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# HEADWAY

TOWARDS FREEDOM AND PEACE

VOL. 1. No. 4

JANUARY, 1939

PRICE 3d.

**GREAT BRITAIN**

***STRONG***

***RESOLUTE***

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**WILL SAVE THE WORLD  
IN 1939**

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Alderman J. TOOLE, J.P.

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## A HAPPY NEW YEAR

# HEADWAY

TOWARDS FREEDOM AND PEACE

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

VOL. 1

JANUARY, 1939

No. 4

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## BRITAIN CAN SAVE PEACE FOR 1939

1939 CAN be a peace year. Not only can it avert war; it can drive deeper and firmer the foundations of world order on which alone a lasting peace can be built. But the price must be paid. No more than freedom is peace to be had for nothing. Eternal vigilance, which is the price of freedom, is the price also of peace. Or rather, part of the price. For at a time when both freedom and peace are beset with new and deadly dangers, it is not enough to watch. There must be resolute action also; and such action must not be delayed until disaster has to be dodged on the very edge of the precipice.

1939 can be a peace year. To make it so, we must begin by clearing our minds of illusion. We must not pretend that words are facts; we must not delude ourselves with a belief that a pretty name can put an attractive face on a hideous situation. After surrender has been made to violence or the threat of violence, we must not strike wise and heroic attitudes and declare that we will never concede an inch to force, but will always listen to the voice of reason. Such self-deception leads inevitably to the day when demands impudently alleging that they are the voice of reason will speak through strange instruments with an intimidating sound and no means of denying them will remain.

1939 can be a peace year. To make it so, we must shape our policy to the world situation as it exists. We must see what are the permanent interests of our country and of mankind; and we must draw a comprehensive plan for their presentation. That plan we must put into operation step by step, each taken in due order and at the right time.

1939 can be a peace year. To make it so, we must mobilise all the resources of Great Britain, of the British World Commonwealth, of the democracies, of the peace-keeping nations. Great Britain, as the heart and inspirer of the defence of freedom and peace, must equip herself with the arms which are needed to save her from the threats of any aggressor. Threatening none, she must be strong enough not to fear the threats of any. The magni-

tude of the effort must not be rated too low. Confronted by ambiguous dictatorships, about whom the only statement to which any responsible observer dare commit himself is that they are armed to the teeth, Britain must take every precaution.

1939 can be a peace year. To make it so, we must build a better Britain which shall command the passionate service of all her children and set a noble example to the world. We must not only defend democracy; we must make democracy worth defending. Great Britain is a country to love, a country to praise, a country to improve. Patriotism is a poor virtue if it is content with security against foreign attack. It deserves little respect unless it works tirelessly to win for every citizen a full, healthy, happy life. Health is the beginning; and health for the child and for the man or woman whom the child becomes begins with food. Food must be of the right kinds and the right amounts; and certain foods which are essential to growth and strength must be fresh. Scarcely less important than food is housing. Into the homes of Britain must enter freely fresh air and sunlight, without which continuous good health is impossible. The schools follow, not merely the elementary schools, which even in the recent past were still thought to provide all the education that was proper for nine-tenths of the British people, but central schools, secondary schools, technical schools, universities, where no natural gift will be allowed to wither for lack of opportunity to flourish and flower and fruit. Next is the contentment of mind by whose absence all good things are poisoned. A concerted attack must be made on the vast cancer of unemployment and the infection centres of the distressed areas. January HEADWAY, developing its campaign for a better Britain, contains an article by Viscount Astor, in which that high authority on the twin problems of farming and nutrition shows how rural England can be saved.

1939 can be a peace year. There are immense tasks which must be accomplished to make it so. HEADWAY wishes its readers a Happy New Year in carrying them to triumphant success.

## ANTHONY EDEN

By LORD HOLDEN, who is a cousin of the former Foreign Secretary

MOST thinking people in England to-day are asking themselves the fascinating question: "Has Anthony Eden, by an unwise decision, missed his political future or will he be the next, or a future, Prime Minister?" Personally, I hope that the latter conjecture will be fulfilled, but the other day a friend of mine in the Government asked me an even more baffling if no less interesting question: If it were possible at the present moment (which, of course, it is not) to hold a national plebiscite on the straightforward question as to whether Chamberlain or Eden should be Prime Minister, who would secure the greater number of votes?

To the latter question I can make no answer, but I will try and substantiate my reasons for hoping that Anthony will one day become Prime Minister by a brief description of the man himself, his character and ideals.

### Eton and Oxford

The incidence that we are cousins and both had the same conventional education (in our case Eton and Oxford with a period of soldiering between) has given me the opportunity of preserving my contact with Anthony for over twenty years. As, however, he was a year older than myself and we were at different houses, friendship between us was difficult at Eton, and here Anthony, in company with many others destined to be distinguished in later life, did not particularly shine, either at work or games. Indeed, his tutor, Mr. Churchill, later told me that he saw no indications while Anthony was at Eton that he would enjoy a brilliant career. But I well remember Anthony's slight, good-looking and earnest figure making his way to school with half a dozen books under one arm.

### Army and After

After the war, during which he served in the Rifle Brigade, won the M.C., and eventually was promoted to the rank of a brigade-major on the staff, Anthony went to Christ Church, Oxford, more familiarly known as the "House." Here the same earnestness and desire for knowledge were manifest. Anthony not only took a first in Arabic, but also founded the "Uffizzi" Society, a group whose activities were dedicated to the study of art. Anthony's great love and understanding of painting had been fostered by the fine collection of the nineteenth century "Impressionists" belonging to his father, Sir William Eden, and Anthony himself would often confide his artistic emotions to canvas—although in a more modern manner.

During one vacation I joined Anthony and two other friends on a tour through Central Europe to Constantinople. It was during this trip that I came to realise two other facets of his character—his innate idealism and sense of humour. In 1921 the nations of Europe were submerged in bitter-



ness or defeatism, but Anthony, escaping to the extremes, looked with confidence to the future, convinced that the principles of international justice, inherent in the League of Nations, would ultimately prevail. He often used to quote Napoleon's famous aphorism about a "United States of Europe."

### Sense of Humour

Of Anthony's sense of humour we all enjoyed one amusing indication in Budapest. In those days it was necessary to obtain permission from the authorities to stay in that beautiful city, but this, being four light-hearted young men, we had omitted to do. In consequence, at the station on our departure three of us were suddenly arrested and placed under guard in separate rooms. Anthony was not with us, being already on the platform busying himself with the seats, and we

thought he was going to escape arrest, when suddenly the future Foreign Secretary was observed being marched off the platform by four soldiers with fixed bayonets. Our difficulties, after a short incarceration, were soon overcome (although, of course, we had missed the train), but while his friends were most indignant at the treatment they had received at the hands of the Hungarian authorities, Anthony thought that the whole incident was a very good joke indeed.

### Clear-Headed and Persistent

Two other aspects of Anthony's character which have become increasingly obvious to his friends and associates were also observed by his tutor, Mr. Churchill at an early age. He once told me that at school Anthony was a clear-headed boy with the pertinacity to obtain what he desired. These are vital characteristics for a statesman to possess, and there are many who think that the reasons he gave for his resignation last February prove his remarkable perspicacity in foreign affairs, and certainly recent events in Europe seem to substantiate that contention.

As regards Anthony's ability to get what he wants, his amazingly successful career is the visible proof of this quality. Before even he was a member of Parliament it was his avowed intention to become in the course of time, Foreign Secretary, although undoubtedly Anthony never expected to be given that high position before he was forty.

But Anthony has always wanted something far greater than the mere fulfilment of personal ambition; in fact, he only regarded high office as a means to an end. All the time Anthony was in the Cabinet, whether as Minister for the League of Nations or as Foreign Secretary, he strove ceaselessly for a better understanding amongst the nations of the world, and a foreign delegate at Geneva three years ago summed up Anthony's fundamental ambition in these flattering words: "Anthony Eden—that terrible young man who wants peace."

# Think about smoke ... AND ACT!

says PROFESSOR JOHN HILTON

How enormously smoke adds to the daily drudgery of the home. Smoke? What smoke? From factories? Yes, in part. But much more from the houses. From your house fire and my house fire. We pour it out of our chimneys. Aerial Sewage. The air is full of it. It drifts all over the place. So our wives have to put down good money for cleaning materials, and they and their helpers have to spend hours and hours a week dusting, wiping, scrubbing and washing. No wonder they lose heart and temper. Not only so, but we live in smoke instead of living in clean air and sunlight. No wonder we often feel not quite up to the mark. We English, you know, can be dense. We are dense about this smoke business. We really take it as in the nature of things. It isn't. No wonder visitors to Britain pass remarks. When you next see a smut don't only just brush it away as you've done before. Think about it. And then act.

*These words were written by Professor John Hilton as a foreword to the National Smoke Abatement Society's magazine-book—'Britain's Burning Shame.' This is of such importance that supplies have been made available at your Gas Showrooms. Ask for a free copy.*

In its fight against smoke, against all the shameless waste of life and health and money that smoke-laden air entails, the National Smoke Abatement Society has among its allies the Gas Industry. Every time an old-fashioned smoke-making fire gives place to a smokeless fire such

as a gas fire or smokeless coke grate, a little more sunshine filters through to the streets of a British city, a fraction of time is added to the expectation of life of every city-born child. The Gas Industry has inscribed on its banners—'Gas and coke, the fuel of clean cities'. As long as a single chimney pours its poison into the air we breathe the Gas Industry will continue its fight against death and dirt and waste.

\* \* \* \* \*  
*Get your coke from the local gas undertaking or (in most parts of the country) from your local coal merchant who sells coke at gas undertaking prices.*

ISSUED BY THE BRITISH COMMERCIAL GAS ASSOCIATION

Gas Industry House, 1 Grosvenor Place, S.W.1

## BEHIND THE NEWS

### LIGHT IN THE GLOOM

1938 HAS made history. Much of it has been bad. But some of it has been good. To exaggerate the bad and minimise the good is foolishness.

The bad is plain for all to see, even those who chose to pretend that it does not exist. The good is less obvious. In the end, however, what has been gained may outweigh what has been lost.

Even in the dark days of Munich there was encouragement to be drawn from the spontaneous expressions of the German people in all parts of the country of their desire for peace. They showed clearly that military adventure was not to their taste; what they desired was escape from the red madness of war.

The sober resolution of the British people was another gain. Threatening none, eager for justice for others as for themselves, they refused to give way to panic, and revealed the old stubborn readiness to do all their duty. During the past three months they have braced themselves to face the facts of a world in turmoil and with an increasing purposefulness have gone about the grim business of preparing for the worst, if the worst must come.

Best of all has been the popular awakening in the United States and the drawing closer of the great democracy overseas to the democracies of Europe.

\* \* \*

### U.S. STANDS FOR DEMOCRACY

A YEAR ago the jest that Britain expected every American to spend his last dollar and to shed the last drop of his blood in defence of the British Empire was repeated everywhere throughout the United States. It brings no laughter to-day, and is seldom heard.

Events have taught the jesters a lesson. The military adventures of the dictatorships, east and west, have shaken confidence in American isolation. What is more, they have destroyed American indifference. The American people value democracy. Their way of life is built on it; it dominates their political thinking and feeling. Now that they believe democracy is in danger there is no longer any doubt of the side on which they take their stand. If the need arises they will act.

\* \* \*

### LAND OF THE FREE

IN Europe we are apt to forget what individual liberty means to the American people. The vast majority of the Americans of to-day and yesterday and the day before, back to the first colonisation of the continent, crossed the Atlantic to enjoy the freedom of making the best they could of their lives. They fled from arbitrary power, in religion, in politics, in education, in social life. They see the evils which they most detest raising their heads again from what had been thought their final defeat.

\* \* \*

### PILGRIMAGE OF YOUTH

NATIONAL Service is the chief subject under discussion on public platforms, on the radio, and in the Press. The only point of view which has not been heard is that of the young men and women of military age. Yet they are the most affected.

The younger generation is in no mood to be overlooked. There has never been a time when so many of them have followed political events so closely and have drawn their own conclusions so boldly. They desire to give service. But service can be freely given in a democratic

country only when there is confidence. In this situation a National Youth Pilgrimage to London is planned, so that the representatives of hundreds of thousands of young people may together make a declaration upon national service and the cause in which it should be given.

The pilgrims will arrive in London on Saturday, February 18, when receptions will be extended to them by the youth of London. On Sunday morning special church services will be held for them. In the afternoon the pilgrims, reinforced by the youth of London, will meet in Trafalgar Square for a march past the Cenotaph, and will then go on to the Empress Hall Stadium, Earl's Court, for a great mass meeting. On Monday a number of the pilgrims will remain in London in order to take part in deputations to the political leaders and other important leaders.

The National Youth Pilgrimage will demonstrate the strength of the democratic youth movement and the determination of young people to change the present foreign policy and to oppose further aggression, which may introduce totalitarian methods at home.

HEADWAY invites its readers to help to make the pilgrimage the success it deserves to be. Given adequate help, success is assured.

\* \* \*

### MESSAGE FROM LORD LUGARD

LORD LUGARD, one of the builders of the modern British Empire, famous for his work in war and peace in West Africa, where the system of government introduced by him has become the model copied by progressive Colonial administrators, for 14 years British Member of the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations, has sent HEADWAY a message on the Colonial problem. He says:—

*THE cession of sovereignty over our Colonies and Protectorates to an International Body would be incompatible with the obligations we have incurred towards the subject races and other inhabitants; that it would not contribute towards "appeasement" except in so far as it included equal commercial opportunity, which can of course be effected without placing the territories under either Mandate or international control.*

*I regard the latter as quite unworkable in practice, and I am convinced that neither proposal would be accepted by other Powers.*

*The adoption of the "Open Door" under international guarantee would involve real sacrifice, but its precise meaning would require careful consideration.*

14th December, 1938.

\* \* \*

### FRANCE IS STRONGER

THE most significant development in French internal affairs since the failure of the general strike has been a boom in Government securities on the Bourse. The two occurrences are in fact closely related. When M. Daladier broke the strike early in December, he won for his Government a much-needed increase in prestige and put it into a better tactical position for carrying out M. Reynaud's plan of economic recovery. He further strengthened himself by treating the strikers with moderation, punishing only the aggressive few. In this way it has been possible to reconcile the workers to the demand for increased production as well as to a reform of the forty-hour week. Previously the mechanically shortened day was holding up the progress of industry and rearmament.

From the new start much good has come. It has induced

French investors to bring back some of their capital to France, where it is badly needed to finance trade, industry, and the Treasury's deficit in the extraordinary Budget; attacks on the franc have now ceased and French currency has been one of the strongest for some weeks. There have been more demands to buy than to sell francs. And the process of changing back the currency has given the Treasury the chance to augment its stocks of gold and foreign money.

The Government has not solved its financial or economic problems, but it has definitely reversed the previously adverse trend. It has, moreover, secured the acceptance of the decrees of M. Reynaud, the able finance minister, which are intended to bring France within reach of orderly finances.

Seeing that finance and politics are inseparably related it would be natural to conclude that M. Daladier had reinforced the political foundations of his Ministry. Paradoxically, that has not happened. The very orthodoxy of his policy has offended the Socialists and Communists, who had hoped for heavier taxation of the employers and middle classes in return for a lengthening of the working week and the increase in indirect taxation. It is still possible, however, for the Socialists to give the Government unattached support seeing that immediate issues are less likely to provoke passionate domestic controversy than were those which have just been settled.

France is stronger than she was, more self-reliant, more firmly resolved not to submit to blackmail.

\* \* \*

### JEWS IN TUNIS

IT was not to be supposed that Italy could escape the illogicalities of her new racial programme any more than Germany could. One of the first paradoxes has arisen over Tunis, where there is a large Italian colony, for whom Mussolini is claiming some new form of self-determination to the prejudice of French authority. The leading members of this colony are bankers, traders, and industrialists, most of whom happen to be Saphardic Jews. The new Italian racial laws have made them fearful of any further extension of Italian rule. Instead of being the ardent Fascists they were, the Italian Jews in Tunis are now turning to the French Government for naturalisation as French citizens, thereby helping to thin the militant ranks of the Tunisian Italians.

\* \* \*

### SWISS DEMOCRACY

THE political doves of Switzerland have been seriously fluttered this month. The Federal Government has, after consulting Parliament on the question of principle, taken upon itself to "protect Swiss democracy" (I copy the Government's own phraseology) by emergency decree, and apparently Swiss democracy doesn't like being protected.

The new decree gives the Government power to fine or imprison all who knowingly spread news calculated to compromise Switzerland's relations with Foreign Powers, to stir up racial or religious hatred or to interfere with the Government's control of foreign political organisations. Furthermore, associations or newspapers may be summarily suppressed for one or another of these reasons.

What the Swiss want to know, of course, is whether this assumption by the Executive of almost dictatorial powers is likely to lead. Extremists of both "ideologies" unite, needless to say, in attacking the decree. So far this is a healthy sign, since moderate opinion is likely, as a result, to be reconciled to the new decree, for the precise reason that it annoys the wild men (who make a lot more noise, particularly in French Switzerland, than their numbers or

importance warrant). But some have found it matter for regret that M. Motta chose the eve of the entry into force of the decree for a vehement attack upon one of the great London newspapers, and have found in the attack an omen that the Executive is more concerned to protect itself than democracy.

Clearly the proof of the pudding must be in the eating. So far the Government has struck impartially—to Left and to Right. It is too early to judge. But, in principle, few could refuse the claim of the "oldest democracy in Europe" to be master in its own tiny but enchanting house.

\* \* \*

### BID THAT FAILED

ONE of the most barefaced attempts to exploit humanitarian sentiment for cash purposes was reported to have been made by Dr. Schacht in his recent visit to London in connection with Nazi plans for Jewish emigration. His object was to sound the British authorities about the possibility of allowing Germany to obtain fresh foreign exchange by the sale of additional exports in Great Britain. Of the foreign exchange so acquired a small percentage would have been credited to the Jews whom Germany wishes to get rid of. The Jews would have obtained only what was left of their fortunes after the payment of penal taxes amounting in many cases to 96 per cent. of their possessions. Dr. Schacht's scheme has been rejected out of hand, as it would mean that Britain would have been financing Jewish emigration, as well as helping Germany to regain some of the ground in foreign markets lost as a result of the recent pogrom. The Nazi Government is reported to have another scheme up its sleeve for an international loan, and it will be interesting to see how far they again hope to push their liabilities for the Jews on to third countries.

\* \* \*

### STERLING WEAKENED

IN commenting upon the recent repatriation of a £6,000,000 block of Woolworth shares from the United States in our October issue, we questioned the advisability of paying out so much sterling to a foreign country at a time when the pound sterling was already weakened by withdrawal of cash for the payment of excess rearmament imports. Now the Chancellor of the Exchequer has belatedly come to the same conclusion. His latest announcement on the subject is that the regulations affecting such transactions are to be tightened up.

\* \* \*

### STILL A SUPPORTER

LORD ALLEN OF HURTWOOD has written a letter to the Earl of Lytton, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the L.N.U., in which he says:—

I am sure I ought to place my resignation as a member of the Executive of the L.N.U. in your hands. I do this not in any way because of disagreements on policy, for the L.N.U. was never more necessary than it is at present, and I should have much enjoyed contributing anything I could to its success. I offer my resignation for one reason only, and that is my incapacity to attend Executive meetings. As you know, I have already been in bed here for over two months, and on Monday they are going to try to take me to Switzerland, where I shall be for some time. When there are so many men and women of distinguished ability available for membership of the Executive, I feel it wrong to fill one of the seats and yet make no contribution to the life of the Union. Would you therefore be kind enough to submit this letter of resignation to my colleagues and to say how grateful I have been for all the kindness they have shown me during the recent difficult times.

## PARLIAMENT AND PEOPLE—No. 3.

By RONALD CARTLAND, M.P.

**PUBLIC** holidays can be public dangers. I certainly do not grudge Ministers or members their Christmas vacation, but the House of Commons will not reassemble until the thirty-first of this month. Much may happen in a month; much may happen in a moment—at Rome.

It would be foolish for anyone to deny that the visit of Mr. Chamberlain and Lord Halifax to Signor Mussolini has aroused fear of its consequences. The public are, I think, more apprehensive than the House. Yet why should they be? It is not so long ago that the statesmen of all the Great Powers met regularly and had converse together in Geneva. There was no apprehension then. Nor, I suppose the answer would be, was there appeasement.

### "Counterfeit Coin"

The apprehension in the public mind arises from the fact that the change which our people have received in recent years from the blank cheques they have handed to their leaders has turned out frequently to be counterfeit coin.

What will happen in Rome no one can say. All hope for the best. One has the feeling that Signor Mussolini's agenda includes Suez, belligerent rights for Franco, Tunis, Jibuti, and "something on account." Mr. Chamberlain is unlikely to repeat the regular formula that he announces in the Commons every week: "On any day if there is time other orders will be taken." Signor Mussolini may be surprised to find he cannot have all his own way. But his anti-French demonstration and its effect in this country have strengthened Mr. Chamberlain's hands; nor do I believe will he extort belligerent rights for his protégé.

### No One-Way Traffic

Many people would like the Prime Minister to tell the Duce a few home truths; there should be no one-way traffic in plain speaking. But as the proverb goes: "*Del vero s'adira l'uomo*" (Truth annoys a man). Mr. Chamberlain will be tactful as well as truthful, and if he is not triumphant he will be tenacious. Public opinion, as much as rearmament, is a tonic.

There has been a good deal of talk about the prospects of a General Election in the near future. The forcing of an election is always supposed to be Government's most powerful

weapon. But surely it may turn out a boomerang? It can be, if they want it to be, the back-benchers' most powerful weapon as well. No Government welcomes an election except at a time of its own choosing. I imagine that when Mr. Chamberlain goes to the country he will have decided that he has every likelihood of winning. Those who are called, apparently contemptuously, "the dissident Conserva-

NOT ON OFFER



An American cartoonist's comment on the visit to Rome and the demand of the dictatorships for colonies

tives," cannot agree with the Prime Minister's foreign policy, but why dissidence is not a useable term when it comes to agriculture I do not know.

If there is not dissension, there is dissatisfaction in the constituencies. But the electorate do not yet want an election; they would be confused if there were one, and the abstentionist percentage would be high, bad propaganda for democracy. The alternative Government—if it exists—is still unknown. Until it appears, so people argue, Mr. Chamberlain should stay where he is.

For a month the doors of Parliament are closed, but at the beginning of December one had the suspicion that non-contentious business was being set down for discussion in order that criticism might be shut out. Good tactics this may be, but it does not encourage respect for democratic institutions. That

the House of Commons was to devote its time and attention to the question of pensions for its members and postpone further discussion on civilian defence strained party loyalty too far. The second day's debate on Sir John Anderson's proposals was a victory for the Government back-benchers.

### Mr. Amery's Warning

Mr. Amery made a remarkable speech on the first day when the Anderson scheme was reviewed. This is strong meat:—

"The scheme is nothing but a postponement of decision on the part of the Government on the vital issue whether they are really going to face the defensive needs of the country or not.

"Every day we have fresh evidence of the exultation and pride engendered in Germany by the fact that they have won a great victory by their power, and mean to win still further by power. When Dr. Goebbels talks about the hour coming for the redistribution of the world's surface, what does he mean but that?"

"There is a great danger that at any moment war may be upon us. I wish the Government were really alarmed at that. I wish they were only half as afraid of the Germans as they are of the milkmen.

"The Prime Minister the other day described himself as a go-getter for peace. Had he not better be a go-getter for safety first—for security?"

There are no half-tones in that language; the House enjoyed Mr. Vernon Bartlett's maiden speech, which immediately followed, ever so much more.

### The Chief Sufferers

Since Munich Mr. Amery has made a series of speeches, in Birmingham as well as in the House of Commons. In the past he never disguised his views of the League and the Covenant. Today he is in the forefront of those who see and foretell the dangers to peace and freedom. We shall be the chief sufferers, for it is Britain's system on trial, if present dangers are the herald to eventual disaster. It will be of our own making. We blinded our eyes and shut our ears: so it will be written. I do not believe that the faith has gone out of our nation. But gradually, almost insensibly, the conviction has grown that in peace or war the dictators will outmatch in decision and action, because of will-power, the leaders of the democracies. Nothing less is needed than a regeneration of the British people. That embraces every aspect of national life. First a policy is called for; not phrases, but a

conception of a national goal and the means of attaining it. If such a policy does emerge in time, I believe Mr. Amery will have inspired it not least.

There were some who shook their heads when Mr. Eden set sail for America. They felt he should have stayed in England while Parliament was still in session. But his visit has been undoubtedly a triumph. He made it quite plain that he was not an emissary of the British Government; Lord Runciman was their choice. As an exponent of traditional British policy Mr. Eden was the obvious man to go. And it was time that someone should go to the States to uphold our honour and prestige. The ambassadorial canard may have been the offspring of his detractor's wishes. In spite of Lord Halifax's unexpressed blessing, anti-Eden capital was manufactured from the news reports of the American gossip columns. One wonders what some of his more vociferous critics will do when the wheels of fortune change.

### Storms Over France

The storms that blew up over the Prime Minister's no-treaty-with-France declaration and Mr. MacDonald's roll-up-the-map-of-Europe speech seemed

to me highly encouraging. Of course, there were explanations and emendations. Mr. Chamberlain did France proudly the next night and valiantly defended his Dominions Secretary a few days later. As it happens, Mr. MacDonald's speech in other times might have passed unnoticed. "Thinking aloud," anyway, is an elder statesman's prerogative. Mr. MacDonald may have given Dr. Goebbels a momentary happiness, but the reaction of the British public to the idea that the Empire could ever disintegrate must have shattered it within a few hours. That the question about our obligations to France was not withdrawn is a mystery. That there was no amplification of the strictly legal answer, on the lines of the next night's speech, was a mistake. But we all know where we are now—or we think we do.

### "The Inside Story"

The desire for "the inside story" grows apace. Broadsheets and newsletters with varying subscriptions and vicarious contents appear weekly. I don't know whether any conclusion is to be drawn from this modern form of pamphleteering other than the normal desire of man to profit from the gullibility of his fellows. Often

"the inside story" is told, but more frequently there is nothing more than the personal comment of the author or authors on the events of the day. There must be a feeling, though, that the Press and the wireless are censored or deliberately censor themselves. The belief that something is being concealed or there is more in it than meets the eye has developed out of modern publicity methods. Headlines have bred the desire for sidelines.

### Germany's Mighty Power

Wasn't it Max Beerbohm who wrote that history never repeats itself: it is the historians who repeat one another? What of the men who make history? I came upon this the other day:—

"I do not believe that a disturbance of the peace is imminent. I beg that you will look on the full restoration of the mighty power which God has created in the German people—a power to be used if we need it! If we do not need it, we will not use it, and we will seek to avoid the necessity for its use. This attempt is made somewhat more difficult by threatening articles in foreign newspapers, and I may give special admonition to the outside world against the continuance of such articles."

Words of warning delivered in 1888 by Bismarck.

★  
★ PEACE ★  
★

### and her Victories

Peace and the innate brotherhood of man gave us the Co-Operative movement. The provision of this link between the Idea and the World (and the means of changing it to a happier condition) is Peace's greatest victory.

It was the realisation that victories must be secured on sound foundations which first taught the founders of modern co-operation that consumers' co-operation has need of a manufacturing as well as a distributing end. So came about the Co-operative Wholesale Society. To-day, the C.W.S., through local co-operative societies, is manufacturing and wholesaling goods to meet the needs of over six million co-operators in England and Wales. Are you among them? You should be.

Announcement of the Co-operative Wholesale Society, Limited.

## WHAT IS PEACE ?

By WICKHAM STEED



WHAT exactly do we mean when we talk of "peace"? We may think we know; but if we ask ourselves and others to put clearly, into words that all can accept, the precise meaning we and they attach to "peace," we are pretty sure to raise a dispute. Is it not better to take our meaning for granted, to let sleeping dogs lie, and to bow before a supreme authority, say, the Oxford Dictionary? Otherwise we may lose our "peace" of mind.

Now, the Oxford Dictionary says that peace is "Freedom from, or cessation of, war or hostilities; that condition of a nation or community in which it is not at war with another." If we bow before this authority we find ourselves committed to a negation, to the idea that "peace" is "non-war." I, for one, am unable to think of "peace" in this way. I have long thought that unless "peace" is understood as something positive, not as the mere absence of war, we shall never get a peace that is worth having, because war—which may be a very full-blooded, risky and positive thing—will always prevail against it. I think that "peace" must be something stronger, more positive, more vigorous than war if men and nations are to cling to it and uphold it as their most precious possession.

### Obedience To Authority

By obedience to authority we may, indeed, get "peace" of a sort for a time. We may get an enforced uniformity of opinion. A few centuries ago there was this kind of peace among astronomers, who were obliged to say that

the earth was the centre of the universe, and were guilty of impiety if they doubted it. A Polish astronomer, Copernicus, doubted it early in the sixteenth century. He maintained that the sun was the centre of the universe, with the earth and other planets revolving round it. His idea was condemned by the Pope as contrary to the authority of Holy Writ; and, for a time, "peace" was restored. Little more than a century later an Italian astronomer, Galileo Galilei, proved that Copernicus had been right. Under threat of torture Galileo had to recant, and was condemned as "vehemently suspected of heresy" to imprisonment in a Roman palace called the Villa Medici. He had "disturbed the peace."

When I think of this sort of peace under authority I recall a little monument on the Pincian Hill in Rome, close to the Villa Medici. The inscription on it runs:—

"In the Palace near by  
Was imprisoned Galileo Galilei,  
Guilty of having seen  
The Earth revolve round the Sun."

Copernicus and Galileo thought it worth while to proclaim the truth even at the risk of disturbing the peace. If we think they were right, the "peace" we want cannot be a peace of stagnation. Thanks, in part, to them, astronomers of all nations now work together in real peace, helping each other to find out more about the universe. They run risks in so doing, risks that are worth while. We really want peace in freedom to run risks that are worth while, not to lead riskless lives. Otherwise we should condemn our fisher folk, hundreds of whom are drowned year by year, for not living in "peace" ashore. In the same way we might condemn miners, airmen, sailors, X-ray operators and others who serve us by doing dangerous and useful things. Indeed—unless we hold that life should never be risked, that nothing can be worse than the loss of lives, that nothing is worth fighting and dying for—we may feel that our freedom is more precious than our peace, and that were the freedom we enjoy, as individuals and as a people, to be endangered from without or within, we should be a faithless and perverse generation not to risk our lives in defending it.

### Does War Settle Anything?

But, say some, fighting and war "never settle anything." Did the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 settle nothing? Was nothing settled at Waterloo? Was the American Civil War without result? Was it not fought through to the bitter end, so that the American Union might be preserved and that "government of the people by the people, for the people, might not perish from the earth"? Abraham Lincoln's famous words are worth thinking about, even to-day, for they bear upon the problem of peace. He said: "Government of the people by the people," not "government by States, for States" or for their "Leaders." May not this be one reason why the League of Nations—as a league of sovereign States or Governments—could not become a "Union of Free Peoples for Peace." May this not be why the League has failed, so far, to bring us peace?

This distinction between "people" and "State" may perhaps point the way in our search for the true meaning of "peace." The "people" are a community whose servant the "State" should be. Dictatorships and their

"Leaders" put "The State" foremost and look upon "the people" as its servants. They declare it sovereign and "totalitarian." Its authority must be unchallenged. Those who serve it must think and act alike, must be "like-minded" under authority. Free countries, sometimes called the "democracies," put "the people" foremost and look upon "the State" as the instrument and servant of the people. Under a dictatorship the people may want peace while "The State" wants war; and the people have no say in the matter. Their only business is to obey and, maybe, to fight and to die at the bidding of authority.

### "The Victorious Sword"

A military dictator can have his own ideas about "peace," as Herr Hitler has. He wrote, for instance, in his book, "Mein Kampf" (pages 437-8), that if, in the Great War, the German people had been united like a herd of cattle the result might have been "a peace not supported by the tearful pacifist lamentations of palm-waving females, but founded upon the victorious sword of a ruling race."

Is this the sort of "peace" we want? If not, how are we to get the right sort of peace, how can we stay the "sword strong to strike," which Hitler calls the supreme authority in the affairs of nations?

We shall hardly stay it or escape from it by pretending not to see it. Even should we decide not to resist, it might strike us down. We might bring upon ourselves and others the fate that has befallen the tortured and "suicided" pacifists in Germany, to say nothing of the German Jews. Are we entitled to do this? Have we no debt to our forefathers who, at the risk and often the cost of their own lives, bought us so much freedom that some of us can say (without fear of being beaten or beheaded) that we will never approve of or take part in war again?

Some among us do say this. In lands where freedom has been lost they could not say it. The late Canon "Dick" Sheppard asked Herr Hitler to let him say it in Germany—and got no reply. Deeply though I respect the courage and the sincerity of men like him, I think they are mistaken. I cannot persuade myself that a "peace" bereft of freedom would be worth having.

### Be Careful About Neutrality

Yet I have seen enough of war to understand the feelings of those who, in effect, declare: "We hate war and will have nothing to do with it. It has become so wicked, so stupid a method of mechanical and chemical mass-killing that our minds and hearts condemn it utterly. If this evil thing is the acme of 'civilisation,' the climax of nearly 2000 years of 'Christianity,' let 'civilisation' perish of its own hideous failure to be truly civilised, let 'Christianity' succumb until some more Christ-like faith shall arise; but we will have no part nor lot in it. And if other nations want to fight, let them fight till they learn better. We will not stain our hands with blood. We will hold aloof, 'keep out of it,' be neutral, and set them a good example."

Let us be careful about that word "neutral" and the idea of "holding aloof." It was not by neutrality or "keeping out of it" that free communities established among their members a peace founded on law and order. It was by making "aloofness" from lawless violence a misdemeanour, almost a crime, just as our English Common Law makes it an indictable offence for any of us to stand aside when our laws, freely made, and our public peace are being assailed. It would not be hard to prove, as one of our greatest English lawyers has proved conclusively, that in a free community "neutrality" and "peace" cannot go together.

### The Real Question

The reason is that the notion of neutrality, or keeping out of it, implies a claim to absolute and unfettered individual sovereignty, the right to do what may seem good in our own eyes. Now this idea of unfettered individual sovereignty would put peace beyond the reach of any community whose members might entertain and practise it. So much is admitted by the clearest thinkers upon freedom and peace within a community, and notably by John Stuart Mill in his famous essay "On Liberty." The real question is whether the free and civilised peoples of the earth can become a true community by giving up their unfettered individual sovereignties and by forming a union to stand against war. If they would do this they would be so strong that no military dictatorship could assail their union with hope of success. Then the world would see the beginning of a "peace" which might at first still be a negation, still "non-war" as between the union and the dictatorships, but would soon be real peace in which nations could work together without fear in a common effort to reach a state of positive vital helpfulness.

This, at all events, is what I mean by "peace." The effort to get it might be risky to the point of mortal peril. I think it would be a risk worth running. And I do not believe that the world will ever find peace in freedom along any other road.

WICKHAM STEED.

### IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENT

The pilgrimage of British Youth in defence of freedom and peace will be a red-letter day in the history of democracy. What are you doing to help?

See pages 13, 26 & 30.

## WOMEN AND PASSIVE DEFENCE

By THE DOWAGER MARCHIONESS OF READING (Chairman, Women's Voluntary Services).



regard to National Service and put forward representations to the Department concerned.

Again, this Advisory Council's strength is realised when it is seen that directly the Ministry of Health took over the working-out of the evacuation plans the Minister, Mr. Walter Elliot, asked us to summon a special meeting of the Advisory Council when he discussed this most important problem. He said that women were so vitally concerned in this problem of evacuees that it was, in fact, *their* problem. In the discussion that followed the Minister heard from these women many aspects of this subject which we are all facing and endeavouring to solve.

### All the Country Covered

THE Women's Voluntary Services is an organisation that came into being last May to help local authorities in their A.R.P. programme by stimulating the interest of women in the passive protection of their families and homes. The women of any European country to-day are becoming increasingly important from the defence point of view, for it is upon them that the heaviest share of the work would fall should there ever be a war.

### 70 National Associations

The W.V.S. has an Advisory Council composed of some seventy national women's associations, and is thus in touch with many thousands of women of varied opinions and interests, giving an almost complete cross-section of the civic life of the country. Thus the National Council of Maternity and Child Welfare is particularly concerned in the problems of evacuation of young children and nursing and pregnant mothers, the Association of Teachers of Domestic Subjects is particularly concerned with problems of the feeding of evacuees, the College of Nursing, British Red Cross Society, and St. John Ambulance Association are particularly concerned with the problems of hospital services.

### Advice to Government

In so far as these organisations are recognised by the Government in connection with their particular work they maintain their direct contacts, but, through their representation on the Advisory Council, the W.V.S. can correlate their activities with particular

Outside the headquarters of the W.V.S. we work on the plan already used by the Home Office of dividing the country up into thirteen divisions or regions, with an organiser in each region. It is the business of each of these regional organisers to stimulate interest in Air Raid Precautions among the women of her region, and through them and the various women's organisations to which they may belong to set up smaller local centres. The number of these local centres which it is decided to set up in any one region is a joint function of area and of population, and no hard and fast rule has been laid down from headquarters. It

is felt that local conditions and local needs must be considered on their own merits, but in no case does the W.V.S. function without the approval of the local authority.

### Character, Intelligence

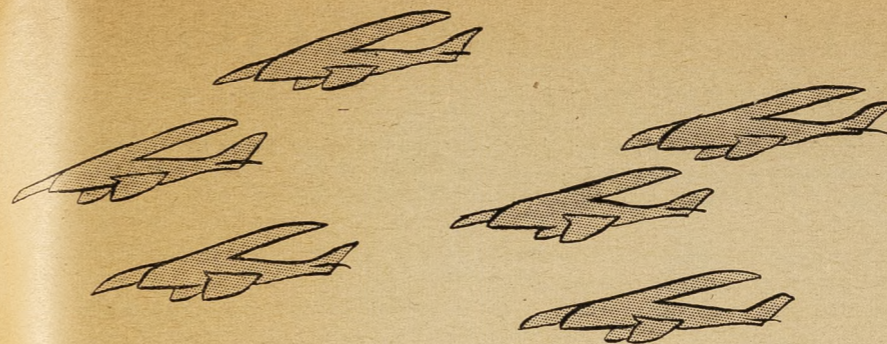
This flexibility of administration must also extend to the appointment of W.V.S. representatives, for a woman who may be the best possible organiser for one area may well be completely unsuited to another. What we have tried to do in every place where we open centres, however, has been to appoint as the person in charge of the centre a woman who is locally respected and well liked. Sometimes she may be the lady of the manor, sometimes the owner of the general store. Her social status is of no importance, but what is important is her own character, intelligence and personality.

### Cooks and Nurses

Until the Lord Privy Seal absorbed A.R.P. into his Civil Defence department, the W.V.S. was mainly concerned with the A.R.P. services, and, in fact, our object was to enrol women for the local authority scheme. We considered, however, that, in addition to the more usual A.R.P. work, such as air-raid wardens, first-aid workers, etc., there was scope for all kinds of other women volunteers—cooks, transport workers, radiographers, domestic workers and



GIRLS OF A FAMOUS SCHOOL TAKE PART IN AIR-RAID DRILL



indeed for almost every kind of work that women are capable of performing. Now, however, under Civil Defence, the W.V.S. will have even wider activities, for, besides assisting with evacuation, the question of hospitals and cooking is very important.

The seriousness of the nursing situation has been very fully realised, and to help counteract this shortage we are now considering plans whereby women who are anxious to help in hospitals can be organised in advance and helped to get the training that would make them really valuable in times of emergency as assistant nurses. The same thing applies to cooks. There are comparatively few women who are capable of cooking for large numbers; how

many women know how many potatoes would be required for dinner for, say, two hundred people or, even more important, how long would a hundred-weight of potatoes take to cook?

### Advice on Building Problems

Besides all this, we have a panel of architects who are prepared to give free advice on structural problems arising from the dangers of air-raids to people who could not ordinarily afford professional advice. We also have a speakers' panel and supply trained speakers, who have volunteered as their contribution towards national defence to address meetings on all subjects connected with the part women can play.

## NAMES THAT COUNT

The News Chronicle has reserved this space, and five other half pages, to tell you of some of the distinguished writers who are exclusive contributors to the News Chronicle.

Next: A. J. Cummings.

## 1: Vernon Bartlett M.P.

Famous in turn as broadcaster, journalist, leading authority on international affairs, now Vernon Bartlett has won new honour and a new opportunity to serve the cause of progress with his sweeping victory in the Bridgwater poll. As M.P. he still writes, with foresight and clarity, on the vital affairs of international politics regularly in the

## NEWS CHRONICLE



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See also pages 26 and 30.

# A WISER POLICY FOR AGRICULTURE

By VISCOUNT ASTOR,

*formerly Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Food and the Ministry of Health, Chairman of the Departmental Committee on Tuberculosis and the State Medical Research Committee, Chairman of the League of Nations Medical Committee on Nutrition, joint author of "Land and Life," "The Planning of Agriculture," and "British Agriculture."*



A SOUND policy for agriculture must be national, not sectional—it must consider the interest of producer and consumer instead of separating them as at present.

It must be a peace-time policy which recognises agriculture as our fourth line of defence, and is accordingly adaptable to national defence plans.

## Four Essentials

On this aspect there are four essentials.

Firstly, we must in peace keep up commercial tonnage to a high level, so that in war it may be available for the transit of munitions, food, and men. During the last war for thirteen million tons of food we imported fifteen million tons of munitions. A prosperous mercantile marine provides us with a reserve of seamen and keeps shipyards alive.

Secondly, by economic and trade co-operation we should develop the good will of our Dominions and of friendly neutrals.

Thirdly, we should maintain a healthy and strong population by improving the standard of nutrition.

Finally, only a prosperous Britain can support the high taxation necessary for rearmament. And the prosperity of Britain depends ultimately on the prosperity of its export industries.

We can only preserve our international trade and safeguard our shipping by importing in peace time

a substantial tonnage of foodstuffs to pay for exports, largely heavy manufactured goods. These are goods (locomotives, steel rails, etc.), which cannot be sold to home farmers, as some suggest, even if the latter increased their purchasing power by producing much more of the foodstuffs now imported. Autarchy would kill our shipping, impoverish and lower our standard of living.

## What Shall We Produce?

Given, then, that we cannot be self-sufficient, what food shall we produce and what import?

Foods which suit our climate and soil require the least financial help, or, to put it differently, a given sum of money goes further if spent on stimulating or protecting the foods easiest to produce here. These happen to be the "health" foods—milk, eggs, potatoes, vegetables, fruit, and meat. Every part of England, Scotland, and Wales can produce livestock, vegetables, and poultry.

The need for freshness gives the "health" foods a natural advantage over competitors. They are perishable. One cannot store milk, fruit, vegetables over long periods. On the other hand, the "energy" foods (sugar, wheat, etc.) can be stored. Freshness is not an important factor. It has been calculated that for an annual sum of about £2 million we could store twelve months' supply of wheat. Were we involved in a four-year war we could use a quarter of this supply each year, and in so doing would add to the available quantity of wheat more than if we doubled our home production. Not only would we have more wheat, but the economy in cost would be enormous. One must realise that under the Wheat Quota Act an expenditure of about £5 million a year raised our domestic production from 16 per cent. to only 25 per cent. of our wheat requirements.

## A Resource In War

In addition, a peace-time policy for livestock with modern grassland management—associated largely with Professor Stapledon's technique of short leys alternating with arable crops—will increase our stores of soil fertility. In war, by converting pasture into arable,

one can draw on this reserve of stored fertility.

Social surveys and reports all agree that a very large proportion of our population is malnourished. Malnutrition does not mean hunger or starvation but ill-health or subnormality, and in some cases actually bad physical development due to eating the wrong food or insufficient quantities of milk, vegetables, eggs, fruit, etc., especially in childhood.

The national interest, therefore, requires an increased consumption of the very foods which happen to be those most suited to our climate, which are produced by the largest number of British farmers, which will give the largest return for the public's money, whether this comes "out of the consumer's pocket for a higher price or out of the taxpayer's pocket for a subsidy, and which will help industrial prosperity by maintaining the importation of wheat and sugar in order to encourage industrial exports and shipping.

## Benefit To Farmers

Of what benefit to farmers would be the adoption and development of a real Nutrition policy?

In order to raise the level of consumption of those "health" foods, which can be produced economically in these isles, to an adequate standard, we should, according to Sir John Orr, a recognised authority, use roughly 80 per cent. more milk (thereby increasing our herds by 1.2 million cows), 87 per cent. more vegetables, 124 per cent. more fruit, 55 per cent. more eggs.

What then do agriculturists need in order that they should be able to play their part? How far is agriculture being assisted for this purpose, and incidentally why is there so much dissatisfaction to-day among farmers?

Farmers are entitled to the same kind of protection from unfair or excessive overseas competition as is given to industrialists. They should not be given immunity from all external competition (as happens with Quotas and Prohibitions on imports). Nor is the limitation imposed on internal competition (as happens now with the Control schemes imposed by Producer Monopolies, misnamed Marketing Boards) healthy for

their efficiency or for the consumer's interest.

## Tariffs Not Quotas

Tariffs when used have proved more satisfactory than quotas and complex schemes of control. Growers of vegetables and fruit have been given tariff protection, and are not hampered by control schemes. There is no continued political agitation amongst them. The public are increasingly well served. In horticulture we protect commodities which are economic but have not subsidised at vast expense the home production of an uneconomic crop like bananas as we have done with sugar in arable cultivation. Had we done so the banana vested interests would be agitating in Parliament against the removal of such an extravagant subsidy, and for its extension, as happens with beet sugar.

Reasonable tariff protection for farmers would put them on the same footing as manufacturers, and would stimulate the expansion of the more economic branches suited to our climate, soil, and tradition.

As regards price guarantees we should fix minimum prices for cereals to safeguard their growers against ruin should world prices slump. But prices should not (as now) be fixed at such a level as to guarantee a profit. Anyone who has gone into costings on a mixed farm (as I have) or who has had to fix prices (as I did at the war-time Ministry of Food) knows the pitfalls inevitably associated with a policy of price control to guarantee a profit.

## Agriculture An Industry

Agriculture is one industry and should be treated as such, especially in a country where mixed farming predominates.

The State should spend more on research and on disseminating the fruits of research and discovery. Though we have a few champion beasts in our herds, the average of our cattle and poultry leaves much to be desired. Under the beef subsidy the percentage of British cattle qualifying for the quality subsidy is only about 40 per cent., compared with 80 per cent. in Scotland and 60 per cent. of Irish-imported cattle. The State should subsidise better bulls and boars and generally help to improve our breeding stock and flocks. The herd life of the British cow is lamentably shorter than in Denmark. In England and Wales the average number of years during which a cow gives milk is also shorter than in Ireland. Naturally this means that the time during which this English cow yields a profit is shorter

and that our cost of milk production is correspondingly high. The eradication of disease is equally urgent. A Minister has informed us that diseases in livestock cause an annual loss of £14 million. Recent losses of poultry farmers are also partly due to inferior stock.

## Subsidise Health Foods

Well then, having protected agriculture from excessive overseas competition without killing initiative by attempts to plan internal production too thoroughly, as is done at present, we must recognise that farmers can be still further helped if we adopt a Nutrition Policy and subsidise consumption of the health foods. In the past we have dealt with bad sanitation, slums, lack of education, disease—by State action. The next measure of social reform should be an attack on malnutrition. The problem is a serious one. Large numbers of people show the effects—such as rickets, tuberculosis and bad teeth—of malnourishment, particularly in youth. Of the children who enter school at the age of five 16 per cent. show some physical defect. That the infant mortality rate and the maternal mortality rate are connected with malnourishment

is shown by the experiments in giving extra food to mothers which have recently been carried out. In these cases the provision of adequate nourishment led to a reduction in the rate of maternal mortality. The evil effects of malnutrition are often permanent (such as bad bone formation), but they can be avoided if the young are properly fed, especially if they receive enough milk.

## Milk For Any Child

Some countries have experimented with the policy of subsidising consumption. In Scandinavia what is known as the Oslo breakfast is being adopted. Any child who comes to school half an hour before morning lessons can get a free breakfast consisting of milk, bread and fruit.

One can subsidise consumption in three ways—by increasing wages and so raising purchasing power, by subsidising the feeding of school children and mothers, or by a system of family allowances. Mr. Rowntree has pointed out that raising wages to a level sufficiently high to allow adequate provision for large families would place a far too heavy—and in the case of smaller families unnecessary—burden on industry.

Through local authorities we could,

# NATIONAL UNION OF SEAMEN

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J. B. WILSON, *General Treasurer.*

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





THE ENGLAND THAT IS PASSING

however, subsidise milk and meals in elementary schools, at nursery schools, and at maternity centres. No full Nutrition Policy, however, is feasible without a considerable reduction in the price of milk. A League publication shows that the retail price here has been higher not only than in any European country but even higher than in Canada and the United States. Subsidising dear milk to make it less dear, as in the Milk in Schools Scheme (and its extension to nursing mothers), is not enough. We must first get *cheap milk* by an improved scheme, and then make it cheaper with a subsidy. Then and then alone shall we settle malnourishment.

#### Mistakes In Present Policy

How does the foregoing policy for agriculture differ from the one now in being? The present policy of price fixing by producer marketing boards, of restricting output, of quotas and prohibitions on imports, of subsidising the more uneconomic energy foods has failed to produce satisfactory results. It is extravagant. We do not get the maximum return for the public's money. It puts the farmer into a strait-jacket by attempting to stereotype and control from Whitehall the balance between different branches of agriculture. It is unwise to fix to-day the relative proportions of, say, livestock and wheat. By attempting to do so we prevent farmers from adapting themselves to or progressing with scientific and economic changes. It is as disastrous to try to maintain the

*status quo* between different branches of farming by official planning as it has proved to be politically disastrous in post-Versailles Europe. The policy of control has not satisfied the farmer and the consumer and taxpayer have been overcharged. Let me show some of the Alice in Wonderland results of our present policy.

#### Wheat, Sugar, Bacon, Potatoes

We have paid the British farmer 9s. 1d. per cwt. for wheat whose market price was 5s. 9d. This cost the country about £5 million a year for a relatively small branch of our farming.

1d. per lb. represents the approximate difference between growing sugar here and importing it: a considerable tax when sugar costs about 3d. per lb.

The bacon consumer was forced by the Bacon Quota and Scheme to pay £5 million more for a smaller quantity of bacon, and of this £5 million, £1 million went to Dominion farmers, £3 million to foreign farmers, and only £1 million went into the pockets of home farmers.

Under the potato scheme every producer is fined £5 per acre for every extra acre he cultivates. In addition to this, last year potato growers were fined if they sold small potatoes. This year they face imprisonment if they sell potatoes weighing over 1 lb.

The milk drinker is forced by the present Producer Board to pay a concealed levy on his milk in order to subsidise factories for butter, cheese, etc., and that he may not get the full benefit of the cheap butter which New

Zealand is aching to send us. Besides this, by the Milk Board's regulations, the cheaper milk-producing areas have their output pooled and by a complicated arrangement are compelled to keep the dearer dairying districts alive, which means that the consumer is prevented from having cheaper milk.

#### Graded Milk

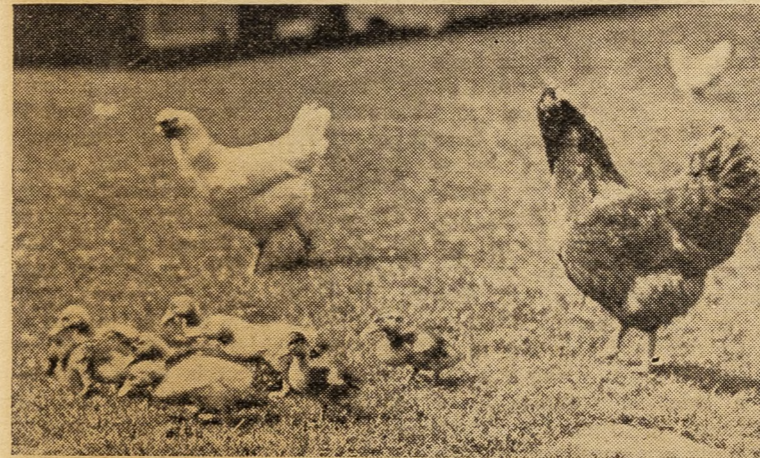
Considerable sums are spent to encourage farmers to produce tubercle free milk but as much of this milk is bulked with "ordinary" milk it becomes contaminated and the public does not get the benefit. Every kind of fancy designation is permitted, e.g., "Nursery Milk," "Tubercle Free Milk," although these designations have no official sanction and carry no warranty. In Ulster, on the other hand, all milk is officially graded according to hygienic quality and sold in bottles with different coloured caps so that the consumer knows at once what sort of milk he is buying.

Surely we should sort out this muddle, rectify our past mistakes, and have a simpler policy. I have real confidence in the British farmer and recognise his difficulties. Naturally, we should not immediately scrap all schemes, boards and controlled prices, or immediately cut off the millions now devoted to sugar and cereal production. We should re-orientate our policy gradually, and as livestock production and the consumption of "health" foods expand, we can reduce the assistance given to less economic and less important branches of farming. The personnel of the marketing boards should be altered at once. This is vital and fundamental. A majority should be nominated by the Government (as in Ulster) instead of being elected by farmers. The present boards are producer monopolies. Such sectional boards cannot have an unbiased outlook or evolve a national policy. A milk board elected by dairy farmers with their eyes on the next election dare not lower the price of milk. Nor can a recommendation for help to the industry from such a board carry as much weight with the public as if its personnel were impartial nominees of the Government.

#### The Farmer Will Respond

The sterling qualities of the British farmer deserve the nation's confidence. That confidence should be shown by a wiser policy for agriculture. There is too much Whitehall planning for an industry unsuited to bureaucracy, price-fixing, quantitative control, and "schemes." That the farmer would energetically make the most of a fair opportunity no one can doubt.

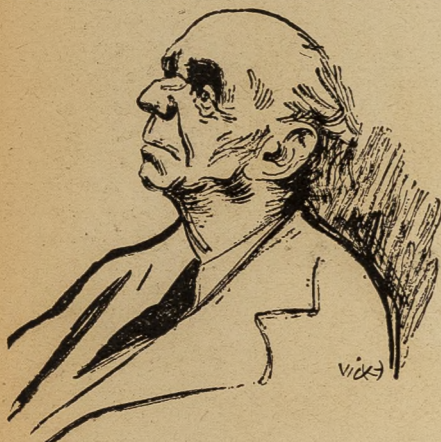
## THE FARMS OF ENGLAND



## THE WORLD IN 1939

## WE MUST GO BACK TO THE LEAGUE

By VISCOUNT CECIL,

*Joint President of the League of Nations Union*

UNDOUBTEDLY, internationally, the position is very grave. I see that Mr. Amery said the other day that the position was more serious than any we have ever had to meet, or something of that kind. That is, roughly, the position.

Scarcely a week passes without some fresh incident or event in foreign affairs which causes all of us considerable anxiety. The latest is this strange and sudden movement in Italy demanding the transfer to Italy of Tunis, Corsica, and Nice, a demand which it is quite evident no French Government could possibly comply with. It has been put forward with great abruptness in a way which very few diplomatic demands have been put forward, and has caused great uneasiness not only in Italy and France but throughout Europe.

**Threat to France**

What makes it the more disquieting is the conviction that a demand of that kind could scarcely have been put forward by Rome without the active approval, or the passive approval at least, of Berlin. In the celebrated book which represents the views of the present ruler of Germany, the first steps that he recommends are the absorption into Germany of the various outlying portions of the German race. When that has been done, then he proposes something in the nature of the encirclement of France until the French power has been destroyed. It certainly looks as if this is the beginning of the second process which he recommends.

Another feature of the present situation which is disquieting is the outburst of a further, apparently very sustained, attack on this country in Ger-

many in the Press—all leading up to the demand for the return of all the colonies that Germany possessed at the outbreak of war, which I see one German paper says do not belong to England or France because they are only holding them in trust for Germany. We all have noticed, many of us with great satisfaction, a very clear statement of the Dominions Secretary to the effect that, under present conditions, no transfer of territory either owned or administered on behalf of the British Empire can possibly be considered.

**L.N.U. Stands by Its Charter**

This is a serious situation. I have only touched on quite recent developments as illustrations of the serious situation; and the Council of the League of Nations Union has to ask itself what is our duty in the circumstances. I have no hesitation in advising the Council that our duty is to stand by our Charter. We have no right to exist at all except on the basis of that Charter and we must stand by it; and that has always been construed in the history of the Union, and I hope always will be construed, as excluding altogether party politics.

To exclude party politics does not mean and cannot mean that the Union is not to say, and the members of the Union are not to say, what they honestly think about proposals of international policy. There used to be a doctrine when I was young that the duty of a judge in summing up a case was to say, or to make it appear, that each party was equally right. You remember the summing up of Mr. Justice Stareleigh in the celebrated case of *Bardell and Pickwick* consisted of saying, "If you believe the witnesses for the plaintiff then you must find for the plaintiff; if you believe the witnesses for the defence then you must find for the defence."

**True Impartiality**

That is not my conception of impartiality at all, and it is not the modern conception of a British judge's impartiality. He thinks it is his duty to present to the jury what he believes to be the fair result of the evidence; and in the same way I think it is the duty of the League of Nations Union, in forming their decisions about foreign policy, to present the view which they regard as

fairly supported by the evidence available to them. Therefore, when I say that I hope we shall avoid party politics, it does not mean and cannot mean that we shall always say that both parties are equally right.

**Not Too Gloomy a View**

We must not take too gloomy a view of the future of the League of Nations which is the future of the League of Nations Union. As I see it, the League has gone through a perfectly normal process of development. It was greeted during the first years of its existence with contempt as a visionary proposal of no great importance which amused President Wilson and certain gentlemen who assembled at Geneva; and for some two or three years that was the attitude of mind of the people who are now our most vehement critics. Then, as years went on and the League grew in authority and success and was able to point to a growing list of achievements in all departments of international affairs, the period of amused contempt came to an end. The League received a great accession of popular applause and popular support.

Then came, as were bound to come, misfortunes. And during that period there was a great deal of disappointment. During the last seven years particularly a great many people began to abandon their faith in the League. That is quite normal and quite what you might expect in the growth of a great institution founded upon a great idea. It is bound to happen; and now we are in the process of gradually ascertaining just who are the true and reasoned friends of the movement and who merely adopted a friendly attitude because it happened to be the fashion of the time when they joined the Union.

We must not take it too seriously. We are bound to have these oscillations of public support and, as the wave recedes, we are bound to have great difficulties in carrying on the organisation to which we belong.

**Blue Sky Reappears**

But though I see many clouds, I think I see a clearing—a reappearance of blue sky. You know sometimes, if you have been through a typical English rainy day, you will suddenly notice on the horizon a certain lightening of the colour of the clouds; instead of being dark grey they become yellow

and then blue. I think that is the aspect of the international sky at this moment. And I think that has been brought about by the recognition that the League after all came into existence because mankind felt that something of the nature was urgently necessary.

You have got to devise some way of settling international disputes and international difficulties and carrying on international business. You have got to devise some way of doing that in an orderly fashion. And now when the attack has been made, with all the elaboration of the Ministry of Propaganda in Germany and Italy and elsewhere, we have had to consider what possible alternative there is to the League. I venture to say that as alternatives have been carefully considered more and more is the conviction growing that none of the alternatives will work.

**Pure Pacifism Will Fail**

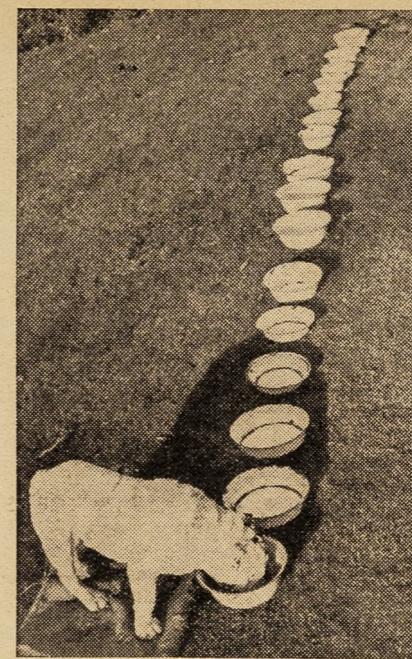
My own conviction is that the more pure pacifism has been considered the more the conviction has grown that it won't wash. It won't really do what, after all, it sets out to do: to establish peace throughout the world.

Still more clear is it to me that the old diplomacy is inadequate. Some of the greatest masters of the old diplomacy, even before the League of Nations existed, had come to that conclusion. I have often quoted phrases of my father, the late Lord Salisbury, in which he said that he was convinced that if you were to have any permanent peace you must have an international constitution which, by its great strength, would grant peace to the world. And I think that is more obviously true now even than it was when he uttered those words. I am satisfied that to go back to the old system would merely be to go back to the old disasters.

Quite lately we have been told that safety lies in dealing with each controversy as it arises, by what is called the policy of appeasement. I do not want to say a word derogatory of that policy, still less of those who have advocated it. But, as far as I can observe in the month or six weeks when it was being most actively tried, I do not see any great advance towards the appeasement of the world. Therefore I come to the conclusion, as I hope you all come to the conclusion, that we must go back to the League as the only attempt which has been made to organise peace which has succeeded.

**The Service of Geneva.**

Even in the matter of consultation with various countries, there is a great



deal to be said for an orderly regular consultation at Geneva taking place without any special publicity or advertisement, but merely in the ordinary course of the administration of the League. I cannot help thinking that there is a good deal to be said in favour of that system over the one

that is at present so much in favour. If you are to make an advance you cannot be too quiet or too resolutely distrustful of emotional politics. If you are to have discussions, and there ought to be discussions constantly, it is far better that those discussions should take place in the ordinary course of business than as a special, and it may be ultimately a wholly unsuccessful effort, to reach particular results. Remember, every time you have one of these meetings and they fail, and produce no tangible result except the typical communiqué that the parties found that they were in absolute agreement—every time that happens you have got something to make up. You are not only where you were, but you are worse off than you were before.

**Work of Vast Importance**

For these reasons, and for many others, I say we must go back to the League. That is the only organisation which has won success, and do remember that it did win very remarkable success for ten or eleven years of its existence. And I believe that in that great movement of Back to the League, the League of Nations Union has a work of vast importance to perform.

## SOUTH AFRICA SAYS "NO"

By the HON. J. H. HOFMEYR,

*Minister of the Interior, Public Health, and Education, Union of South Africa, 1933-38, former Rhodes Scholar Oxford University, Vice-Chancellor of the University of the Witwatersrand, leader of progressive South African opinion, English and Dutch*

SOUTH AFRICA'S interest in the questions raised by Germany's colonial aspirations is deep and real. The most important of Germany's former colonies are in Africa. The return of any one of them would be of concern to South Africa, though the nature of her interest is not the same in all cases. It is necessary to distinguish between South-West Africa, Tanganyika Territory, and the former German West African colonies (the Cameroons and Togoland).

Most important, from the point of view of South Africa, is South-West Africa. It lies on the Union's borders. It was conquered during the Great War by Union troops. It is held to-day under Mandate by the Union. Two-thirds of its European inhabitants have come from the Union to settle there. For most South Africans to-day the return of South-West Africa to Germany is unthinkable. It would be regarded as an act of treachery to 20,000 South Africans at present in the terri-

tory. It would mean that the direct sea-route to Britain would be threatened in the event of war with Germany. It would stimulate the preaching of anti-Semitism, already a by no means negligible force in the Union, and one which may well be applied, as has happened elsewhere, to the subversion of the Union's democratic institutions. It would also bring Germany within easy striking distance of the Naboth's vineyard of the Witwatersrand. It is not to be wondered at that two of the Union's Ministers, General Smuts and Mr. Pirow, have declared that South Africa will fight rather than surrender its mandated territory.

**Tanganyika Round the Corner**

In the future of Tanganyika Territory the average South African has until recently taken much less interest than in South-West Africa. It is under British, not under Union Mandate, and it has seemed to be somewhat remote. But South Africa did play a very big



It is obvious that Germany would not be content with the cession to her of the Cameroons and Togoland—if she accepted it, she would do so merely by way of instalment in respect of her full claim.

But—and this is the proposal that has been advanced from time to time—could not Germany be satisfied by the grant to her of an empire in West Africa, of which the Cameroons and Togoland would merely be the nucleus? This would mean that, in order to secure the position of South Africa in South-West Africa and of Britain in Tanganyika, concessions would have to be made to Germany by France,

Belgium, Portugal, and possibly Spain. For the compensation in whole or in part of these Powers various ingenious suggestions have been made.

part in its virtual conquest during the Great War—there is, relatively to its European population, a not inconsiderable body of settlers from South Africa—and as the conquest of the air has annihilated distance, the fact has come to be appreciated that Tanganyika is really only just round the corner.

Southern Tanganyika is only a thousand air-miles away from the Transvaal—a hostile Germany in Tanganyika would cut Imperial air communications through Africa, it would mean also that South Africa would be within bombing distance of potentially hostile air-bases on land. And South Africa has come to feel that the political ambitions of the Germany of to-day are quite incalculable.

There remain the Cameroons and Togoland. These are under British and French Mandates. They are remote from the Union, and the strategic danger which their transfer to Germany by themselves would involve is certainly not of the same order of gravity as that which would be presented by the transfer of the other African Mandates. In their fate South Africa has hitherto almost completely disinterested itself.

#### Only an Instalment

Indeed, some South Africans, including a Cabinet Minister, have toyed with the idea of satisfying German colonial aspirations in West Africa. The implications of that proposal are, however, beginning to be more clearly realised.



Natives of East Africa gather to read a notice by the Tanganyika League protesting against any surrender of territory to Germany and the sacrifice of liberties secured under British rule

pire satisfy Germany in her present mood for long? There is the question of prestige which makes her want all her old Colonies back—there is the question of economics which would come to the fore when it was found that even such an Empire would not satisfy the economic aspirations of the German Colonial theorists. Would it not therefore in time come to be simply a base for further advance, eastward to Tanganyika, southward to South-West Africa? And what of the threat to the sea-route between the Union and Great Britain? South Africa is to-day becoming definitely apprehensive in regard to this project.

And yet in the minds of many South Africans there is an uneasy feeling that perhaps it is wrong for them to allow consideration of their own interest, even consideration of their own safety, to stand in the way of a possible policy of world appeasement. Should not South Africa be prepared to make sacrifices for such a cause? To that there can be but one answer: Certainly not while we are dealing with the Germany of to-day.

#### Mandate and League

The former German Colonies are held under Mandate. The Mandate system is linked up with the League of Nations system. The Mandated territories are held in trust for the nations of the world. The League of Nations has been charged with the supervision of the execution of the trust. Surely it is unthinkable that a Mandate should be transferred to a nation like Germany which is not only not a member of the League, but has

specifically rejected the principles of the League.

It is not merely the fact of German non-membership of the League that I want to stress. There is a further point. Germany is not, in the treatment of its own minorities, racial minorities, political minorities, religious minorities, acting in terms of the principles of the Covenant. It would be a hollow mockery to confer the obligations

attaching to a Mandate on a nation which treats its minorities as Germany does to-day. Surely it is reasonable to say, that unless and until there is a change of heart in Germany in this respect, the transference of the Mandates should not be considered.

#### Not Land, Human Beings

One point remains. In dealing with the possible transfer to Germany of

the Mandated territories or of other parts of Africa, we dare not forge that it is not land that is being parcelled out, but human beings. We must insist that the fullest consideration shall be given to the wishes and the welfare of the African peoples concerned. It is intolerable that they should be handed over from one European Government to another without any form of consultation, just as if they were bales of merchandise.

## WHAT MANDATES MEAN

By S. M. KUMARAMANGALAM (India) and K. ALLEYNE (West Indies)

*Ex-President of the Cambridge Union*

*The Indian and African students attending British Universities meet periodically to discuss great questions affecting themselves and their people. At a recent meeting they took as their text the articles on the Colonial Problem in December "Headway." They concluded their conference by drawing up the report which is printed below at their request.*

THE "colonial peoples" do not wish to be left holding the baby of "appeasement" that was born in such tragic circumstances at Munich in September, 1938. That the Munich settlement has produced a perilous situation for the people of Britain and France is beyond question; many observers think that war is practically inevitable, and a disastrous war at which the imagination of humanity stands aghast.

The view of the ordinary man is well expressed by Sir Arthur Salter in his pamphlet "The Nettle and the Flower"; he thinks that a Chamberlain policy of concession after concession to Hitler must lead to war, under unfavourable circumstances, when at last Hitler's demands become more than the British can tolerate; he thinks also that a policy of collective security is temporarily impossible, and to pretend that it is not so, or to believe that we can effectively resist Hitler in our present state of unpreparedness, is to invite immediate war with little hope of victory. He argues, therefore, that the only practicable policy is one of "strength with discriminating appeasement." . . . But even then, he says, war is not unlikely.

#### Why Concessions to Germany?

Having once made up their minds to some kind of appeasement, most Britons naturally conclude that, so far as Great Britain is concerned, this will take the form of "colonial appeasement." There are a number of reasons for this: first, Britain is a large and wealthy Empire, and the most obvious gesture she can make towards economic and political appeasement is in this sphere; secondly, many humane and progressive persons are "anti-imperialist" and believe that in some kind of Mandate system lies the solution which will not only satisfy Germany's economic demands, but will mark the beginning of the end of imperialism; thirdly, the middle-class in England is firmly convinced that colonies do not pay, and that it is incorrect to speak of the ownership of colonies as being profitable to the metropolitan country or its people.

This theory that colonies are not profitable is completely fallacious. It is true, of course, that colonies do not pay tribute to the Imperial Exchequer, nor does the ordinary middle-class person gain much directly from the colonies in the way of dividends and profits; but, as Mr. Brailsford has shown in his recent book, there is a large and very powerful section of our community who gain large profits from their colonial interests. For it is not the natives of

Kenya who profit from the discovery and development of gold mines; it is not the natives of Assam and Bengal who derive benefit from the prosperity of the tea plantations; nor Jamaican workers who benefit by the big profits made by the British-owned sugar companies. Nor, indeed, is it the middle and upper-classes in the colonies who share in the prosperity of industrial enterprises and plantations financed at home.

In the light of facts, it is absurd to maintain that the possession of colonies does not pay a powerful section of

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people in Great Britain or would not be equally profitable to the same section of people in Germany.

It may be that colonies offer little scope for solving the problem of over-population; it may be that Germany's old colonies are not very rich in essential raw materials. But it is wrong and dangerous to base one's attitude towards the whole colonial question upon the belief that the possession of colonies is not an asset to the metropolitan country or that Germany is incorrect in arguing that only the possession of an empire can solve her economic difficulties, even if it is true that those difficulties are the result of her economic policy. It is well to stress this, because failure to understand it leads to unjustified optimism concerning the mandate system as a peaceful solution to the conflicting demands of the empires and the "unsatisfied" countries.

We will not discuss the proposal simply to hand back to Germany her previous colonies. There is agreement amongst us that such a step would *not* guarantee peace and would be a complete and a tragic betrayal of the colonial peoples to Nazi brutalities. The copies of "Mein Kampf" which circulate in the colonies are expurgated editions; but the "colonial peoples" know what the original said, and are not prepared to accept Nazi domination.

Nor will we discuss whether any alternative policy of appeasement (viz., appeasement by giving to Germany what she has expressly declared she does not want!) is likely to be productive of peace. We are concerned with the mandate system solely as students from India and Africa who know a good deal about imperialism and about the effect of any proposals for its international refinement.

#### Conditions Made by Colonial Peoples

The "colonial peoples" will accept no mandate system, whether it be international, extended, partial, or merely an illegitimate brother of the mandate idea—i.e., a consortium of Great Powers, including Germany, to control "broad lines of policy," with each individually administering the colonial areas. Like the writer of the article in the December number of HEADWAY, we can dismiss the international mandate system as impracticable. Such a system could only be acceptable to "colonial peoples" on conditions:

(i) Economic development of the colonies to be entirely directed towards their own prosperity and progress, and not on the basis of a "dual mandate."

(ii) A really international administrative service.

(iii) Immediate and full democratic rights and institutions.

Such a proposal is impracticable in so far as it is a negation of the whole idea of imperialism.

We are left with an extension of the mandate system and the "Consortium of Great Powers," now being sponsored, the first by an article in HEADWAY and the second by *The Times*. Our arguments will be directed against the former, because it is clear that, of the two alternatives, the latter, from our point of view, is in every way less acceptable, and against it our arguments will apply with ten times as much force. Under it, because Germany is not a member of the League, we are being asked to acquiesce in a system of control which has as much resemblance to international control as the Four Power Pact has to collective security.

Our objections to the mandate system as are follows:—

(i) However much we may regret it, yet it is an undeniable fact that the League system has received a crushing blow. At the moment when few dare advocate a peace policy based upon collective security, is it not mere wishful thinking to believe that the feeling of international honour and respect for undertakings is strong enough to be made the trustee of the fate of millions of coloured peoples?

(ii) At its best the mandate system is more of a sop to sentimental humanitarianism than a practical safeguard of native rights. Lord Lugard says: "Administration by com-



Mealies: the staple food of Equatorial Africa.

mittee is at best unsatisfactory." And that competent administrator, Lord Hailey, says, in "An African Survey": "It is unlikely that the Mandatory system will result in the development of uniform methods of administration or the acceptance by the mandatories of a philosophy of rule which differs greatly from that prevailing in their own colonies."

(iii) The mandate system does not, in fact, envisage any real internationalisation of, or international control over, the individual administration of each mandatory Power. The shooting of the Bondelzwarts, the bombardment of Damascus are examples of what is possible under mandatory rule; and to-day we have the situation in Palestine. We do not believe that the colonial administration of Nazi Germany as a mandatory Power would rise even to the standards set by Great Britain in the matter of education, health and labour legislation.

(iv) The Permanent Mandates Commission has no right to hear the complaints of petitioners in person. Such complaints are examined in the presence of Government officials, but not of the complainant. Similarly, although the British Government is in favour of high officials from Whitehall visiting the colonies for inspection, it refuses to let the Mandates Commissioners enter the colonial territories. Would Germany give permission?

#### The Lesson of Spain

(v) Since the conduct of international affairs is now governed by "power politics" diplomacy, we are convinced that the fate of the "colonial peoples" would be to serve as pawns in the bargaining antics of the four Powers. We should be as helpless as the Spanish Republic to secure justice or a hearing, and even a well-meaning imperialist Power would not dare to reproach publicly the shortcomings of a political rival or friend.

(vi) However unsatisfactory a court of appeal the public opinion of the democracies has been to us "colonial peoples," nevertheless it has worked occasionally and slowly. Is there any hope of it working when the only hope of remedy is removed to the remote and irresponsible planes of international commissions, especially when the only channel of approach is through the administrative apparatus of the Nazi State?

(vii) We object in principle to the theory of a dual mandate—viz., that any State or combination of States has the dual duty to provide for *our* progress and to enrich *the rest of the world* through the resources of our countries. If this is the meaning of trusteeship accepted by the mandatory Powers, it is certainly not that current in law, and it is not acceptable to the "colonial peoples."

Because we reject an extension of the mandatory system or its modification in the form of a consortium of great European Powers, including Germany, it does not mean that we believe that the retention of the *status quo* is either a constructive contribution to world peace or a solution that is satisfactory to the "colonial peoples." Our dislike for rule by Nazis and our fear of the weakness of guarantees under a mandatory system must not be interpreted as a love of the British Empire or acquiescence in a colonial policy that belies every public announcement of the sanctity of British trusteeship.

We have a constructive alternative policy which, in our opinion, not only gives the maximum scope for the preser-

vation of world peace by securing economic appeasement without adversely affecting native interests, but is also a policy that will satisfy the "colonial peoples" and gives reality to the sentiments of humanitarian and progressive people in this country; finally, by giving the "colonial peoples" something worth fighting for, a policy such as we shall outline in a subsequent article, draws them in as a potent and valuable group of allies in the resistance of free and democratic peoples to the aggression of the Fascist states. At present the colonies provide a fertile soil for the most pernicious (and the most hypocritical) form of Nazi trouble-making. Of this Palestine is an example.

## PEACE AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

By the DEAN OF BELFAST

*in a Sermon Preached in Belfast Cathedral*

WE have been rejoicing in the celebration of the Birth of Christ. We will be hearing the proclamation of peace on earth, good will towards men. The prophet's vision hailed Him as the Prince of Peace.

In this season every house has been sent a handbook entitled "The Protection of Your Home Against Air Raids." Every citizen is exhorted to study and keep it that he may make his home and household more safe against air attack. It envisages such horrors of destruction on non-combatant people, such torture of women and children, aged and disabled, as our country has never known. It deals with frightful results of new forms of warfare, mustard gas and other gases and incendiary bombs. Such is the state of humanity after nearly two thousand years since the coming of the Prince of Peace.

Instead of universal peace when men may dwell securely with those they love there is the terror of devastating war. Instead of communities advancing in social betterment, alleviating ancient distresses and hardships, there is the frantic expenditure on war machinery. Our country is spending a million pounds a day on rearmament, and £400,000,000 are to be borrowed. The nations that should be living together in concord are crippling themselves with getting ready for mutual slaughter.

#### Statesmen Offer No Alternative

Our statesmen cry out against the insanity of it all, but have no alternative to offer. Instead of war being a thing of the foolish past it is an immeasurably more ghastly menace than ever in the history of mankind. The tribal wars of savage days were as mere local riots compared to the world-wide diabolical suffering and ruin of war now.

Is there any remedy? How can the nations be saved? There is only one way—the way laid down by Jesus of Nazareth. The world in its pride and folly has passed it by as a dream—an impracticable vision. It has gone in its own courses. It has relied on many secular expedients. It has trusted in strength, science, modern enlightenment. And the result is that Christmas, 1938, comes when men's hearts are fainting for fear and for expectation of the things that are coming on the world. Men like to call themselves realists—to face the hard facts of life. That is just what they ought to do now. After all the centuries their methods have brought us to the verge of destruction. Is it not time they admitted their failure and gave Christianity a trial?

If it is too much to expect the rulers and politicians to adopt right off the way of Christ—the practice of love and

brotherhood and mutual good will—still we can demand that they move in that direction. After the Great War there was set up a system that enshrined high ethical principles and was a precious alternative to the old bankrupt plan of settling national quarrels by indiscriminate war. The League of Nations simply established for governments the principles that have made life secure for individuals—the sacredness of law—the assuring the weak the protection of the community—the making obsolete private resorts to force.

The Covenant of the League was an agreement: (1) That aggression is an international crime and that it is the duty of all civilised nations to stop it; (2) that the starting of

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war is a matter of concern for all; (3) that national disputes should be submitted to a united judgment; (4) that collectively the nations should defend anyone unjustly attacked.

Here was a system that would have made war practically impossible. We are told it has broken down. Why has it broken down? Because, like the Christian religion, it was not honoured in practice. The nations, our own among them, betrayed it. When the testing time came the Covenanting nations broke their Covenant.

### Slide into Abyss

When Japan attacked China in 1931 we shrank from applying the principles of the League. That was the beginning of the fatal slide back into the abyss. When Italy attacked Abyssinia we allowed another member of the League to be ruthlessly sacrificed. France may have been chiefly to blame then, but we followed suit. Since then we and France have reaped as we have sown. What has happened in Europe and Africa and Asia are but the natural consequences of our own insensate wrongdoing. We had the machinery to defend the peace of the world; we were pledged to operate it; we allowed it to become derelict. We are now paying the price and we scarcely dare contemplate the future calamities.

The reasons that our statesmen gave for refusing to stand by the League are shown up now in their stark, suicidal futility. It might have involved us in expenditure of money and armed conflict. What are we spending to-day? We have had to face the prospect of armed conflict in the recent crisis, and we are facing it now on a vastly more terrific scale. It would have meant us forming alliances with other countries. We are depending on such alliances now as vital to our safety.

### Extreme Danger

Our Ministers in their short-sighted selfishness thought they were consulting safety and economy by running away from their obligations to give collective security to weak nations. Now they have made the aggressive war-maniacs so strong that our country is itself in extreme danger and deprived of the collective help that is sorely needed.

The realist policy has not only exposed us to peril and enormous outlay but has humiliated us. Our prestige, that was so high after the sacrifices of the Great War, has sunk sadly low both in East and West. Twenty years after the defeat of Germany our Prime Minister has gone three times

to the German Dictator in a desperate effort to restrain him from war.

The last democracy in Central Europe is no more. We have had to see Austria wiped out without a protest.

Now our Prime Minister is to visit Mussolini to seek friendship with the faithless pillager of Abyssinia. The last native empire in Africa is abandoned to its despoiler, while Britain joins hands with its aggressor. Spain is left helpless under the Dictators, while Britain goes on parleying about non-intervention. China is being outraged and taken over by Japan.

### Empire Made Precarious

Each forward thrust of the war-lords makes the continuance of our Empire more precarious and threatens the ruin of smaller peaceful nations. All of them, now deprived of the protection of the League, are compelled to spend their resources on armaments. A Dutch Minister said lately: "The world is topsy-turvy. Anything may happen."

Each fresh danger and disgrace is the inevitable consequence of our abandoning the League. Abyssinia, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Spain, and China are as they are because we deserted our obligations. Because of that, Sir Samuel Hoare is presenting every British citizen with a handbook telling him how to prepare refuge rooms in his home and trenches in his garden, and how to fit on gas-masks.

We see now to what the desertion of the League has brought us. Let us re-establish it. If there were defects in its organisation let them be corrected. The men who led us away from it are discredited by the facts. They have to answer for our unhappy position to-day. We only require our statesmen to honour their pledges.

### Pledges to League

Three short years ago, Sir Samuel Hoare was proclaiming "our straightforward and simple policy of loyalty to the League." Mr. Chamberlain declared the preservation of the League of Nations was the keystone of the Government's policy, "because the first object of that policy is the establishment of settled peace."

Since the League was crippled we have gone headlong through dishonour and ever-increasing weakness and loss of allies towards war. Mr. Churchill is right when he urges, "If a League of peace-seeking peoples is set at nought we must convert it into a League of armed peoples too faithful to molest others, too strong to be molested themselves."

whose livelihood is news is coming to be appreciated.

The tradition that a journalist does not divulge the sources of his information is as old as his craft; that it should be maintained is as vital to him as are the parallel traditions of the doctor or the priest, and for much the same reasons. The doctor who turned his professional confidences to account as club-room gossip could expect few patients; the priest whose parish echoed with the secrets of the confessional would soon hear no more; and the journalist is in a like case. It is his daily business, with whatever branch of news he is concerned, to seek information from sources most of which would be closed to him if he could not be counted on to observe this first of his professional traditions. The jour-



nalist must verify his facts and check his authorities; but, that done, it is no less a duty to accept responsibility and not to seek cover behind the backs of his informants.

If the journalist may be compelled to betray confidence, as he may be required to do at any time under the Act of 1920 (though the question at issue bears no sort of relation to the matter of "spies and spying," to deal with which the Act was ostensibly passed), the limitation set upon the journalistic investigator can scarcely be measured. Almost every day one branch or other of the "public services" is extended, and to-day, for defence purposes, we are looking forward to new and more rapid extensions. In every case fresh matter of public interest arises, and there is "news" to be had, without which there can be no such thing as informed and effective criticism. But unless the pressman is to be satisfied with the official "hand-out"—with the output of "dope" with which he is already too familiar—he must seek news at his peril.

### Unknown to Common Law

He is liable to interrogation about where he has been or whom he has spoken to—or to the alternative penalties if he says "No"—though the information he has published, or even received, is neither secret information nor corruptly obtained, though it is true in substance and in fact, and manifestly published in the public interest. His office and even his private house may be forcibly raided and searched without any authority from a magistrate, if "it appears" to a police superintendent or

other nominated person that an offence under the Official Secrets Acts—even the most trivial—has been or may be "about to be" committed. Such powers were unknown to the Common Law and, until 1920, to the Statute Book, but they are there now to be exercised under an Act which Sir Thomas Inskip once declared to be so obscure and puzzling that he never dared to put it into operation.

### Breaches of Official Trust

The two original Official Secrets Acts, those of 1889 and 1911, were designed for a purpose to which no one could object. They were to deal with breaches of official trust and the betrayal of secrets affecting the safety of the State, and the offender to be dealt with was the man responsible for the betrayal. What has since been grafted on to them is a set of totally different powers, which are now available to obstruct by the threat of penalties the free flow of information on all sorts of matters which are of essential public interest because they concern the public's own affairs: the public services which should be the first objects of criticism if public confidence in their efficiency is to be maintained.

### Criticism of "Services"

Even where defence services are concerned—and as much there as anywhere—criticism is needed. In the early days of the last war it was newspaper criticism more than anything else which exposed the "shell shortage" and the wholesale muddle of munitions production which brought us near to defeat. Could the facts on which that criticism was based have been had officially? Of course not. They were obtained from sources which would have put everyone concerned in peril of the present Act. To-day, or tomorrow, a muddle about gas masks, or A.R.P. shelters, or a case of profiteering in sand-bags, may go unrevealed, and so uncorrected, because the stream of news is dammed up—under penalties. Information on which effective and fruitful criticism of public services may be based rarely comes from official sources. The interest is all the other way, for it is on the Minister or the official that criticism, when the facts call for it, must fall.

### Home Secretary's Promises

Sir Samuel Hoare, though his latest assurances on the matter, in December, go no further than he went in May, is nevertheless impressed with the weight of the opposition to the present Acts. He must make an appearance of doing something, but falls back on the excuse that Parliamentary draughtmanship is bankrupt. We must take his word, he says, that he will not abuse his powers because no one can devise a form of words which would put the effect of his assurance into an Act of Parliament. He is probably right, for it would be difficult to give statutory form to anything quite so vague as his promise.

Sir Samuel's undertaking is that Section 6 of the 1920 Act (which gives the police their power of interrogation and their penalties) "would only be brought into operation on issues of grave importance." But this is a whole

## "SECRETS" ARE DANGEROUS

By H. D. NICOLS, of the "Manchester Guardian," former President of the National Union of Journalists

RECENT events, outside as well as inside Parliament, have put a new zest into the discussion of all questions touching our liberties. The campaign for the amendment of the Official Secrets Acts, which the National Union of Journalists has now well under way, is meeting with a more eager and informed response than those who started it could have hoped.

What Sir Samuel Hoare has called "the drastic and exceptional powers" which the Act of 1920 confers on him as Home Secretary seem to have been appreciated more at their true worth, and danger, in the country than at

Westminster. At widely representative conferences both in London and in Manchester (and there are others to follow) those who spoke for journalism have found a ready acceptance of the idea that the disabilities which the Act threatens are no private matter of their own, but a grave infringement of the public rights which only a free Press can serve. The spectacle recently to be seen, at a critical time for all Europe, of the sort of news service that a country must rely on when every news item is an "official secret," only to be divulged on authority, has had its effect, and the point of view of the man

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NEW YEAR GREETINGS  
TO ALL  
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world wider than the original assurance that the Act was to deal only with "spies and spying." Who shall say what a Home Secretary or Attorney General will decide to be issues of grave importance—and to whom? With the new tendency to confuse the interests of the State with the interests of the government of the day any issue on which the Minister was inclined to resent the free flow of information might naturally seem to him an issue of grave importance; and he would be the judge. It is eight years since Sir William Jowett gave an almost identical assurance, but this did not prevent the proceedings in the Lewis case in which a Manchester journalist was dealt with under the Act for publishing a trivial item of police information about an alleged swindler.

If Sir Samuel Hoare is still "looking into the question" of putting his under-

taking into statutory form he might consider whether the root of his difficulty is not that he is unwilling to narrow down the 1920 Act to its originally declared purpose. So long as he is not prepared to give up the idea of using that Act in cases where the information published has nothing to do with espionage or danger to the realm, so long will his drafting difficulties remain. The private Bill sponsored in the last session by Mr. Dingle Foot and in the present one by Lieut.-Commander Fletcher, is still waiting for the Government's adoption. If it has not been difficult to draft, that is because its aims are not ambiguous. It would restore to the honest citizen his Common Law rights while leaving unimpaired the Government's power to deal with the traitor and the spy and their associates.

In Manchester, for instance, a deputation from the seven youth movements working in the Manchester Youth Campaign Committee saw the Lord Mayor and asked him to call a conference of all youth organisations in the city to discuss what improvements can be made and what practical steps can be taken to ensure that youth helps to protect the people of Manchester.

Similar deputations have gone to the Mayors of Salford and of Bolton. In Chester a committee of L.N.U. Youth Groups, Labour Youth, and Young Liberals is planning a conference, and have approached their Mayor to ask him to help them.

#### Scotland

Far North, in Dundee, seven youth organisations have signed a resolution asking the town council to call a conference, and have sent a deputation to back it up; even further North, in Aberdeen, the representatives of the youth movements have already visited their town council, offering their services. Elsewhere in Scotland, the Glasgow Committee is planning to see the Lord Provost, and is confident of a sympathetic reception; while in nearby Paisley a committee of five organisations is doing the same.

#### London

A typical London example is Hammersmith, where the youth organisa-

forces once they get a guarantee that British arms will be used to resist further aggression and not to appease the aggressors.



Mussolini in his study prepares the demands he will present at his interviews with Mr. Neville Chamberlain in Rome this month

## YOUTH PILGRIMAGE IN DEFENCE OF FREEDOM AND PEACE:

LONDON, FEBRUARY 18 AND 19

By CHARLIE GIBSON, Travelling Organiser for the National Youth Campaign

THE Peace Pilgrimage to London on February 18 will be made by several thousand young people. It will be the greatest effort which the youth of Great Britain has ever made to secure peace and to defend its liberties. Everywhere preparations are going ahead. During my tour of the North of England and Scotland for the National Youth Campaign I have seen how the youth movements are planning to play their part in the defence of Britain.

#### Over 2,000 Young People

Our aim was to bring 2,000 young people from every trade, profession, and organisation to London to make a declaration to both Government and people. From what I have found so far during my tour I feel confident that this number will be far exceeded. Conferences on national defence are being held in many towns, and at all of them I found almost complete unity. The young people will offer their services for A.R.P., and only ask that the A.R.P. schemes should be effective. They are opposed to the schemes for labour camps because they say that if the Youth Charter, which would give shorter hours, better conditions of work, and more opportunity for physical fitness, were put into operation this would be the best contribution to the real strength of Britain; they are prepared to serve in the armed

## 1938 IN GENEVA

By Our Special Correspondent

GENEVA, December.

A STOCKTAKING of League activities in the sombre year 1938 cannot naturally be a very pleasant task. The most that can be said is that perhaps the situation is not quite so hopeless as at one time appeared likely. This is true particularly from the point of view of membership of the League of Nations.

#### No Mass Flight

In March of 1938 many competent observers confidently predicted a mass flight from the Covenant which, had it taken effect, would have meant the end of the League in our time. This mass flight has failed to happen, largely owing to the stupidities of the totalitarian enemies of the international ideal. It is true that Chile and Venezuela have left the League and that Austria has been absorbed. It is also possible that Czechoslovakia and Hungary may withdraw. But they have not yet done so, and, on the other side of the Atlantic the Lima Conference, so far from turning its back on Geneva, seems to be reaffirming the democratic solidarity of the New World and its determination to maintain international collaboration.

#### Manchester

Even at this early stage it is possible to make some estimate of the numbers of people who will join in the pilgrimage. From Manchester a contingent of 300-350 young people is promised. Most of them will travel by coach, but there will be a special cyclists' section as well. In the big C.W.S. factories they are collecting funds to send representatives from the staff; the big stores plan to send delegates to the Pilgrimage, so that they can report back to all the employees.

A popular send-off is being arranged for the pilgrims from Manchester and other towns. The Manchester fleet of buses will join the Chester contingent at Crewe, at which junction thirteen coaches will assemble. When the contingents from Coventry, Birmingham, Stafford, Wolverhampton, and other Midland towns have joined, the convoy of motor-coaches will cover perhaps half a mile.

#### Leeds

Leeds and the surrounding districts propose to send 200 pilgrims. Leeds are very fortunate, as they rent a spacious office from Sir Montague Burton at 1d. a week, and from this office they are organising a mass meeting in the biggest hall of the town. Montague Burton's factory itself is sending ten or twenty pilgrims.

The word Pilgrimage has a very special meaning for all these young people. Their imaginations are fired; they believe in the cause; they feel confident that they can make it a success.

#### Foreigners in Spain

Although in the case of stricken Spain the League has been able to do little beyond passing pious resolutions, it has at least efficiently supervised and, as it were, audited the withdrawal of the foreign volunteers from the forces of the Government, a step which more than anything else has exposed for what it is the foreign intervention on behalf of the rebels.

In the social sphere the achievement of 1938 is undoubtedly the League Committee's exposure of the opium

and drug racket in China, already commented on in HEADWAY. It is significant, and, perhaps, of happy augury, that much of the spade work in this exposure was accomplished by an "observer member" of the United States, Mr. Stewart Fuller, on the chief Narcotic Commission. On the more constructive side of this question the Committee's plans for the limitation of the production of opium might do much to strike at the root of the evil. Brief mention may also be made of the League's work on the problem of nutrition, and particularly the plans, with the full consent of all concerned, for the extension of the work to cover the nutritional problems of East European countries.

#### Stable Door Shut at Last

I cannot forbear mentioning, with a sigh for what might have been, the now accomplished fact of the separation of the Covenant of the League from the treaties of peace. At long last the stable door is shut, but—

For the International Labour Office 1938 has been a year of quiet progress and extended responsibilities. The formation this year of the Permanent Advisory Committee on Agriculture has crowned a long struggle, initiated by the late Albert Thomas, for the practical competence of the organisation in matters of agricultural labour. Unfortunately, the excellent work done by the office does not lend itself to headlines, but for those whose work lies in any sphere of international economics, the recent work of the office for the standardisation of international statistics on hours of work and wages will be a practical blessing of the highest order.

#### Hopes of I.L.O.

The Labour Office starts the New Year under happy augury. This year's Labour Conference was the best attended conference in the history of the organisation, and the office itself meets 1939 under the direction of John Gilbert Winant, who, formerly Governor of New Hampshire and Chairman of President Roosevelt's Social Security Board, has, for the time being at any rate, turned his back upon higher aspirations to work for social justice in Geneva. All friends of the international ideal will wish Mr. Winant the success he is determined to secure.

## THE CREATIVE GENIUS OF THE JEW

By NEVILLE LASKI, K.C., *President of the London Committee of Deputies of British Jews.*

A COMMON charge made against the Jew is that he is neither productive nor creative, that he is merely a middleman, absorbing the culture of other nations and coarsening it in the process. Like so many vague charges made against my co-religionists, it contains but a scintilla of truth, and that scintilla to our credit. In reality, there is practically no field of intellectual activity in which the Jew has not played a creative part. And if one points to what the Jew has done in the way of production, surely one need not go further than the example of Palestine, where by the labours of the pioneers the country has been made to blossom like the rose, and a land laid barren and waste by the neglect of centuries is once more becoming a land flowing with milk and honey. But one need not elaborate this point, though one cannot and must not forget it, for it is not the money that has rebuilt and renewed Palestine, but the labour, courage and patience of the Jewish worker.

### Only True Europeans

There is a scintilla of truth in the statement that Jews are intermediaries. They are in truth intermediaries in one sense of which we have every reason to be proud.

In the Dark Ages, the only true Europeans, they realised that the world did not end with the country or the province or the kingdom in which they were living. Such were the Jews. They were one of a nation scattered everywhere, and with their common tongue they could travel all over the world and find co-religionists who could understand them, and were in many cases, as was rare in those days, sufficiently educated to correspond with them. With these advantages they played a great role in keeping the light of learning burning in the Dark Ages. They conveyed to the Christian world the writings of the ancient Greek philosophers in Arabic or Hebrew versions. They carried on the traditions of classic antiquity of medicine and natural sciences. But they were more than mere intermediaries. Without them it is more than possible that the teachings of such giants as Aristotle and Hippocrates would have been lost to the world. They can, therefore, claim to be not only the intermediaries, but the standard bearers in this field of intellectual activity.

### Originators in Many Fields

In other fields they can claim to be actual creators—in astronomy, philosophy and medicine. Eight hundred years ago lived Maimonides, whose name was as famous in the West as it was in the East. His philosophy is to be found as the basis of the thought of Thomas Aquinas, that master of mediæval Christian philosophy; in medicine his theories and writings continued to be studied well into the sixteenth century. It is to him that we owe the axiom that "prevention is better than cure." He was the first to realise the importance psychology plays in the treatment of disease. And in this connection the name of Isaac Israeli, of Kairouan, stands out the earliest authority on the treatment of fever, to whom is ascribed the credit of having introduced scientific medicine into Northern Africa. He may also be called the creator of pharmacology, his work on which was the main source and the basis of most subsequent mediæval treatises on the subject.

It is impossible here to do more than indicate briefly what the Jew has done in the creation of the science of medicine. Suffice it to repeat, in the words of H. G. Wells, who cannot be described as being too partial, that "it is

difficult to say in the case of the Arabic culture where the Jew ends and the Arab begins, so important and essential were its Jewish factors."

Jewish names are as outstanding in modern times as in the mediæval age. Ludwig Casper (1796-1864) was the founder of forensic medicine; A. Fraenkel (1849-1916), who discovered the germ of pneumonia; Jacob Henlé (1809-1885) wrote in 1841 his work on "General Anatomy," which revolutionised medical knowledge. Two names in particular will always be among the great stars in the firmament of medical discovery. Elie Metchnikoff, Director of the Pasteur Institute in Paris, in 1908 gained the Nobel Prize, together with the greatest medical scientist that Germany has produced, Paul Ehrlich, who indeed can be described as a saviour of the human race. With them must be included the aged exile Sigmund Freud, the founder of psycho-analysis and a liberator of the human mind. To-day few names could have either directly or indirectly effected so much good or brought so much relief to sufferers as that of Simon Flexner, who discovered the germ of dysentery and isolated the serum for meningitis. He is the head of the Rockefeller Institute in New York, a veritable arsenal for fighting disease the world over.

### The Modern Alphabet

To turn to other fields of research. It was Jews who were responsible for the modern alphabet. It came from India to the Arab world, from the Arab world into the Christian, and everywhere, throughout this process, is to be found the hand of translators of Jewish birth. In this remote age we find a Hebrew manuscript known as the "Treatise of Measures," ascribed to Rabbi Nehemiah and composed about A.D. 150, which displayed an original approach to mathematical problems and exercised considerable influence on science generally. And in the Middle Ages Jews were responsible for the creation of devices whose utility and influence were world shaking.

In the Age of Discovery, made famous by the heroic adventures of Portuguese and Spanish navigators, it was largely due to Jewish genius that great seamen were able to navigate their craft. It was a Jewish Rabbi, Levi Ben Gershom, who improved the quadrant then in use to such an extent that the new instrument was called after him "Jacob's staff," and this instrument was used by all the explorers of that age, including Christopher Columbus himself, and indeed remained in use for the next three centuries until a new invention in 1774 replaced it. It was to this super genius also that we owe the camera obscura, a simple device, but from which sprang the primary ideas of photography and cinematography, while Levi Ben Abraham, a Provençal scholar of the thirteenth century, recognised even in that remote age that heat was a form of motion.

### Greatest Modern Philosophers

Let us recall such names as the greatest of all living philosophers, Albert Einstein, and with him the names of Bergson and Alexander, of the youngest of all Nobel Prize-men, James Franck, of Albert Abraham Michelson, of America, whose experiments destroyed the theory of stationary ether. One might recall such names as that of Max Born, the greatest of all mathematical physicists, of Volterra, of that distinguished Professor of Geometry at Oxford University, Joseph Sylvester; and it was the researches of an English Jew, Benjamin Gompertz, which



ALFRED HUTTENBACH, the distinguished sculptor, who is an exile from Nazi Germany, at work on his head of GILBERT MURRAY

were responsible for the foundation of all actuarial tables used by insurance companies to-day.

No one can omit the name of Fritz Haber, a victim, like so many distinguished men, of the Nazi regime, whose discovery of methods to produce ammonia from the nitrogen in the air and hydrogen rendered possible illimitable supplies of natural fertiliser for the soil, while in the still more practical field one must include Siegfried Marcus, the real inventor of the automobile, who built the first horseless carriage in 1864 and in 1875 drove a benzine-driven vehicle through the streets of Vienna. The telephone, wireless and the gramophone, among other modern inventions, owe in many aspects their genesis to the creative genius of Philip Reiss, Heinrich Hertz and Emile Berliner.

### Names in English Letters

To turn to other spheres, in English letters we have the outstanding example of the Palgrave family. Palgrave was not the real name, but Cohen, and Francis Palgrave, for many years Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, was not only an historian of distinction, but created the scheme for the work of the Historical Manuscript Commission. His eldest son compiled that classical anthology, "The Golden Treasury." Another was editor of "The Dictionary of Political Economy," and yet a third, as Clerk of the House of Commons, was responsible for drawing up the rules of procedure for that august assembly. It would not be an exaggeration to describe Sir Arthur Pinero as the creator of a new form of dramatic writing, as is Max Reinhardt of modern stage production, and Leon Bakst of ballet décor.

To return to agriculture, a form of industry in which it is said that Jews take little or no interest, though the example of Palestine amply demonstrates the falsity of this theory. It was in 1859 that Adolf Frank, as a result of research, set up his first factory which founded the great potash industry, which has played such a great part in the development of agriculture, and his discoveries were carried further by the research work in America of Jacob Lipman,

who worked upon determining the nature of the chemical action produced by bacteria in the soil available for food, with epoch-making results.

One could go on almost indefinitely proving the claim of the Jew to be a creative force. In music, in which Jews have been always prominent, one need only recall such names as Mendelssohn or Anton Rubenstein, who created the whole system of musical education in Russia, or Gustav Mahler, or Arnold Schönberg, or such interpreters as Fritz Kreisler, Artur Schnabel, Mischa Elman, or Harriet Cohen. In art the only Russian sculptor of world fame was Antokolsky. Who can deny the claim of Jacob Epstein to the same position? Amadeo Modigliani, Marc Chagall, Camille Pissario, Josef Israels and Max Lieberman can in all truth be described as creators in the sphere of painting. It is not without interest that one of the earliest creators of the art of camouflage, so largely used to-day, was the artist Solomon J. Solomon.

### Service to South Africa

In more prosaic fields of activity, even such an unromantic figure as Barney Barnato is not to be ignored. Barney Barnato not only showed his ability to accumulate millions, but showed vision in his scheme for waterworks in Johannesburg, an undertaking for which he was ridiculed. The financial and mining interests of the Beit family were not devoted only to material ends, but under the trust created, not only are hundreds of young South Africans enabled to enter professions, but South Africa itself was given facilities in the shape of roads, railways and bridges, a legacy which indicates enterprise and a vision far beyond that of mere money-making.

We are always ready to erect statues to men whose only claim to fame was that they were responsible for the death of thousands. Would it not be more logical that we should raise monuments to those who have so much contributed to the amenities of life and who have made existence so much happier and easier for people not too well blessed with the world's goods. Among those to whom this tribute is due will be found in no small measure men of the Jewish faith whose vision and courage have largely contributed to this by no means ignoble end.

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## BOOKS AND THEIR WRITERS

By ROGER FORTUNE

IN HIS WIRELESS CHRISTMAS talk on the books of the year, Mr. E. M. Forster explained that in a curvy world patently headed for disaster men and women, who in other circumstances might have been producing imaginative literature of high merit, were hurried into writing what were rather political arguments than novels. Other evidence of the evil times in which we live was the mass of political rivalries with no pretence to literary quality which burdens the counters of all bookshops. We have only to look about us to see that Mr. Forster was right; it is one of our misfortunes that Mr. Forster himself has ceased to produce full-length novels. But all is not loss. The urgency of our political problems is being met by not a few able writers with books important for their subject matter and because of their manner a delight. Mr. Forster admitted the fact: and he made special mention of one of the most brilliant of them: Bertrand Russell's new social analysis, "Power."

**POWER: A SOCIAL ANALYSIS.**  
By Bertrand Russell. (Allen and Unwin. 7s. 6d.)

BERTRAND RUSSELL is unique. He is a philosopher and a wit. He has no prejudices. Or, at least, none of the conventional prejudices of the average man. He is never tired of asking questions, and he is never satisfied with a superficial answer. As a consequence, while he sees clearly the abuses of the present disorder, he does not accept offhand the fashionable assumptions of reform. Soviet Russia is not paradise for him, nor is Stalin its prophet. It was Bertrand Russell who angered both Communists and their critics many years ago at a time when good sense was seldom spoken about Russia, by pointing out that the substantial difference was not between the Soviet economy on the one side and the rest of the world on the other, but between industrial systems at different stages of their development.

In "Power" he again directs the chill and clarifying wind of reality against the close, thick fog of muddled doctrine. The world of to-day is not dominated by the selfish calculations of astute business men. If profit and loss were the test, several great nations would not have embarked upon their present courses; judged by their balance sheets, their policies are ruinous. It is because some other satisfaction than the enjoyment of wealth is proposed that every prophecy of a col-

lapse brought about by economic loss has remained unfulfilled. What dictatorship promises is power, power for persons at home and power for peoples abroad. Riches are a means to power. In periods of economic expansion ambitious men are drawn into the path of wealth in pursuit of their object; in periods of economic contraction they employ political means and resort easily to violence.

The exercise of power, the subjection of others to one's own will, the glorification of one's self, satisfies a common, deep-rooted human instinct. Where individual indulgence is denied, a collective substitute is welcome. The poor white, too mean to be of any personal account, takes pleasure in being a member of a mob which tortures a black man. Power, of course, is not essentially bad. It is neutral. It is the basis of all progress, the instrument of all constructive work. But misuse is fatally easy; and to-day misuse is a huge, palpable fact. To-day men and nations are not only breaking the rules but denying their authority; they are seeking power for its own sake, they are

deriding the purposes by whose service others are benefited, they are careless of the general damage they may do in attaining their particular ends.

"Power" is a profound, enlightening book. It is also a frightening one. It is shaped by a master controversialist; in the cogent presentation of his argument Bertrand Russell has had few equals in the long and fruitful history of English political writing.

**THE GOVERNMENT OF MANKIND.**  
By J. A. Spender. (Cassells. 12s. 6d.)

THE HISTORY of political writing is the subject of Mr. J. A. Spender's "Government of Mankind." Mr. Spender is not concerned with English authors only. But English authors bulk large in his volume. He is not ostensibly studying books on politics. Rather is his topic the theory of politics through the ages. Nevertheless he finds his material in what many famous men thought and wrote, not in what other famous men said and did. Thucydides, Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, St. Augustine, Dante, Machiavelli, Sir

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"HEADWAY," 19, Devereux Court, Nr. Strand, W.C.2.

Thomas Moore, Hobbes, Locke, Bolingbroke, Burke, Hamilton, Bentham, Mill, Hegel—all these and many other familiar names are there. On them all he has comments of his own to offer which are well worth the reading.

Mr. Spender has himself thought and written much on politics. He is the last of the great editors of the late Victorian and Edwardian era who guided public opinion and were read attentively by statesmen. They were both students and practitioners, their perspective exact because of their wide and peopled background, their touch close and quick because of their daily employment.

The "Government of Mankind" is introduced with a confession by Mr. Spender that in his youth he believed that political success required the gift of public speaking and ability of the kind which wins recognition at Oxford. But half a century's experience, he adds, has taught him that government is the most difficult of all the arts. He ends his book with an eloquent passage in which he proclaims his unshaken belief that right and wrong are rooted in the nature of things, that they are an aspect of the ultimate reality, and that to build upon their denial is to invite final disaster.

Mr. Spender is a Liberal. He is always ready to compromise so long as he has not to sacrifice anything that is vital to his cause. His Liberal, his compromising temper, in the best sense, comes out in his preferences amongst the great writers and in his choice of quotations. His quotations in themselves are a library of political wisdom. He is especially happy in the passages he cites from Burke. Next to the liberal thinkers of his own country he obviously takes most pleasure in the company of the Greeks and Cicero. His preface

pays a graceful tribute to Gilbert Murray which thousands of readers will echo with like gratitude.

### WHY BE A MEMBER OF THE L.N.U.?

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Sir,—Some months ago I offered a modest prize for the best answer to the question how the L.N.U. gives value for the modest sum which it requires of its subscribers. I had hoped to get from the answers some convincing slogan, with the help of which the Appeals Department could improve the figures. I must confess to a certain disappointment with the results of my experiment. Of all the countless thousands who pay money to the Union, only sixteen were tempted to attempt to justify their action. The answers fell into two categories:—

(1) Some pointed out the direct benefits offered by membership. Of these, the library was the most popular, then literature, then intelligence; while two candidates appreciated the "contact with great men, such as Lord Cecil and Professor Murray." One had got a job from a man whom he canvassed for a subscription.

(2) Others regarded the Union as a way of expressing their ideals and working towards fulfilment thereof.

It seems to me that both these points deserve mention, and I am sending my cheque to Miss T. Donati, 42, Leckford Road, Oxford, who put both points in a short and businesslike way. I enclose her entry herewith. I confess, however, that not even her answer was as convincing as I had hoped. Any answer falling within category (1) might well have emphasised the fullness and cheapness of the Union's resources, while an answer in category (2) ought to have made it clear why, in our country, supporters of the League require an organisation such as the L.N.U.—Yours, faithfully,

C. A. MACARTNEY.

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