews and the inhuman treatment of their opponents by the present rulers of Germany, but at the same time leave behind the impression that "it would not be a bad thing if a British Nazi movement were to come and sweep away" other things at hand to which they object.

Though the critics may not know it, such an attitude is by no means original. In fact, in the Germany of the past decade they have an ominous example which they should study. In particular they should note the results for themselves. For it was just thus that finance and big industry and many of the smaller tradespeople argued and acted; and their actions finally put Hitler where he is to-day. It is now history to state that they thought the Nazis were to be in power only as long as it suited their purpose, since there were always the power of money and certain indirect influences upon which they could count to change the government when they desired. It sounded fine—but how different the reality!

What Have the Nazis Done for Business?

Let us leave aside all humanitarian considerations and just look for one moment at what the Nazis have done for business. Never was it so tied by restrictions, and nowhere is the business man more controlled and dictated to at every turn. Individuality in business has disappeared wherever State interests are concerned, and unless it is contributing to the furtherance of national aims, i.e., *Wehrwirtschaft* or economic preparations for the totalitarian war, an undertaking stands little chance of getting either workers or raw materials, especially if these latter have to be imported.

If you are a manufacturer whose products are not considered of primary importance by the Nazis then one day you may turn up and find a letter saying that the *Arbeitsfront* (Labour Office) orders you to despatch a number of your best workers elsewhere at a few hours' notice. This may mean the holding up of an important private contract, but that does not concern the authorities, and to protest is useless, in fact dangerous, as you may be branded an enemy of the régime. Or, maybe you consider yourself lucky when you buy a business cheaply from a Jew. But soon you realise your mistake. Not only is an extra contribution to the State often necessary, but you may be even com-

PRIVATE ENTERPRISE IS NOT FREE IN GERMANY

pelled to agree to such conditions as that you will guarantee the same or a greater turnover than your Jewish predecessor and will continue to employ at least as large a staff, however bad business may be.

The Industrialist Who Was Weary of Trade Unions

You are perhaps an industrialist who was weary, in 1932, of the constant interference of the trades unions with threats of strike at every turn. Are you any freer to-day? It is true that the State has practically outlawed strikes—and lockouts—but you as an employer find that now you also have your taskmaster who prescribes what you are to do and how and when it is to be done.

Nowadays, should you decide that your factory must employ fewer men in order to be profitable, this is not enough. The decision rests elsewhere, and you will do well not to get marked down as *asocial*, especially if your past political record showed opposition or mere indifference to Nazism before 1933. You will also see to it that your contribution to such "voluntary" funds as the *Winterhilfe* are equal to what the local party organisers expect and be prepared to grant free time with pay to special Nazi workers and to all on special occasions, such as May 1, or be able to supply a very satisfactory alibi.

Taxes and Voluntary Contributions Still Increase

Hitler's coming to power gave a tremendous impetus to internal trade, and, after excluding all those doing labour or military service and useless jobs in the party, it is probably fair to say that more than 3,000,000 extra people are now employed than in 1933. But this does not mean that the industrialist has been able to reap the profits. These are reduced by law to 6 per cent.—in special cases 8 per cent.—and all estimates for big contracts are so carefully pruned by the State assessors that you would be lucky to make any higher profits nowadays. Taxes and "voluntary" contributions continue to increase, often not so much directly as indirectly through a revision of the taxation methods. But even that would not be so bad if the manufacturer could get credits at a reasonable rate. As it is, the credit market is first and foremost intended for State loans, and it was one of the complaints against Reichsbank President, Dr. Hjalmar Schacht, that he continued to give too much opportunity for the floating of private loans. As for State loans, these must be taken up as

far as possible. Difficult as it may be to do this, it is done all the more unwillingly when you have little confidence in the way in which it is being spent, when you have no proper accounts published of the State Budget. The Reich has certainly far less foreign or internal debts than is generally supposed abroad, but it carries billions of marks worth of bills in its current accounts which will take a very long time to be redeemed. In fact, if the State owes you anything it will take many months before you are paid. Sell a house or land to the State and try to get "cash down" for it!

Real Condition of Things Kept a Secret

The banker never had much to say in support of Nazi methods. He just had to take them. But nowadays, with men of doubtful competence and certainly little experience at the head of the financial system, he has resigned himself to obeying the dictates of politics and hoping for the best. For not only have orthodox methods been superseded but orthodox standards are also now out of date in the Third Reich, and as little information as possible of the real condition of things is allowed to pass beyond the knowledge of a very select few.

The small tradesman has also not found the Third Reich to be the paradise painted to him during the pre-1933 campaigning days. Big stores like Woolworths still stand, so do others like Messrs. Wertheim, Hermann Tietz and Israel, even though these latter may have had to change names and ownership because they were Jewish. The promises which the Nazis once made to gain their support have not resulted in an increase in the number of small traders: in fact, only recently a decree was published authorising the authorities to close down small shops where they were considered superfluous and to send the men to work elsewhere.

Birthright Surrendered for a Mess of Pottage

The British business man, who may consider that all the talk of the lack of freedom in Germany means nothing to him, will do well to ponder over the consequences which Nazi rule has brought to his colleagues there. They never asked for this. All they did was ignorantly to surrender their birthright, and that for a mess of pottage which is being shamefully stolen from them, spoonful by spoonful, to feed the monster of the totalitarian state, whom they themselves to-day know will never be satisfied.

THE BALKANS AND THE SWASTIKA

By F. ELWYN JONES

Who has an intimate knowledge of the countries about which he writes, and surveys the present state of affairs in South Eastern Europe

IN Athens there is an admirable cab-driver named Demosthenes. The last time he drove me beneath the blue Athenian sky he told me:

Mark my words. We will not have the swastika here. The old Emperor Wilhelm tried to colonise the Balkans. Where he failed, do you think Hitler will succeed?

That was in 1937. Since then Czecho-Slovakia, mainspring of the Little Entente, buttress of security in South-Eastern Europe, has been conquered, and the swastika flies over Prague.

Where do the Balkans, the vital link between Europe and Asia, stand now? Is there any hope of resistance to the Nazi plan described by Herr Funk, German Minister of Economics, a few weeks after Munich—"an economic system will be created which will reach from the North Sea to the Black Sea. South-Eastern Europe and Asia Minor possess almost everything that Germany needs." During 1939 Nazi Germany has revealed her determination to establish a form of "Monroe Doctrine" for the whole Balkan area, by which Germany is to have complete sway over the foreign and economic policies of the Balkan States. Can the Balkans resist the Nazi attack and nullify Hitler's *Divide et impera* policy?

In the first place it is important to consider whether such a thing as Balkan solidarity exists, apart from the will to resist of the individual Balkan countries, each of which places a high value on freedom.

All the Balkan countries except Bulgaria and Albania are members of the Balkan Entente, which consists of Turkey, Greece, Yugoslavia, and Rumania.

Albania

Albania, the smallest and least important of these countries, is to all intents and purposes an Italian colony, with the Italian Ambassador as unofficial Governor. Italians control the life of the country. An Italian company, E.I.A.A., has a monopoly of Italian imports, and skilfully exploits its position so as to hinder Albania's trade with other countries. It employs thousands of agents to penetrate into every part of Albania. Mussolini has not been slow to use this control for military purposes, constructing a series of military roads and fortifications and transforming Durazzo into a big naval

base intended to stop the entry of the British Fleet into the Adriatic.

Bulgaria

The isolation of Bulgaria is the chief obstacle in the way of Balkan solidarity. It is true that this isolation was to some extent overcome by the Salonica Agreement of July 31, 1938, between Bulgaria and the Entente Powers. By this agreement Bulgaria adhered to the non-aggression understanding already in force between members of the Entente. In return the Entente Powers agreed to renounce clauses in the Treaty of Neuilly which limited Bulgaria's military strength.

There is, however, a strong sense of grievance in Bulgaria against the members of the Balkan Entente. There are large Bulgarian minorities in Rumania, Turkey, Greece, and Yugoslavia, and after Munich there were violent street demonstrations in Sofia against the Kiosseivanov Government for its failure to press Bulgaria's claims. Bulgaria's relations with her neighbours are now satisfactory. Hitler's annexation of Bohemia and Moravia drew Bulgaria much closer to her Balkan neighbours, and on the very day the Reichswehr occupied Prague, anti-German demonstrations took place in Sofia. Given good will on both sides, Bulgaria may in the near future join the Balkan Entente in a Balkan Federation.

One obstacle only stands in the way and that is the failure of the Balkan States to give liberal treatment to the Bulgarian minorities. So long as these minorities are denied liberty of language, culture and organisation, their claims are likely to flare up in any crisis, particularly since Hitler has taken up the convenient rôle of Protector of Minorities.

The Balkan Entente

In spite of difficulties with Bulgaria, the Balkan Entente is by a well-established institution working in the spirit of Kemal Ataturk and Alexander of Yugoslavia, who founded the Entente with the slogan "The Balkans for the Balkan peoples" and "Unity gives Force." Behind the political façade of the Entente is a military understanding. The General Staffs of the four countries of the Entente are in close consultation, and at their last open conference in Athens in November, 1938, General Papagos,

Chief of the Greek General Staff, declared that in their corner of Europe "international security could find no surer foundation than the close union of their four armies."

A regional security system thus already exists in the Balkans in spite of German and Italian attempts to destroy it. The strength of this security system depends firstly on the resolution of each of its members, and secondly, on the support it receives from outside, particularly from Britain and France. For though the Balkan peoples have infinite courage, they are ill-equipped to defend their wheat, oil and minerals from the plunderer who covets them. Germany's conquest of Czecho-Slovakia has worsened their military plight, for they used to get their arms from the Skoda works and from Brno. Now that supply is in German hands. Only if they are guaranteed effective military support—and not merely moral gestures—from Britain and France, will the Balkan States be able to come out boldly into an anti-Nazi position.

Turkey

The strongest State in the Balkan Entente is Turkey. Turkey is a staunch friend of Britain and France. She has maintained close relations with Soviet Russia for years and, like her, wants peace above all else so that she may be able to transform herself from a backward agricultural country to a modern industrial State. To achieve peace, not only has she been active in the Balkan Entente, to the East, she has joined Afghanistan, Irak and Iran in a Pact of Non-Aggression, signed at Saadabad in July, 1937.

Nazi Germany has shown active interest in this vital strategic power which controls the passage of all warships, as well as the bulk of Europe's oil imports, through the Black Sea Straits. Dr. Schacht actually succeeded in establishing Germany's economic ascendancy over Turkey by his clearing plan which by November, 1936 secured for the Reich 45 per cent. of Turkey's import and 51 per cent. of her export trade. The Turkish Government became alarmed at this danger of economic enslavement and warmly welcomed the British approaches which culminated in May, 1938, in a British loan of £16,000,000 to Turkey.

After Munich Herr Funk came to

Dr. Schacht's former hunting-ground and agreed to lend Turkey £12,500,000. Acceptance of this loan however does not indicate any change in Turkey's affections, nor does the death of Kemal Ataturk appear to have altered the situation. His successor, Ismet Inonu, was schooled by the late President, and like most of his fellow-countrymen, he realises that Turkish independence has more to fear from a strong Germany than from a powerful Britain and France. Turkey's position in the present crisis is thus summed up by the Turkish newspaper *Tan*:

Turkey is compelled to join the Peace Front because Germany's expansionist programme includes a drive to the east. Turkey's allies—Rumania and Yugoslavia—lie in the way.

The crushing of Rumania and Yugoslavia would mean the end of the Balkans. The peril is spreading to our own door. A common front might remove all danger from the totalitarian States' menaces, because the front would be superior in men and armaments, navies and air forces, money and raw materials. Before such might the Axis would have to modify its policy based on force.

Greece

Greece has settled her former bitter disputes with Turkey and Yugoslavia. The Government of General Metaxas, however, is notoriously unstable. "Five Greeks, five Generals" is an old Venetian saying, and in a country where every inhabitant is an individualist à l'outrance (like my friend Demosthenes, the cab-driver) and where the people for more than two thousand years have directed their own destiny, it has proved a hopeless task to make dictatorship succeed. A powerful anti-Metaxas movement is being secretly organised against Metaxas' pro-German sympathies and anti-democratic practices. But even if Metaxas is not displaced in the near future, Greece is still unlikely to be found hostile to Britain in any crisis. She fears Italy more than Germany. She will remain loyal to the Balkan Entente.

Yugoslavia

Yugoslavia has Italy and Germany as neighbours and it is essential for her to be on good terms with them. During the Government of Stoyadinovitch there were indications that Yugoslavia was moving from "good neighbourliness" to alliance with the Rome-Berlin Axis. The new Yugoslav Government, pledged to a democratic solution of the problem of the Croat minority, is supported by the pro-British and pro-French democratic elements in Yugoslavia, and can claim stronger popular support than its predecessor. However, the Croat problem

is still unsolved, and so long as Croat claims are rejected in Belgrade, there is considerable danger that Germany and Italy will use Croat grievances to disrupt the Yugoslav State.

Reports that leaders of the Croat Peasant Party have already appealed to Germany for intervention are denied by these leaders themselves, and it is probable that these reports have been deliberately fabricated in Berlin. Dr. Machek, the Croat leader, in fact, stated two days after the fall of Prague that he did not want his country to share the destiny of Slovakia. But Dr. Machek does not speak for every Croat. Some extremists in Zagreb (the Croatian capital) are organising small demonstrations, which are only of consequence in the Italian Press. Still Zagreb democrats fear that if the Yugoslav Government does not act quickly, its delay will encourage the Croat extremists to the excesses to which Rome and Berlin are now inciting them.

Rumania

Field-Marshal Goering told the Germans from Rumania attending the Breslau *Turnfest* last year: "As soon as we have settled the Czechs, it will be your turn." Ever since 1933 the Nazis have set out to undermine the Rumanian State. The "Iron Guard," Hitler's "Fifth Column" in Rumania, was financed and armed from Germany. In November, 1938, it started a wave of terror—bombs were thrown and riots organised. But the Government took firm action, the leaders of the "Iron Guard" were killed and its organisation was paralysed. King Carol then proceeded to relax the anti-Semitic laws and indicated clearly that Rumania was far from being under the Nazi heel.

But with Germany's military advance through Bohemia and Moravia into Slovakia, Rumania was subjected to overwhelming pressure from Berlin.

The British Government failed to give Rumania a specific undertaking to support her if she resisted the Nazi advance. King Carol himself is violently anti-Soviet. Finally, the "Front of National Renaissance"—reminiscent of Schuschnigg's ill-fated "Fatherland Front"—has failed to rally the Rumanian people.

Not All Lost

The outcome was inevitable. The German-Rumanian Trade Agreement, signed on March 23, in effect subjugated Rumania's economy to the convenience of Germany. It went so far as to provide for the establishment of "free zones," which the Nazis (who are already exploiting as a means of disruption the 800,000 German minority in Rumania) are likely to use as nests of agitation and propaganda.

But even in Rumania all is not lost. Several months must pass before the new agreement with Germany is worked out, and if meanwhile the British and French Governments make a real stand against German aggression, in conjunction with the Soviet Government, Rumania will still be able to retain her political independence, even though for the moment she may have submitted to economic enslavement.

The Rumanian people have no desire to suffer the fate of the Czechs. The arrest of the two prominent Germanophiles—M. Strunga and M. Giorgio—indicates that the Rumanian Government itself does not intend to allow free licence to Nazi propagandists. In all Rumanian circles there is a strong will to resist absorption by Nazi Germany. The projected British Trade Mission can materially strengthen this will to resist—so long as it is not projected too long. By resolute diplomacy the British Government—if it has the will—can still create a line of resistance to Nazi aggression stretching from the Baltic to the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, and embracing Poland and the Balkan Entente.

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UNION NOW

A BOOK WHICH WILL MAKE HISTORY

A book which may well influence world history has just been published. It is "Union Now," by Clarence K. Streit (Jonathan Cape, 10s. 6d.). Mr. Streit is a distinguished United States journalist who for several years was the correspondent of a great American newspaper at Geneva. He believes that the last few years have demonstrated the world's immediate need for a world government. The democratic nations must unite now or perish. He argues his case with passionate conviction in impressive detail.

"Union Now" is of such importance that it must be discussed from many different points of view, in many successive numbers of "Headway." Famous writers will contribute to the series. As an introduction to the controversy, "Headway" quotes Mr. Streit's own summary of his case.

Union would be designed (a) to provide effective common government in our democratic world in those fields where such common governments will clearly serve man's freedom better than separate governments, (b) to maintain independent national governments in all other fields where such government will best serve man's freedom, and (c) to create by its constitution a nucleus world government capable of growing into universal world government peacefully and as rapidly as such growth will best serve man's freedom.

By (a) I mean the Union of the North Atlantic democracies in these five fields:

- a union citizenship
- a union defence force
- a union customs-free economy
- a union money
- a union postal and communications system.

By (b) I mean the Union government shall guarantee against all enemies, foreign and domestic, not only those rights of man that are common to all the democracies but every existing national or local right that is not clearly incompatible with effective union government in the five named fields. The Union would guarantee the right of each democracy in it to govern independently all its home affairs and practise democracy at home in its own tongue, according to its own customs and in its own way, whether by republic or kingdom, presidential,

cabinet or other form of government, capitalist, socialist or other economic system.

By (c) I mean the founder democracies shall so constitute the Union as to encourage the nations outside it and the colonies inside it to seek to unite with it instead of against it. Admission to the Union and to all its tremendous advantages for the individual man and woman would from the outset be open equally to every democracy, now or to come, which guarantees its citizens the Union's minimum Bill of Rights.

Union to me is a democracy composed of democracies—an inter-state government organised on the same basic principle, by the same basic method and for the same basic purpose as the democracies in it, and with the powers of government divided between the union and the states the better to advance this common purpose, individual freedom.

Union and league I use as opposite terms. I divide all organisation of inter-state relations into two types, according to whether man or the state is the unit and the equality of man or the equality of the state is "the principle it lives by and keeps alive." I restrict the term *union* to the former, and the term *league* to the latter. To make clearer this distinction and what I mean by unit, these three points may help:

First, a league is a government of governments. It governs each people in its territory as a unit through that unit's government. Its laws can be broken only by a people acting as a unit through its government and enforced only by the league coercing that people as a unit, regardless of whether individuals in it opposed or favoured the violation. A union is a government of the people. It governs each individual in its territory directly as a unit.

Second, a league is a government by governments. Its laws are made by the peoples in it acting each through its government, or the delegate of that government, as a unit of equal voting power regardless of the number of individuals in it. A union is a government by the people. Its laws are made by the individuals in it acting each through his representatives as a unit of equal voting power in choosing and changing them, each state's voting power in the union government being ordinarily in close proportion to its population. A union allows in one house of its legislature (as in the American Senate) equal weight to the people of each state regardless of population. But it provides that such representatives shall not, as in a league, represent and be the state as a unit, where the delegate is under the instructions of and subject to recall by its government, but shall represent instead the people of the state and be answerable to them.

Third, a league is a government for governments or states. It is made for the purpose of securing the freedom, rights, independence, sovereignty of each of the states in it taken as units equally. A union is a government for the people. It is made for the purpose of securing the freedom, rights, independence, sovereignty of each of the individuals in it taken as units equally. To secure the sovereignty of the state a league sacrifices the rights of men to justice (as in the first point) and to equal voting power (as in the second point), whereas a union sacrifices the sovereignty of the state to secure the rights of men. A league is made for the state, a union is made for man.

Common sense leads to this conclusion: If we the people of the American Union, the British Commonwealth, the French Republic, the Lowlands, Scandinavia and the Swiss Confederation cannot unite, the world cannot. If we will not do this little for man's freedom and vast future, we cannot hope that others will; catastrophe must come and there is no one to blame but ourselves. But the burden is ours because the power is ours, too.

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