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HAROLD NICOLSON, M.P., ON WHAT GREAT BRITAIN MUST DO NOW Pages 8 and 9

OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SCIENCE

VISCOUNT CRANBORNE, M.P.: IF LEAGUE PRINCIPLES ARE RIGHT THEY WILL ULTIMATELY PREVAIL Pages 16 and 17

HEADWAY

TOWARDS FREEDOM AND PEACE

VOL. 1. No. 1 OCTOBER, 1938 PRICE 3d.

These men . . .



1.-VISCOUNT CECIL
 2.-J. R. CLYNES
 3.-CARDINAL HINSLEY
 4.-ARCHBISHOP OF YORK
 5.-WINSTON CHURCHILL
 6.-GILBERT MURRAY
 7.-LORD HORDER
 8.-S. M. BERRY
 9.-J. H. HERTZ

Wish success to the new Headway



for those who must *know*

Those who must *know* of the innermost workings of foreign affairs should read Vernon Bartlett, diplomatic correspondent of the "News Chronicle." From long experience the world over he has gained an unrivalled knowledge of men and movements of international importance.

Follow **VERNON BARTLETT** in the
NEWS CHRONICLE

HEADWAY

TOWARDS FREEDOM AND PEACE

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

VOL. 1

OCTOBER, 1938

No. 1

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THE PRINCIPLES FOR WHICH WE STAND

The following statement was drawn up by the Editorial Board of HEADWAY before the present disastrous development of the Czechoslovak crisis. It stands as the permanent policy of the paper.

HEADWAY has been for twenty years the organ of the League of Nations Union. It is now addressing itself to an even wider public in the hope of showing how the principles which prompted the creation of the League of Nations must be applied to the situation which faces the world to-day. The main principle is the rule of law in international affairs; it is as essential to the safety of this country as it is to the peace of the world, and requires adequate international machinery for its enforcement. The League of Nations was founded to provide this machinery. It is open to improvement and interpretation. HEADWAY will always be ready to examine changes, but, in the meanwhile, the League and its processes of peaceful settlement must be supported.

The eyes of the world are on Great Britain. With her rests the leadership and saving of civilisation threatened now more seriously than it has been for many generations. If the position of Great Britain at this crisis is confused, irresolute, leaving other nations in doubt of her purpose and strength, there will be disaster.

The fundamental principles on which British policy must be based are threatened, not by the will of peoples who for the most part desire peace, but by aggressors who now, as ever, can only be deterred from violence by the knowledge that they are faced with an effective resistance.

To ensure such resistance and its own safety, this country must lead in the partnership of the civilised nations, determined to re-establish a world secure from the constant threat of aggression; a world in which the peoples can live their lives in peace, developing their prosperity, devoting themselves to the task of a constant amelioration of their lot in life. Such leadership Great Britain alone is able to supply, and her own necessities imperatively demand that she give it. To resist violence in association with the other nations willing and ready to do the same is to promote a cause common to all not bent on aggression.

Such a policy serves no insular purpose and bears no aggressive character. It is open to the adherence of all

countries who subscribe to its aims and are willing to undertake its obligations. It represents the overwhelming need of every civilised people to be allowed to develop freely without the constant menace of war. The peace-loving Powers standing together and calling into co-operation all their natural allies in the defence of the rule of law and their own safety and independence, maintaining a united armed strength at the necessary level until respect for treaties and covenants has been re-established, must be the nucleus of a league of all nations bent on peace.

The provision of means for examining and correcting injustices are an inseparable part of that system of international right for which HEADWAY stands. Once the world is freed from the present destructive menace, the international authority must be ready to make serious enquiry into grievances and offer peaceful redress of wrongs. Law enforcement and law amendment are inseparable.

We look to the Government to lead public opinion fearlessly at this critical hour. No man of good will will dissent from the principles for which we stand. To uphold respect for human right, to proclaim and maintain tolerance of racial, religious and political differences, to safeguard the right of free association between members and citizens of every civilised State—these principles lie at the foundation of the British Commonwealth and are essential conditions of the firm establishment of peace. At all times British policy must seek to support them.

In defending and elucidating this policy HEADWAY is able to draw upon the very best sources of information; to provide a non-partisan platform from which the leaders of the nation may put their views in considered form before a large and thoughtful audience. Statesmen, men of letters, churchmen, men of science, and men of business have already declared their intention of contributing to its columns. It will argue month by month the case for the policy here set out, the policy of joining with other nations to defend civilisation and freedom and the common laws of humanity, recognising that this is the only road to peace, to a reduction of the intolerable burden of excessive armament, and to a life worthy of civilised men.

LEADERS OF CHURCH AND STATE SEND THE NEW HEADWAY MESSAGES OF GOODWILL

Bishophorpe, York.

All good wishes to "Headway" in its new chapter. There is urgent need to create the outlook which is really conducive to justice and peace in the world. I believe that in our country there is an abundance of good will, but there is also very much bewilderment, and "Headway" may play a great part in bringing that to an end, and giving us a clear sense of direction.

WILLIAM EBOR.

The Congregational Union of England and Wales, Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, London, E.C.4.

I send my very best wishes for the success of "Headway" under the new auspices. I hope it will have a very wide circulation indeed. There is, in my view, a very great need for a paper which will stand for democracy, freedom, and peace in these days. With those watchwords the paper ought to commend itself to vast numbers of people and provide a much-needed rallying point for those who are deeply dissatisfied with the present tendencies of events. I hope that a very large number of Free Churchmen will give it their support, as I am certain they will derive from it the benefit of informed articles. My very best wishes, and the name of "Headway" is in itself a happy augury for future success.

SIDNEY M. BERRY.

Chelwood Gate.

My best wishes for the success of the new "Headway." The times are very critical. Strengthening of the Rule of Law in International affairs and of the League machinery for its maintenance is essential for the safety of our country and the protection of civilisation.

CECIL.

Chartwell Manor, Westerham, Kent.

I wish "Headway" success. It is no small or local cause we plead. We must march in a good company of nations and march under the standards of law, of justice, and of freedom. We must gather together round the joint strength of Britain and of France and under the authority of the League all countries prepared to resist and if possible to prevent acts of violent aggression. There is the path to safety. There are the only guarantees of freedom. There on the rock of the Covenant of the League of Nations alone can we build high and enduring the temple and the towers of peace.

WINSTON CHURCHILL.

41, St. John's Avenue, London, S.W.15.

The masses of our country are now aroused on the supreme issue of maintaining world Peace. Unfortunately, peoples are often at fault in delaying their keen interest in Peace until war is well on the way.

"Headway" will strengthen the Peace arm, and it can persistently carry the Peace message all over the country. Peace is essential to freedom, for wars have meant liberties lost to millions of the people. Freedom is a most precious possession, and the spirit and minds of men are enslaved where they are not free.

Democratic institutions are essential to the cultivation of the Peace spirit, and here again "Headway" can do fine work in preserving the democratic cause.

J. R. CLYNES.

Archbishop's House, Westminster.

May the new issue of "Headway" have great success in promoting the cause of true peace and goodwill among classes and nations.

A. CARDINAL HINSLEY, Archbishop of Westminster.

Hamilton Terrace, St. John's Wood, London, N.W.8.

Every friend of Freedom and Peace must welcome the news that "Headway" will appear in an improved form and reach a larger public. It should prove a valuable agency towards strengthening the sway of Reason in national and international affairs. That way alone lies the stability of our times.

J. H. HERTZ, Chief Rabbi.

141, Harley Street, W.1.

I am interested to hear that you propose new features in "Headway," and I send you sincere wishes for its increased influence and for the success of its ideals.

Freedom and Peace, in that order, are as essential for human progress as are eating and breathing for human existence. Unless the nations are leagued together to secure these things, life is precarious and human effort is paralysed.

"Headway" has always been a powerful means of keeping this truth before us, and for that reason it deserves our fullest support.

HORDER.

Yatscombe, Boar's Hill, Oxford.

I warmly welcome the new and improved "Headway." A full support of League of Nations principles, without regard for party differences, is indubitably the right policy for the British Empire, and has won adherents wherever it has had the chance of being clearly expounded. What we hope of the new "Headway" is that it will carry the message more widely throughout the nation.

GILBERT MURRAY.

New College, Oxford.

"Headway" has my earnest good wishes. It stands for organised peace, for the rule of law in international affairs, for the spirit of reason and humanity, for the settlement of disputes between nations by peaceful discussion—not by brutal violence. These are the principles of civilised society. Even in the darkest and most discouraging hour when barbarism threatens to overwhelm us, we should cling to the hope that mankind will ultimately learn its lesson and find the light.

H. A. L. FISHER.

All Souls College, Oxford.

May I state my reason for welcoming the new "Headway" in some recent words of Mr. Cordell Hull? It is because I believe that "there is desperate need in our country, and in every country, of a strong and united public opinion in support of a renewal and demonstration of faith in the possibility of a world order based on law and international co-operative effort."

J. L. BRIERLY, Professor of International Law, Oxford.

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This knitting contest has been organised by the British Youth Peace Assembly Milk Club, whose patrons are the Archbishop of York, the Duchess of Atholl and Sir Walter Layton.

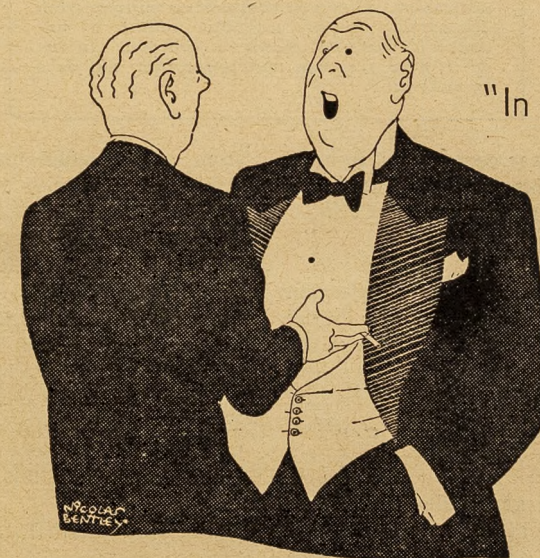
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The knitting competition is launched to assist the humanitarian relief work of the Club among children in Spain. This work is entirely non-political.

ORGANISED BY THE B.Y.P.A. MILK CLUB

605

Some phrases seldom ring true



"In my humble opinion"

but

YOU CAN BE SURE OF SHELL

BEHIND THE NEWS

HOPE RETURNS

ONE more meeting of statesmen is called in a last-minute attempt to avert disaster. This time Herr Hitler, Signor Mussolini, M. Daladier, and Mr. Chamberlain meet at Munich.

Mr. Chamberlain's announcement at the very end of his House of Commons speech relieved a tension which had become almost unbearable. It was the result of two days' feverish diplomatic activity. Signor Mussolini played a decisive part, at the instigation of the British Prime Minister. He was known to be alarmed at the prospect of a mad military adventure. He insisted in Berlin that this was a time for caution, not heroics. When at last it was understood that Italy might not march, he had his way.

Alone among the Great Powers Italy has made no military preparations. Despite Signor Mussolini's formal assurances to Herr Hitler the significance of this fact has not been missed by the German General Staff.

IN PARLIAMENT

A VETERAN member of the House of Commons telephones to HEADWAY: The Prime Minister has just sat down. In thirty years I have known nothing like to-day's drama. Relief swept across the closely packed M.P.s, lords, diplomats, high officials, distinguished strangers, plain citizens. It went as if it were wind and sunlight bending and brightening the seeded grasses on a haytime hillside. Queen Mary has just passed me crying quietly with joy. Many others also were weeping. Mr. Chamberlain has enjoyed a personal triumph unparalleled in the long splendid history of Parliament. No one begrudges him. If war comes now, through the failure of the nations to turn this respite to the fullest advantage, mankind will deserve its disasters.

PRINCIPLES STAND

OCTOBER HEADWAY is being printed while the statesmen are hurrying to Munich. Its articles record the darker days. They stand as they were written, evidence of how the British people responded to the threat of war. They are, however, more than history, for they state the principles by whose application alone war can be banished from the world.

FRANCE HAS RALLIED

THE strength of French material and military resources would have justified a stiffer attitude if France had been playing power politics. The army is in the peak of condition, with a full complement of officer-cadres, which apparently the Germans did not have. The Air Force may not be so effective nor air raid precautions so advanced as in the Reich, but reserves of raw materials, financial strength and colonial possessions give France greater staying power. Her potential allies are much more powerful

The French were saved from a decision to retire permanently behind the Maginot line by the cruel blow which Herr Hitler struck at Godesberg against the original Anglo-French compromise on the partition of Czechoslovakia. This revealed a potential aggressor of the most ruthless order, gave the Czechs a new moral right to resist, realigned the French and British against the German determination to secure further concessions and confirmed the suspicions of Frenchmen of all parties.

From that time on French opinion has taken heart and gained in strength to resist any further encroachment upon Czechoslovak independence. In their determination they are strengthened by the knowledge that there is still an even chance of repairing the diplomatic fences and that Herr Hitler's professed confidence in his own armed strength may be less than complete. Released from their earlier doubts and uncertainties, the French are now united in the conviction that peace can only be saved by preventing any further changes in the map of Europe except by peaceful negotiation and appeal to reason.

THE CITY IS READY

THANKS to the remarkable growth of Government intervention in City affairs in the post-war period, Great Britain is financially and economically well prepared to take the strain of the present emergency. The pound sterling is now buttressed by the huge gold stocks of the Exchange Equalisation Fund, and, despite the heavy flow of refugee capital to the United States, the authorities are capable of keeping the situation well in hand. Incidentally, it is to the credit of the English investor that he has abstained

from seeking refuge by changing his pounds into American dollars. The pressure upon the pound has largely come from French, Swiss and Belgian investors, who have banked upon the possibility of a decline of the pound sterling and are now looking to New York for refuge.

A further reassuring fact is the impressive strength of the London finance and discount houses. Their position is easily defensible, for their foreign commitments have been reduced to small proportions by reason of the post-war decline in international trade. The biggest loss so far suffered in this respect has been at the hands of the Germans, who have frozen nearly £50,000,000 owing to Great Britain. But even this loss has by now been largely written off.

The Stock Exchange, too, is in a far healthier condition than it was in 1914. The technical position is sound by reason of the fact that the general decline in stock and share prices throughout 1938 has, by a process of attrition, reduced speculative commitments to insignificant proportions.

The first real shock—the threat of war during the last week of September—was well sustained without any suspicion of panic on the part of the investor.

EVERYTHING TO REASON; NOTHING TO VIOLENCE

The British people have taken their stand.

In their desire for peace they have allowed their Government to extort from a small nation tragic sacrifices. Under pressure from the Cabinets of London and Paris, Czechoslovakia has consented to a large surrender of territory. But those who have shown themselves ready to buy peace for the world at a heavy price will not be abandoned. Self-determination is the right of Czechs, as well as of Germans. It must not be made the excuse for the ruin of Czech independence.

The Prime Minister has laboured devotedly to save peace. His sincerity no one doubts. For his endeavours not only his own countrymen but also men of goodwill everywhere are deeply grateful. The outcome is still uncertain. A brighter future beckons. The sudden dawn will broaden into day if the statesmen of Europe, honest in their renunciation of war, are resolute "to take for themselves and to give to others not what they desire but what is due."

The British people are eager for a complete settlement. They will withhold no subject from discussion. Neither will they submit to live under a continual threat of violence. In the defence of freedom and peace they will dare everything.

GERMANS OPPRESSED

A GERMAN landowner living under a foreign Government refused to surrender the fields his family had farmed for many generations. He resisted every cajolery and all pressure. Then officialdom played its ace of trumps. He was served with a demand for the immediate payment of a ruinous sum in taxes of which he had never even heard. Quite unknown to him, it seemed, arrears had been accumulating against him for many years. Denied the right to test the legality of the demand, denied also time in which to pay, he appealed in vain for credit to the banks of his province. They were under strict official control. At a forced, unadvertised auction his land was sold at a derisory price to an official nominee, and the German and his family, homeless, were turned adrift in the world.

Tyranny in Czechoslovakia? No, it happened in Tyrol, and was only one incident in the ruthless Italianisation of a countryside which has been German for centuries.

SELF-DETERMINATION

PRESENT-DAY fashion derides President Wilson. Yet some of the things he said, much to the point in that time, are well worth recalling; they still fit the case. "We must be just both to those to whom we want to be just and to those to whom we do not want to be just," for instance. It is a relevant comment on the sudden clamour for self-determination. Nazi Germany announces that peace is impossible unless minorities are allowed to decide their allegiance by a free vote and to go with the territory in which they live to the State they elect. Fascist Italy insists emphatically on the same principle. But a principle is not valid unless it is applied all round; picking and choosing reduces any rule to a jumble of exceptions. Because they hope it will inconvenience the democracies, the dictators have seized upon President Wilson's principle; for their own convenience they have forgotten his comment.

When Hitler denounces Italian oppression in Tyrol as passionately as he does Czech harshness in the Sudetenland and when Mussolini concedes to Germans in Italy the rights he claims for Germans in Czechoslovakia, talk of self-determination will be more than a political manoeuvre.

HITLER'S PRESTIGE RAISED.

WHAT effect is the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia having on German public opinion? This is one of the most important among its many serious consequences. For several months past observers in close touch with German opinion had been struck by the growing anti-war feeling of the population, a feeling which became particularly powerful when it was realised that the German Government was determined to destroy the Czechoslovak State in its existing form. The German man in the street was convinced that Britain and France, supported by the majority of the smaller European States, would resist to their utmost ability a German attack on the Czech Republic. And there was a good deal of exasperation against Herr Hitler and the Nazi Party leaders when the anti-Czech campaign was carried forward to a point which seemed to make war inevitable.

To give only one example: In the month of August and during the first twelve days of September no fewer than 170 German soldiers deserted into neighbouring countries, mainly into France, Czechoslovakia, Switzerland, and Belgium. In sixty out of hundred cases the deserters, when

questioned as to the reason for their desertion, declared that they "did not want to fight for Hitler."

The first reports that Britain and France had decided to submit to the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia were received with incredulity by the general public in Germany. In the following days two definite reactions were noticeable—on the one hand, enormous relief that war had been avoided, and on the other, the conviction that "We can trust Hitler in whatever foreign political move he may make." Hitler's prestige in Germany was enormous immediately after the Anschluss, it has now reached a level that cannot be surpassed.

REFUGEES

A NUMBER of German inhabitants of the Sudeten districts have fled to Germany. They have not fled before a Czech terror, for none exists, but in order to be spared full-dress warfare in their own homes in the event of a conflict between the Czech and German armies.

During the Henleinist terror large numbers of inhabitants of the same territory fled to Prague. These were the victims, or threatened victims, of the Sudeten German Party, whose "Ordnern"—a sort of Storm Troopers—were murdering and terrorising their opponents. Of the one thousand and fifty refugees who came to Prague in the first few days, only sixty were Czechs, the other nine hundred and ninety being anti-Nazi Germans. This shows that the worst fury of the Nazis was directed against their democratic fellow-Germans rather than against the Czechs.

Prague took these refugees to its heart. Gifts poured in from the Czech citizens for their German fellow-citizens in distress. The refugees, in their gratitude, sang "Kde domov muj," the Czech hymn, in a German translation. They feel that they are all Bohemians, Czech or German.

The refugees had escaped dreadful horrors. One family found (like many others) a notice on the door of the house, threatening that they would be hanged if they did not clear out. They cleared out, but on the way to the station the son, aged 14, was murdered. Other families had to escape over their back garden walls for fear of the Nazi "Ordnern" in front of the house.

CALM NERVES AND "RUNCIDENTS"

IN the days before the announcement of the Franco-British "Peace" Plan the Czechs found relief in jokes about Hitler and hearty laughter. When "incidents" were occurring daily and before they became too grimly murderous, the wits of Prague nick-named them "Runcidents" or "Roontzidents."

SECRETS LEAK OUT.

STATE secrets have a way of leaking out—even in Dictator States. Why did the Pope suddenly leave Rome after it had been publicly announced that he would receive Hitler during the Führer's visit to Mussolini? The answer has just become known. When the Pope announced that he would meet Hitler it seemed a coup for the Nazis. Mussolini's surprise was tempered with suspicion. On pressing inquiry, he found that His Holiness was planning no pleasant diplomatic talk, but a vigorous protest. The Pope intended to give forcible expression to views on the Nazi treatment of Catholics. At once the severest pressure from Mussolini was brought to bear on the Vatican; and very unwillingly, on the eve of Hitler's arrival, the Pope was induced to leave Rome for Castel Gandolfo, his summer castle. It was announced at the time that the Pope's departure was due to his reluctance to meet Hitler. The opposite was the truth.

BEFORE GODESBERG

Clearly there must be among men of patriotism and humanity a greater union than before. Clearly there must be less reticence in proclaiming the truth, less fatuous credulity in regard to the "friendliness" or "reliability" of the dictator States. Let us state the issue firmly. We are threatened with violence; unless we resist it by force we are doomed —says the Hon. Harold Nicolson, M.P., in his first article for the new HEADWAY.

By HAROLD NICOLSON



"This article was written in the interval between Berchtesgaden and the Godesberg interviews. It may be of some interest as representing the state of mind of an ordinary Englishman during that distressing interlude."

IT IS UNMANLY, when faced by a calamity, to seek either to conceal its magnitude or to find relief in recrimination. Let us admit that Great Britain has suffered the severest diplomatic defeat in modern history. Let us admit that the leadership of Europe has passed, for the time at least, from our hands into the hands of Germany. Let us admit that, by this triumph, the dictators have fortified their own dominance and that the smaller Powers will henceforward feel that they must make their terms with Berlin. Let us admit that our strategic position as an Empire has been gravely endangered. And let us admit that Herr von Ribbentrop was right when he affirmed that the British Government would always, at the last moment, yield to threats.

Humiliation and Fear

The situation is indeed one which must fill us not only with humiliation but with fear. The timid-minded or the complacent may comfort themselves by the facile phrases of politics. They may contend that we were "in no sense committed to the defence of Czechoslovakia." They may contend that, once the French Government felt

unable to take the risks implied by the protection of their ally, it was impossible for us to be more royalist than the king. They may point out that it would have been reckless for the Government of this country to expose the people of London, the populations of the world, to the horrors of modern warfare in order to prevent some three million Germans from joining their mother country. They may argue that the courageous flight of the Prime Minister to Berchtesgaden saved Europe from a terrible catastrophe. They may find comfort in this poignant episode. And they may escape from all the implications of the calamity by saying that they do not understand the issues; by saying that only the Government can be in the position to decide with full knowledge of the facts; that in any case the problem is too intricate and too unfamiliar for the judgment of the ordinary citizen; and that they will return to their own business and pleasure and give no further thought to the ethics or realities of international affairs.

Not an Isolated Issue

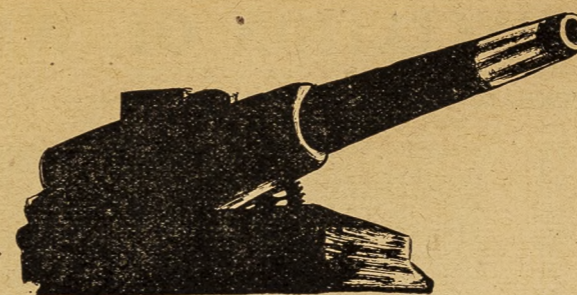
In saying such things they lie to their own souls. They know, in their subconscious selves, that the issue which was decided at Berchtesgaden was not an isolated issue. They know that the Czechoslovak problem was the symptom, and not the root-cause, of a world malady. They know that on this issue Democracy, as represented by this country, issued an open and avowed challenge to the totalitarian theory. They know that by the Prime Minister's speech of March 24, by the despatch of Lord Runciman, by the speech of Sir John Simon at Lanark, we had proclaimed to the peoples of the world that this challenge was one which the British Empire was ready to take up. And they knew that behind it all was a spiritual conflict of tremendous significance.

What was that conflict? On the one hand you have a theory that force or the threat of force is the supreme instrument of negotiation. On the other hand you have the theory that there exists a common interest of mankind which is above any purely national interest. On the one hand you have the conception that the

State exists for the individual, and on the other hand you have the conception of the State as some idol of Baal in front of which the pagan worshipper must lay his life, his dignity, his thoughts, his feelings, and his whole moral principle. On the one hand you have the belief that the weak possess certain unalterable and inalienable rights as against the strong; on the other the conception that it is strength alone which shapes the destinies of humanity. On the one hand you have the belief in tolerance, truthfulness, and fair dealing; on the other the worship of aggression, duplicity, and cruelty. The spiritual conflict was one between force and reason. Force has won. We must face that disaster.

Eden Was Right

I find no comfort in recrimination. It is no solace to me to feel that those men were right who, like Anthony Eden, tried to convince a lazy and optimistic Cabinet that a great disease was threatening Europe, and that drastic measures must at once be taken to stem the spread of that disease. It is little help to trace the origins of the malady or to contend that if this or that had not happened we should be now immune. Corfu, Silesia, the Hoare-Laval Pact, Abyssinia, the Rhineland, the invasion of Austria, non-intervention in Spain, the Italian Agreement, Berchtesgaden and Godesberg—our road to Calvary is marked by many cenotaphs. Let us ignore these monuments to past frustration. Let us consider by what means we can prevent a future loss of independence.



For in fact that strange word "independence" has almost ceased in this country to have any apparent significance. For one hundred years we have basked and battered in the glow of our own security. We do not realise that the sunshine of our seeming invulnerability has now been shrouded in the clouds of thunderstorm. For what is "independence"? It is the capacity to be able to decide one's own destiny without regard to the dictates of others. Are we so sure that this precious right can now be maintained? Let us consider our position.

Britain Endangered

We are a small island off the coast of Europe dependent for our sustenance upon the import of food from overseas. Other countries, such as France or Germany, have their vital organs contained within their own organism. The vital organs of Great Britain are scattered throughout the world and are connected with our island by long umbilical cords. Were these cords to be cut or menaced it would not be our position as a Great Power, it would not be our proud possessions which would only be sacrificed, we should lose our actual independence. Germany or France can be defeated in battle and remain Germany and France; if Great Britain lost the power to defend and protect her connecting cords she would cease to exist.

Many of my friends, who dislike what they call "Power Politics" or "The Imperialistic attitude," or "The Foreign Office point of view," assure me that they do not care for this grandiloquent language, and would be perfectly content to be as "happy little Holland" or "happy little Sweden." Far be it from me to deny the blissfulness of these two countries. But to what do they owe their independence? To the might of this country. During the nineteenth century and after the supremacy of Great Britain guaranteed to such countries a certain stability of tenure and independence which is to-day unjustly derided as the theory of the "Balance of Power." Yet if that balance be

How to Resist

Yet how to resist Powers which are so organised that their employment of force will always defeat our fumbled manoeuvres? The defeatists have many arguments by which to justify surrender. The triumphant dictators have many arguments which induce them to believe that our retreat will in a few months become an utter rout. Yet we have certain elements of fortitude and resistance which they do not possess. We know without question that we are fighting not only for our life but for our own theory. We know that, by any computation, violence, cruelty, and untruthfulness are evil things. We know that the great mass of mankind is on our side. We know that if we could have the courage to take risks such as they take we should raise up armies from the peoples of the earth. We know that their machine, however powerful, is bounded by the capacities of the machine; we know that our will power, could it once be organised, is certain in the end to prevail. And we know that if this ill-organised human determination could find a focus of energy and leadership the whole car of Juggernaut would topple with all its tinsel to the ground.

The Prime Minister, in his broadcast to the world, September 27:—

However much we may sympathise with a small nation confronted by a big, powerful neighbour we cannot in all circumstances undertake to involve the whole British Empire in war simply on her account. If we have to fight it must be on larger issues than that. I am myself a man of peace to the depths of my soul. Armed conflict between nations is a nightmare to me, but if I were convinced that any nation had made up its mind to dominate the world by fear of its force I should feel that it must be resisted. Under such a domination the life of people who believe in liberty would not be worth living.



TEN YEARS' "RENUNCIATION OF WAR"

By WICKHAM STEED.

"WHEN things look black, glance ahead and then look back" is a sound rule for times of crisis. Ahead the prospect seems filled with doubt and anxiety; but, looking back, one can descry points of light that may serve as bearings amid the present gloom.

So I have been looking back over the ten years that have gone by since the "Briand-Kellogg Pact" or "Pact of Paris" or "Multilateral Treaty on Renunciation of War" was signed at the Quai d'Orsay on August 27, 1928. Those years and the Pact itself are worth a thought even to-day, when many deride the Pact as moonshine and talk of the League Covenant as a dead letter.

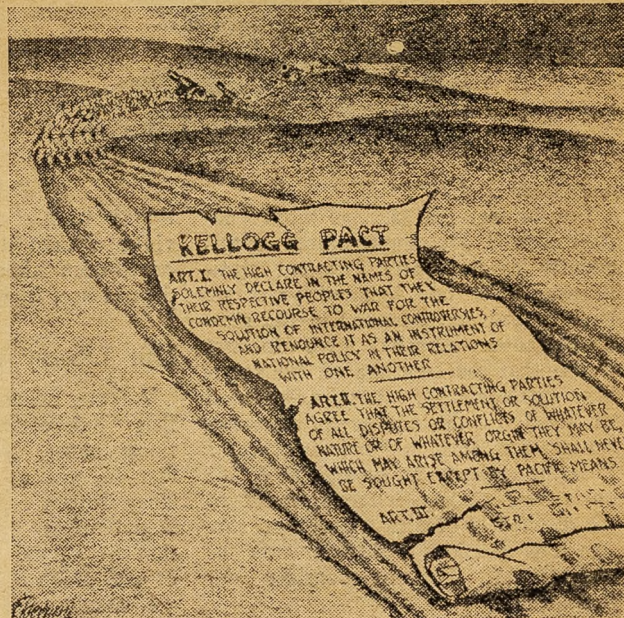
It is not yet twenty years since the nations victorious in the Great War resolved to lay the foundations of what they imagined would be peace. Of war they had just had more than four years' terrific experience. They knew what it meant. Of peace, conceived as positive and progressive achievement in a warless world, they knew little or nothing. When they thought of peace they meant the prevention of war—a very different thing, indispensable though it be as a preliminary to peace. So when the Paris Peace Conference met in January, 1919, the drafting of a Covenant for the League of Nations was the first point on its agenda. In the circumstances it was natural that nine-tenths of the Covenant should deal with the prevention of war.

United States Help

Without the determined help of the United States the League Covenant would never have been drafted. Without President Wilson's perception that "in the League there will be no neutrals" its crucial clause, Article XVI, could not have been agreed upon. Without his insistence—mainly for reasons of his domestic policy—that the Covenant should be embodied in all the Peace Treaties, the League would never have been founded. Without President Wilson's obstinacy in rejecting all American reservations to the Covenant, the United States would have been in the League from the beginning; and, with America in it, British Governments need not have feared American neutrality in case the League should have to bring Article XVI into play. Without British fear, real or feigned, of American neutrality and of the old bogey—"the freedom of the seas," there would have been no colourable pretext for the unwillingness of British statesmen to stand steadfastly by the League.

Further, the Anglo-American Convention of guarantee to France against unprovoked attack would have held good. France would not have occupied the Ruhr in 1923. Reparations and war debts would have been more manageable. Germany would have been brought sooner into the League, and would have stayed there. All-round reduction of armaments could have begun. The Weimar Republic would have been able to hold its own. Even if Italian Fascism had arisen, German Nazism under Hitler could not have gained power. Collective security against aggression would have been real. No Briand-Kellogg Pact would have been needed.

These are some of the "might-have-beens" that were destined not to be. In thinking of them many Americans suffered from what they called "moral toothache." If their pain was "grumbling" rather than acute, its existence was proved in the autumn of 1925 when, on the conclusion of the Locarno Settlement which was designed to bring Germany into the League, American feeling surged strongly towards Geneva—so strongly that an American



Route March
[From the "Washington Post" (U.S.A.)]

critic of the League as influential as the late Mr. Frank H. Simonds believed that nothing could then keep the United States out of the League. Two years earlier another hard-bitten anti-League "Yankee" (in the true sense of the term), the late Mr. George Harvey, United States Ambassador to London, had become convinced that the sooner his country "got into the League" the better.

Turning Point for Worse

A turning-point for the worse came when the Special Assembly of the League, summoned for the admission of Germany, broke down in March, 1926, because of the miserable wrangle over the reallocation of seats on the Council. Then American feeling ebbed away faster and farther than it had surged towards the League. Disappointed, the United States insisted on the payment of war debts and demanded a prompt limitation of cruiser strength from Great Britain and other signatories of the Washington Treaty of 1922 on naval armaments. Early in 1927 President Coolidge issued invitations to a Cruiser Conference at Geneva in the summer. France and Italy refused to attend it; Great Britain was not conciliatory. The Conference broke down, and Anglo-American naval rivalry seemed about to mock all hopes of disarmament.

Meanwhile, something had happened—in Berlin. James T. Shotwell, an American of Canadian origin, who was then Carnegie Professor of International Relations at the German High School for Politics, declared in his inaugural lecture in March, 1927, that the traditional doctrine of neutrality had been outgrown in the closely-knit modern world. He urged that the definition of aggressive war be developed and applied, so that the efficacy of international justice as a substitute for war would be enhanced, and that all aggressive war should be outlawed. He affirmed that in the conscience of the American people the conviction was as strongly rooted as ever that the institution of war as a means of policy had become substantially an international crime.

This lecture made a great stir in Germany. Going then to Paris, Shotwell persuaded M. Briand, the French Foreign Secretary, to address a message to the American people on April 6, 1927—the tenth anniversary of the entry of America into the Great War—offering on behalf of France to conclude with the United States an agreement renouncing war as an instrument of national policy and outlawing it as between those two countries.

This message fell flat. The behaviour of France in the naval question had nettled President Coolidge and his Secretary of State, Mr. Kellogg. Notwithstanding a public agitation in support of the Briand proposal, the President would have no agreement with France alone—as he told me emphatically at the White House early in November, 1927. But he authorised and encouraged me to suggest to American audiences that the best way to remove fear of American neutrality towards the League would be for the United States to proclaim a "Peace Doctrine" of its own, and to warn all whom it might concern that should they go to war in defiance of their treaty obligations under the League Covenant they must not count upon the United States as a friendly neutral.

"Things are Moving"

President Coolidge assured me that if "an American constitutional way" could be found to lay down this doctrine and to make it binding upon the American people he would proclaim it. On November 11, 1927, a National Convention of the American Churches adopted the doctrine unanimously. A week later a message reached me from the White House. It said: "Things are moving." At the end of December, 1927, Mr. Kellogg made his first proposals for a general or multilateral treaty in renunciation of war instead of M. Briand's bilateral Franco-American agreement. When these proposals had led, in the summer of 1928, to the drafting of the Briand-Kellogg Pact, President Coolidge sent me another message: "I think this is the constitutional way out." He meant that in his view the Briand-Kellogg Treaty would make it impossible for the United States to be a friendly neutral towards any signatory who should violate it.

European Governments were slow to understand this implication of the Briand-Kellogg Pact. Some of them hardly understand it to-day, though it has been reaffirmed

by subsequent American Administrations. I know well that American neutrality legislation has since been forced upon President Roosevelt; and I do not forget that his speech at Chicago on October 5 last year—of which the burden was that the United States cannot be neutral should war come—has not silenced the President's critics. Still, he and his Secretary of State, Mr. Cordell Hull, held fast to their conviction. We may be sure that the Briand-Kellogg Pact was very much in their minds, and that it helped to explain the strong moral support which the United States gave to Great Britain and France in their efforts to deter Germany from making war upon Czechoslovakia. What they may think now—after the surrender of Great Britain and France to the German demand that Czechoslovakia be dismembered—is another matter. The chances are that the United States will be driven into isolation.

Light on the Present

This shameful surrender has not come upon us as a thief in the night. It has come because we and others have shirked a fundamental implication of the Kellogg Pact. We and others have allowed parties to the Briand-Kellogg Pact and members of the League to wage war—without incurring the odium of declaring it—aggressive war as an instrument of national policy, and have tried to be neutral towards this delinquency and to maintain "normal relations" with the delinquents. Thus we have tolerated aggressive war and have restored to it a kind of legitimacy—the very legitimacy of which, as M. Briand claimed in his address to the first signatories of the Pact on August 27, 1928, "selfish and wilful war" had been shorn.

At the end of August, 1930, after two years of reflection upon the Briand-Kellogg Pact, I became convinced that the renunciation of war will, and must be, futile unless it involves also the renunciation of neutrality towards nations guilty of having resort to war as an instrument of national policy. In this conviction I have not wavered. To it, I am persuaded, peace-loving nations will come when they are determined to establish peace as a condition of constructive international helpfulness in a world from which war has been banned. But whether they will reach this conviction on the hither or the yonder side of disaster I am not enough of a prophet to say.

THE GREAT CONFUSION

By SIR NORMAN ANGELL

BEFORE these lines reach the reader we may already be in the midst of those torments and agonies which for twenty years we who supported the League have laboured to prevent.

The time is too tragic for personal or party recrimination. Let us agree that all have acted from the highest motives. Particularly does the nation feel that in these last few dreadful weeks our Prime Minister has shown a devotion, a readiness to make every last personal sacrifice in the effort to save peace, which no human being could have exceeded.

If now it is necessary to try to discern, not *who*, but *what*, is to blame, what error of political principle or conduct, that is only because our very first duty, should we escape war on this occasion, is to profit by the experience, so that never again shall we be brought so near to the edge of the abyss; and should we not escape war to try to see how peace may best be made.

One thing needs to be said, if only for the peace of mind of those who have laboured for the League of Nations.

It is not a League policy which has produced the results we see to-day. Nor has it arisen out of any commitment or obligation which we assumed on the League's behalf. It has arisen in circumstances too dreadfully similar to those of 1914, when, with no League in existence, no Article XVI, with our hands entirely free, the onslaught upon a Central European State drew us into war.

The fundamental principle of the League is, of course, that since we are all concerned with each other's security peace is most likely to be preserved if we are all mutually committed to

resist aggression against any member, so that the potential aggressor knows well beforehand (before, that is, his policy of aggression has become so crystallised as to be difficult to change) that he will meet insuperable obstacles.

During the last few years those obligations had become so qualified and whittled down as no longer to count in international affairs. Our Government, in the last few months, have insisted again and again that there was no "automatic" obligation to assist Czechoslovakia in her defence, and great sections of our public demanded with ever-increasing insistence that our hands be kept entirely free—as free, apparently, as they were in 1914. By the summer of this year the collective system as a political reality had by general consent ceased to exist.

If you follow at all carefully the history of the last month or so, you will make this curious discovery: When people at last realised that catastrophe was all but on top of them; that the appalling danger could no longer be ignored or evaded, everybody was once more suddenly converted to Collective Security. It was not merely that Lord Beaverbrook's papers began to say things which were the exact contrary of everything they had been saying for the past ten years; that Mr. Garvin had a conversion so complete and instantaneous that its very handsomeness disarms one; that it would have been as much as his circulation was worth for Lord Rothermere to print on a particular Monday morning, what he had printed the previous Monday morning, but that the whole nation, practically without discussion, suddenly accepted as true in the League principles what previously so much of it had believed to be false.

For instance: The truth upon which the whole conception of the League is based is that we are unavoidably members one of another (horrid as is the thought at times when we recall the nature of certain persons); that this is true of nations as of persons; that we cannot therefore be indifferent to the fate of other nations even if their names are difficult to pronounce; that our own safety and defence depends upon the safety and defence of others; that to be "neutral," therefore, when others are the victims of violence and crime is to deny one of those truths by which alone organised society can be made workable or peace in it secured; that if we refuse to take any part in the defence of those others then in the end we shall find that it is impossible to defend ourselves.

This very elementary proposition about being members one of another had for some years been flatly and persistently denied, or at least denied as having any general application to international affairs, by all the great personages mentioned above and by the particular public for which they stand.

Early this year, however, we began to hear—not from defenders of the League—that if certain things happened to that strange place with the queer name we should be "drawn in," against our will. The very expression by the way indicates a philosophy of life and politics which may go far to explain the whole trouble. We were not to exercise our will, taking command of events in some measure, directing their course beforehand, making ourselves masters of outside forces. We should be "drawn in," like straws in a whirlpool. Even then, with the waters boiling around us, we evaded decision. The decisions were to be made not by us, by our will and on our responsibility, but by "events." We represented to the most self-willed and ruthless statesmen of history that we were puppets; unable to take decisions beforehand, but that in circumstances over which we had no control . . . we might conceivably . . . one never knows. It was not precisely the way to impress ruthless men, possessing a mystic belief in their capacity by force and violence to carry out *their* will; that our purpose would be so straight and strong as to be worth taking into consideration. And the warning only momentarily deterred them.

So Lord Runciman went to Prague. Within a few weeks the whole attitude of indifference to Central European affairs was dropped. We saw truth No. 1: We were concerned in that part of the world which until yesterday we had argued we were not. We saw suddenly—but as events proved only dimly and confusedly—that if utterly lawless violence was triumphant there, it would threaten us here; that destruction of law and right there would end by destruction of ourselves at home.

But—and this is a fact to which members of the League of Nations Union cannot give too much attention—our Government did not thereupon proceed, together with France and Russia, to defend law and make violence as difficult as possible; to defend peace; did not, that is, concentrate everything upon the prevention of war; it proceeded to try to settle the dispute, to make itself judge of what was right and what was

wrong in this complicated, difficult and obscure quarrel, and to make our action dependent upon our view, suddenly arrived at, of its merits. Editors, writers, politicians who for years had been arguing that we ought not to be drawn into the quarrels of others suddenly began to make themselves judges of such a quarrel, to discuss, complicated details which were not our concern. What was our concern was that the dispute, whatever the respective merits of the two sides, should not be settled by war, by the violence of the stronger party. We should have limited our intervention to that one supreme purpose. Long before the dispute became acute we should have intimated to the stronger party, with all the diplomatic flowers necessary, something of this kind:

Because you are stronger you will be tempted to settle this dispute by the threat of violence. But if the other party is willing to accept peaceful settlement, discussion, arbitration, what not, and you refuse, we shall stand by him, making a condition of our support of him that he agree to the fullest airing of your grievances, the fullest hearing of your case. There is only one thing for which we stand: No war; only one thing for which our power will be used—to prevent your force, any force, settling this dispute.

What is at issue is not the merits of this particular Sudeten dispute, but whether it is compatible with our own security and Europe's that Germany should with impunity dictate the verdict in her disputes with others, destroy lesser States with whom she may quarrel, lay down what form of government or social system other States may have.

The public has disastrously confused this simple distinction between forbidding settlement by war and passing upon the merits of a given dispute. In Czechoslovakia, as in Spain, the question is not whether either State or its Government has oppressed its Minorities or is Bolshevik, or is too much to the Left, but whether the sole decision on that point shall rest with Hitler, and whether, having decided it, he shall have the right to destroy that Government.

This central truth is important now not merely because we must be clear what we fight for, but also, and perhaps mainly, because the more clearly we see it, and our Government act upon it, the greater will be the chance of armistice if and when the Satanic horror of war is once begun.

NOT AN INCH FARTHER

AN HOUR AS GRAVE AND AS DECISIVE AS ANY IN OUR HISTORY

Lady Violet Bonham-Carter puts the Point of View of a Wife and Mother.

THREE weeks ago, when I was asked to contribute this article to the first number of the new HEADWAY, I wrote the following words:

"Many women in this country, and others, must be asking themselves to-day whether they have the right to bring children into this tragic and disordered world. For what is the inheritance we must hand on to them?"

"The civilisation which sheltered us, and taught us how to live, is everywhere an ebbing tide. Over great tracts of Europe we see freedom extinguished, justice banned, Christianity a dead letter, the mind and spirit of men in fetters. Faith and race are persecuted and proscribed as crimes, children are blown to bits by high explosives from the air. The imagination of a whole generation is drilled to believe in the glory of violence, and to look forward to war as a high and holy duty.

Tragic Object Lessons

"The fate of Abyssinia, Austria, China, Spain—those tragic object-lessons of the last three years—is written so plainly on the wall that none can fail to read the new gospel it proclaims: 'Put not your trust in Laws or Covenants. . . . For the weak no cause is just. . . . The aggressor shall inherit the earth.'

"To submit to ruthless force, or to prepare to use it against others—this choice is the bitter birthright of the present generation.

"What they feel about the problems, not of their making, which they may have to solve with their lives, it is hard to guess. The prevailing mood of youth to-day as I—a mother of four children—see it, is one of sheer bewilderment.

Meaningless Shambles

"The idea of setting out to kill and maim and blind each other in some futile and meaningless shambles appears brutish, absurd, unthinkable.



LADY VIOLET AND HER SON, RAYMOND, who bears the name of his brilliantly-gifted uncle, Raymond Asquith, killed while serving as an officer in the Guards in the war of 1914-18

The promise—which the Covenant of the League of Nations seemed to embody—of a future in which, instead of dying for their country men might live and work for the world, expressed their hope and held their loyalty.

"The apparent failure of this country to stand by its League obligations has, for the time being, quenched that hope, shaken that loyalty, and left them groping in the dark for new moorings.

"Resounding trumpet-calls have been followed by inglorious retreats. Vital principles have been proclaimed, and "expedient" courses followed. The Mammon of Unrighteousness has been denounced and—when it showed what *might* be teeth—'appeased.'

Where Do We Stand?

"And so Youth asks: 'Where in the end do we stand? And what do we stand for? The Treaties and Covenants we were pledged to uphold have been broken right and left. Laws and

liberties and all the decencies of international life have gone by the board. If these things were not worth defending, what is there left that you can ask us either to live or to die for?"

"We must answer them not in words but by action, and we must act while there is yet time. The assumption commonly made that time is on our side is not always a true one. Few can seriously doubt that if we had acted, as we could have done, when Abyssinia was threatened, the occupation of the Rhineland, the invasion of Austria, and the armed intervention in Spain would never have taken place. Each one of these flagrant breaches of the Law of Nations has weakened the League, its instrument, and those who support it, and has strengthened the forces of anarchy and violence.

"Mr. Cordell Hull, in a recent speech, spoke of 'the only programme that can turn the tide of lawlessness.' That tide, as it advances, is gathering strength

and momentum. Three years ago it would have been easier to turn than it is now. Three years hence its waters may engulf us all.

"The time has come for us, and all who value peace and freedom to say: 'Not an inch farther.'

Not An Inch Farther.

Not an inch farther. These words must be said to-day. As I write every man and woman in this country is facing an issue as grave and as decisive as any in our history. Here and now we are called upon to make a choice which must determine the survival of all that we believe gives life its value. We must choose between standing fast, cost what it may, against aggressive tyranny in defence of justice, freedom, and the law of nations or of sacrificing to the threat of force our friends, our honour, and our pledged word.

Last week it appeared to some to be

BRITAIN'S FOREIGN POLICY. A REFLECTION

By CAPTAIN B. H. LIDDELL HART,
the famous military expert.

a choice between peace and war. In the name of peace, and for its sake, the Governments of Great Britain and France consented at Herr Hitler's behest to impose mutilation on Czechoslovakia, the last outpost of democracy in Central Europe.

But dishonour has not brought us peace. It has brought us at most a few days of respite. When Mr. Chamberlain returned to Germany to lay before Herr Hitler our capitulation to his demands he found new demands awaiting him.

Our Signature Stands

Not an inch further. Our Government, which, to the shame of many of us, submitted to the mutilation of a small and friendly State, has refused to connive at its murder. Now, at long last, we have shown the world that, though we may have faltered, though in the past we may have failed to implement our faith, we have not recanted. Our signature to the Covenant still stands, and we intend to honour it. If Germany fulfils her threat, invades Czechoslovakia, and breaks the peace of Europe, she will find the whole power of this country thrown into the scales against her—with that of France and Russia.

Even at this eleventh hour war is not inevitable. If we steel our hearts with resolution, if we act with courage and decision now, we may yet turn the tide and win for our children the right to live in a free world at peace. If we hesitate, retreat, or shirk the issue, we shall be condemning them to meet it later—perhaps against insuperable odds.

Britain Strong and Free

As we face the fiery ordeal which may await us let us remember that we belong to a country which is both strong and free. This island is the heart of a great Commonwealth bound together by a long tradition of common standards and common beliefs. We have the power, both spiritual and material, to defend our existence and our faith. But let us remember, also, that the two things hang inseparably together. To compromise with cruelty and injustice, to sell the pass of freedom and of law elsewhere, is to undermine the foundations on which our own house is built and to betray our destiny.

We pledge ourselves to be true to that destiny to-day. Whatever is to come we shall meet it with unshaken purpose, strong in the certainty that throughout the world the friends of freedom are our own, and that those great forces and the idea for which they stand will prove now, as in our past, unconquerable.

ON each successive international issue the Government has had persuasive arguments for evading our obligations—but the fact remains that each surrender has led to a worse one, and to a worsening of our situation as well as that of civilisation.

Over Manchuria military action was difficult, but economic and moral pressure was practicable—yet we hesitated to apply them. It was argued that no direct British interests were involved. Japan has gone on to attack our interests in China.

Over Abyssinia the strategic cards were in our hands. By oil sanctions, coupled with munition help to the Abyssinians, we could have crippled Italy's campaign. The risk of Italy making war on us in retaliation would not have been large. For, although she could have inflicted considerable damage on us—owing mainly to the National Government's neglect to take timely and adequate steps to put our forces in order—we could have strangled her. As it was, our half-hearted attitude led to the breaking-up of the system of collective security that was the best guarantee of our own.

Cards Were In Our Hands

Over Spain the strategic cards were in our hands. So long as German and Italian intervention had not actually secured Franco's victory, our strategic position in the Western Mediterranean was too strong to encourage our opponents to fight on this ground. By refusing to make a stand against this intervention we have risked the conversion of a strong position into a very dangerous one. And we have betrayed the elements of the Spanish people who were our friends in the last war—partly from an exaggerated fear of aiding Bolshevik influence in Spain and partly from a fear, equally weak in foundation, of bringing on a general war in that zone.

Over Czechoslovakia we were handicapped by the fact that the Germans had the immediate strategic advantage—owing to geography. Thereby it is probable that they would have succeeded in occupying the frontier belt of Czechoslovakia, though impossible that they could conquer the country as a whole unless the Czechs were left to fight alone. But Germany lacks the resources for a prolonged war, so that

the ultimate prospect would be adverse to her.

The superiority of the defensive in modern war is another factor which weights the scale against the power which needs to wage a far less exhausting kind of war. The development of economic pressure and moral pressure, combined with military resistance to any attempted offensives on her part, would be the most effective way of curing her lust for conquest within a year or so.

By contrast, its opponents need only to convince it that continued efforts will bring no adequate profit—and are thus able to wage a far less exhausting kind of war. The development of economic pressure and moral pressure, combined with military resistance to any attempted offensives on her part, would be the most effective way of curing her lust for conquest within a year or so.

Remember the U.S.

The prospects of such a strength-conserving strategy would be increased by the strongly anti-German attitude of the United States—in contrast to 1914—and by the fear of Germany's ambitions, which is common among all her neighbours. At this time they might be rallied to offer a united resistance. Failing such a lead, they are more likely to seek self-preservation in vassalage.

The neutralisation of Czechoslovakia will clear Germany's path to the domination of South-Eastern Europe. Once that is achieved, Germany will be assured of the capacity to sustain a long war, and our master-weapon—blockade—will lose much of its power.

It is the hope of those who favour the policy of allowing her to expand eastwards that she will become embroiled with Russia in the process. While that is possible, it seems more likely that she would prefer an easier target, and take the line of least resistance by levying colonial toll on France and Britain, using Italy as a lever. If Spain has been conquered by Franco and joined the Fascist ring, the chances of resistance would be poor.

To sum up—it is possible that Germany's appetite for expansion will be satisfied in the process of extending eastwards, or will bring her into conflict with Russia; but it is more likely that she will seek her further profit at the expense of weaker opponents—the Western Powers. And it is certain that Britain is dishonoured by aiding the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia.

HOW THE AMERICAN PRESS

PICTURES

THE CRISIS



Prowler Meets Watchdog.—Cleveland Press



From the "New York Times"



Better Not Jump, Adolph!—Cleveland Plain Dealer



Gesture of Self-Defence.—Baltimore Sun

IF LEAGUE PRINCIPLES ARE RIGHT THEY WILL ULTIMATELY PREVAIL

By VISCOUNT CRANBORNE, M.P.
(former Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs)



Lord Cranborne

THERE can be no one who can view the international situation to-day without a sense not only of grave anxiety but of bitter disappointment.

Only twenty years ago the nations of the world emerged from the greatest and most destructive war that mankind has even known. In that war, millions of men were killed. Millions more were wounded and maimed. The material loss was incalculable. The sum total of misery caused by the conflict was even more appalling.

But out of all the havoc it seemed that one great good had emerged: a world organisation which, it was confidently hoped, would prevent, in the future, the repetition of so colossal a folly.

War is Futile

The futility of war as an instrument for the settlement of international disputes had surely once for all been proved. We could look forward to a new era of reason and understanding, of the settlement of disputes not by force but by civilised and peaceful means. And now, after twenty years, it must seem to many that we are back exactly where we were in 1914. Again, armaments are being piled up, passions are being inflamed, force is being invoked, and the glorification of war is being preached.

In a situation so melancholy, it is perhaps not surprising that the faith of many in those ideas of peaceful collaboration to which, only a few years ago, they attached such high hopes, should have become dimmed. They had expected so much of the League

of Nations. They had looked on it as the panacea of all our ills. And now, when it has not proved to be that, there has been a reaction; and, like all reactions, it has tended to go too far.

League is Not to Blame

From saying that the League has not prevented our present troubles it is a small step, for many people, to say that it has caused our present troubles. We are told that it was an empty dream, that the principles incorporated in the Covenant must be acknowledged to be unworkable in practice, that so far from being helpful to peace they are definitely dangerous. We are urged to face facts and recognise, before it is too late, that it would be both safer and wiser to return to the old tried methods that, before 1914, directed international relations.

But these considerations, powerful though they may appear, superficially, will surely not bear the test of examination. For they are based on the assumption that the world has not changed, and that methods which were adequate in the days of our fathers are therefore adequate to-day. But this assumption is completely and absolutely false. The world is not the same as it was. It has entirely changed during the last few generations. It has changed so much that our forefathers would not recognise it. This transformation arises indeed from no action of politicians. It results from something far more fundamental, the revolutionary discoveries of scientists and inventors.

Our World is Still Shrinking

A hundred years ago, the world was an immense place. To travel across it, to conduct trading operations between nations far distant, was a matter of many months, of great difficulty and uncertainty and considerable expense. To-day, with the improvements in methods of transportation, the world has shrunk, and with this shrinkage international trading and financial operations have immensely expanded. Nor is this tendency slackening. On the contrary, year by year, almost week by week, it is gaining momentum.

As a result, the world is slowly but surely being welded into one great international machine. Outward signs of this are not lacking. A hundred years ago, every nation had its national

life, its national clothes, its national art and literature. To-day, in China, in England, in the United States, in South America, men and women are tending more and more to wear the same clothes, to read the same books, to see the same films, to lead the same lives. Goods and services are being ever more rapidly exchanged. In spite of political differences, ideological antipathies and historical prejudices, this process is continuing. The world has in fact become interdependent.

No nation can to-day prosper unless others prosper. They are as closely linked as the cogs in a machine, some large, some small, but all essential to each other. If this be true—and surely it will not be denied—clearly there is need that the machine should work as smoothly as possible. This involves some central organism to which can be referred any disputes or problems affecting more than one nation.

League's Enemies are Behind the Times

Such an organism is the League, which is indeed not a striving after a distant ideal, not a peep into the future, but the recognition of an existing situation. So far from it being true that those who believe in a League of Nations are ahead of the times, the opposite is the case. Those who deny its necessity are behind the times. Sooner or later, they must recognise what is, one would have thought, a self-evident fact.

Let us then not be discouraged in our faith by recent events, however lamentable they may be. These events should in fact confirm us in our views. It is true that the League, in its present imperfect and incomplete state, has not prevented wars in China or in Abyssinia. But have these wars benefited anyone? Are the peoples of China or Japan or Italy or Abyssinia the happier or the more prosperous for them? Clearly, they are not. The case for settlement of disputes by peaceful negotiations is indeed every day being more abundantly proved.

This is not, of course, to say that the constitution of the League as it at present exists is necessarily ideal, that the Covenant is not susceptible of alteration or modification to make it more easily workable. It is no criticism of its original framers to say this. They were working in the dark.

They were engaged in a totally new experiment.

We Can If We Will

Technical difficulties are never insuperable, if there is a general desire to overcome them. We have already had an example of this in connection with Article 16. It was realised as early as 1921, that its original form required more detailed interpretation. The 1921 Resolutions were then drawn up to modify its application. What has been done once can be done again, in respect of this or any other Article. Whether the present times are suitable for tackling the question of League reform is more problematical.

It is doubtful whether any alteration in the terms of the Covenant would to-day lead to any increase in the membership of the League. A far more probable result would be to sow the seeds of discord among those members that remain. At the moment it will surely be agreed that the wisest plan is to keep the Covenant as it is, and use it as we can. But one thing is certain. The whole constitution of the League can be altered, if necessary. There is no insuperable difficulty about that. What is essential is that the principles underlying it should be generally accepted.

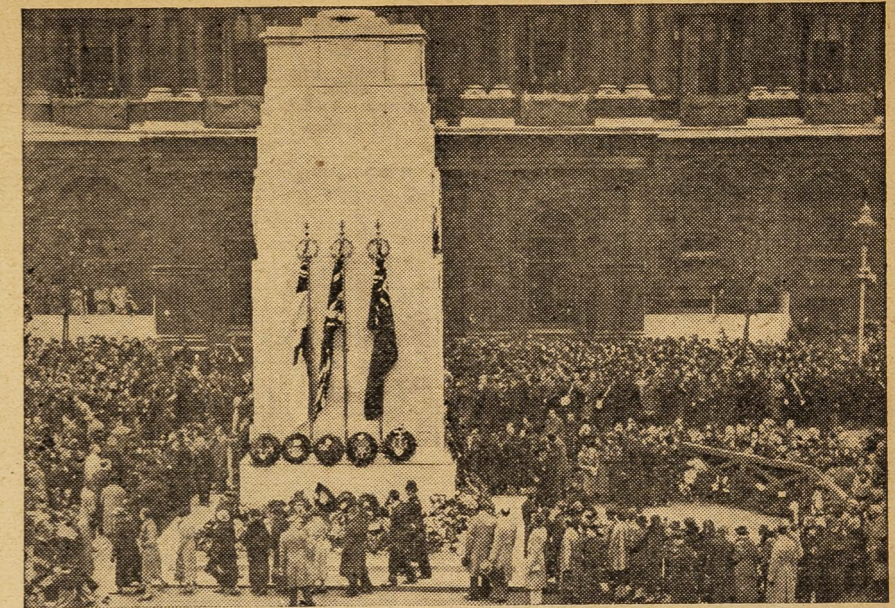
Nobody Wants War

There may be those who feel that that day is further off than ever. The outlook has never been blacker. A large part of the world is actually at war. A yet more considerable portion is trembling on the brink, and by the time these words are read may have toppled over into the abyss. But the very acuteness of the crisis should give us hope. Nobody wants war. Everyone realises that it can only bring havoc and misery.

The Battle is Half Won

Even in the countries where the Governments are most aggressive, the attitude of the peoples is one of sullen apprehension. They have no illusions as to the results which are likely to be achieved. They see before them no glittering prospect. Were the unutterable disaster of another European conflict to prove unavoidable, it could only bring nearer the general realisation of the folly of force, the recognition that it can bring about no final solution of our problems.

Let us not ask too much of the League. To do that is to do it no service. Let us not underestimate the forces that stand arrayed against it. But let us equally not ignore the immense body of opinion, in every country, not so strident perhaps but



"Their name liveth for evermore"

equally powerful, that is steadily being convinced by the logic of events that international collaboration is the only alternative to chaos. The battle is indeed already half won.

Do Not Lose Heart Now

Do not let us, the British people,

whose national life has long been governed by just those principles which the League seeks to extend to the international sphere, lose heart now. Let us continue to support them to the full extent that is practicable. If they are right—and who can doubt it?—they will ultimately prevail.

THERE IS WAR IN CHINA

(By "Headway's" Special Correspondent at the League Assembly)

Geneva, September 23

BRITISH Prime Ministers, in the discharge of their high responsibilities, say very queer things now and then. Few have been queerer than the remark Mr. Chamberlain made on the air bombings of Canton.

Indeed, if it were not that China is so far away, and that the scenes that are taking place there are so remote from our everyday consciousness, the sentiments of pity, honour, and indignation which would be aroused by a full observation of those events might drive this people to courses which perhaps they have never yet contemplated.

Mr. Wellington Koo quoted this utterance in his Assembly speech of September 16. He made no comment on it; and such is the delicate irony of his voice, that he had no need to. He was telling the Assembly a few facts about the war in China. A million Japanese troops south of the Wall, five hundred planes, eleven provinces invaded. Already a million Chinese civilians have been killed—as many as the British Empire soldiers in the Great War. There are at least thirty million refugees.

The sack of Nanking was witnessed by foreigners. The sacking of other towns and villages has gone unwitnessed, save by their victims. Air bombardment and gas attack have been the most inhuman part of the war. From August, 1937, to May, 1938, the Japanese made over 2,200 air attacks on open towns, concentrating specially on universities, schools, and charitable institutions. Gas has been used in the Hankow campaign. An especially beastly diversion of the Japanese Navy is sinking fishing boats with their crews. Four hundred and fifty junks have been sunk in the last year.

All the same, Mr. Koo pointed out, the Japanese hold on China was incomplete.

After over a year's difficult campaigning in different parts of China, the Japanese armies have only been able to create islands and corridors of occupation in these invaded provinces, and their domination over these islands and corridors has been constantly challenged. Outside these islands and corridors, active, untractable Chinese mobile units have been carrying on, valiantly

and methodically, a continual guerilla warfare against the invaders.

Japan was systematically destroying Western interests in the provinces under her control, by measures such as tariff discrimination, and creation of Japanese monopolies for the export of raw materials. The League meantime,

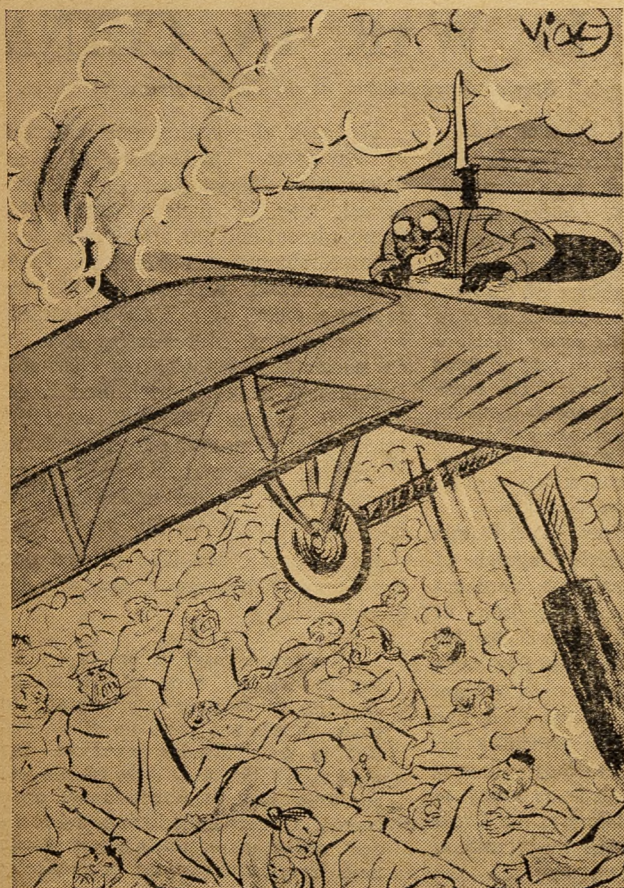
apart from the despatch of three anti-epidemic units to China, has done nothing beyond passing a few platonic resolutions.

A Grim Reality

Was the League to be treated like a mummy dressed up in the splendours of the living but devoid of life? It was said that the situation demanded a realistic view.

Is not the war of aggression in the Far East a grim reality? I submit that, in addition to military casualties, the sacrifice of 1,000,000 civilian lives, the suffering and privations of 30,000,000 war refugees, and the destruction of billions of dollars worth of property constitute an unforgettable reality to the people of China. And it must be so to the League of Nations, of which China forms an integral part.

Aggression in one region, however, remote, if not effectively checked by collective action, encourages similar aggression in other parts of the world. Is there not a direct connection between the events in Asia in 1931 and those in Europe in 1938?



The people of China cannot understand why, during all these fourteen months, when the forces of violence and disorder have raged in China, the League of Nations has taken no effective steps to discourage the invaders by proclaiming against them an embargo on arms, aeroplanes, financial credits, and the essential materials for their war industry.

They cannot understand why it has not even recommended the stopping of the supply of oil to Japan, a commodity which constitutes to-day an essential means in the mass slaughter of the Chinese civilian population by Japanese aircraft.

They cannot understand why the Member States have not extended to China, as she has had good reason to expect from the terms of the League resolutions, financial and material aid with a view to increasing her power of resistance.

Have the people of China demanded the impossible? When the will is lacking, everything becomes impossible.

Mr. Koo ended in a storm of applause. The clapping was louder and longer than that given to any speech in the Assembly. But how much did the applause mean?

On September 19 the Council met to receive China's formal appeal to Article 17. It was the day when the news of the Anglo-French betrayal of Czechoslovakia came through. The

Council sat in its half circle, and their faces were gloomy with a despair which diplomatic training could not disguise. If ever I saw a man in a black rage, that man was M. Paul Boncour.

Mr. Koo spoke with the same devastating civility as he had in the Assembly.

"China has a right to ask for everything that can be done collectively by the League as an entity. China has a right to ask for everything that can be done by each Member State not only in its individual capacity but as a Member of the League. Even as one individual government to another,

I hope I may be allowed to say that China has every right to expect that the other Member States will keep faith with her as she has kept faith with them."

Mr. Koo appealed to Article 17, asking for credits, assistance, embargo of arms and materials, especially oil, against Japan, measures to prevent air bombardment and the massacre of civilians.

Silence.

Mr. Jordan read the necessary invitation to be sent to Japan under Article 17, and invited comments.

Silence.

The Council rose.

The Powers Will Not Act

Nobody expects the Powers to act. Nobody expects the democracies to stop making money out of the death of Chinese babies, killed with bombs made of their metals, killed from planes flown on their petrol. They do not like thinking about the blood and the wounds and the hunger. They could prevent them, of course, with a little risk and some expense like that undertaken by the Good Samaritan. But he was an inferior stranger. Correct persons cannot contemplate these expenses. They pass by on the other side.

Things Seen and Heard

I.—THE ASSEMBLY

GENEVA, September 13.

THEY are voting for the President. The urn is on the ground level, and the procession of first delegates is not so striking as of yore, when they mounted the tribune to drop their cards. Ha! Professor Rappard, "Suisse," has strayed up to the platform in absence of mind, and Tchecoslovaquie and Turquie are wandering sheeplike after. Down they come bundling.

Forty-seven votes. Five spoiled or null. Some delegations cannot write, perhaps? Thirty-nine votes for Mr. de Valera. That's a surprise. The Press had been tipping Mr. Holsti of Finland, but there has been some hitch. Mr. de Valera is an outstanding figure and will be a dignified President. But Spain will feel rebuffed beforehand. Mr. de Valera is reputed pro-Franco. The little States will imagine, probably unjustly, that the election is a straw showing the way the Powers' wind blows. A long, dark, melancholy straw.

II.—BAVARIA

September 13.

The tension this evening seems unbearable. The expected has happened. Hitler has switched over his lever. The Sudetens have dropped the Carlsbad claims in favour of a plebis-

cite demand, complete with ultimatum. This Czechoslovakia, already pushed far over the safety-line of concession by Britain, cannot accept. It means war; war at eleven o'clock when the ultimatum expires.

The Bavaria is in tumult. The long café, really a passage from one street to another, is packed. Journalists mostly, with a sprinkling of delegates, officials, and Assembly public. The "chopes" and "bocks"—big mugs and tall tumblers of beer—the cups of coffee, and late press-men's suppers are carried through the crowd by tired waitresses crying "Passage, messieurs! passage s'il vous plait."

The people here must represent thirty nations. None of them, none, not even the stone-faced Nazi correspondents at the table over there, wants war. The mounting uproar crackles with one word in a score of languages, "War!" "La guerre!" "Das Krieg!" "War!" There is a shrill note of hysteria in the chatter, fear and despair on the faces. There is also, horribly, a gloating pleasure on some. Once a reporter, always a reporter. War is the supreme "story." It is, precisely, the hunter's pleasure at the kill.

Rudolf Baum, wittiest of journalists, has drunk himself gay. And what would you do, if you were a German,

a passionate imperialist, die-hard German—and a Jew? But neither the love nor the hate, nor the desperation which must be tearing him show in that tough little face; only merriment. "Ah, boys! why must you make such a row? Can't you see you are spoiling my last night of peace?"

September 14.

Respite. Neville Chamberlain is going to Berchtesgaden. The Bavaria is quieter, rather, than last night. Round every table the visit is can-



PRESIDENT DE VALERA,
President of the League Assembly, 1938

WHAT YOUTH ASKS FROM LIFE

By HARPER POULSON,

Editor of "Student Forum," Research Student at the London School of Economics, 1938

WHAT does a young man want from life to-day? Frankly, it's not easy to say.

Outside my window in Holborn paper sellers are shouting "Special . . . Special . . ." Each hour may bring the cry, "War . . ." leaping through the streets, making most of my dreams idle. And too many of my friends are selling Hoovers, or without any job, for me not to be sceptical of my own desires.

I don't want war and economic insecurity. I don't want to lose my freedom. And I don't want to be a square peg in a round hole like so many of my friends.

I want a rich, personal life, with marriage and a home. Friends to enjoy living with. A chance to develop my own talents and satisfy my own tastes—quietly.

And I want a job—in a craft or profession I like. To put my knowledge and abilities to a social use.

I want to live in a free country, in a world at peace. Where social reason—and not some self-styled "leader"—makes the laws. Where one can travel, learn and enjoy the world usefully with other peoples.

So much is easy to wish. But I believe it requires struggle to have these things.

For to-day millions go hungry and more millions remain dull and ignorant. Dictators posture unchecked on the brink of war. Nations learn hate. The social conscience is frequently sour, and disguises slow starvation as "malnutrition."

vassed. I note the reactions of my "bande." They are expressed with the candour of exasperated nerves.

"What can your Chamberlain do to prevent war?" The speaker has the tanned athletic good looks of the young Swiss. The handsomest man in the room; not that the standard is high. Journalists are, and look, clever; but oh! they are not bonny. Yet I look at the silver-gilt hair on the topaz temple with detachment; there is a curious want of charm in that sculptured regularity. "We on the Continent harbour no illusions. My uniform's ready; to-morrow I may have to put it on. You know we've set the mines on the frontier roads and railway lines; we can explode them by turning a switch, and we shall. But you, what can you do?"

Laughter runs through the café from table to table. Someone, Rudolf Baum probably, has started an item of news: "Mr. Chamberlain is going to Berchtesgaden to hand in his resignation to Adolf Hitler, who will charge himself personally henceforward with the conduct of British foreign policy."

This is one of those mots invented by journalists, but not printed in journals. Its bitter taste, stronger in the original French than in translation, indicates one strand of feeling in this microcosm of European opinion.

This is "pre-human" history, offending my feelings and my reason and endangering my own future. So I want to work to change it.

Society, I believe, must be continually changed if it is to live. Ideas must change, and time-hallowed institutions be replaced. That is the way of life. When we stop changing and growing we die.

I want the courage to see that changes must be made—I think I speak for all young people in this. And I want the endurance to help carry those changes through.

The fight for peace, for social justice, for a democratic culture that lifts life above the commonplace . . . that fight is hard, meeting bigotry and inertia and entrenched self-interest at every step. But it seems to me that to give up that fight because it is hard and offers no easy fruits would be to endanger the only future I have.

In life to-day one man's wishes are a poor weapon, and I want allies. Happily, throughout the world to-day millions of young people are making the same answer to the same challenge. In the face of war, of insecurity, of social injustice, they are coming to the conclusion that there is no way out save one of active, common struggle for social advance.

This helps me retain my conviction that a rich personal life for me is not opposed to service with and for others. And my belief that it is possible, with others of good will, to bring about the day when I shall have outgrown some dreams and made the others true.

DESPATCHES FROM THE CAPITALS

South America Fears Fascism

GENEVA, September.

THIS YEAR'S Assembly of the League may well be described as the twilight of open diplomacy. Under the bright September sun the proceedings of the Assembly seem none the less to be being conducted in an atmosphere of dream and unreality. Who that was present at the first meeting of this Parliament of the Nations in 1920 and can remember the optimism, the *élan*, that existed under the pall of Geneva's very worst November sky, can help contrasting those days of hope with what is happening now, when substitute delegates creep miserably about the gigantic corridors of the great Ariana palace, and converse almost in undertones with substitute journalists?

Of those who still retain the conception of loyalty to collective security, Senor Negrin has proved indubitably the most important figure in the Assembly. His proposal of last Wednesday to send away, under an Assembly resolution, all the volunteers fighting on the Government side in Spain, has exposed in their true colours the procrastinations and insincerities of the London Non-Intervention Committee. It has also—since the Assembly cannot refuse, I think, to accept the resolution—restored the Spanish question within the survey of the League, and has intensely complicated what I am told will undoubtedly be the next move of the dictators, namely, to obtain ratification of the agreement between Italy and Great Britain without the withdrawal of a single Italian "volunteer" from Spain.

In this connection, I have been impressed with a certain change of atmosphere in the last fortnight on the part of some of the Latin-American States. I have previously had occasion to point out that their immediate reaction to the abandonment of the Covenant by Great Britain and France was a tendency to separate themselves from Geneva on all political questions, and perhaps even to form their own League of Nations for the New World. Although it is true that this tendency persists, it has also been noticeable during the Assembly that the Latin-American States are seriously perturbed by the doctrine, increasingly stressed by the totalitarian dictators, that all their nationals residing as emigrants in foreign countries in Europe or overseas, must be regarded as coming under the domination of the Home Government. The Latin-American States are not prepared to surrender their political integrality in this fashion. A strong warning had already been

given at the Inter-Governmental Committee at Evian by the representative of the Argentine. In the League Assembly last week Signor Quevedo, speaking on behalf of Ecuador, was even more emphatic. He described this new doctrine of "Overseas Totalitarianism" as a direct threat to the independence of the States of Latin America.

Germans Dread War

BERLIN, September.

IN Germany war is dreaded. Quiet, decent folk, hardworking, home-loving, setting a high value upon material comforts, hate the thought of disturbance, destruction, death. At the same time they have a simple-minded delight in the greatness of Germany. And for them greatness is apt to be military. Germania or Michael, or some early fabled hero or heroine, in shining armour, with a sure shield and a sharp sword, compelling the world's respect, and often enforcing the obedience of lesser breeds without the law—that is their ideal. It is not unlike a familiar English attitude. And, like their English counterparts again, the Germans do not notice the paradox.

This paradox is one explanation of the immense success of Nazi propaganda. Adolf Hitler may have all the weaknesses, follies and vices his enemies paint. Not even his enemies deny that he is a master-propagandist. He has put himself across as the great leader who has made Germany mighty once again and who uses that might with iron courage and sleepless vigilance to save peace. He persuades Germans that he has satisfied both their desires: to see their country great, armed to the teeth, the envy of all her neighbours, and to escape.

In all parts of Germany, in all social classes, I find to-day the same attitude to Czechoslovakia as I found yesterday to Austria. "Bad men are plotting bloodshed. But the leader is watching. He will step in and stop the mischief." It is a most dangerous attitude of the popular mind, because it thrusts up a single individual, who is pathologically unfitted for any judicial function, the pose of "the judge of all the world," and expects him always to enforce his judgments by threats to draw the sword. At a critical moment it may put him in a position where he must either carry out his threats or accept a rebuff fatal to his own prestige. But it is not all evil. It tells Hitler very plainly that he must keep out of war if he is to survive. His hold on the German people would be shattered if he had to call upon them to attack a

world in arms whose enmity he had provoked. He could risk a small war, ending in an easy victory. He could not risk a great war, for that would be the end of him.

Another explanation is economic prosperity. Prosperity is too strong a word for the facts. Nazi propaganda has, however, had partial justification for its glowing picture of an economic order in which production is increased, unemployment is abolished, immense public works are undertaken, prices are steady, and trade depression does not happen. Of course, it is not pleasant to go without butter for the sake of guns and to wear paper clothes. Still, things might have been much worse; and the German workers were not being deceived when they were told that in other countries, even in England, there were very many families who never had butter and seldom had new clothes. Prosperity was a strong argument. But "the prosperity howlers" also are a little blown upon.

Substitutes Not Good Enough.

A long-continued diet of food substitutes maintains the appearance but not the reality of health. Undernourishment leaves an inability to bear nervous strain. Substitute raw materials harass the worker with increasing difficulties; first, they give inferior products, and later they supply inferior tools. It is significant that the death roll in accidents on the German railways has recently exceeded all past records. Taxation is crushing. Despite every attempt to reduce it, the State's floating debt rises steadily. Industry is at its wits' ends for circulating capital. The fall of prices on the Berlin Stock Exchange excites alarm far beyond the investment market. After all, is autarchy a recipe for perpetual wealth? Is the flush on the cheeks of German industry a proof of health or a symptom of disease? Is Germany feeding on her vitals and condemning herself to collapse? I meet many Germans, who admit privately that they are worried about the answer.

Nazi Germany may not be the permanent institution which we have, perhaps, too quickly taken for granted. A year ago I assumed without question that it would last. To-day I think "Possibly not."

[LATER.—The surrender of large frontier districts of Czechoslovakia, if it be obtained without war, will immensely enhance Hitler's prestige temporarily. Even so, the processes I have indicated will resume their course before long.]

PLAN 4

PRAGUE, September.

LORD RUNCIMAN has run his conciliatory course. Each week-end he would stay in the country, sometimes with one of the German nobles, relics of the Habsburg régime, sometimes with a Czech Cardinal; now with the German branch and now with the Czech branch of one of those noble families that have become divided in language and sympathies.

When he went to Czechoslovakia, the Government was elaborating the details of a set of reforms, the Nationalities Statute, the Languages Statute, the Administrative Reform Statute. These seem already to have receded into history. A second plan followed them, and then a third, and finally a fourth.

The "Fourth Plan" contained the provisions for decentralisation that were put forward in the Third; but in greater detail, and with large additional concessions. With regard to the police, for example, there were to be two forces in each area, one controlled by the County Council and the other by the Prague Ministry of the Interior. The former would give the local majorities, such as the Sudeten Germans, the authority that they required in their own districts, while the latter ensured the protection of the local minorities of democrats, and would prevent the rule of terror and the concentration camp.

The minorities were to have their proper proportion of officials in the central services, the Germans getting their full 22½ per cent. Local officials were to belong to the nationality of the district in which they served. A long-standing but much misrepresented grievance was thus to be generously rectified.

The Germans were to have it both ways; not only would they have practical control of the regions where they form a majority, but their individual nationals were to be enrolled upon a "Kadaster" or register, so as to act as a check upon any possible "Czechisation." Every German citizen of the Republic, wherever he might be, and even if he were the only German within a hundred miles, was to have the full right to conduct all his official dealings in German, and if the officials could not speak German they must find interpreters. Another grievance more than adequately redressed!

Finally, a loan was to be raised for the economic rehabilitation of the Sudeten German Depressed Areas. Here one saw the Runciman touch.

In only three respects did the Czechs insist upon the fundamental conditions of the continuance of their democracy;



What Hitler demanded at Godesberg.

the army was to be allowed to continue the manning of the frontiers, though the frontier positions are largely in what will be German counties; every citizen, even in the German counties, was to enjoy his full democratic rights, and the protection of the central government; and the foreign policy of the State was to be decided upon by the central Parliament, that is to say by democratic majority in the Republic.

FRANCE RALLIES

PRAGUE, September.

France is wedded to a conscript army, and any order for mobilisation, whether it be for one or eleven classes, affects almost every town and village throughout the country. Moreover, in a democratic State such as this, there is, as may be imagined, no lack of expressed opinion on events which have led to partial mobilisation of the kind which has recently taken place. Added to this is the fact that the security of France has been worked out *a priori* in accordance with its treaties of alliance. That with Czechoslovakia has inevitably been regarded as the king pin of the system. All this has made France and Paris particularly, the most sensitive barometer of political feeling on the Continent.

The first threat of German action against Czechoslovakia was naturally viewed with forbidding gravity. But it is doubtful if the French could have been rallied to the defence of Czechoslovakia without the active assistance of Great Britain. The first French reaction there-

fore, to Mr. Chamberlain's original proposal at Berchtesgaden for the transfer of the Sudeten areas to Germany was, as M. Blum rightly described, "one of cowardly relief." It was admittedly demoralising, but at least it did have the virtue of bringing in the British to the defence of a new Czechoslovak State. The early acquiescence of Dr. Benes automatically endowed the plan with the character of a *fait accompli*. No one could pretend to be proud of the plan except, perhaps, the incorrigible mediator, M. Flandin, and the extreme isolationists of the *Action Française*.

Doubt grew with events and created a terrific sense of defeatism in the minds of Frenchmen of all classes, and Right Wing M. de Kerillis, in *l'Epoque*, joined with the Communist *L'Humanité* in questioning the efficacy of a surrender to the blackmail of armed force. There was a dangerous interval of suspended judgment in which any fresh frustrations or diplomatic surrender might easily have unloosed the traditional forces of revolution and reaction. But fortunately doubt was soon to be resolved, and the problem was fixed in the minds of all Frenchmen in that way with which they are most capable of dealing—that is to say a form logical, concrete, and precise.

Herr Hitler, at Godesberg, doubled the stakes laid at Berchtesgaden, and made it clear that his policy had been based not so much on his desire for self-determination for the Sudeten Deutsch as on a new version of a Germanic Middle Europe.

FOR HUMAN HEALTH AND HAPPINESS POLICIES OF FOOD RESTRICTION MUST BE REPLACED BY POLICIES OF INCREASE

By SIR JOHN ORR, D.S.O., M.C., F.R.S., LL.D., Director of the Imperial Bureau of Animal Nutrition, and one of the world's foremost authorities on dietetics

DURING the last two or three years people have begun to realise that the practical application of the new science of nutrition would bring about a great advance in human welfare. It is now common knowledge that a number of diseases, e.g., rickets, scurvy, beri-beri, and pellagra, can be attributed entirely to a deficiency in the diet of certain essential nutrients, especially vitamins and minerals. These diseases can now be cured, or, what is more important, prevented, merely by improving the diet.

The spectacular results obtained in dealing with these diseases is only the first fruit of this new knowledge. Further investigation has shown that many pathological conditions of common occurrence, e.g., bad teeth, some forms of anæmia, some intestinal conditions, some skin diseases, and a great deal of indefinite ill-health can be attributed to faulty diet. It has also been shown that malnutrition resulting from poor diet decreases resistance to some infectious diseases. This seems to be specially true of tuberculosis.



The Corn Lands of Sussex

What Food is Needed for Health?

What is the kind of diet needed for health? There are two standards. First, the cheapest diet which will be good enough to prevent the obvious signs of disease. This may be called the "minimum standard." But there is a great difference between absence of signs of diseases and positive good health. A diet which will make possible the enjoyment of one's full inherited capacity for health and physical fitness may be termed the "optimum diet." The minimum diet may be good enough for conditions of war and famine, but in a country like ours, where there has been talk of a glut of foodstuffs, and where there are State measures restricting the production and sale of foodstuffs of special health value, the optimum is obviously the standard to be aimed at.

In 1935 the League of Nations set up an International Committee of experts to report on the kind of diet needed on an optimum standard. This report has been approved by scientific and public health authorities in different countries, including the Medical Research Council and the Ministry of Health in our own country, and can now be taken as the international standard.

To reach this standard the diet must contain a large

proportion of natural foodstuffs, such as milk, fruit, vegetables, and eggs. These are rich in the vitamins and minerals which prevent the development of malnutrition, and have therefore been termed "protective foods." Unfortunately, the protective foods are much more expensive than "energy-yielding foods," such as sugar, white bread, and refined cereals. These, though excellent for satisfying hunger, are poor in vitamins and minerals. But they are cheap, and hence, as a general rule, the poorer the family the lower is the consumption of the expensive protective foods, and, the lower the consumption of protective foods, the higher is the incidence of poor physique and ill-health.

Free Milk

In this country, owing to the rise in the standard of living and the provision of free or cheap milk and other protective foods to necessitous mothers and children, the national diet has greatly improved compared with

pre-war years, and accompanying the improvement in diet there has been a corresponding improvement in public health. Gross deficiency diseases, such as rickets and scurvy in children, are rapidly disappearing; infant mortality rate (in England) has fallen by nearly 50 per cent., tuberculosis mortality by over 40 per cent., and the young people of to-day are nearly two inches taller and of better physique than the youths of the same age twenty-five years ago.

But although there has been such a great improvement, we have still a long way to go. A recent enquiry (Food, Health, and Income, 1937) on food consumption in different classes of the population showed that while the diet of practically the whole population contains sufficient energy-yielding foods, so that few suffer from hunger, the diet of nearly half the population is deficient to some extent in vitamins and minerals, the deficiency increasing as the family income falls. The broad general results of that enquiry have been confirmed by a recent investigation carried out by Sir William Crawford ("The People's Food," 1938).

Illnesses Which Need Not Arise

If the diet of all classes could be brought up to the League of Nations standard, we would rear a race which would be free from a great deal of the ill-health and poor physique which afflict our generation. To quote a recent

leading article in the *British Medical Journal*: "A tragedy of our times is that hospitals and other health services involving vast expenditure of public funds have to be maintained to remedy many illnesses which need not arise were the knowledge of nutrition which we already possess universally applied." The saving of money on health services is really of minor importance compared with the welfare of the people. As Crawford puts it, if diets were brought up to the League of Nations standard, "the well-being and happiness of the people of this country would be changed almost out of recognition."

There has been a certain amount of discussion as to whether ignorance or poverty is the more to blame for malnutrition due to deficiencies in the diet. There is undoubtedly a great deal of ignorance among all classes. Even among well-to-do families the diet is often badly chosen from the point of view of health, and in some cases is so deficient that the children show malnutrition. In many families, both rich and poor, the money spent on food could be spent to better advantage. On the whole, however, there is a general agreement among investigators that the main cause of poor diet is poverty. A sufficiency of the protective foods is beyond the purchasing power of the poor. We need more education on the influence of food on health, but we also need a national policy that will bring the protective foods within the reach of every class.

Wise Food Policy Would Help Trade

If such a national policy were applied, it would affect more than the health and happiness of the poorer half of the population. We would need to produce far more protective foodstuffs in our own country, and we would need to import more food to bring the diet of the nation up to the League of Nations standard. A food policy based on the food requirements of the country would, therefore, lead to the development of agriculture and increased trade.

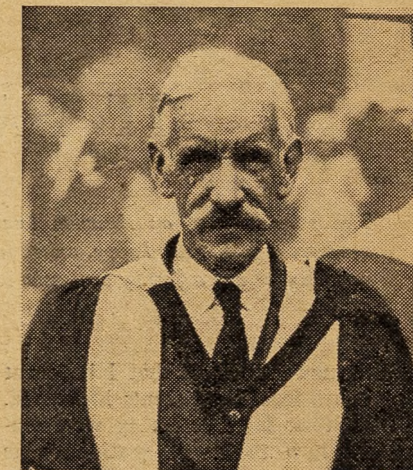
But this country is not worse off than most other countries. It is true that a few nations are better fed than ours. On the other hand, most nations of the world are much worse fed. If we had an international policy designed to increase food consumption to the League of Nations standard, there would be no more talk of a glut of foodstuffs, and no more restrictions on the production and trade in foods which is the basis of all world trade. Even in such a wealthy country as ours, nearly a third of the national income is spent on food, and the poorer the country the higher is the proportion of the income spent on food.

The League of Nations has been studying the economic difficulties of the world from this angle. A Mixed Committee of agricultural and economic experts has issued a report showing the benefits to health, agriculture, and trade which would result from the policy of bringing consumption up to the level required for health, and the League has recommended Governments to set up nutrition committees or councils to study the food position in their respective countries and advise on the means which should be taken to increase the consumption of protective foods. There are now over twenty countries with such committees.

Why Nations Must Co-operate

If war can be averted for a few years there is some hope that the Governments of a number of countries will replace policies of restriction of production and trade in foodstuffs by policies of increased consumption, increased production and increased trade, which would make not only for human health and happiness, but for agricultural and economic prosperity. This is a policy in which the nations of the world can co-operate to the benefit of all and to the detriment of none. There is no line of action which would do more for economic appeasement and international co-operation, which are the only sure bases of world peace. The League of Nations was not established to prevent war.

It was established to promote peace, and it may well be that the League will get a new lease of life and be established on a broader and firmer foundation by the promotion of a world food policy in which all nations of good will can combine for the promotion of human welfare.



SIR FREDERICK GOWLAND HOPKINS, O.M., F.R.S., D.C.L., world famous for his work on vitamins

THE L.N.U. IN THE CRISIS

THE League of Nations Union has been brought face to face with the crisis of its fate. Not suddenly. For many months past the Union has sought to fix the attention of politicians and public on the Czechoslovak danger. Many resolutions of the Executive Committee and of the General Council have struck a warning note. The subject came before the General Council meeting eighteen months ago. Articles in HEADWAY have insisted that soon the world might be faced with the choice between offering an armed resistance to violence and allowing an aggressor to destroy a peace-keeping State. Nor

in conditions where the application of League principles are in any doubt. The League stands for the friendly settlement of all disputes between nations, for peaceful change, for collective resistance to aggressors.

Appeal to League

On September 8, at a special meeting, the following resolution was passed:—

The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union

Recognising the vital importance to all Europe of maintaining the independence of the Czechoslovak State, Trusts that His Majesty's Govern-

ment will do its utmost to resist any attempt by the German Government to settle the Sudeten question by intimidation or by military action;

Believes that that policy has the support of this country; and

Trusts that the Government will utilise the coming meeting of the Assembly of the League of Nations to secure support for that policy by the countries there represented.

Recall Parliament

A fortnight later, on September 22, the horizon having grown pitch black in the interval, another meeting passed a second resolution:—

The Executive Committee of the L.N.U.

Having always advocated the removal of grievances by international discussion and agreement,

Repudiates the policy adopted by H.M. Government in relation to Czechoslovakia of seeking peace by surrender to force,

Believes that such a policy is disastrous to British interests and fatal to British honour and, whatever may be its immediate results, will in the end lead to war,

Urges the publication of the full text of the proposals and the immediate recall of Parliament.

The second resolution was accompanied by the following considered statement:—

The League of Nations Union has repeatedly during the past months urged H.M. Government to ensure peace by accompanying its efforts at appeasement with an unequivocal declaration that it would oppose any attempt to settle the Sudeten problem by force. The Government has chosen a different proce-

sure. By hesitation when firmness was required, and by last minute concessions to threats they have brought discredit upon this country, without making peace secure.

They ought therefore to have appealed for the support of other nations for the maintenance of law by collective action—a support which we are confident would have been forthcoming if British co-operation had been assured. Instead, they have yielded to force, thereby inviting its continued application. They have thus allowed the terror caused in neighbouring states by unchecked German aggression on Austria and Czechoslovakia to create despair in the value of any collective procedure, whether in the redress of grievances or resistance to aggression, and they have encouraged the belief that violence is the only policy that can secure results.

In the grave situation thus created the League of Nations Union refuses to believe that the policy pursued by H.M. Government reflects the will of the people of this country. They see in this policy nothing but a progressive aban-

donment of the pledges made before the last election, and believe that even if war has been postponed it has not been averted.

The German demand for the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia is, we believe, part of a settled policy of domination in Central Europe which will be carried out step by step unless the peace-loving nations resolve that it shall be stopped, and a return resolutely be made to the maintenance of law and the resistance of force in the settlement of international disputes.

For twenty years the League of Nations Union has worked for peace along the only lines by which they believe it can be secured. They have supported every action of the Government which is consistent with their principles. They refuse to abandon those principles because others have brought us to the brink of war by neglecting them, and they will continue to work by every means in their power to secure from their Government a foreign policy which is honourable for this country and helpful to the League of Nations which they were established to support.

IT HAPPENED IN VIENNA

By A REFUGEE IN ENGLAND

This is the story of an Austrian family, grandparents, sons and daughters-in-law, children, fifteen persons, who six months ago were a prosperous, happy, united family. Now they are penniless refugees abroad or penniless outcasts at home. The grandmother was a Jew by birth who became a Catholic at the time of her marriage. The grandfather and sons are Catholic Democrats who have taken little part in politics

IT is now six weeks that I have not heard from my parents in Vienna. In their last letter they were telling me how they were getting on in their new place, but between the lines of the letter I could read sorrow and tragedy.

I can understand their feelings. For more than thirty years have they been living in the same big flat. My three brothers were little boys when they moved in, and I was born there and lived there all my life until I came to England two years ago.

What it must have meant to the two old people to have the flat, furniture and everything taken away from them overnight! And what it must mean to them to live in one small room now, alone, not knowing what is happening to the boys.

But let me tell you as best as I can the story of my family in the last six months. Mind you—I am not complaining, because many thousands are far worse off, and the record of flight, of loss of property, of days and weeks spent in prison by respectable people is nothing but the average fate of a

community of many hundreds of thousands of respectable Austrians.

When I said good-bye to my people



Victims of the Anschluss.

two years ago I left them behind a really happy family. There were the hardships of a country, harassed by economic difficulties, there was the struggle for life, but one could have justly said that we have always put up a brave and successful fight.

Father, a well-known lawyer in his day, had retired many years ago, although he frequently offered useful advice to my brother Walter, who was carrying on the business and had gained for himself much of father's old reputation. Walter is married and the proud father of two little girls.

My brother Carl had also entered the law, but he had joined an industrial concern as legal adviser. He, too, led a happily married life. He had no children, but his wife was just as active as he himself: a medical research worker of great ability, she has contributed to the great medical achievements of a famous Vienna surgeon.

Then there was Max, my third brother, an estate agent whose business had lately suffered from the crisis. But he, his wife and little boy were happy in an ideal family life and content with what he earned.



Armed Storm Troopers in civilian clothes occupying the Chancellery in Vienna on March 12, 1938.

When I left for London as a foreign correspondent of a big Vienna newspaper I remained in close touch with my family, and their letters brought dear old Vienna home to me many times a week. Of course, political clouds gathered over the skies of Central Europe, but Vienna and the Viennese did not expect the worst. And should it come to the worst—this was the old Viennese philosophy—it would not be as bad as all that, after all.

A Storm Broke over Us

It was worse than anybody except a very few expected. Like a storm March 11 broke over us, whose ancestry cannot live up to the standards of National Socialist demands. When Hitler marched into Austria a happy and contented family was brought to the abyss of ruin, scattered all over the world.

Too much has happened in these days after the "Anschluss" for one to be able to give reasons, to say "Why" and "How." I shall hardy find space to record the facts.

My parents' home was in a house which the party chose as the headquarters of one of its organisations. Within two days they had to leave. When they were all ready to go they were informed that their furniture and belongings had to remain with the authorities until my father's tax record had been investigated. My father has not been active in business for many years. Never have they seen their property again, never were they able to find out what had happened to it. They are living now, as I said, in one small room.

Immediate Flight

On March 12, one day after the occupation of Austria, my lawyer brother was warned that a warrant had been issued for his arrest. He had once been counsel for a man who is now regarded as an enemy of the new régime. It was Saturday. Seeing what was happening all around them, my brother and his wife decided to leave. When his wife tried to collect some of her scientific material from the hospital she was recognised as a Jewess and thrown down the stairs. This broke her arm.

Walter had decided to go with Carl. He would take his family away to safety at once, leaving behind all he had. He was right, because on Monday both his flat and Carl's and his office were raided and ransacked. Terrified employees were tortured to make them disclose the whereabouts of their chief, because he was "wanted." What for nobody cared to say. A colleague had meant to leave with my brothers, but stayed behind in order to settle his affairs. He was arrested on Monday, March 14, and sent to Dachau without further questioning. He is still there.

The two women, my sisters-in-law, and the children went to the South of France; my brothers stayed behind at Zurich in an attempt to settle their affairs in Austria and save what could be saved from their property. None of them a penny in their pockets.

All attempts to get back their furniture or to draw even small sums from their banking accounts failed. Friends in Switzerland tried to help them, but they could not send even a little money

to their wives and children. Then they had a chance to appeal to an old client, who had also fled to Switzerland. They received some money and thought themselves safe for some time. The Swiss authorities, however, learned of their "activity," prosecuted them, because refugees are not allowed to work, sent both of them to prison and are threatening now to send them back to Germany.

There the matter rests, since it seems impossible to get them into another country. In the meantime their families are starving.

The Brother Who Stayed

Max had remained in Austria. He had not paid his taxes fully on demand. Business had been bad of late, and he had hoped to make up for it during the summer season.

When he applied for a passport it was refused until he had paid up. He could not pay since under the new regulations he was not allowed to work. So he made for the frontier on foot. Thirty yards from the Swiss frontier he was arrested by S.A. men and was sent to prison, where he remained fifty days. Then, without having been questioned, he was released, and the same S.A. men who had arrested him took him to the frontier and showed him a path by which he could slip into Switzerland. From there he made his way on foot to France.

His wife and little boy are still in Vienna.

My parents, relying on us four for their living—an ample guarantee in normal times—have no money at all. They long ago distributed what they had among their sons.

Old Ladies Commit Suicide

Mother had a dreadful shock when two of her sisters, elderly ladies who were part-owners of a newspaper six years ago, were summoned to the Gestapo, the German secret police. They thought that they could not face an examination—and killed themselves.

The entire hope of the family is concentrated on me because I live in England. Living so far away from all the dread and horror seems in itself heaven. But they have completely forgotten that I, too, have lost my job and have to care for my wife and little English-born baby. I have to care for them, but I am not allowed to work either. I have to support my brothers, but I must not earn money.

I know this simple record of facts leaves many questions open—questions which could justly be asked, but could not be answered.

BOOKS THAT ARE WORTH READING

By ROGER FORTUNE

EVERY month there are published many more books than a monthly review can even attempt to notice. All that is possible in an article such as this is to record the names and claims of a few volumes specially well worth reading. The selection must be strict. But, by confining my attention to work of exceptional merit and to subjects not irrelevant to the wider purposes of HEADWAY, I hope to play my part without any flagrant omissions.

THE OLD CENTURY AND SEVEN MORE YEARS. By Siegfried Sassoon. (Faber and Faber. 8s. 6d.)

September has brought the reader many delights. First I place Siegfried Sassoon's "The Old Century and Seven More Years." Mr. Sassoon writes a poet's prose, clear and coloured; things seen and heard and felt he sets down with a perfect simplicity which conveys more truly than the utmost elaboration could do substitutes of sight and sound, of love, remembrance, and regret. His art summons the past back from the shadows and sets it moving once again graciously in bright sunshine. Not that Mr. Sassoon is a sentimentalist; the story he tells of his childhood is very far from being all sugar. But he is fifty years of age; and he knows, as do all his thoughtful contemporaries, that despite their tragic sequel in 1914, the late nineties and early nineteen-hundreds were a happy age. They were sunny, prosperous, and, in their profound, unquestioning belief, completely secure. They did not doubt their values and their fortunes were stable. Change was for the better. Progress was a palpable fact. Mr. Sassoon recalls many brilliant summers. In that he agrees with his fellow survivors. The light and the warmth were both real and symbolic. In town and country the long leisurely days were filled with quiet pleasures. Neighbours, and neighbourhood, and neighbourliness were words with a natural, everyday meaning; they had not yet acquired the faint archaic flavour they now have or the hint of a lost ideal. No one wore an "old school tie," and the phrase "pukka sahib" was unknown; the families whose boys always went to public schools and whose men often served the Crown as soldiers or sailors or civil servants in India took themselves for granted and were not challenged by anyone. Mr. Sassoon spent his childhood in the pleasant England out of which our tormented period has grown awry.

JANE AUSTEN. By Elizabeth Jenkins. (Victor Gollancz. 15s.)

A neat, undesigned commentary on "The Old Century and Seven More Years" is "Jane Austen," by Elizabeth Jenkins. Miss Jenkins is modest in her claims; her book, however, is a skilful piece of work. Basing herself on her heroine's letters, she has written a full life of the most perfect of English novelists. Jane Austen's correspondents were members of her family, and their concerns were the little daily events and interests of home and kindred. She offers her biographer little romance and no mystery, except the mystery of genius. But she supplies admirable material, sedate and lively, for a detailed picture of one aspect of England over one hundred years ago. Like Mr. Sassoon's, it is an England of the well-to-do, the educated, the gentle, the unquestioned. Jane Austen herself, incidentally, asked more and more searching questions in her restrained, ironic manner than many a hurried reader notices. And her sometimes severe implications are frequent. It is instructive to compare the England in which Jane Austen spent all her life with the England in which Mr. Sassoon grew up; it is also encouraging. The two books show what creatures of obstinate habit are the English and how deep ingrained is their habit of survival. Perhaps, after all, Mr. Sassoon's England will not die of our peace any more than Jane Austen's England died of the Republican and Napoleonic wars. It should be added that Miss Jenkins has much of interest to say about the novels; she is an intelligent commentator who sees, as more pretentious critics accustomed to a noisier manner often fail to do, that Jane must not be assumed to miss a point just because she does not emphasise it.

VIENNA: The Image of a Culture in Decline. By Edward Crankshaw. (Macmillan. 8s. 6d.)

A more unequivocal lament for the past is Mr. Crankshaw's "Vienna." Here, quite certainly, the dear, dead days are gone beyond recall. The tarnished phrase is appropriate because at times Mr. Crankshaw is tritely precious. Yet he has chosen an excellent subject and has handled it in a way which holds his readers' attention with few breaks

from the first page to the last. Mr. Crankshaw has not written a guide book, although the book he has written is the best of guides to what was one of the world's most charming cities. Vienna has saved Europe from the barbarians many times in 2,000 years. From Marcus Aurelius to Francis Joseph she was the fortress of the West. Her sieges were turning points in history. She was a centre of political authority where the lessons of long and various experience steadily accumulated, and from which was spread a slow and cautious good sense in the business of government. And during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries she was the nursing mother of great art. Her building and her music while Viennese through and through, were in no sense provincial. They were the flower of a culture as widely human as the classic tradition. The great masters were nearly all of them foreigners in the city. That was no accident. Neither was it an accident that the Prince de Ligne, who is commonly put forward by admirers of the Ancient Regime in France as its perfect representative, was an Austrian. Imperial Vienna was civilised; and civilised men felt at home when they visited her and when they left carried with them a vital recollection. All this Mr. Crankshaw recounts with easy mastery. Mozart is his idol. The delight he takes in the musician's musician and the significance he finds in the last neglected days of that tragic life help him to impose pattern and perspective on his story. The stage is worthy of the play and Mr. Crankshaw brings churches and palaces, squares and gardens, bridges and parks, and theatres vividly before our eyes. Mr. Crankshaw, perhaps, intended a service to travellers. Now that Hitler, himself an Austrian, has displaced Vienna violently from even the modest eminence left her by Austria's open enemies of yesterday, they are likely to be few. The spectacle of the Prussian in the saddle in a "colonial" town does not attract. But the "anschluss" has given his book more than it has taken away. "Vienna" is the most readable, most illuminating account in English of the city that was.

THE CULTURE OF CITIES. By Lewis Mumford. (Secker and Warburg. 21s.)

Cities are the subject of the most important book of the month. This is "The Culture of Cities," by Lewis Mumford. (Continued on page 28)

JOHN MURRAY

A delicious autobiography.

LAUGHING DIPLOMAT

By DANIELE VARÈ

Author of "The Last of the Emperors," etc.

"The work of an acute observer who, while laughing at the antics of prominent performers in the human comedy, sees himself also as a droll figure in the procession."—*The Times*. With Illustrations, 16s.

CHARCOT OF THE ANTARCTIC

By MARTHE OULIÉ

"A great seaman in ice."—*The Times*. "Mlle Oulié has admirably succeeded. A worthy monument to a great and humane man."—*The Observer*. With Illustrations, 12s. 6d.

ORDEAL AT LUCKNOW

By MICHAEL JOYCE

Author of "Peregrine Pieram"

The famous story of Lucknow is here refreshingly told from a new and stirring angle and will be of lasting value. With Plans, 8s. 6d.

DESERT & DELTA

By MAJOR C. S. JARVIS, C.M.G., O.B.E.

Author of "Three Deserts," etc.

A lucid, enticing and humorous account of life and work in the deserts and palm groves of Egypt and Sinai by the late Governor of Sinai. With Illustrations, 10s. 6d.

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The Reminiscences of LORD ERNLE, 1851-1937

With an introduction by Lord Kennet, P.C., and a Concluding Note by Sir Daniel Hall, K.C.B., a most distinguished life is here perfectly recounted. With Illustrations, 18s.

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Your judgment on world affairs must inevitably be unsound unless you have full knowledge of the views and policy of the British Labour Movement.

Much the most reliable source of information on Labour's attitude is its own national newspaper—the "Daily Herald."

The Movement's official voice, this great national organ, day by day gives a full record of world affairs, and a clear interpretation of Labour's attitude.

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And, since its foundation it has been a valiant and skilful advocate of the democratic principles of peace—international law based on equity and justice.

DAILY HERALD

On the job all the time for peace

NATIONAL UNION OF SEAMEN

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

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

W. R. SPENCE, C.B.E., *General Secretary*.
J. B. WILSON, *General Treasurer*.
GEO. REED, *Assistant General Secretary*.

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

ford. It is a massive volume, profusely illustrated, competently written. What is more it is the mature work of one of the most vigorous and enlightened social thinkers of the day. Civilisation of cities is a book to read, and then to study, and then to put aside for repeated reference. Mr. Mumford has learnt from the Scotto-Gallic school of Le Play and Patrick Geddes. He has a firm grasp of the truth that the place where a man lives profoundly influences his life. His work and his home depend upon it. Place, work, folk cannot be separated. And the place is not merely tenement and factory or villa and office, as the case may be, but the whole city, with all its buildings, institutions, services, amenities. For Mr. Mumford the city is a whole. That is a simple idea, but an inspiring one—how simple and how inspiring "The Culture of Cities" abundantly shows. "The eyes of our God are on the cities of the earth." The beginning of wisdom for individual men and women, as for society, is that what is close at hand should be clearly seen, justly valued, and strenuously improved on a plan carefully and intelligently constructed. Later, what has been successfully practised at home can be hopefully encouraged abroad.

Letters to the Editor

"HEADWAY" READERS CALL FOR POLICY BASED ON PRINCIPLE

A National Government

Sir,—Parliament must meet—and act. Faced with disaster, compelled to make a choice in which either alternative is tragic, Great Britain needs at once a truly National Government.

Let Mr. Neville Chamberlain, who represents only a part of one party, prove his patriotism by withdrawing from the Premiership to an office where he can serve his country more effectively. Let the lead be taken by a man who has inherited Earl Baldwin's hold upon the confidence of all parties in the state and every class in the community. Here is the Cabinet the country would follow: Mr. Eden, Prime Minister; Mr. Winston Churchill, Minister of Defence; Sir Archibald Sinclair, Foreign Secretary; Mr. Neville Chamberlain, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Sir John Simon, Lord Chancellor; Sir Samuel Hoare, Home Secretary; Lord Cecil, Lord President of the Council; Mr. Attlee, Lord Privy Seal; Sir Kingsley Wood, Air Minister; Mr. Herbert Morrison, First Lord of the Admiralty; Mr. Hore-Belisha, War Minister; Mr. Arthur Greenwood, Minister of Health; Earl Baldwin, Chancellor of the Duchy.

J. KNOX.

Hendon.

SURGEON EXTRAORDINARY: THE LIFE STORY OF DR. J. B. MURPHY. The Stormy Petrel of Surgery. By Loyal Davis. (Harrap. 8s. 6d.)

Dr. Davis, writing the biography of a famous figure in American medical history, also in a sense is concerned with the same great subject—civics. J. B. Murphy was a vivid personality. There was never anyone quite like him: log-cabin urchin, eager student in primitive Middle Western colleges and German universities, exuberant showman, and brilliant innovator in abdominal surgery whose technique was imitated throughout the world. He was also typical of Chicago, the city of his adoption. Chicago germinated on the empty prairie, expanding in a single long generation from nothing to the splendour of one of the world's half-dozen greatest cities. Hovels vanished and palaces took their place. It can never happen again, for never again can a vast, virgin continent be brought into intensive exploitation within a short fifty years. Inevitably in the process the fine and the shoddy were inextricably mixed. Brilliant gifts were joined with the most blatant ballyhoo. J. B. Murphy was

half genius and half quack; Chicago explained his quackery and his genius justified him to the world.

MARLBOROUGH. Vol. IV. By Winston Churchill. (Harrap. 21s.)

Mr. Churchill has brought triumphantly to an end one of the greatest historical works of our time. In his famous ancestor—hero, soldier, statesman—the author has a character perfectly fitted to his own dynamic gifts. Much of the great Duke lives again in his twentieth-century descendant. Marlborough's fading fortunes when the party game went against him brought out in him a stoic grandeur which Mr. Churchill mightily admires and vividly pictures. Not less clearly is the political drama unrolled; every knot of intrigue is untied, every thread is gathered up. The chapters on the making of a far from glorious peace after a most glorious war are much more than a tract for the times. They are also such a tract of supreme quality. The four volumes of the now completed Marlborough are a wise and delightful introduction to the high art of governing men drawn up by one master with the life of another master as his text.

justice to argument and then in frantic haste paid tribute to violence? Too often in practice aggressors are encouraged by proof that only aggression pays.

I do not despair of the League. But let us remember that man's highest adventure in applied politics is not easy.

It is as difficult as Christianity. It calls for all the effort and all the courage which the bravest nations can command. For those who slink out of the race there seems to be open a way of escape. But it ends in a blind alley. Or, worse, in the primrose path to the everlasting bonfire.

Bedford. J. STAUNTON.

Look to Future

Sir,—What next? No good purpose is served by brooding over the past. Let us show that we have learnt our lesson by putting it to account now! Time presses. We must act at once.

Nearly two years ago the League of Nations Union issued a manifesto. It called for a round-table conference from whose discussion no topic should be excluded. All Europe would have a fair hearing, and all proved wrong would find redress. But once a settlement had been hammered out its terms would carry the joint and several guarantee of all its signatories. In other words, peaceful change and collective security.

Beverly. JOHN SILCOTE.

Let Us Keep Our Pledges

Sir,—The ideal of faithfulness to international pledges was never more in need

of unequivocal support than now. Is it not a pity for the L.N.U. to have on record any resolution that even *seems* to support the present political axiom that obligations can be disowned when danger threatens?

I refer to the following clause in a resolution of last year: "There is no obligation under Article 16 for any State to take part in any action proposed—which may involve armed resistance by the disturber of peace—unless it has the support of States sufficiently strong to make such resistance almost certainly unsuccessful."

This clause, being so expressed, exempts from support of *collective action* any State which does not think—or does not choose to think—that the aggressor will be "almost certainly unsuccessful" if he retaliates by war. It makes the sanctity of pledges depend on such security (which, in fact, is never present in such a case), instead of on the plain duty of all League-members to realise that they are bound—in decency as well as by a promise—not to assist the aggressor with arms and supplies.

"Almost certain" security in international affairs *can never come*—till it comes as a result of the trust created by finding that the nations, in the total absence of such security, are yet willing to stand loyally by one another. The fortunes of war are incalculable. A nation that wants such extreme security as to be "almost certainly" safe from defeat, must take care never to stand firmly enough by any principle to provoke the war-makers to retaliate at all. People who love war, and people who profit by war, undoubtedly *will* at some point try to crush down by force those who combine in the interests of peace. Either we must face the risk of war for our principles, or we must cease to combine in the interests of peace.

ELAINE KIDD.

146, Walton Street, Oxford.

Long Term Programme

Sir,—A leading article in HEADWAY says that the peoples desire peace, and that against this desire the war plots of politicians will count for little.

The first statement is one of fact, the second of faith. I fain would share your faith, but you say that time is a factor of crucial importance, and I cannot help fearing that before permanent effect can be given to this desire the ineptitude of rulers may land the world in war.

The quickest possible expression of this world-wide desire for peace is therefore desirable. Can anything be done to facilitate this? Is it possible to provide a means by which it can be expressed with comparatively little delay? Is it possible, for instance, to arrange for a People's Peace Proclamation in all lands?

In Democracies only great issues can be decided by the peoples. Their translation into policy must be left to statesmen. Such a proclamation therefore would have to be confined to broad issues and expressed in simple terms.

I suggest a World Conference to consider:

I. The causes of war and their removal.

II. Enlargement of the membership of the League of Nations and such extension of its powers as would make it an effective instrument for

1. Securing world-wide co-operation in the works of peace.

2. Removing injustice between States.

3. Establishing and maintaining International Law.

WM. SINCLAIR.

Scalby, Scarborough,

August 25, 1938.

After Victory, What?

Sir,—In the event of a general war in Europe, it is extremely likely that, at the first serious German check, the enraged people will sweep away their present rulers, and hang those responsible for their aggression. If this should happen, it is all-important that we should seize the opportunity to restore peace, before all the resources of European civilisation are destroyed. It will be possible to make a just peace with the unbroken but no longer aggressive Germany, upon such terms as will ensure tranquillity in Europe for a very long period, perhaps for ever. In no circumstances must we allow ourselves to be carried away by the cry: "Delenda est Germania." Germany cannot be destroyed; complete victory, a

vindictive peace, a new resurrection of the Germans, and a new war, are poor objects for which to shed our blood. We can only fight to restore a demented Germany to sanity, and to make her cure permanent by negotiating with her on an equal basis a fair and durable settlement.

With Germany restored to sanity, and a halt called to the war, one of those rare moments will occur at which a great step forward can be taken in the direction of international law and order. Such a step was the foundation of the League of Nations. Now, at least for Europe, a larger step is required, and a Federation of Europe must be set up, with pooled armaments and a Federal Legislature. At such a moment as I have suggested, I believe that a step of this nature could be taken, with general approval in all countries and a good chance of success.

In 1814 we declared that we were not fighting against the people of France, but against Napoleon, and the peace terms showed that we were sincere. In 1918 we demanded the abdication of the Kaiser, but when he fled, we made the German people pay for his conduct. Next time—if there must be a next time—we should declare our war to be against Hitler and the policy of aggression; when these are purged, we must be ready for an immediate and equal peace.—Yours faithfully,

VANDELEUR ROBINSON.

65, Marsham Street, S.W.1.

September 21, 1938.

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the present crisis

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tells how England cast away her leadership of the Grand Alliance; how a "peace at any cost" Ministry was installed; how by this very fact the French were incited to continue their resistance, although in 1709 the tyrant of Europe had become a suppliant, and how they soon became the dominant power. Marlborough was hunted into exile. A peace was made contrary to every canon of good faith. All Europe was staggered by the perfidy of the Tory Ministers.

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A HARRAP BOOK

A MAN OF THE HOUR

EDUARD BENES—
EXILE, MINISTER, PRESIDENT

By VANDELEUR ROBINSON
who lived for several years in Czechoslovakia and knows intimately country, people and language

"IF the Austrian Imperial authorities had had even an ounce of sense in their heads," said a Czech politician to me, "there would have been no Czechoslovakia. Masaryk would have lived and died a professor, and Benes would to-day still be a journalist in Paris."

This Czech journalist in Paris succeeded in impressing his personality and the cause for which he stood upon the French politicians. That is the French chapter of a far-ranging complicated story.

The Czechoslovak Committee was recognised as the Provisional Government of a belligerent Allied Power, whose territory was still in enemy occupation. At the Peace Conference Benes kept in close touch with Pichon. Point after point came up for settlement; the recognition as provisionally Czech of the territories which the Czechs were able to occupy; the allocation to Czechoslovakia of the natural, historic, military and economic frontiers of Bohemia, with guarantees for the German minority, deprived of self-determination; the self-determination of Slovakia, in defiance of the economic claims of Hungary; the award of a southern strategic frontier to Slovakia; the union of Ruthenia with Czechoslovakia under a system of autonomy which could not be implemented for nineteen years. On every point Benes had his answer ready; on every point he convinced Pichon and Clemenceau, and eventually got his way with the British and Americans. Benes is a fighter, and at Paris he won all his battles.

The Republic, once founded, had to be preserved. Benes took the post of Foreign Minister, and looked about him for allies. He found them in Roumania and Yugoslavia. In conjunction with Titulescu and a succession of Yugoslavs, he formed and directed the combination known as the Little Entente.

Conspicuous Figure in Geneva

For years the three minor States worked as a team, and eventually aspired to the status of a composite Great Power. They took it in turns to be represented on the Council of the League. They took a prominent part in the attempts to organise Collective Security through the Draft Treaty of Mutual Guarantee, the Geneva Protocol, the plan for a federal union of Europe, and the ensuing European Committee of the League. Twice in 1921 they suppressed the attempted Habsburg restoration in Hungary by the threat of mobilisation.

In 1935 they supported sanctions against Italy. Throughout the whole of this period Benes directed the Foreign Office in Prague. Throughout the whole period he was a conspicuous figure in Geneva, wielding a power far disproportionate to the size of his country.

Benes is a realist. He foresaw the crumbling away of the new Central European system through a series of detailed alterations of the settlement. To defeat the ruin of the settlement he set his face sternly against any revision of



the Peace Treaties, in the interest, as he saw it, of the stability of Europe. His famous remark that the moving of one boundary-stone in Europe would mean war has been as a red flag to the revisionist bulls. One frontier, that between Austria and Germany, has been removed, and who will say that we are not in consequence nearer war?

Benes's creation is now endangered, and Benes himself is at the head of the State. He it is, more than anyone, who decides upon the degree to which the demands of the Sudeten Nazis can be accepted without imperilling the liberty of the Czechoslovak nation. If he is not so broadminded a philosopher as Masaryk, at least he is as determined to preserve his people from alien domination.

The Son of Peasants

The other day at the exhibition at Kosice I saw photographs of Benes's parents and brothers and sisters and the cottage wherein he was born. Benes is the son of peasants and rose by way of scholarships to become a lawyer and a journalist. There was a photograph of him as a young man in Paris, looking whimsically representative of the student-artist type, yet with a touch of sadness and serious purpose. Later exhibits gave the life of the conspirator—a genuine passport issued in the name of Francis Joseph, and another, bearing some false particulars, from King Peter of Serbia. I saw also the original cablegram, in English, received by Benes in Paris from Masaryk in Washington, containing the instructions for publishing Czechoslovakia's Declaration of Independence. These relics of adventure were succeeded by pictures of Benes in Geneva presiding over the League Assembly and over the I.L.O. Conference, conversing with Briand, Sir Austen Chamberlain and Scialoja; and in various European capitals, in company with Litvinov, Stalin, King Carol, Stoyadinovic. It is the history of a man; but also of a nation.

In a crowded café I heard the President's appeal to his people for calm. Everyone listened intently, then stood for the National Anthems—first, the gentle, sweet Czech hymn, then the Slovak hymn, rugged and inspiring. Immediately afterwards I watched the procession of the Palladium, a picture of Our Lady Patroness of Bohemia, deposited 300 years ago in the Church of Sary Boleslav. There were the Roman Catholic Sokols, church choirs, nuns, hooded monks, and the Cardinal Archbishop of Prague, in golden cope and mitre. It was dark and pouring with rain. The citizens of Prague crowded under their umbrellas to watch the procession, which became a national act of intercession by a people in deadly peril.

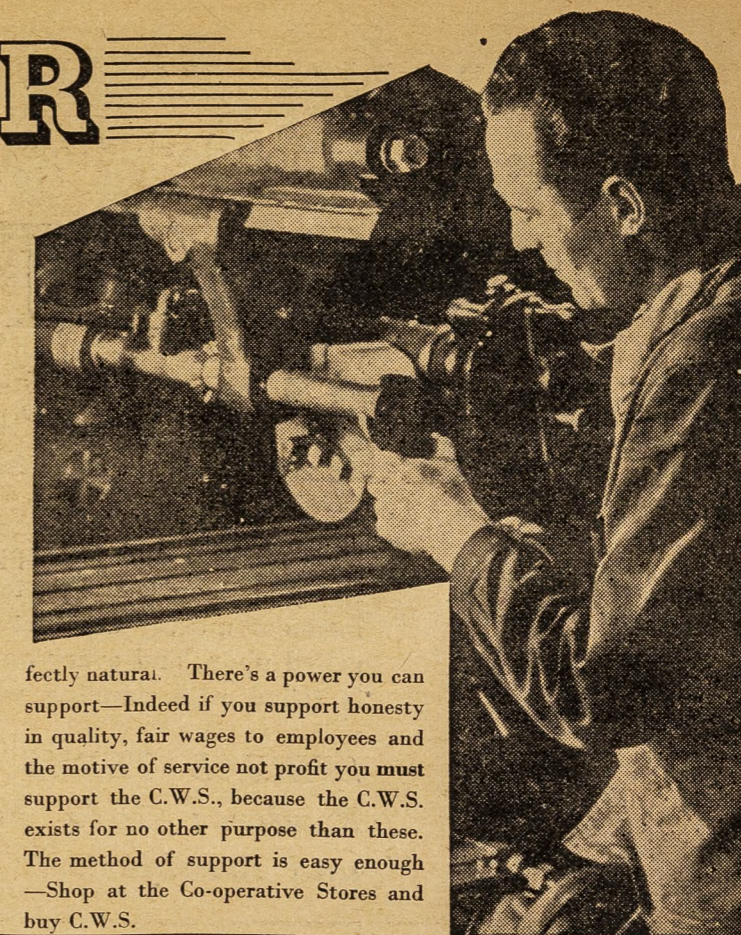
Dark clouds gather about the Czechs after they have enjoyed but twenty years of national freedom. The President and his Ministers are in heavy travail for the very life of their country. At moments when the situation is particularly difficult the disciple seeks inspiration at the tomb of his master; President Benes betakes himself in pious pilgrimage to Lány; there, in the place so closely associated with the President-Liberator Masaryk, to draw added strength for the task of saving once more his country.

POWER for what?

PURPOSE for good or evil is the thing with which mankind ought to concern itself. Power without honest purpose is both most monstrous and dangerous. We have seen governments powerful in their armed might bullying smaller neighbours and with a flourish of arms—committing brazen robbery of that neighbour's territory. To what end is such power directed?

★ ★ ★

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